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ABSTRACT

WORSHIP MUSIC AS SPIRITUAL IDENTITY: AN EXAMINATION
OF MUSIC IN THE LITURGY AMONG BLACK AND WHITE
ADVENTISTS IN THE UNITED STATES
FROM 1840 TO 1944

by

David A. Williams

Advisor: John W. Reeve

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: WORSHIP MUSIC AS SPIRITUAL IDENTITY: AN EXAMINATION
OF MUSIC IN THE LITURGY AMONG BLACK AND WHITE
ADVENTISTS IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1840 TO 1944

Name of researcher: David A. Williams

Name and degree of faculty chair: John W. Reeve, Ph.D.

Date completed: April 2018

The Topic

This study examined Black and White Seventh-day Adventist music in the liturgy in the United States from 1840 to 1944. Little scholarly attention has been given to the development of Adventist liturgical practice, the function of music in the liturgy, and the effect of music upon the spiritual identity. This study utilized liturgical history, ritual studies, musicology, and liturgical theology to derive and compare the spiritual identity fostered through music in the liturgy by these ethnic groups. This study considered both the shared and distinct spiritual identities of Black and White Adventists, as cultivated by the music in the liturgy, and as situated in the context of the American racial climate, from the first colonies to the middle of the twentieth century.

The Purpose

The purpose of this study was to describe the development of spiritual identity among Black and White Seventh-day Adventist worshipers as derived from their experience of music in the Sabbath liturgy, in the United States from 1840–1944. To do so, this study created a methodology for deriving spiritual identity from music in liturgy, in order to support the thesis that music in the liturgy promotes, develops, and often establishes spiritual identity in the existential experience of the worshiper. It tested the hypothesis by situating the historical context of liturgy and music among Black and White Christians in the United States before 1840, and tracing the development of music in liturgy among Black and White Adventist Americans from 1840–1944. Within this historical development, the study explored the historical spiritual identity of these communities, as fostered through the music in the liturgy.

The Sources

This documentary study primarily relied on published and unpublished primary sources from the Seventh-day Adventist church, between 1840 and 1944. Primary and secondary sources provided historical context and perspective. Archives housed some of the primary sources useful in this study. Four Adventist congregations were targeted for the study, two Black and two White, respectively: Ephesus Seventh-day Adventist Church, New York City; Oakwood University Church, Huntsville, Alabama; Battle Creek Tabernacle, Battle Creek, Michigan; and Takoma Park Seventh-day Adventist Church, Takoma Park, Maryland. Bulletins of the orders of worship provided important liturgical context. Oral histories were also conducted for this research, featuring interviews with twenty-nine persons with memories of Adventist music in the liturgy in

the 1920s, 30s, and 40s. Most of those interviewed for this study were members of one of the four churches.

Conclusions

Adventism developed within the context of American revivalism, drawing from this tradition for its early liturgical practice, including fervent singing of spirituals and gospel hymnody. Black and White Adventist pioneers augmented this milieu with their developing views on the great controversy between Christ and Satan, conditional immortality of the soul, Jesus Christ's ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, His soon second coming, and God's love. Adventist hymnody contributed significantly toward establishing these beliefs into their spiritual identity. Though early White Adventists were ardent abolitionists, by the late nineteenth century, few Adventists championed social justice for Black Americans. Society's systemic racism had infected Adventist leadership, liturgy, and music publishing. In 1908, as a misappropriation of Ellen G. White's counsel, Blacks and Whites throughout the country began worshiping in separate meeting houses. In 1944, the denomination instituted regional conferences to advance the gospel ministry among Blacks, without White oversight. Throughout the denomination's first 100 years, Black and White Adventists worshiped through music similarly, due to a shared identity in the Adventist message. Differences in worship can be attributed to differences in the experience of privilege or oppression. Black Adventists always sang the Black spirituals and leveraged European composers, like Bach and Beethoven, in order to express their praise to God and their protest of social injustice.

Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

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FROM 1840 TO 1944

A Dissertation
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
David A. Williams

April 2018

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For Lorelei & Liliana:

Out of trials come hope and grace.

I love you.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AME	African Methodist Episcopal Church
ATR	African Traditional Religion
BDAG	Bauer, Walter. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Translated and adapted by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich. 2nd ed. Revised and augmented by F. Wilbur Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
BWV	<i>Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach: Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis (BWV)</i> [Bach-Works-Catalogue]. Edited by Wolfgang Schmieder. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1990.
CAR	Center for Adventist Research, James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan
DF	Document Folder
GC	General Conference
HT	<i>The Seventh-day Adventist Hymn and Tune Book for Use in Divine Worship</i> . Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing House, 1886.
NASB	<i>New American Standard Bible</i>
NT	New Testament
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OT	Old Testament
RH	<i>Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, Advent Review, Second Advent Review, Adventist Herald, Adventist Review</i>
SDAH	<i>Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal</i>

<i>ST</i>	<i>Signs of the Times</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromily. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–1976.
WDF	White Estate Document File

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine Black and White Seventh-day Adventist music in the liturgy in the United States, from 1840 to 1944.¹ It utilizes the theories of ritual studies and liturgical theology to derive and compare the spiritual identity fostered through music in the liturgy by these ethnic groups.

Background to the Problem

Challenges arising from differences in worship and music are not uncommon in Christianity. Ethnicity often accentuates these distinctions. While some ethnicities may have similar worship practices, their own distinctive cultures contribute to a rich diversity in local practices and spirituality.

The Black and White Adventist congregations demonstrate this ethnic diversity, providing a rich history for examination. Scholars suggests that worship differences between them have been most notably felt in the latter half of the twentieth century, as African American Adventists experienced convergences in equality and education, and as

¹ As a White American male, I recognize my own shortcomings and inherent biases in worship, music, and race. I make no claims as to being an expert or knowing Black worship from the Black American experience. As such, I rely on the experience and expressions of those I interviewed to inform both my investigation and conclusions. I am also indebted to my former graduate assistant of two years, Dorhel Davis. As a female African American who attended Oakwood University and is my same age, she afforded me countless candid conversations about race, music, and worship.

gospel music proliferated.² Liliane Doukhan advocates that some of the worship diversity in recent years may have been due to the influence of Vatican Council II, Pentecostalism, evangelicalism, and postmodernism.³ This study seeks to examine the precursors to these developments, thereby documenting both the similarities and differences in Black and White Adventist spiritual identity as fostered through music in the liturgy.

Worship challenges did exist within Adventism in the first half of the twentieth century. In the 1890s, Black and White Adventists typically joined together for worship. Ellen G. White, one of the earliest Adventist leaders, saw these corporate gatherings as an opportunity for the groups to learn from each other.⁴ Yet at the turn of the century, racial tensions, primarily in the southern United States, created a danger for Black and White Adventists to worship together. In 1908, Ellen White counseled, “Let white and colored people be labored for in separate, distinct lines, and let the Lord take care of the rest.”⁵

² Mervyn A. Warren, “Black Seventh-day Adventists and Worship,” in *Perspectives: Black Seventh-day Adventists Face the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Calvin B. Rock (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1996), 189. Mylas Martin, Oral History interview by Merlin Burt, April 23, 1997, at the James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI (Berrien Springs, MI: Center for Adventist Research), 12. Wayne F. A. Bucknor, “The Changing Role of Music in the Liturgy of the African American Seventh-day Adventist Church: Guidelines for Improving its Qualitative Use” (DMA diss., University of Alabama, 2008).

³ Liliane Doukhan, *In Tune with God* (Hagerstown, MD: Autumn House Publishing, 2010), 215-217.

⁴ Ellen G. White, “Worship Styles,” *Review and Herald (RH)*, December 3, 1895. Some Black converts had been demonstrating excessive excitement, noise, and bodily exercise, while the Whites were not showing Christian love and instruction in worship (a paraphrase of the “Worship Styles” statement). The context of this statement is examined in chapter 5 of this study. Blacks were not alone in creating excesses in worship, for in 1901, Ellen White also reproved a White campmeeting in Indiana where fanaticism was made manifest through the use of music. Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1958), 31-39.

⁵ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 9 (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1909), 210.

This guidance was only to be the procedure “until the Lord shows us a better way.”⁶

However, separation continued and widened over the following decades.

The musical-liturgical practice of Adventism in the early twentieth century has received little attention. During the 1930s and ‘40s, several significant liturgical changes took place in the Adventist church. In 1932, the General Conference published its first *Church Manual*. The manual recommended two orders of worship, a long and a short form.⁷ James L. McElhany, then vice-president of the General Conference, developed the manual from extensive correspondence.⁸ The production of this manual invites certain questions: With whom did he correspond? Was this manual published to help unify worship practice? If so, does this suggest there were multiple worship practices needing to be curtailed? Was it meant to establish unity among Black and White cultures? Such official church statements regarding church order and worship appear suspicious.⁹ In 1941, the denomination published *The Church Hymnal* as the primary liturgical book for congregational singing. Alma Blackmon notes, “The 1941 *Church Hymnal* contained music of various nations of the world, and even hymns sourced from other denominations, but there was no inclusion of the Negro spiritual.”¹⁰ These factors deserve

⁶ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9:207.

⁷ *Seventh-day Adventist Church Manual* (Washington, DC: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1932), 151-2.

⁸ “Preface,” *Church Manual*, 5. McElhany served as General Conference president from 1936–1950.

⁹ Paul F. Bradshaw, “Ten Principles for Interpreting Early Christian Liturgical Evidence,” in *The Making of Jewish and Christian Worship*, ed. Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 3-19. Paul Bradshaw is a recognized liturgical scholar at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana. Bradshaw’s ten principles are detailed in Chapter 2.

¹⁰ Alma Montgomery Blackmon, “Black Seventh-day Adventists and Church Music,” in

attention in setting the historical context for the worship music practices of Black and White Adventism during the period.

Diversity in worship compounded in 1944, as the church began instituting regional conferences as a means to more efficiently govern the gospel ministry among Black Adventists.¹¹ These regional conferences developed out of a number of factors: racial tensions, leadership challenges, and evangelistic necessity. These circumstances have been well documented.¹² Differences in worship practices between Whites and

Perspectives, ed. Calvin B. Rock (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1996), 183.

¹¹ In order to understand these regional conferences, a word must be given regarding the general organization of the Adventist church. The largest judicatory level of the worldwide Seventh-day Adventist Church is the General Conference. The General Conference is divided into Divisions, which administrate church governance in large continental regions of the world. The smallest level of organization is the local church. In the United States, the sisterhood of churches is governed by a conference. Conferences generally claim the territory of a single state, though large states or areas with significant population are divided into two or even three conferences. These conferences are further organized into Union Conferences, which comprise large geographic regions, such as the mid-west United States (or the US South). In 1944, the regional conferences were formed to function as part of the administration for Black churches. The order of institution of these regional conferences is as follows: Lake Region 1944, Allegheny 1945, Northeastern 1945, South Atlantic 1945, South Central 1945, Southwest Region 1946, Central States 1947, Allegheny West 1967, Southeastern 1981. Constituents of these regional conferences have been predominantly Black, though there have been other ethnicities as well. These conferences generally overlay the other conferences within a Union. E. E. Cleveland pointed out, however, that regional conferences are not segregated and are open to all races. Even so, these regions have been primarily Black in demographic, and thus have been administrated by Black leadership. Edward E. Cleveland, *Let the Church Roll On: An Autobiography* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 1997), 63.

¹² Delbert W. Baker, "Events Leading to the Establishment of Regional Conferences," in *Telling the Story: An Anthology of the Development of the Black SDA Work*, ed. Delbert W. Baker, vol. 2 (Nashville: Black Caucus of SDA Administrators, 1996), 7; Delbert W. Baker, "In Search of Roots: Adventist African-Americans, Part 1: Exploring the History," *RH*, February 4, 1993; Delbert W. Baker, "In Search of Roots: Adventist African-Americans, Part 2: The Crucial Year," *RH*, February 11, 1993; Delbert W. Baker, "In Search of Roots: Adventist African-Americans, Part 3: A Providential Story," *RH*, February 18, 1993; George R. Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2001), 145-151; Otis B. Edwards, "Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Work among Negroes in the Alabama-Mississippi Conference" (Master's thesis, Andrews University, 1942); Calvin B. Rock, "Institutional Loyalty versus Racial Freedom: The Dilemma of Black Seventh-day Adventist Leadership" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1984); Charles E. Bradford, "Black Seventh-day Adventists and Church Loyalty," in *Perspectives: Black Seventh-day Adventists Face the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Calvin B. Rock (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1996), 18; David K. Penno, "An Investigation of the Perceptions of Clergy and Laity on Race-Based

Blacks may have been a contributing factor to the development of these conferences, according to Mervyn Warren: “[The] structural change of the Black church within Adventism suggests that the gradation was not about organizational configuration alone, but also about identifying norms within Blacks themselves for all church matters, including patterns of worship.”¹³

Even amidst the similarities of Black and White Adventist worship, culture and history would have played an important role in the style and use of music in worship. Albert Raboteau shows that the religious life of African Americans is rooted in the slave experience.¹⁴ Drawing from Raboteau’s study, worship practice is therefore existential, being based upon experience and historical background. Thus, worship practices may vary among Black and White Adventists due to their different existential realities. Wayne Bucknor affirms this, arguing that differences in worship music between White and Black Adventists stem from their varied cultural backgrounds (European, colonial American, African, and African American).¹⁵ Therefore, if worship music practices are existential,

Organizational Segregation in the Southern Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists” (PhD diss., Andrews University, 2009), 17-26; Alfonzo Greene, “[Black] Regional Conferences in the Seventh-day Adventist Church (SDA) Compared with United Methodist [Black] Central Jurisdiction/Annual Conferences with White S.D.A. Conferences, from 1940–2001” (PhD diss., Loyola University Chicago, 2009).

¹³ Warren, “Black Seventh-day Adventists and Worship,” 189.

¹⁴ Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The “Invisible Institution” in the Antebellum South*, 1978; updated ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). The slave experience of those of African descent in the United States resulted in an existential paradigm for African Americans. Their experience of life is intimately linked with their historical experience. Another of Raboteau’s significant contributions is his demonstration of the diversity of descent of Africans living in North America. His work aids in establishing the ideological nuances manifested by different people groups, such as *African American* and *Afro-Caribbean*. Clifford Jones has similarly nuanced African American worship in the Adventist church as the product of an existential experience. R. Clifford Jones, “African-American Worship: Its Heritage, Character, and Quality,” *Ministry* 74, no. 9 (2002): 5-9.

¹⁵ Bucknor, “The Changing Role of Music in the Liturgy of the African American Seventh-day

being based upon experience and cultural background, then Black and White worship may appear different due to varying experiences within distinctive cultures, while also leaving room for similarities in worship where cultures overlap.

Underlying cultural practices are various ethnic worldviews. As a theological activity, worship reflects and cultivates worldview, contributing to spirituality. Music in the liturgy fosters the worshiping self, becoming the basis for one's spiritual identity. In this manner, liturgy is formative, but also becomes normative, for faith and doctrine. If so, then the research may examine historical liturgical practices for the development of historical theology and spirituality.¹⁶ A need exists to examine the spiritual identity of Black and White Adventists before 1944.

Problem

Many differences of music in the liturgy exist between Black and White Seventh-day Adventists in the United States. Little scholarly attention has been given to the exact historical nature of these differences and to their theological implications.¹⁷ None have

Adventist Church: Guidelines for Improving its Qualitative Use.” Pedrito Maynard-Reid, *Diverse Worship: African-American, Caribbean and Hispanic Perspectives* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000); Benjamin Franklin Reaves, “A Study of Black Seventh-day Adventist Worship” (DMin diss., The Chicago Theological Seminary, 1974); James Richard Doggette, “Emotion and Rationality in African American Seventh-day Adventist Worship” (DMin diss., Claremont, 1992); Mark P. Bangert, “Liturgical Music, Culturally Tuned,” in *Liturgy and Music: Lifetime Learning*, ed. Robin A. Leaver and Joyce Ann Zimmerman (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998); James Thomas Bingham, “Liturgy and Ritual as Religious Education: Implications for the Seventh-day Adventist Church” (PhD Diss., Andrews University, 1984).

¹⁶ In Chapter 2, I explore the theory behind these claims.

¹⁷ Several dissertations and books have been written on topics related to this period's Adventist worship and music, however none have addressed neither the exact historical nature of the worship music nor the worship theology of the church during this period. Wayne Bucknor's research addresses the changing role of music in African American Adventist worship, however he only gives a survey of the worship music during my period of study. Bucknor, “The Changing Role of Music in the Liturgy of the

studied the liturgical history of the denomination from 1840 to 1944, nor has any examined Adventist hymnody and congregational song as an indicator of spiritual identity. As such, no historical comparative study has yet been done on the relationship between music in the liturgy and the enjoining spiritual identity of Black and White Adventists in the United States from 1840 to 1944.¹⁸

Purpose

The primary purpose of the present study is to describe the development of spiritual identity among Black and White Seventh-day Adventist worshipers as derived from their experience of music in the Sabbath liturgy, in the United States from 1840–1944. This study seeks to: (1) establish a methodology for deriving spiritual identity from

African American Seventh-day Adventist Church: Guidelines for Improving its Qualitative Use.” Clifford Jones presents an in-depth survey of the literature related to the history of Black Adventism during the period under study. R. Clifford Jones, *James K. Humphrey and the Sabbath-Day Adventists* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2006), 82-112. Penno, “An Investigation of the Perceptions of Clergy and Laity on Race-Based Organizational Segregation in the Southern Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists,” 18-26. James Doggette’s dissertation addresses the tension between emotion and rationality in African American Adventist worship, not the exact historical nature of the worship music practice or the derived theology. Doggette, “Emotion and Rationality in African American Seventh-day Adventist Worship,” 27-82. Benjamin Reaves’ dissertation on Black Adventist worship dealt primarily with worship issues after 1944. Reaves, “A Study of Black Seventh-day Adventist Worship.”

¹⁸ Brenda Aghahowa compares the worship music practices of two Black churches, one Afrocentric and the other Eurocentric. Brenda Eatman Aghahowa, *Praising in Black and White: Unity and Diversity in Christian Worship* (Cleveland, OH: United Church Press, 1996). Melva Costen examines both the worship music and its revealed theology in African American worship, but she does not compare explicitly with Caucasian American worship. Melva Wilson Costen, *In Spirit and in Truth: The Music of African American Worship* (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004). Pedrito Maynard-Reid compares the worship practices of African American, Caribbean, and Hispanic perspectives; he does not give a comparison of Black and White Adventism. Maynard-Reid, *Diverse Worship*. Alfonzo Greene compares the Black Adventist regional conferences with the Black Methodist conferences with the White Adventist conferences, however his time period examines the period just after this study. His focus is on administration, not worship music practice or theology. Greene, “[Black] Regional Conferences in the Seventh-day Adventist Church (SDA) Compared with United Methodist [Black] Central Jurisdiction/Annual Conferences with White S.D.A. Conferences, from 1940–2001.” James Bingham addresses the relationship of liturgy and music, but does not give a deep examination of the theology of worship music, nor does he compare Black and White worship; rather he compares Adventism among other mainline Christian denominations. Bingham, “Liturgy and Ritual,” 62-76.

music in liturgy, demonstrating how music in the liturgy promotes, develops, and often establishes spiritual identity in the existential experience of the worshiper. Therefore, the thesis is tested by, (2) situating the historical context of liturgy and music among Black and White Christians in the United States before 1840, and (3) tracing the development of music in liturgy among Black and White Adventist Americans from 1840–1944; in order to (4) explore the historical spiritual identity of these communities, as fostered through the music in the liturgy.

Scope and Delimitations

The nature of a comparative study necessarily lends itself to a broad topic. Instead of examining the entire liturgical practice of both the White and Black Adventist churches, this study has been delimited to only music in the liturgy. This study does not address the denomination's theology of the Word, the Bible, nor does it examine the context of preaching in the liturgy.

The scope of the study has been delimited in terms of time (1840-1944), beginning with the Millerite movement, and extending until the establishment of the regional conferences. Geographically, the study is delimited to the United States. Ethnically, the study considers the spiritual identity of Black and White Adventists.

This research focuses on congregations that held significant influence during the period, though relevant data from other Black and White congregations are considered, where readily available. Among the leading Black churches are: Ephesus Church, New York City; and Oakwood University Church, Huntsville, Alabama. The Ephesus Church has been selected because it had its inception under the leadership of James K. Humphrey, the apostatized Adventist pastor who first began calling for Black

conferences. The Oakwood University Church has been selected because it grew out of the missionary work done by Edson White in the South. Among the White congregations are: Battle Creek Tabernacle, Battle Creek, Michigan; and Takoma Park Church, Takoma Park, Maryland. The city of Battle Creek served as a primary place of origin for the Adventist church, with key denominational leaders in attendance. When church headquarters were moved to Maryland, the Takoma Park church became a central house of worship for denominational leaders. These prominent Adventist churches influenced the denomination, and served as a crucible in which denominational leaders' concepts of worship were formed and executed. These churches were also selected in the hopes that they would be most likely to have preserved artifacts and documents from the target time period.

Because Adventism is part of the greater Protestant tradition, the worship practices of other contemporary and ethnic denominations may be considered in establishing historical, liturgical, and musical context. However, the other denominations will be tangential to and not the focus of the research.

Justification

The racial dimension of the study provides control groups in which the Scriptural beliefs are formally identical, but music, liturgy, and culture are different, which enable the possibility to isolate to some extent the influence of music, liturgy, and culture on theology from the Bible's influence on theology and hermeneutics.

Research in this area of study is justified, as tensions regarding worship and music frequently arise within Christianity and Adventism. Often, competing worship music is viewed simply as having stylistic differences. However, if music is culturally defined,

and if cultural worship practices emit theology, then worship practices deserve critical evaluation by Seventh-day Adventists in order to ensure their theological praxes are rooted in biblical theology. As mentioned, neither the exact historical nature of the worship music practices, nor the derived theologies of those practices have been researched within Adventism during the period of 1840–1944. Chapter two details the complex methodology for this study that draws upon the broad fields of inquiry: history, ritual, music, and liturgical theology. Under the umbrella of history, the research examines historiography, liturgical history, and oral history. Through ritual studies, the methodology situates Adventist worship practices as ritual, in order to develop a heuristic tool to interpret meaning in the liturgy. The disciplines of music include music as ritual, hymnology, the psychophysiological effect of music, ethnomusicology, and semiology. These disciplines pave the way for ascertaining the meaning of music in liturgy. Finally, the field of liturgical theology enables this study to derive the theology from the historical worship practices. This allows the methodology to explore factors of spiritual identity. This comprehensive methodology offers a broader and deeper examination of the issues involved in Adventist worship, while at the same time delimiting the focus to a particular aspect of liturgy (music) and demographic (Black and White Adventists in the United States). This methodology allows for a more nuanced understanding of cultural perspectives and also helps prevent the imposition of modern ideology onto the past.

Overview of the Chapters

Chapter 2 of this study develops a methodology for determining elements of spiritual identity, as manifest in liturgical music. This chapter provides the justification and rationale for the study. It establishes the thesis that music in the liturgy promotes,

develops, and often establishes normative modes of spiritual identity in the existential experience of the worshiper. This methodology incorporates a wide range of disciplines, including: history, culture, and liturgy; oral history; ritual studies, particularly music as ritual; neurological, psychological, and physiological factors related to music; musicology; hymnology; ethnomusicology; semiology; and liturgical theology.

Chapter 3 provides the historical context of spiritual identity and music in the liturgy among Black and White Christian Americans, before 1840. This chapter surveys developments in Black and White worship, liturgy, music, and issues of race. It also provides the theological background and heritage for Black and White Adventists who would emerge in the 1840s. Thus, this chapter gives special attention to the roots of Black Christian worship and slave religion.

Chapter 4 examines music in the liturgy of Adventist Americans from 1840 until 1894. It demonstrates how music played an indispensable role in promoting and solidifying Adventist spiritual identity, providing the critical interfacing of doctrine and spirituality. This chapter follows a synchronic-diachronic historiography, establishing the musical and liturgical practices of Adventism among Millerites (1840–1844), Sabbatarian Adventists (1844–1860), and Seventh-day Adventists (1860–1894).

Due to the complexity of Chapter 4, Chapter 5 backtracks chronologically, examining the historical development of Black and White Adventist music and race relations, beginning with the Civil War (1861–1865) until the establishment of the Regional Conferences in 1944. It surveys how Black Christians expressed their faith through music as they sought to overcome White oppression. This chapter connects the musical development from the Black spirituals to the blues. Importantly, this chapter

contextualizes Ellen White's comments regarding Blacks and Whites in worship. Finally, this chapter details the hymnological development within Adventism until the 1940s, revealing how music publication highlighted racial discrimination, and the shifting of spiritual priorities of Adventists in the twentieth century.

Chapter 6 outlines the interconnectedness between the four leading Black and White Adventist churches considered for this study. The development of liturgical practice is detailed, revealing patterns for worship, the demonstration of power from church leadership, and the normative nature of music in the liturgy. The chapter culminates the study with an exposition of the spiritual identity of Seventh-day Adventists, as revealed by musical-liturgical practices. The shared spiritual identity of Blacks and Whites is explored, detailing the unique characteristics of both ethnicities.

Definitions

The following definitions aid the reader in knowing the scope of frequently used technical terms in this study. Clarifying conceptions prevent the bias of underlying presuppositions that may skew the research. If these definitional problems are not addressed at the forefront, one risks taking “refuge in an implicit rather than an explicit judgment of what constitutes”¹⁹ these terms.

These terms are divided into two categories. The first may be understood as the doxological, the second anthropological. Each section begins with the broader, more principled terms and moves toward the more particular. The doxological group proceeds

¹⁹ “Hidden decisions [. . .] influence the investigation.” Jack Goody, “Religion and Ritual: The Definitional Problem,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 12, no. 2 (June, 1961): 142, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/586928>.

through worship, liturgy, ritual, and music. The anthropological begins with culture, then follows through ethnicity, race, Black American, White American, and racism. Finally, spiritual identity is articulated, because it builds upon these doxological and anthropological understandings.

Doxological Definitions

Worship

In this study, we understand worship to be attitudinal homage, grateful submission, and praise, both in emotion and reason, toward God.²⁰ Worship derives from the English “worth-ship,” ascribing God’s worthiness to receive devotion as Creator-Redeemer-Lord. The *Oxford Dictionary of English* offers a concise attitudinal definition of worship as “the feeling or expression of reverence and adoration for a deity.”²¹ In contrast, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), an etymological dictionary, gives a more complex definition: “To honour or revere as a supernatural being or power, or as a holy thing; to regard or approach with veneration; to adore with appropriate acts, rites, or

²⁰ David G. Peterson defines worship to indicate a “specific bodily gesture, expressing an attitude of grateful submission, praise or homage to God.” *Engaging with God: A Biblical Theology of Worship* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 1992), 55. Thanksgiving and submission are essential aspects of worship. Etymologically, praise is redundant with worship, deriving from Latin, *pretiare*, “to appraise, value,” and Old French, *preiser*, “to value, to make a valuation of, to esteem, to attach importance to, to laud, praise, speak highly of.” *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, “praise, v.,” accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/149314?rskey=9Z99Kc&result=3>. Though coming from different origins, worship and praise share similar meanings, “to value, set a price, esteem worth.” Nonetheless, it is helpful to actually include praise in the definition of worship, for it propels the act of forth-telling the character of God. It also implicitly embraces the dual function of worship as both attitude and action. However, praise also belongs in the realm of liturgy, for praise tends toward the action spectrum rather than attitude. Praise can be feigned, a “lip service,” without any genuine worship of the heart. ““These people honor me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me” (Matt 15:8, NIV).

²¹ *Oxford Dictionary of English*, s.v. “worship,” accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/worship>.

ceremonies.”²² While the OED may seem to muddy the waters a bit with a definition that combines both attitude and action, it comes closer to the biblical concept.

The biblical semantic field for worship is broad and holistic. The most common Hebrew term for worship, occurring over 170 times in the Old Testament (OT), is *hištaḥ^awâ* (הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה), “to bow down, worship, and to prostrate oneself.”²³ The corresponding most common Greek word for worship in the New Testament (NT) is *proskuneō* (προσκυνεω), generally meaning, “to fall down to kiss the ground before a king or kiss their feet; to homage (do reverence to, adore); worship,”²⁴ to render “submission, adoration, and devotion to God.”²⁵ In the Septuagint (LXX), *hištaḥ^awâ* is translated with *proskuneō* 148 times in its 170 occurrences in the OT, highlighting the significance that both these terms tend to be understood as corporate expressions of “prostration,” “worship,” or even “obeisance.”²⁶ These primary biblical terms indicate both attitude and action of worship.

²² *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. “worship, v.,” accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/230346?rskey=4CKT8P&result=2>.

²³ Past scholarship parsed *hištaḥ^awâ* as the Hithpael of *šāḥâ* (שָׁחָה), “to bow down.” *Hištaḥ^awâ* is now understood to be Eshtaphal stem of *ḥāwâ* (חָוָה) III, “to bow down,” a Ugaritic cognate of *šāḥâ*. Edwin Yamauchi, “ḥawa,” in *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, ed. R. Laird Harris (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980), 267-69; Yamauchi, “šaḥa,” 914-15. *Šāḥâ* is also related to *šāḥaḥ* (שָׁחַח), “bow down,” and its derivative *šāḥ* (שָׁח), “low, lowly.” *Šāḥaḥ* occurs seventeen times in the OT. Victor P. Hamilton, “šaḥaḥ,” in *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, ed. R. Laird Harris (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980), 915.

²⁴ C. Maurer, “*proskuneō*,” in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament: Abridged in One Volume*, ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1988), 948-49.

²⁵ Walter Bauer, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (BDAG), 2nd ed., s.v. “*proskuneō*.”

²⁶ Yamauchi, “ḥawa,” 268.

For the purpose of distinction in this study, it is valuable to differentiate the attitude from the action of worship as separate categories. Worship indicates internal attitude, while liturgy means external action. Fernando Canale argues that one may perform liturgy but may not actually be worshiping.²⁷ Canale is correct in stating that liturgy does not constitute worship. However, the biblical terms for worship demonstrate that one cannot offer attitude without a corresponding action.

Liturgy

In the context of this study, liturgy is understood as the actions performed by Christians in their personal existential experience of corporate worship.²⁸ Liturgy may be broadly understood as both worshiping and serving,²⁹ but in this study, we will proceed with a technical or narrowed use of liturgy to refer to the actions of worship and also cultic services.³⁰ Liturgy's semantic overlap with service provides a biblical and

²⁷ "Participation in liturgical forms and ceremonies is not worship. True worship can exist without congregational liturgy." Fernando Canale, "Principles of Worship and Liturgy," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 20, no. 1 (2009).

²⁸ Raymond Holmes defines liturgy similarly: "The actions of a congregation responding in worship to Christ's total ministry, and the words it speaks, by means of which it illustrates and defines the content of its confrontation with God."

²⁹ *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (TDNT), s.v. "latreuō;" TDNT, s.v. "leitourgeō, leitourgia." Liturgy as "service" shares similarities with the other NT service words, *latreuō* (λατρεῖω) and *diakoneō* (διακονεῖω), though space in this study does not allow a deeper exposition. A complete exegetical analysis of all three service oriented words is necessary for a biblical theology of service. Hess gives a summary of the differences between the three service words: "*Leitourgeō* originally expressed voluntary service for the political community, and then priestly service in the cultus. *Latreuō* primarily stresses details of the cultus, but is then used for the inner attitude of worship. *Diakoneō* and its derivatives, as their etymology suggests, are used mainly for personal help to others." Klaus Hess, "Serve, Deacon, Worship," in *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, ed. Colin Brown, vol. Vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Regency Reference Library, 1971), 544. While each of these words carries its own theological weight, it is relevant for this present study to note that the biblical usage of *leitourgeō* and *leitourgia* incorporate much of these three related words' meanings.

³⁰ BDAG, s.v. "leitourgia." *Leitourgia*, in all its related Greek verbal and nominal forms, occurs

theological rationale for the contemporary practice of referring to corporate worship as “the Service.” Also delimiting liturgy to cultic services does not imply a Roman Catholic or other similar connection. Instead, it builds upon the excellent definition of Raymond Holmes for liturgy: “The actions of a congregation responding in worship to Christ’s total ministry [*leitourgia*; see note 30], and the words it speaks, by means of which it illustrates and defines the content of its confrontation with God.”³¹

fifteen times in the NT. I have reorganized the material here into general categories of lexical meaning, rather than the approach used by the dictionaries, which list the occurrences according to the verbal and nominal forms. Hermann Strathmann, “*leitourgeō*,” in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, vol. 4 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-1976), 226-228; Hess, “Serve, Deacon, Worship,” 552-553. Bo Reicke, “Some Reflections on Worship in the New Testament,” in *New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson, 1893-1958*, ed. A. J. B. Higgins (Manchester: The University Press, 1959), 194-195; Peterson, *Engaging with God*, 66-68. *Leitourgia* draws from both the weaker popular use in classical Greek culture and also the cultic in the LXX. Seven times it uses the popular meaning of general service to another (Rom 13:6; Rom 15:27; 2 Cor 9:12; Phil 2:25, 30; Heb 1:7, 14). This means the spiritual service to God or service to humanity according to God’s will. Two instances employ cultic language, though a spiritual or figurative interpretation is mandated (Rom 15:16; Phil. 2:17), that is, these passages use cultic language, but certainly must not mean to be taken literally. For instance, in Phil 2:17 Paul most certainly does not mean that he is literally a drink offering. Five instances of liturgy in the NT are explicitly cultic (Luke 1:23, Heb 8:2, 6; 9:21; 10:11), referring to Zechariah’s ministry at the temple and Christ’s ministry in the heavenly sanctuary. Acts 13:2 uses *leitourgountōn* in the context of a Christian gathering. It may be understood here as the “performance of Christian worship.” Marvin R. Vincent, *Word Studies in the New Testament*, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1918), 514. Such a translation unites both the terms worship and liturgy. Klaus Hess stated, “Compared with the LXX usage, [Acts 13:2] is something completely new. [. . .] Here the cultic meaning is completely spiritualized and applied to Christian worship in prayer.” Hess, “Serve, Deacon, Worship,” 552. Peterson, *Engaging with God*, 151; Reicke, “Some Reflections on Worship in the New Testament,” 195; Earnst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971), 395. Rudolf Meyer saw a total spiritualization of the concept in the sphere of cultic worship. He believed that by the time of Jesus, a “spiritualized” liturgy had become the norm through the reading of scripture and prayer at the synagogue, over and beyond the cultic liturgy at the temple. Rudolf Meyer, “*leitourgeō*,” in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, vol. vol. 4 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-1976), 219, 225. This perspective has derived from Hans Wenschkewitz, *Die Spiritualisierung der Kultus begriffe: Tempel, Priester und Opfer im Neuen Testament*, Archiv für Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte und Kulturkunde (Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer, 1932). Albert Hogeterp takes issue with Wenschkewitz, arguing that cultic imagery must not be completely spiritualized, for it was central to Jewish life. Albert L. A. Hogeterp, *Paul and God’s Temple: A Historical Interpretation of Cultic Imagery in the Corinthian Correspondence* (Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2006).

³¹ C. Raymond Holmes, *Sing a New Song: Worship Renewal for Adventists Today* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1984), 15.

The etymology of liturgy expands its semantic field. Liturgy derives from the Greek, *leitourgía* (λειτουργία), a compound word from *leitōs* (λήϊτος) “people, community” and *ergon* (ἔργον) “work”, literally meaning “the people’s work” or “the work of the people.”³² The genitive “of” is ambiguous. Liturgy may mean the work performed on behalf of the people, or the work performed by the people. While Adventists have often conceived of liturgy as formal readings and read prayers, liturgy is much more. As a public work, liturgy is a corporate, rather than individual, action. Liturgy includes the order and elements of the service, including the actions of praying, singing, reading, preaching, etc. The “Liturgy” refers to the totality of the public worship gathering. This study focuses on the Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath morning Liturgy, which is often referred to as the Service, the Divine Service, Divine Hour, the Eleven O’clock Hour, or as simply “church.”

Ritual

In this study, ritual is a liturgical activity that contains associated meaning for the worshiper.³³ Ritual pertains to the meaningful actions in liturgy that tend to create community, embed theological values, and provide the behavior through which the

³² Hess, “Serve, Deacon, Worship,” 551; Strathmann, “TDNT,” 216. The *OED* defines liturgy in two primary ways. First, “With capital initial. [‘Liturgy’, as opposed to ‘liturgy’]. The service of the Holy Eucharist: properly applied to the rite of the Eastern Churches. In liturgics, used specifically (with qualification) of the different types of Eucharistic service.” Second, “A form of public worship, especially in the Christian Church; a collection of formularies for the conduct of Divine service. Also, public worship conducted in accordance with a prescribed form.” *OED Online*, s.v. “liturgy,” accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/109293?rkey=91Czwq&result=1>.

³³ Roy E. Gane, *Cult and Character: Purification Offerings, Day of Atonement, and Theodicy* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 6-9.

congregation believes it encounters God.³⁴ For this research, ritual is delimited to the actions that take place during the weekly Sabbath corporate liturgy, as opposed to Sabbath-keeping in general or other spiritual disciplines practiced in one's private devotional life. Even still, it is helpful to understand that the weekly Sabbath morning Service takes place within the context of Sabbath-keeping in general. General Sabbath-keeping may be viewed as ritual for not only it is a weekly repeated action, but it carries rich theological significance: God hallowed it and promises blessings for its keepers (Gen 2:3); it identifies God's eschatological people (Rev 14:7); and it provides time for the cultivation of holy fellowship with others, and relationship with Jesus Christ.³⁵ Such an understanding of the Sabbath intensifies the importance of the God's people gathering together for Divine Worship on the seventh day. Contained in the weekly ritual of the Sabbath Liturgy are many other rituals, including prayer, singing, reading Scripture, and the hearing and preaching of the sermon. Each conveys meaning beyond the corporate activity of liturgy. Ritual studies open the possibility for interpreting liturgical actions, identifying embodied beliefs and values. Ritual will be discussed in greater detail in the second chapter.

Music

Music could have easily been included in the anthropological category, even considered as a subcategory of culture. Because music plays a fundamental role in

³⁴ Mark Searle, "Ritual," in *The Study of Liturgy*, ed. Cheslyn Jones et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 51-58.

³⁵ Kenneth A. Strand, "The Sabbath," in *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*, ed. Raoul Dederen (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2000), 512-14.

doxological expression, I have chosen to include it here. Nonetheless, music serves as a fitting transition between the praise of God (doxology) by humanity (anthropology).

For this study, the primary definition for music is organized sound in space and time, identifying an expression of cultural values and experience. The *OED* describes music as “the art or science of combining vocal or instrumental sounds to produce beauty of form, harmony, melody, rhythm, expressive content, etc.,” and “musical composition or performance.”³⁶ The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* expounds on the composition of music, defining it as “the science or art of ordering tones or sounds in succession, in combination, and in temporal relationships to produce a composition having unity and continuity.”³⁷ These definitions help establish an understanding of music that includes a sense of reality (space and time), order (combining tones), and beauty (expressive compositional elements viewed as pleasing).

Bruno Nettl critiques these and similar definitions as being primarily Western in perspective, saying it is also important to understand music as a domain of culture, ritual, and social organization.³⁸ In discussing musical style, Lilianne Doukhan states, “The concept of style, however, goes beyond an artist’s particular approach to composition. Style is also determined by a society or culture and its values. Music is at its very core a

³⁶ *OED Online*, s.v. “music (n. and adj.),” accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/124108?rskey=PRWtZ6&result=1&isAdvanced=false>.

³⁷ *Merriam-Webster.com*, s.v. “music,” accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/music>.

³⁸ Bruno Nettl, “Music,” in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40476>.

cultural phenomenon, a mirror of society.”³⁹ Expanding the definition of music for the organization of sound as an identifier of expression of cultural values and experience through ritual, invites non-Western music into the conversation. Black and White Americans may understand music differently. From the outset, we recognize that music goes beyond the musical score, espousing cultural aesthetics and values.

Anthropological Definitions

Culture

Scholars have struggled to define culture.⁴⁰ An understanding of culture begins by building upon the anthropological definition as given by the *Oxford English Dictionary*: “The distinctive ideas, customs, social behaviour, products, or way of life of a particular nation, society, people, or period.”⁴¹ As Clifford Geertz so poetically said, “Believing [. . .] that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs.”⁴²

The *OED* gives further background to the development of the term, in that culture derives from the Latin, *colere*, which means, “to cultivate,” but also “to worship.”⁴³ How

³⁹ Doukhan, *In Tune with God*, 19.

⁴⁰ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 76.

⁴¹ *OED Online*, s.v. “culture, n.,” accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/45746?rskey=mSpNqg&result=1&isAdvanced=false>.

⁴² Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5.

⁴³ *OED Online*, s.v. “culture: etymology,” accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/45746#eid7740441>.

can cultivation be related to worship? Richard Middleton notes that historically, a metaphorical connection has been made between the cultivation or tilling of soil and the cultivation of the mind.⁴⁴ Just as in the cultivation of soil may produce an abundant harvest, the cultivation of the mind will also yield intellectual and character development.⁴⁵ Cultivation also applies to religious worship, in which worshipers cultivate homage to a deity.⁴⁶

Worship, liturgy, and ritual belong within the larger classification of religion, which is a “cultural universal.”⁴⁷ Many definitions of religion include reference to supernatural beings.⁴⁸ However, not all religions possess a belief in the supernatural.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Richard Middleton, “Introduction: Music Studies and the Idea of Culture,” in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton (New York: Routledge, 2012), 5. However, Middleton goes further, stating that while many qualities of this metaphor continue in the contemporary understanding of culture, the term has also taken on meanings of perfection, elitism, and the equating of cultures. Cultures may have “distinctive ways of life, each embodying a national soul.” Middleton, “Introduction: Music Studies and the Idea of Culture,” 5-6.

⁴⁵ “The garden of the heart must be cultivated. The soil must be broken up by deep repentance for sin. The soil once overgrown by thorns can be reclaimed only by diligent labor. So the evil tendencies of the natural heart can be overcome only by earnest effort in the name and strength of Jesus. The Lord bids us by His prophet, “Break up you fallow ground, and sow not among thorns” [Tim 6:9, 10]. “Sow to yourselves in righteousness; reap in mercy” [Jer 4:3; Hos 10:12]. This work he desires to accomplish for us, and He asks us to co-operate with Him.” Ellen G. White, *Christ’s Object Lessons* (Berrien Springs, MI: The College Press, 1900), 56.

⁴⁶ *OED Online*, s.v. “cult,” accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/45709?rskey=CebsY8&result=1>.

⁴⁷ “It consists of beliefs and behavior concerned with supernatural beings, powers, and forces. Cross-cultural studies have revealed many expressions and functions of religion.” Conrad P. Kottak, *Cultural Anthropology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 307. “Religion is found in all societies because it meets universal (social and psychological) needs.” Stephen A. Grunlan and Marvin K. Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology: A Christian Perspective*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Academie Books, 1988), 222.

⁴⁸ “Religion is a worldview in which people personify cosmic forces and devise ways to deal with them in ways that resemble the way they deal with powerful people in their society.” Robert Lavenda and Emily Schultz, *Core Concepts in Anthropology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2003), 68.

⁴⁹ Brian M. Howell and Jenell W. Paris, *Introducing Cultural Anthropology: A Christian Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 176. Geertz gives a broad definition of religion that

Perhaps it is best to understand religion broadly as the “shared beliefs and practices of a society” which in turn shape the “doctrines and rituals of the religion.”⁵⁰ Building upon these truisms, the systematic theologian Norman Gulley places worship and culture together, stating:

Humans are worshipers. This stems from their creation by God (Gen. 1:26-31; 2:7, 20-25). They were made for God. If they do not worship God, they will worship something else. This is why religion is found in every culture, however primitive or advanced. Humans are designed to seek a center to life in order to give it meaning and security.⁵¹

Gulley echoes the reasoning of Augustine: “Humanity, which is but a part of your creation, longs to praise you. You inspire us to take delight in praising you, for you have made us for yourself, and our hearts are restless until they rest in you.”⁵² Furthermore, Gulley follows the cultural-anthropological view of religion, in which worship and its object will be culturally universal, even when belief in the supernatural is absent. For example, fans of the National Football League may manifest all the types of rituals like as in Christian worship, but instead replace God with the pigskin and the players, churches for stadiums, vestments for apparel, the Eucharist with hot dogs and beer, and singing for

allows for these possibilities. Religion is “a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.” Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 90.

⁵⁰ Grunlan and Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology*, 220.

⁵¹ Norman R. Gulley, *Systematic Theology: Prolegomena* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2003), 482.

⁵² “Et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te.” Augustine, *Confessions: Books 1-8*, trans. Carolyn J.-B. Hammond, Loeb Classical Library, ed. Jeffrey Henderson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 1.1.

cheering.⁵³ The National Football League even has its own communion of saints called the Hall of Fame. Cultural anthropology adds credence to the view that worship is a transcultural phenomenon.

And yet, worship is also contextual to a given culture.⁵⁴ Culture encapsulates the shared values, actions, and experience of a group of people. “Worship is a social act, embedded in cultures and societies, rather than an individual alone.”⁵⁵ Worship and music styles reflect a given culture. Contextualized manifestations of worship music reveal implicit meaning within specific cultural worship settings.

In this study, culture is understood broadly, encapsulating these anthropological, etymological, musicological and doxological associations.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is “the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition.”⁵⁶ In addition, ethnicity derives from commonalities in language, religion, history, geography, kinship, race, tools, socialization practices, music,

⁵³ Juan M. Floyd-Thomas, Stacey M. Floyd-Thomas, and Mark G. Toulouse, *The Altars Where We Worship: The Religious Significance of Popular Culture* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2016), 150.

⁵⁴ The Lutheran World Federation put forth a leading statement on worship and culture in 2006. In it, four modes of the dynamic relationship between worship and culture are given: transcultural, contextual, counter-cultural, and cross-cultural. In this definition of culture, I draw from two: transcultural and contextual. Lutheran World Federation’s Study Team on Worship and Culture, “Nairobi Statement on Worship and Culture: Contemporary Challenges and Opportunities,” *Let’s Talk: Living Theology in the Metropolitan Chicago Synod*, no. 10.2, *Worship and Culture* (Winter 2006), accessed December 14, 2017, <http://mcsletstalk.org/worship-and-culture/nairobi-statement-on-worship-and-culture/>.

⁵⁵ Charles E. Farhadian, ed. *Christian Worship Worldwide: Expanding Horizons, Deepening Practices* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2007), x.

⁵⁶ *Oxford Dictionary of English*, s.v. “ethnicity,” accessed December 14, 2017, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/ethnicity.

and other elements.⁵⁷ Ethnic classification defines boundaries and maintains authentic “traces” of identity,⁵⁸ thereby creating ethnic groups that “share a common culture” and a “common identity.”⁵⁹ Ethnic often connotes “Other” or “minority,” and therefore within the context of North America does not usually refer to “White.”⁶⁰ However, as Miles and Brown point out, the “Other” developed out of the Greco-Roman world, where Greek was not ethnic, because it was not the “Other.”⁶¹ Today, Greek is an ethnicity. Then it was Greek versus everything else. As a result of American history, today it is White versus everything else. In this historical context, therefore, I recognize Whiteness as an ethnicity,⁶² just as any other, for there are common cultural traditions and worldviews that create this identity.

⁵⁷ Howard F. Taylor, “Defining Race,” in *Race and Ethnicity in Society: The Changing Landscape*, ed. Elizabeth Higginbotham and Margaret L. Anderson (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2012), 10; Kottak, *Cultural Anthropology*, 113; Victor Anderson, *Beyond Ontological Blackness: An Essay on African American Religious and Cultural Criticism* (New York: Continuum, 1995), 12.

⁵⁸ Martin Stokes, “Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music,” in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. Martin Stokes, Berg Ethnic Identities Series (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1994), 6.

⁵⁹ Taylor, “Defining Race,” 10.

⁶⁰ Robert Miles and Malcolm Brown, *Racism*, Key Ideas, ed. Peter Hamilton (New York: Routledge, 2003), 93.

⁶¹ Miles and Brown, *Racism*, 22-26, 101-102.

⁶² White ethnicity includes many ethnicities that look “white.” It is not limited to one country of origin or one culture. Paula Harris and Doug Schaupp, *Being White: Finding Our Place in a Multiethnic World* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 14.

Race

All people belong to one human race, by God’s creation.⁶³ However, in the American experience, race may be understood as a “social construction” of “how people see each other, how they define their own identity, and how they are situated within a social order,” as a result of which they are “treated as distinct in society because of perceived characteristics that have been defined as signifying superiority or inferiority.”⁶⁴ As a result, race may be viewed as a cultural category.⁶⁵ Race is used for “*identification*—for example, to place individuals into demographic groups for various purposes—and as *identity*—the meaning individuals and groups ascribe to membership in racial categories.”⁶⁶ Identification may be assigned by physical appearance, such as skin color. A biological definition is arbitrary at best, failing to capture the breadth and depth of one’s racial identity.

Race is often perceived to be based on “physical appearance (skin color, hair color and texture, facial features).”⁶⁷ In the past, race was understood to be based upon

⁶³ Dave Unander, *Shattering the Myth of Race: Genetic Realities and Biblical Truths* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 2000), xvi, 8, 100.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth Higginbotham and Margaret L. Anderson, “The Social Construction of Race and Ethnicity,” in *Race and Ethnicity in Society: The Changing Landscape*, ed. Elizabeth Higginbotham and Margaret L. Anderson (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2012), 3-4.

⁶⁵ Kottak, *Cultural Anthropology*, 113, 138. “What is important about race is not biological difference, but the different ways groups of people have been treated in society.” Higginbotham and Anderson, “The Social Construction of Race and Ethnicity,” 3.

⁶⁶ Kristen A. Renn, “Creating and Re-Creating Race: The Emergence of Racial Identity as a Critical Element in Psychological, Sociological, and Ecological Perspectives on Human Development,” in *New Perspectives on Racial Identity Development: Integrating Emerging Frameworks*, ed. Charmaine L. Wijeyesinghe and Bailey W. Jackson III (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 11.

⁶⁷ Renn, “Creating and Re-Creating Race,” 11. Michael Banton and Jonathan Harwood give a history of the term in *The Race Concept* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975). For a history of racial theory in the century leading up to the beginning of Adventism, see Hannah F. Augstein, ed. *Race: The*

biological distinctions, though today this is widely discredited. Genetic studies indicate that “most physical variation, about 94%, lies within so-called racial groups.

Conventional geographic ‘racial’ groupings differ from one another only in about 6% of their genes. This means that there is greater variation within ‘racial’ groups than between them.”⁶⁸ These genetic findings suggest a common human race lineage to Adam and Eve, rather than the concept of separate biological races.

Concepts of race vary across societies and through time, further stressing that race is an arbitrarily defined social construction.⁶⁹ Nikki Khanna indicates that “blackness” in the United States is based on the “one drop rule” legislated in various forms, meaning that if a person has just one drop of African blood, then that person is legally Black.⁷⁰ For example, a racially mixed child born to one Black parent and one White parent will be perceived by White American culture as Black.⁷¹ There are countless shades of color in the United States. The one drop rule necessitates that these individuals be labeled,

Origins of an Idea, 1760–1850, ed. Andrew Pyle, Key Issues (Bristol, England: Thoemmes Press, 1996). Lee Baker explores the concept of race as it pertains to American society and the quest for racial equality for African Americans, specifically during the research period of this study: Lee D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998).

⁶⁸ Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association, “Statement on Race,” (May 17, 1998), 1, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.americananthro.org/ConnectWithAAA/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=2583>.

⁶⁹ Miles and Brown, *Racism*, 19-53; Abby L. Ferber, *Planting the Seed: The Invention of Race* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2012), 24-27.

⁷⁰ In the United Kingdom, blackness is any non-White. Brazil bases blackness on physical appearance, not ancestry, with several descriptors of skin color. Nikki Khanna, *Biracial in America: Forming and Performing Racial Identity* (New York: Lexington Books, 2011), ix-xi.

⁷¹ Similarly, a child of African American descent could be raised in a Caucasian home. Her entire culture would be White, even though her biology reveals a different skin color. She would identify as White, though society would perceive her as Black. Kottak, *Cultural Anthropology*, 139.

“Black” if they contain any African heritage. Notable Blacks in American history have had mixed ancestry of both Black and White, including Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Malcom X, Martin Luther King Jr., and even the 44th President of the United States, Barack Obama.⁷² Obama’s “Black” presidency highlights the arbitrariness of race based on physicality alone. He can just as easily be labeled White or Asian as he is Black.⁷³ The major victory of his election for race, and in particular for African Americans, was not because a one-drop-Black-American was elected, but that one was elected who shared the characteristics, values, and experience of Black (and Asian) America.

The arbitrary nature of racial categorization does not eliminate the need for terms such as Black and White. On the contrary, it requires them. Because race is based on social constructions which construct identity, utilizing these terms will enable us to speak broadly about these racial groups. Black and White are capitalized, as is the case with similar ethno-socio-cultural adjectives like English, Spanish, and Jewish. Khanna states that “the categories black and white are mere illusions [. . .] because [. . .] the illusion of race has taken on a life of its own. We continually create it and re-create it in our social lives, and in doing so, we give it meaning. Put another way, race itself may not be real, but prejudice, discrimination, and racism are.”⁷⁴ While these categories may be mere

⁷² Khanna, *Biracial in America*, x.

⁷³ Michael Omi and Taeku Lee, “Barack Like Me: Our First Asian American President,” in *Race and Ethnicity in Society*, ed. Elizabeth Higginbotham and Margaret L. Andersen (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2012), 139.

⁷⁴ Khanna, *Biracial in America*, xi; Howard Winant, *Racial Conditions: Politics, Theory, Comparisons* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 21.

illusions within the human race, being perceived as Black or White makes these racial categories a real experience—just as much today as in the days of Jim Crow.

Race does matter—and it matters a lot—in education, in workplaces, in [religious] communities, in health care systems, in courts and policing, in everyday interactions, and in our identities, complex as those might be because of the multiple social locations in which people’s identities emerge.⁷⁵

Race matters, because whether it is perceived or real, it shapes identity, even contributing to one’s spiritual identity. Therefore, in this study, the races of Black and White must be understood as broad social classifications. We will now turn to these turns for further definition and exploration.

Black/African American

My primary term for persons of African descent in the United States is Black American. Based on the discussion of race, blackness encompasses a particular societal and cultural identity that includes ancestry to slavery, the experience of oppression by the hands of Whites, soul religion, and the quest for freedom. Many terms have been used, such as, Negro, Afro-American, Colored, Black, African-American, and African American. Today, African American tends to be preferred, without the use of the hyphen, though this practice is not universal.⁷⁶ In this study, African American will be used

⁷⁵ Higginbotham and Anderson, “Preface,” x.

⁷⁶ It seems that the use of African American began in prominence in the 2000s, though its use can be seen in the 1990s. African-American tended to be the practice in earlier studies, while some have perpetuated its use in the 2000s. Grammatically speaking, African American would be the proper term when African is the single adjective. African-American would be correct when the hyphenated term is used jointly as an adjective, as in African-American religion. However, due to anecdotal conversations with Black persons stating, “I am not a hyphenated American!” as well as the recent academic trends, I choose to use the term African American, without the hyphen. I do not seek to perpetuate the shame-based culture of hyphenating other fellow Americans, implying they are not enough or somehow lesser Americans than any other people group. The following are prominent works that adopt the contemporary term, in

infrequently, so as to emphasize race (Black), rather than ancestry.⁷⁷ In direct quotations the term in the source will be used, such as “colored” or “negro.” Further nuance may be observed in the fact that West Indians of African heritage do not view themselves as African American, but Afro-Caribbean,⁷⁸ even when currently living in the United States, Europe, or elsewhere. It is also important to note that African ethnicity is different from being African American. While these do not share the same ethnicity as African

chronological order, beginning with the oldest first: C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990); Milton C. Sernett, *African American Religious History: A Documentary Witness*, 2nd ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Melva Costen shifted her terminology to African American in Costen, *In Spirit and in Truth: The Music of African American Worship*; Michael Battle, *The Black Church in America: African American Christian Spirituality* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006); William T. Dargan, *Lining Out the Word: Dr. Watts Hymn Singing in the Music of Black Americans* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006); Jones, *Humphrey*; Melva Wilson Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, updated ed. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2007); Samuel G. London, Jr., *Seventh-day Adventists and the Civil Rights Movement* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2009); Jason E. Shelton and Michael O. Emerson, *Blacks and Whites in Christian America: How Racial Discrimination Shapes Religious Convictions* (New York: New York University Press, 2012); Gerardo Marti, *Worship across the Racial Divide: Religious Music and the Multiracial Congregation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). A selection of prominent works demonstrates the older practice of using African-American: James H. Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969); Raboteau, *Slave Religion*; Jon Michael Spencer, *Protest and Praise: Sacred Music of Black Religion* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990); in the 1990s, Melva Costen used the older term, see Melva Wilson Costen and Darius Leander Swann, eds., *The Black Christian Worship Experience*, Black Church Scholars Series (Atlanta: The Interdenominational Theological Center Press, 1992); Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Norton, 1997); Timothy E. Fulop and Albert J. Raboteau, eds., *African-American Religion: Interpretive Essays in History and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Maynard-Reid, *Diverse Worship*; Flora Wilson Bridges, *Resurrection Song: African-American Spirituality*, The Bishop Henry McNeal Turner/Sojourner Truth Series in Black Religion, ed. Dwight N. Hopkins (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001); Ronald Radano, *Lying Up a Nation: Race and Black Music* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003); Scott Haldeman, *Towards Liturgies that Reconcile: Race and Ritual among African-American and European-American Protestants*, Liturgy, Worship and Society, ed. Dave Leal et al. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007); Mark A. Noll, *God and Race in American Politics: A Short History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).

⁷⁷ “Given the centuries of mixing among Africans, Europeans, and the indigenous populations of the Americas, the majority of people labeled monoracial are likely multiracial. In fact, approximately 6 percent of all ‘whites’ have some black ancestry, and an estimated 75 to 90 percent of American ‘blacks’ have non-black ancestry.” Khanna, *Biracial in America*, xii.

⁷⁸ Jones, *Humphrey*, 197, notes 3 and 4.

Americans, they do share what it means to be Black and experience discrimination due to their skin color. But these other ethnicities do not share the Black American experience that is unique to those of the African diaspora with a slave heritage in the United States. Though subtle, these distinctions are important, and are seen to play a significant role in the development of the Black leadership and diverse ideologies among Black ethnic groups.

White/European American

In this study, the term White American refers to those persons of fair or white skin color, living in the United States, with ancestry from Europe. Many have experienced White benefit (and privilege),⁷⁹ and likely possess the deeply ingrained thinking and acting of overt and/or silent racism and microaggressions.⁸⁰ Caucasian and

⁷⁹ “Privileges are the economic extras that those of us who are middle-class and wealthy gain at the expense of poor and working-class people of all races. Benefits, on the other hand, are the advantages that all white people gain at the expense of people of color regardless of economic position.” These benefits include, but are not limited to: police protection, housing, and education. “It is not that white Americans have not worked hard and built much. We have. But we did not start out from scratch. We went to segregated schools and universities built with public money. We received school loans, Veterans Administration (VA) loans, housing and auto loans unavailable to people of color. We received federal jobs, apprenticeships and training when only whites were allowed.” Paul Kivel, *Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice*, 3rd rev. and expanded ed. (Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers, 2011), 31-33; Naomi Zack, *White Privilege and Black Rights: The Injustice of U. S. Police Racial Profiling and Homicide* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 3-4; Harris and Schaupp, *Being White: Finding Our Place in a Multiethnic World*, 15.

⁸⁰ Harry Singleton argues that White “racist ideology masquerad[es] as Christian faith!” Harry H. Singleton, III, *White Religion and Black Humanity* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2012), ix. Overt racism is obvious outward modes of systemic oppression based on skin color. An example of this would a Black lynching by White supremacists, such as the Klu Klux Klan. Just as malicious, though often undetected, is silent racism. A “cultural phenomenon,” silent racism is the “unspoken negative thoughts, emotions, and assumptions about black Americans that dwell in the minds of white Americans, including well-meaning whites that care about racial equality.” It is unspoken, and “fuel[s] everyday racism and other racist action.” Not all Whites are affected in the same way, but “all whites are infected.” Barbara Trepagnier, *Silent Racism: How Well-Meaning White People Perpetuate the Racial Divide*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2010), 15; Terrance MacMullan, *Habits of Whiteness: A Pragmatist Reconstruction* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009), 170. Silent racism provides the cultural basis for microaggressions. Microaggressions are “brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating

European American have both been used in the past and in the contemporary literature, however both have their shortcomings. Both of these terms must be addressed.

Caucasian is actually a misnomer, being a title given by Johann Friedrich Blumenbach to the “white” race of humanity, deriving from the region of Caucasus, a mountain range between the Black Sea and the Caspian in Southeast Europe.⁸¹ Though he originated the term from the Eastern European and Russian region, Blumenbach understood the “first variety” of Caucasian to “belong to the inhabitants of Europe.”⁸² Though he believed in monogenesis, he nevertheless created five classifications of human races: Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay. He ranked them according to a scale degree from the European, one which is said to be “better and preferable to another.”⁸³ He believed the Caucasian had “that kind of appearance which, according to our opinion of symmetry, we consider most handsome and becoming.”⁸⁴

messages to certain individuals because of their group membership.” Derald Wing Sue, *Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2010), xvi. Though corporate worship should be a safe place of solace, spiritual practices may “stem from a faith community perpetrating . . . microaggressions,” becoming “more harmful than helpful.” “Whether it is liturgical language, music, art, architecture, or the visual components often overlooked in liturgy, worship has the power to affirm or exclude.” Cody J. Sanders and Angela Yarber, *Microaggressions in Ministry: Confronting the Hidden Violence of Everyday Church* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2015), 125, 128-129.

⁸¹ *OED Online*, s.v. “Caucasian,” accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/29052?redirectedFrom=caucasian>. Blumenbach first published *On the Natural Variety of Mankind* in 1775. In 1795, he introduced the term, “Caucasian.” Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, “On the Natural Variety of Man [1795],” in *The Idea of Race*, ed. Robert Bernasconi and Tommy L. Lott (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 2000), 27.

⁸² Blumenbach, “Natural Variety of Man,” 28.

⁸³ Blumenbach, “Natural Variety of Man,” 27-28.

⁸⁴ Blumenbach, “Natural Variety of Man,” 28. Abby Ferber comments that this attractive quality referred to Blumenbach’s belief that this region “produced the world’s most beautiful women.” Ferber, *Planting the Seed*, 25.

Abby Ferber states that Blumenbach planted the seed of making judgments about race based upon aesthetics. This value would become widespread, resulting in “the history of racial categorizations [becoming] intertwined with the history of racism.”⁸⁵ Given this history, advocating the use of Caucasian becomes untenable.

I prefer the term White American, for it encapsulates the White racial experience in the United States.⁸⁶ European American helps articulate the ancestry for many Americans, as in the case with African American. This ancestry includes biological heritage, but more importantly, the seed thought of racism. When speaking about liturgical, cultural, or ideological traditions originating in Europe, I will use the term European American.

Even though antecedents of thought and practice came from Europe, the American continent has developed its own history and culture that deserves nuancing. First, when tracing the development of music and liturgical history, much of Adventist history has little to do directly with Europe, but rather the unique characteristics of nineteenth and twentieth century America. Therefore, suggesting that White liturgical and musical practices are European imposes a false historical continuity. I will seek to argue that much of the liturgical and musical practice in Adventism is an American development. Second, race relations in the United States are unique.⁸⁷ The importation of

⁸⁵ Blumenbach, “Natural Variety of Man,” 25.

⁸⁶ As a White American, I have lived in both Europe and the United States, I can positively state that my personal experience and culture is indigenous to the United States, not Europe. My race is not European, it is White American, though I do love European pastries and pipe organs. In addition, Ethel Bradford, the wife of Charles Bradford, has told me that have “soul,” an indication that I possess some blackness in me, too.

⁸⁷ While the United States’ problem with racism is unique, many other societies with a White

Black slaves to Brazil and the Caribbean greatly exceeded the number brought to North America.⁸⁸ Though North America did not have as many slaves, the concentration of slaves in the South, particularly by the end of the eighteenth century, and coupled with the numerous racial laws in the early colonies—and even the US Constitution—have contributed to the unparalleled racial problem that now faces the United States. I will give more discussion to the racial laws in the United States in chapters three and five. Therefore, casting the discussion in the light of race (Black and White) may show to be more helpful in drawing out beliefs and values, than making the discussions about ancestry (African American and European American).

Racism

“It is one of the penalties of toying with the race-notion that even a strong mind trying to repudiate it will find himself making assumptions and passing judgments on the basis of the theory he disclaims.”⁸⁹

majority have followed “similar patterns of racism against people of color,” such as in Great Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Australia, and New Zealand. Kivel, *Uprooting Racism*, xxiii.

⁸⁸ Between 1492 and 1867, Europeans brought at least 10 million Africans to the Americas. Brazil likely had up to ten times as many African slaves as did North America. The Caribbean had up to six times as many. Nell Irvin Painter, *Creating Black Americans: African-American History and Its Meanings, 1619 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 32-34. Raboteau indicates that the United States’ slave population witnessed an “amazing” “rate of natural increase” unparalleled by other regions. By 1865, United States slaves numbered four times that which had originally been imported. In contrast, many of the other regions experienced such an extreme decimation of life, with numbers dropping to half or even a third of that which had originally been brought across the Atlantic. In addition, he argues that the climate and brutality of slaveholders, as well as greed toward an efficient male workforce, contributed to the high mortality rate among slaves outside the United States. Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 90-92.

⁸⁹ Jacques Barzun, *Race: A Study in Superstition* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 29-30.

Defining race and racism is challenging due to the ever-changing paradigms, theories, politics,⁹⁰ and racially-based definitions.⁹¹ It also poses difficulty and risk, as it exposes my own biases, assumptions, and covert beliefs of racism.

History of the Term

Racism is bound with the history of the concept of race. Robert Miles and Malcolm Brown discuss racism as a dialectic process of representing Self and the Other. This discourse of race is used to exclude and inferiorise the Other and include and superiorise the Self. Racism, and particularly the representations of the Other based on somatic features, can neither be limited to nor originating from Europe and the colonial context, for it dates back not only to European Christianity, but to Greco-Roman times.⁹²

The term, racism, is relatively new. The *OED* only gives the earliest instance of “racism” dating to 1903.⁹³ Miles and Brown indicate that racism arose out of two processes. The first was the so-called scientific evidence of biological races. The second was the reaction to the rise of Nazism and their identification of Jews as an inferior race, based in part by the scientific “race” idea.⁹⁴ In reaction to the Second World War, and its aftermath, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

⁹⁰ Miles and Brown, *Racism*, 3-18.

⁹¹ “White Americans and people of color in this country differ significantly in their definitions of racism.” Trepagnier, *Silent Racism*, 3.

⁹² Miles and Brown, *Racism*, 19, 50-53.

⁹³ *OED Online*, s.v. “racism: etymology,” accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/157097?redirectedFrom=racism#eid>.

⁹⁴ Miles and Brown, *Racism*, 59.

(UNESCO) issued a normative statement in 1951 stating that race was determined by biological differences. It also noted, however, that “some biological differences between human beings within a single race may be as great as, or greater than, the same biological differences between races.”⁹⁵ Racial theory based on biology perpetuated through the twentieth century, even though the horror of it had culminated in the genocide of Jews by Hitler’s regime.⁹⁶ These views became normative, even though anthropology and science would refute them.

Even prior to the twentieth century, in fact, the entire history of the United States had already been defined by race. Sherrow Pinder notes that “America’s commitment to ‘whiteness’ started with the arrival of the colonists who sought to view First Nations and Blacks as physically different from themselves. In fact, skin color became the early form of America’s racism.”⁹⁷ She continues, saying it was “not an accident” that the 1790 Naturalization Act excluded all non-Whites from citizenship. Over the next hundred years, American life became a racial hierarchy of “ontological complexities,” for the “victimization endemic” was based upon non-being versus being, non-White in relation to “whiteness.” Pinder defines whiteness as “a system of domination that upholds a white

⁹⁵ UNESCO, “Statement on the Nature of Race and Racial Differences,” in *The Race Concept: Results of an Inquiry*, ed. UNESCO, The Race Question in Modern Science (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1952), 15; Margaret Mead et al., eds., *Science and the Concept of Race* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968).

⁹⁶ Gretchen E. Schafft, *From Racism to Genocide: Anthropology in the Third Reich* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

⁹⁷ Sherrow O. Pinder, *Whiteness and Racialized Ethnic Groups in the United States: The Politics of Remembering* (New York: Lexington Books, 2012), ix.

identity as an essential something.”⁹⁸ Barbara Trepagnier notes that most Whites think in terms of “racist” and “not-racist” categories, while neglecting to acknowledge institutional racism, and worse, silent racism which may be found in everyday acts of racism that “uphold the racial status quo.”⁹⁹

Racism Defined

In this study we will adopt the definition of racism, as succinctly stated by Paul Kivel: “Racism is the institutionalization of social injustice based on skin color, other physical characteristics and cultural and religious difference.”¹⁰⁰ Due to the specific dynamics between Blacks and Whites in this present study, Kivel’s refined definition toward White racism is essential: “White racism is the uneven and unfair distribution of power, privilege, land and material goods favoring white people. [. . .] White racism is a system in which people of color as a group are exploited and oppressed by white people as a group.”¹⁰¹

Attitudes and Effects

In her Masters Thesis, Kessia Reyne Bennett articulates the dynamic nature of racism by distinguishing between racist attitudes and racial discrimination: “Racist

⁹⁸ Pinder, *Whiteness and Racialized Ethnic Groups*, ix.

⁹⁹ Trepagnier, *Silent Racism*, 3.

¹⁰⁰ Kivel, *Uprooting Racism*, 2. The *OED* gives a similar definition of racism: “A belief that one’s own racial or ethnic group is superior, or that other such groups represent a threat to one’s cultural identity, racial integrity, or economic well-being; (also) a belief that the members of different racial or ethnic groups possess specific characteristics, abilities, or qualities, which can be compared and evaluated.” *OED Online*, s.v. “racism.”

¹⁰¹ Kivel, *Uprooting Racism*, 2.

attitudes are held by those that believe that one race is inherently superior to another; racial discrimination is any action or policy which relates to people differently on the basis of their race, that is, it is unfair treatment of one racial group over another.”¹⁰²

Attitudes spill over into effects. The effects of racism¹⁰³ include prejudice,¹⁰⁴ discrimination,¹⁰⁵ White supremacy,¹⁰⁶ and White proscription.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Kessia Reyne Bennett, “Resistance and Accommodation to Racism among Early Seventh-day Adventist Missionaries in the American South: A Case Study on Relating to Oppressive Cultural Practices in Missions” (Master's thesis, Andrews University, 2011), 3.

¹⁰³ The *OED* concludes its definition of racism with its effects: “Hence: prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism directed against people of other racial or ethnic groups (or, more widely, of other nationalities), esp. based on such beliefs.”

¹⁰⁴ Prejudice “fuels further acts of violence toward people of color.” Kivel, *Uprooting Racism*, 2. Thomas Pettigrew defines prejudice as an “irrationally based, negative attitudes against certain ethnic groups and their members.” He continues, indicating that prejudice is “value-laden,” for it is perceived to be “bad” and “wrong.” “Prejudiced attitudes violate two basic norms, one cognitive and the other affective—the norm of rationality” and “the norm of human-heartedness.” Thomas F. Pettigrew, “Prejudice,” in *Prejudice: Dimensions of Ethnicity*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom, A Series of Selections from the Harvard Encyclopedia of American ethnic Groups (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1982), 2.

¹⁰⁵ The *OED* defines discrimination as the “unjust or prejudicial treatment of a person or group, especially on the grounds of race, gender, sexual orientation, etc.” *OED Online*, s.v. “discrimination,” accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/54060?redirectedFrom=discrimination>. Shelton and Emerson contend that racial discrimination, “the dynamics of race-based oppression and privilege,” has significantly contributed to the varying degrees of “religious sensibilities” between Blacks and Whites in the United States. Shelton and Emerson, *Blacks and Whites*, 21.

¹⁰⁶ White supremacy parallels the definition of White racism: “A social system based on or perpetuating the political, economic, and cultural dominance of white people.” *OED Online*, s.v. “white supremacy,” accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/421025?redirectedFrom=white+supremacy>.

¹⁰⁷ White proscription is therefore a conscious exclusion by Whites towards Blacks regarding positions of power. William B. Gravelly, “The Rise of African Churches in America, 1786–1822,” in *African-American Religion: Interpretive Essays in History and Culture*, ed. Timothy E. Fulop and Albert J. Raboteau (New York: Routledge, 1997), 136.

Definition of Spiritual Identity

Spirituality is the totality of the religious life.¹⁰⁸ As Geoffrey Wainwright stated, spirituality is “the combination of praying and living.”¹⁰⁹ Many factors influence spirituality and help shape spiritual identity. Within the liturgy, such elements may include the place, architecture, apparel, art, ceremonies or rites, and music. It may also be formed through the reading and study of Scripture, personal prayer, and even one’s way of life.¹¹⁰ This research focuses on the use of music in the rites of the liturgy as playing a significant role in spirituality. Edward Yarnold says, “Liturgical music can express a spirituality of sober restraint (German chorales), a sweet sentimentality, an otherworldly peace (Gregorian chant), or contact with the secular (liturgical folk music). The choice of instrument—organ or guitar?—can likewise represent a choice of spiritualities.”¹¹¹ These musical-liturgical practices help shape the spirituality of the worshiper. The worshiper takes these practices and in turn applies them in the personal life of devotion. In turn, the personal life is brought back to the corporate, and a cycle ensues.

Because this study also examines race as it relates to worship, this study seeks to see how identity is expressed and experienced through spirituality. As James Cone notes, “black worship is not derived primarily from [Catholic or Protestant] theological and

¹⁰⁸ A “function of religion is identification. It tells us who we are.” Grunlan and Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology*, 225.

¹⁰⁹ Geoffrey Wainwright, “Types of Spirituality,” in *The Study of Spirituality*, ed. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 592.

¹¹⁰ Edward Yarnold, “Media of Spirituality,” in *The Study of Spirituality*, ed. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 39-43.

¹¹¹ Yarnold, “Media of Spirituality,” 39.

historical traditions,” but rather from the Black experience.¹¹² That experience is “rooted in slavery, suffering, active critical engagement with authoritative power, and overcoming,” and comprise the “black sacred cosmos.”¹¹³

The question is not about spirituality alone, but spiritual identity. Spiritual identity may therefore be understood as the beliefs and values that make up the entire religious life, as shaped by history, culture, music, Scripture, and personal experience. This study will not fully articulate a Black and White Adventist spiritual identity. Rather, this study seeks to explore spiritual identity as derived from music in the liturgy.

¹¹² James Cone, “Black Worship,” in *The Study of Spirituality*, ed. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 481.

¹¹³ Shelton and Emerson, *Blacks and Whites*, 47.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY: WORSHIP MUSIC AS SPIRITUAL IDENTITY

The Challenge of Liturgical Historiography

Setting out to write a history of the spiritual identity of Black and White Seventh-day Adventists in the United States, as experienced through music in the liturgy, poses many challenges.¹ The passing of time has silenced important voices. Culture and society have witnessed significant shifts. Adventist theology has developed from the 1840s until today, and Adventist liturgical traditions have morphed from a simple American revivalistic order of worship to, in some cases, very elaborate liturgical structures. Presuppositions about why we do what we do in worship have either changed or been forgotten. It becomes critical, therefore, that great care be given to the historiography of the church's liturgical practices of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and that the liturgical practices be represented accurately. In this chapter, I seek to devise a methodology through which liturgical practices can be studied, in order to explore the historical spiritual identity of the Black and White Adventist communities. The purpose

¹ As a White American male, I recognize my own shortcomings and inherent biases in worship, music, and race. I make no claims as to being an expert or knowing Black worship from the Black American experience. As such, I rely on the experience and expressions of those I interviewed to inform both my investigation and conclusions. I am also indebted to my former graduate assistant of two years, Dorhel Davis. As a female African American who attended Oakwood University and is my same age, she afforded me countless candid conversations about race, music, and worship.

of this methodology is to provide justification for the thesis, that music in the liturgy contributes to the shaping, modifying, and establishing spiritual identity.

Quentin Skinner, one of the leading figures of the Cambridge School of intellectual historians, said that historiography must begin by “seeing things their way”:

[W]e need to make it one of our principal tasks to situate the texts we study within such intellectual contexts as enable us to make sense of what their authors were doing in writing them. My aspiration is not of course to enter into the thought-processes of long-dead thinkers; it is simply to use the ordinary techniques of historical enquiry to grasp their concepts, to follow their distinctions, to appreciate their beliefs and, so far as possible, to see things their way.²

Historiography always ought to accurately represent intellectual history.

However, liturgical history is not merely intellectual history. No “long-dead thinkers” provide texts for examination of a twentieth-century Seventh-day Adventist historical theology of worship or music.³ Liturgy, of which worship music is a part, does not function like this. The worship of common people is earthy, organic, and too proto-theological to see things their way. That is not to say that worshipers are primitive, but that many worshipers often do not give disciplined theological reflection upon their religious practices. Most worshipers are not trained in theological thinking, but rather, are trained in theological doing, embodying theology in the way they worship. If they have not reflected, then how can we see things their way? It becomes apparent, and all too

² Quentin Skinner, *Regarding Method, Visions of Politics*, vol. 1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3; Alister Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory, eds., *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 2.

³ Except, perhaps, Ellen G. White, though even her writings only give her perspective on worship and music. Her writings in no way represent the actual lived worship and corresponding beliefs of the church in every local context. She left a formative, at times even normative legacy for Adventist worship, parts of which will be addressed in Chapter 4.

soon in this study, that more than the typical methods of church history must be used in writing a liturgical history and derived theology.

This chapter provides an overarching rationale for this study. It reflects on the complex, but essential, methodology for finding meaning in music used for corporate worship. Many factors must be considered in order to rightly elucidate an accurate understanding of the historical, cultural, political, liturgical contexts of music in corporate Adventist worship. More significant and challenging, however, is comprehending how music can possess meaning and convey theology in word, sound, and action: worship music as theology.

I am arguing that music making should be conceived *as* theology, not simply having a theology in the lyrics. Often when speaking of the theology of music, one turns to the text of the music, as in the Trinitarian text of the Doxology:

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow;
Praise Him, all creatures here below;
Praise Him above, ye heavenly host;
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.⁴

In addition to examining the theology of song text, this study seeks the meaning of the historically-culturally-liturgically embedded meaning in the music itself. Making music in Christian liturgy embodies and conveys a theology, beyond words, even in sound and action. It is a way of theologizing, a doing of theology that, in its essence, is as valid as that done by the academic theologian in his ivory tower. Viewing worship music as theology may be even more natural and organic than the rigid confines of systematic

⁴ Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal (SDAH) 694.

theology, providing a more accurate source for historical theology than the countless theoretical-theological writings by long-dead thinkers. A theologian may suggest what ought to be believed, but liturgy manifests what is actually believed by the theological practitioners of worship in the assembly. Liturgical music thus represents embodied spiritual identity, the beliefs and values that make up the entire religious life. This methodology centers on worship music's manifest liturgical theology as an expression of spiritual identity.

In this chapter, several disciplines must be utilized in order to construct a methodology for deriving spiritual identity from music in the liturgy. First, the methods for writing liturgical history deserve attention. Several philosophical and theological challenges arise, in which it becomes critical to engage in this historiography from a biblical perspective. Addressing these issues combats the tendency of the historian approaching the writing process from being blinded by theological, cultural, and racial biases.

Second, adding to the conventional methods of liturgical history, this methodology incorporates oral histories, enhancing this study with the memories of those living today who experienced firsthand the period under question. These interviews and recollections add vital descriptions of the manner in which the liturgy was conducted.

Third, this methodology builds upon the historical context and lived testimony, by turning toward ritual studies, a discipline central to liturgical theology. Ritual studies contribute to the methodology by asserting that non-verbal action in worship, such as music making, communicates meaning. If true, then music as ritual in liturgy provides

data for interpretation of theology. Beliefs and values of a community are projected onto and through music, enabling its ritual signification of meaning.

Fourth, we must explore the dynamic relationship between the effect of music and its meaning in the experience of the worshiper. A hermeneutic for understanding this process is multi-faceted. It begins by examining the psychophysiological effect upon the listener. The listener interprets the effect and may also bring past experience and culture to bear upon the musical experience, further affecting meaning. The quest for meaning in music also includes the historical-liturgical context, the musical score, and the cultural act of making and listening to music.

Fifth, this chapter posits the thesis that music in corporate worship shapes, intensifies, modifies, and even establishes spiritual identity. Through the manifest liturgical theology, the beliefs and values of the worshiping community may be drawn out. Examining the worship music of Black and White Adventism reveals a historical spiritual identity. Understanding this historical development will enable the modern church to better evaluate and utilize its worship music practices so that it can be intentional about the spirituality it hopes to foster among its members.

Liturgical History

The methods of liturgical history establish the context for studying worship music. Attempts have been made in the last two centuries to develop a method for interpreting liturgical history. As a forerunner of the Liturgical Renewal Movement that emerged following Vatican II,⁵ Gregory Dix made a seminal contribution in 1945, with

⁵ Robb Redman, *The Great Worship Awakening: Singing a New Song in the Postmodern Church*

The Shape of the Liturgy.⁶ Dix compared the structures of liturgical form, advocating a fourfold shape to the Eucharistic liturgy of “taking, giving thanks, breaking and distributing.”⁷ Dix surmised that if similarities exist among liturgies, then the compared liturgies must have historical relatedness. However, he assumed a mono-linear developmental model of the Eucharist. Paul Bradshaw has convincingly refuted this theory.⁸ Similarly, caution is advised in assuming a mono-linear development of Adventist liturgical practices, from the order of worship to the music used in worship. The value of Dix’s contribution may be seen in finding meaning in the very ordering of a liturgy. Liturgical structure should not be overlooked.

In a classic work in the field, Anton Baumstark (1872-1948) applied the comparative method to the study of liturgical history.⁹ Fritz West demonstrates that Baumstark’s method was built upon the scientific method which claims that life-forms evolved from the simplest to more complex. This implied that liturgical practices begin from one source at the most basic and simple level and develop into more complex

(San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002), 72-92.

⁶ Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (London: Continuum, 1945).

⁷ Simon Jones, “Introduction,” in *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Continuum, 2005), xviii. Jones gives an overview of the various contributions Dix made to liturgical studies. He also reviews the literature refuting Dix’s arguments.

⁸ Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 6-8; Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Eucharistic Liturgies: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2012), 1-24.

⁹ Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, trans. F. L. Cross, rev. ed. (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1958).

structures.¹⁰ While liturgies do evolve, they do not always progress from the simple to complex.

A great illustration of “devolution” from complex to simple may be found in the Methodist tradition. Following the First Awakening in England, the liturgy advocated by John Wesley in 1784 in his *Sunday Service* was simplified from the Anglican liturgy:

Scripture sentences
Exhortation
General Confession (unison)
Prayer for Pardon
Lord’s Prayer
Versicles & Responses
Psalm with Gloria Patri
First lesson OT
Te Deum
Second lesson NT
Jubilate
Apostles’ Creed
Versicles & Responses
Three collects (Day, peace, grace)
Prayer for Supreme Rulers
Prayer for St. Chrysostom
Grace (2 Cor. 13:14)¹¹

However, Wesley’s liturgy appears complex in comparison with the tradition’s simplification in the decades following the Second Great Awakening in 1864:

Singing
Prayer with Lord’s Prayer

¹⁰Fritz West, *The Comparative Liturgy of Anton Baumstark*, The Alcuin Club and the Group for Renewal of Worship (Bramcote, Nottingham, England: Grove Books, 1995).

¹¹ Russell E. Richey, Kenneth E. Rowe, and Jean Miller Schmidt, *The Methodist Experience in America: A Sourcebook*, vol. 2 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000), 34-35. See also John Wesley, *John Wesley’s Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America, 1784*, ed. James F. White (United Methodist Publishing House, 1984).

Reading
Preaching
Doxology
Dismissal
Apostolic Benediction¹²

Baumstark is helpful, but for the opposite reason he intended. While liturgy may develop into more and more complex systems, it may also become simpler over time. The larger context of the Methodist movement in the nineteenth century would indicate that the 1864 liturgy allowed for more freedom in the Spirit over and against the traditional complexity handed down from England. A similar exploration of the complexity and simplicity of Adventist worship is examined in this study.

Bradshaw acknowledges, however, that Baumstark's legacy has been fruitful for many leading liturgical scholars.¹³ Bradshaw's work is more "cautious and sophisticated," not only examining liturgical structure, but also relying on historical research:

It proceeds from a close comparison of the similarities *and differences* [sic] between liturgical practices in different geographical regions, temporal periods, or ecclesiastical traditions to a hypothesis which attempts to account satisfactorily for the origin and development of those practices both in the light of the tendencies already observed in the evolution of other liturgical phenomena and within the context of their known historical circumstances. Obviously, such a process works better for periods when historical data is more plentiful, and especially after the emergence of actual liturgical texts, than it does in the less clearly defined world of the first three or four centuries of Christian history.¹⁴

¹² Richey, Rowe, and Schmidt, *Methodist Experience*, 34-35.

¹³ Bradshaw recommends scholars such as Engberding, Mateos, Taft, and Winkler. Bradshaw, *Search*, 14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

In this study, I draw on the comparative method where liturgical documents and descriptions abound. Numerous bulletins exist for the White Adventist churches of Battle Creek, Michigan and Takoma Park, Maryland. However, none are apparently extant for the Black Adventist churches of Ephesus, New York and Oakwood, Alabama. More challenging for the Frontier tradition, of which Adventism is a part,¹⁵ is the fact that though bulletins may exist, or may have existed in the churches, liturgical text was never written down. There are no written prayers, rubrics, or other liturgical text. However, Adventist worship is still liturgical. If liturgy is the actions of worship, then every Christian tradition is liturgical, even if it does not follow the patterns of liturgy in the typical “liturgical” traditions, such as Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran. As Horton Davies astutely points out, “Even spontaneity runs into a stereotype, and supposedly aliturgical worship has its own awkward structure that makes it a liturgy.”¹⁶ I contend that even Davies’ understanding of liturgy is too weak. Liturgy does not just mean rubrics, structures, and stereotypes. Worship as attitude cannot exist on its own. As attitude turns to action, the worshiping community performs its liturgy, because liturgy is the action of all worship.

The so-called “scant” record of Adventist liturgy in the first half of the twentieth century lends itself to the methodology used for early Christian studies. Bradshaw’s methodology therefore is valuable for the present research. He has built upon these early

¹⁵ James F. White, *Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1989), 171-191.

¹⁶ Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Cranmer to Hooker, 1534–1603*, Combined ed., 6 vols., vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 293.

liturgical scholars while also seeking more objectivity by subjecting liturgical documents to external and internal historical criticism, “the hermeneutics of suspicion.”¹⁷ Bradshaw argues that many liturgical historians have treated sources as “simply offering raw factual data, and have failed to consider such matters as the particular character of the text, the author’s aims and intentions in its compositions, and the context in which it was written.”¹⁸ Bradshaw emphasizes that only in answering these questions may the researcher find an adequate interpretation.

The approach of Nicholas Miller, Professor of Church History at Andrews Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, nuances Bradshaw’s epistemological methodology. Miller teaches an “open critical” philosophy and methodology for historiography.¹⁹ This perspective navigates between the pitfalls of pure skepticism and unquestioning acceptance of historical liturgical documents. With this methodology, one may analyze documents carefully, even using tools of historical criticism, such as literary and form analysis, and questions relating to a possible editions or redactions to materials.²⁰ These methods may be useful in determining the historical context, date, place, and originator of a document.

¹⁷ Bradshaw, *Search*, 14-20.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁹ Nicholas P. Miller, “Naked in the Garden of the Past: Is There a Seventh-day Adventist Philosophy of History?” (Unpublished Paper, Andrews University, 2015), 13-17.

²⁰ In an earlier article Miller wrestles with Adventist epistemology, seeking a way in which one may engage with critical methods, without abandoning the Adventist belief in the veracity of biblical revelation. I am advocating that the methodology put forth therein for theology may also guide the Adventist historian. Nicholas P. Miller, “Divided by Visions of the Truth: The Bible, Epistemology, and the Adventist Community,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 47, no. 2 (2009): 256, 262.

However, his method also allows for truth in historical claims. A principle of absolute skepticism leads to no knowledge at all, and an inability to accept historical documents and actors on their own account. Critical thinking, coupled with faith (not just in God, but also in the document itself) can lead to an open perspective:

[A] critical historian would examine the age and provenance of the stories regarding the miraculous events, and decide as a historical matter whether there is reliable evidence to support the historicity of the stories. Ultimately, however, she will not be so much concerned with passing judgment on them, as to whether they did or not occur. Rather, the focus will be on the beliefs and motives of those passing them along, how they help us understand the religious mindset and beliefs of those that originated them as well as those that spread them.²¹

In presenting history, the findings of critical thinking as well as faith can contribute to the possible interpretation of the data.²² It allows the historian to be sensitive and open to all the data available. Instead of being closed to certain possibilities in history, due to one's own bias, one may allow the history to speak for itself. Instead of being dogmatic in one's interpretation, Miller suggests presenting an open argument that may examine both sides.²³

While a self-confessed "splitter" of liturgical history,²⁴ Bradshaw tends to continue to "lump" data that is favorable to his own interpretation. He gives little attention to the history of Sunday keeping in the early church, as his own confessional

²¹ Miller, "Naked in the Garden," 14-15.

²² Nicholas Miller, "Class Notes for November 30, 2011," in *CHIS 940 Historical Method and Historiography* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 2011).

²³ Miller, "Divided by Visions of the Truth," 258.

²⁴ Bradshaw, *Search*, ix.

bias prevents him from considering the other side of the argument, namely, Sabbath keeping.²⁵ It appears that in this regard, Bradshaw succumbed to the temptation of looking into the proverbial well of time, only to see his own reflection. Bradshaw's own bias serves as a caution for this study regarding the possibilities of bias and anachronism in issues of race and worship practices.

Miller's methodology redeems Bradshaw's by not only being suspicious of historical data, but also allowing the data to speak for itself.²⁶ This approach becomes even more necessary in this present research in dealing with the worship perspectives of Blacks and Whites. Valuable caution is given to not pass judgment on the historicity or factualness of the claims made by ethnic groups, but instead to see how the ideas and practices impacted and influenced the wider Adventist Church in areas of worship, music, theology, and spiritual identity.

In *The Making of Jewish and Christian Worship*, Bradshaw articulates ten principles to guide the student of liturgical history toward a more open-minded approach to historical liturgical sources. Important for this present study are Bradshaw's "Ten

²⁵ Bradshaw, *Search*, 178-82. Bradshaw mentions the work of two Adventist scholars: Samuel Bacchiocchi and Kenneth Strand. See notes 26 and 34 in *Search*. While I was a student of Bradshaw at the University of Notre Dame, Bradshaw specifically called out Bacchiocchi as simply following an Adventist confessional bias. Maxwell Johnson, Bradshaw's *Doktorsohn*, similarly presents a one-sided narrative for Sunday in *Sacraments and Worship*, presenting not even one source as evidence of Sabbath-keeping, again revealing bias. Maxwell E. Johnson, ed. *Sacraments and Worship: The Sources of Christian Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012). For additional sources on the dynamic nature of Sabbath observance in the early church, see Kenneth A. Strand, ed. *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald Publishing Association, 1982); Samuele Bacchiocchi, *From Sabbath to Sunday: A Historical Investigation of the Rise of Sunday Observance in Early Christianity* (Rome, Italy: The Pontifical Gregorian University Press, 1977). Though I disagree with the conclusions of Bradshaw and Johnson, I am indebted to them for instilling in me an interest in liturgical studies while I was their student at the University of Notre Dame during my Master of Sacred Music program.

²⁶ Miller, "Naked in the Garden," 15.

Commandments” for liturgical studies. While Bradshaw addresses the early church, it is the suspicion in his “commandments” that provides the hermeneutic for Adventist

liturgical history:

1. What is most common is not necessarily most ancient, and what is least common is not necessarily least ancient.
2. The so-called Constantinian revolution served as much to intensify existing trends as it did to initiate new ones.
3. Authoritative-sounding statements are not always genuinely authoritative.
4. Legislation is better evidence for what it proposes to prohibit than for what it seeks to promote.
5. When a variety of explanations is advanced for the origin of a liturgical custom, its true source has almost certainly been forgotten.
6. Ancient church orders are not what they seem.
7. Liturgical manuscripts are more prone to emendation than literary manuscripts.
8. Liturgical texts can go on being copied long after they have ceased to be used.
9. Only particularly significant, novel, or controverted practices will tend to be mentioned, and others will probably be passed over in silence; but the first time something is mentioned is not necessarily the first time it was practiced.
10. Texts must always be studied in context.²⁷

Translating Bradshaw’s commandments illumines how his hermeneutics of suspicion apply to the present research:

1. The most common hymns and service orders may not be the most “ancient” or “historic” Adventist liturgical practices. Those practices that are less practiced among early twentieth-century Adventists may be closer to pioneer practices than the most popular.
2. The 1932 *Church Manual* legislation of long and short orders of service may have intensified existing trends rather than to necessarily have initiated new ones.
3. Authoritative-sounding statements, such as the 1914 General Conference Committee legislation, which forbade the use of *Christ in Song* during the Divine Service may not have carried any practical authority. That is, no one may have followed its request.
4. The 1914 statement may have more to do with issues surrounding Frank Belden, and also perhaps musical styles within *Christ in Song*, than to explicitly promote the

²⁷ Bradshaw, “Ten Principles for Interpreting Early Christian Liturgical Evidence,” 3-19.

- 1886 *Hymns and Tunes (HT)*. Legislation may also be evidence for prohibiting a certain racial liturgical practice, rather than simply advancing a theology of liturgy.
5. Numerous accounts exist for the entrance of the ministers and corresponding musical activity and piety of the congregation. Has the source of this been forgotten? Did the practice originate with Methodism, revivalism, or Ellen White? Can we be certain of any origins of Adventist liturgical practice? What may be more important in the end, is not knowing the origin, but knowing the historical meaning of a practice during the period.
 6. Church bulletins and oral history details may have as much to do with idealized liturgical order and theology of liturgy than the actual historical liturgical theology.
 7. Bulletins, liturgical orders, and oral histories are prone to emendation. What is printed and what may have transpired may have been different.
 8. Hymn texts may have been in print, though many hymns in the collection were not sung.
 9. As in early Christian studies, the mundane business of the regular Sabbath Divine Services may not have been recorded, and yet is so critical for an accurate historical liturgical theology.
 10. Music must be examined in its liturgical and historical context. Liturgical practices are part of the greater Christian tradition and useful in understanding beliefs about worship.²⁸

Complementary with Bradshaw's method, James F. White, the late Methodist liturgical scholar, advocated a method in which the purpose of liturgical studies was to be descriptive of a worship community's piety, time, place, people, prayer, preaching, and music.²⁹ White noted that liturgical scholars typically are concerned with "texts and rubrics, which frequently mean little to worshipers. People in the pews are often

²⁸ Bingham, "Liturgy and Ritual," 124.

²⁹ White, *Protestant Worship*, 16. Another very helpful book applying the study of liturgical history specifically to the North American Christian worship traditions is James F. White, *Christian Worship in North America: A Retrospective, 1955-1995* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1997).

oblivious to such matters. One does not experience baseball by reading the rules of the game. Our concern is to examine the experience of the worshiper.”³⁰

This study values White’s categories of music and people in the context of liturgy and the historical milieu. Though White pointed to people as the center of the liturgical project, his own *Protestant Worship* gave little attention to the people among the rich racial diversity of American worship.³¹

Scott Haldeman, a White American and Assistant Professor of Worship at Chicago Theological Seminary, indicates that liturgical scholarship has tended to be myopic.

Widely ecumenical, as representatives of the central *mainline* [sic] denominations (Anglican, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Methodist, and, even the United Church of Christ) joined Roman Catholic leaders and scholars in detailed study of ancient documents in hopes of revitalizing contemporary liturgical practice, the conversation was (and in many quarters, remains) almost exclusively “white”.³²

Haldeman continues, arguing that while many, if not most, liturgical scholars “remain committed” to “discovering and defining” the “shape” of Christian liturgy, a trend set forth by Gregory Dix.³³ Constance Cherry, Associate Professor of Worship and Christian Ministries at Indiana Wesleyan University, teaches a broader liturgical structure which assists the analysis of Christian traditions, particularly those outside of the

³⁰ White, *Protestant Worship*, 16.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 198.

³² Haldeman, *Liturgies that Reconcile*, 130.

³³ *Ibid.*, 130.

mainline. Cherry's order goes beyond the four-fold pattern of Dix at the Eucharist, encompassing the entire liturgy. She advocates a dialogical order:

God Gathers
[Humanity Surrenders]
God Speaks
Humanity Responds
God Sends³⁴

Cherry's pattern may be helpful towards a theology of liturgy, and perhaps even as an interpretive pattern. This broad schema may well fit a diversity of liturgical orders of service. Yet while prescriptive and interpretive, Cherry's model fails to see things their way. Varying cultures may view their liturgical order differently based upon their experience, even if an interpretive pattern is imposed. This five-fold pattern may indeed illuminate many, if not most, liturgical orders, but it may not be the pattern perceived by the worshipers.

Haldeman points out that the order of service of the "almost entirely white ecumenical liturgical reform movement" of the late twentieth century has overlooked the unique liturgical order of African Americans.³⁵ James Cone looks upon the history of Black worship as having the components of "preaching, singing, shouting, conversion, prayer, and testimony." R. Clifford Jones, President of the Lake Region Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, sums up Black worship as having three fundamental categories

³⁴ "Humanity Surrenders" is my own construction. Cherry includes such a response within "God Gathers." In Cherry's order, this section reads: "The person experiences discontinuity between the divine and the human (amazement, unworthiness, confession, denial, etc.)." Constance M. Cherry, *The Worship Architect: A Blueprint for Designing Culturally Relevant and Biblically Faithful Services* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 45.

³⁵ Haldeman, *Liturgies that Reconcile*, 131.

of music, prayer, and preaching.³⁶ And different still, W. E. B. Du Bois labeled it as “the preacher, the music, and the frenzy.”³⁷ Eric Lincoln and Lawrence Mamiya state that in the Black Church, “singing is second only to preaching as the magnet of attraction and the primary vehicle of spiritual transport for the worshiping congregation.”³⁸ However, Pedrito Maynard-Reid views music in Black liturgy as more significant:

In the African-American community, music is to worship as breathing is to life. So important is music (particularly vocal music) to the worship service that it has been said it is possible to ‘have church’ without an outstanding sermon, but not without good singing. [. . .] If music is to worship what breathing is to life, then it is possibly the most essential ingredient in the liturgy.³⁹

Jones, Maynard-Reid, and Lincoln and Mamiya collectively suggest that at times African Americans have perceived their liturgy differently than Americans of European descent. If we are to begin by “seeing things their way,” we must consider the cultural experience and perceptions of both Blacks and Whites in order to give an accurate historical description of liturgical practice. If people are the center of liturgical history, then it is imperative to examine that history with an open mind toward the possibilities of perceived similarities and differences in liturgical order.

³⁶ Jones, “African-American Worship: Its Heritage, Character, and Quality.”

³⁷ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 1903; reprint ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), 116. It should be noted that Du Bois, himself an African American, was specifically speaking as a northerner visiting southern Black churches of the Invisible Institution.

³⁸ Lincoln and Mamiya, *Black Church*, 346. I am arguing in this study that, while different, the music also shapes the faith of White worshipers.

³⁹ Maynard-Reid, *Diverse Worship*, 69-70. Lincoln and Mamiya similarly say, “Good preaching and good singing are almost invariably the minimum conditions of a successful ministry. Both activities trace their roots back to Africa where music and religion and life itself were all one holistic enterprise.” Lincoln and Mamiya, *Black Church*, 346.

Liturgical history provides the context for the development of spiritual identity as influenced by music. Comparisons may be made between liturgical forms, though caution must be exercised as similarities may not actually have a historical connection. The researcher must also be aware that liturgies may not only evolve, as in progress, but also devolve, becoming simpler. Suspicion may be warranted toward the data while also practicing some degree of trust to allow the data to speak for itself so as to prevent the researcher from imposing judgment or rejection of the data. This opens the door for consideration of liturgical practices that are foreign or counter-cultural to the researcher, such as in this present study of Black and White worship practices. Placing people at the center of the liturgical history enables the study to see things their way. This methodology opens the research not only to textual evidence, though important, but also to the lived experiences and stories of the worshipers themselves.

Oral History

The difficulty of ascertaining meaning in the traditional methodology of examining textual orders of worship lies in the fact that it cannot account for the perceived reality of the liturgy. The recent history of this present research affords the opportunity to conduct oral histories in order to hear from the persons still living with memories from the latter decades of the period, from late 1920s to the 1940s. These memories allow the present research to go beyond text and provide first-hand knowledge of the worship and music during the period.

Oral history “is the use of [a video or audio] recorder to capture the memories of the past through personal interviews.”⁴⁰ Not only does oral history uncover the past, it also preserves it for the future. Once recorded, a transcript of the interview is created and verified with the interviewee. These transcripts are often stored at an archive.⁴¹

Incorporating oral histories in this study affords me the opportunity to acquire and preserve facets of Adventist worship and music history that may otherwise be lost.⁴² While an important record of history, these oral histories must not be simply taken as historical fact, but as emotions, opinions, and interpretations of the past. Donald Ritchie, Historian Emeritus of the United States Senate, gives important guiding questions to aid in parsing these historiographies:

Were they in a position to experience events firsthand or are they simply passing along secondhand information? What biases might have shaped their original perceptions? Have interviewees forgotten much of their past because it was no longer important to them or because the events were so routine that they were simply not memorable? How differently do interviewees feel now about the events they are recalling? What subsequent incidents might have caused them to rethink and reinterpret their past? How closely does their testimony agree with other documentary evidence from the period, and how do they explain the discrepancies?⁴³

While challenging, these questions do not preclude value in the data gleaned from the interview process. Ritchie states that these questions do not necessarily “disqualify an

⁴⁰ James R. Nix, “Oral History Interview Guide,” CAR, 2.

⁴¹ All the transcripts of the present research will be given to the Center for Adventist Research at the James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan.

⁴² Nix, “Oral History Interview Guide,” 6.

⁴³ Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 34.

interviewee from giving testimony, but answering these questions as completely as possible helps the interviewer and future researchers to assess the value of the information recorded.”⁴⁴

Researchers should also beware that some memories become nostalgic, creating a rosy picture of the “good ole days,” which may have been actually quite negative. Or similarly, the history could be a figment of the imagination. President Calvin Coolidge said the folks of his hometown in Plymouth, Vermont, would “remember some of the most interesting things that never happened.”⁴⁵ The interviewer’s task is to move the interviewee “away from nostalgia” and engage the past “candidly and critically.”⁴⁶

As with the possibility of becoming nostalgic, public memory may also affect the recollection of the interviewee. Public memory, a people group’s collective conception of the past, “involves symbols and stories that help a community define and explain present conditions according to how it remembers (or wants to remember) the past.”⁴⁷ While these could take the form of parades, sporting events, or other celebrations in a secular context, this could also be the liturgy of a religious community. Interviewers must aware of this possibility and work toward helping the interviewee move past public memory and into personal experience.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 34.

⁴⁵ William Allen White, *A Puritan in Babylon: The Story of Calvin Coolidge* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), vii.

⁴⁶ Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 35.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 37.

Ronald Grele, former director of the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University, as well as former president of the Oral History Association, argues that in oral history, the narrative does not only belong to the interviewee. The narrative found in the transcript may be referred to best as a “conversational narrative” between the interviewer and the interviewee.⁴⁹

The interviewer comes to the interview with a different agenda than the interviewee. The interviewee seeks to tell his or her story, a narrative. The interviewer, however, seeks to be descriptive and analytical of the history. Thus, the interviewer tends to ask questions that help the present research, but may not be the interviewee’s own narrative. The end result is an oral history that is the product of both parties, a conversational narrative. As a researcher, one should be open and honest with oneself that the interview process may profoundly shape the oral history.

While the liturgical history of texts, bulletins, and hymnals provide context for the study, oral history captures the worshiper’s emotional response to the theological praxis of liturgy. It helps people recognize their own historiography. Oral history assists in placing people at the center of the history, bringing to life once-dead texts, and allowing us to see things their way. Oral history provides an excellent bridge between the past and present, offering descriptions of the behavior of the congregation and musicians in the liturgical experience of worship and music. This behavior during the liturgy and its implicit meaning belong to the realm of ritual studies, to which we now turn.

⁴⁹ Ronald J. Grele, “History and the Languages of History in the Oral History Interview: Who Answers Whose Questions and Why?,” in *Interactive Oral History Interviewing*, ed. Eva M. McMahan and Kim Lacy Rogers (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 2. For more, see Ronald J. Grele, *Envelopes of Sound: The Art of Oral History*, rev. ed. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991).

Ritual Studies

As has been stated through this chapter thus far, the primary goal of this study is to describe the development of spiritual identity among Black and White Seventh-day Adventist worshipers as derived from their experience in music and liturgy. This methodology first establishes the historical and liturgical contexts. Within that context comes the actions of worship and the experience of music in the liturgy. These actions provide a rich source of “text” for finding meaning. These meaningful liturgical actions may be understood as ritual. In this section, we question whether Adventist liturgy may be considered ritual, explore schools of thought regarding ritual, and how ritual applies to music in worship.

Ritual in Adventism?

To begin, one could question whether the actions of Seventh-day Adventist worship could be considered ritual. Adventist worship has widely been viewed as nonritual activity, perhaps closer to what scholars call functional ceremony, “merely social even in explicit meaning.”⁵⁰ Viewing Adventist worship as ceremony, as opposed to ritual, may be associated with the American Protestant tendency to view ritual negatively, lumping it with popery. Such a critical view has a long history in the United States, deriving from America’s Puritan roots.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Evan M. Zuesse, “Ritual,” in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade, vol. 9 (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 405.

⁵¹ Puritanism is embedded in American society, with contemporary movements reacting in conservation of or liberation from its historical values. Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992), 390-395. For the background to Puritan views on ritual and liturgy, see Davies, *Worship and Theology*, 255-293. The Reformers valued spontaneity over and above traditional liturgy, rejecting the earlier forms of worship.

Norval Pease agreed with this perspective, arguing that Adventism arose from this milieu as reformed worship matured.⁵² The spirit of genuine worship “could not be experienced until the barnacles of excessive forms, rituals, and liturgy were removed.”⁵³ Pease echoed Ellen White who wrote, “The evil of formal worship cannot be too strongly depicted, but no words can properly set forth the deep blessedness of genuine worship.”⁵⁴ Upon surveying White’s teachings on worship, Denis Fortin demonstrates that White frequently contrasted outward formalism with genuine meaning and piety in worship,⁵⁵ as represented in White’s statement, “The Lord is not glorified by your lack of spirituality, by your dry formalism.”⁵⁶ Categories of thought have changed since White’s time. It may be observed however, that Pease and White did not negate ritual in Adventist worship, but believed that excess and dry formalism must be removed.⁵⁷

I contend that Pease’s argument is not against forms, even rituals, of worship, but against excessive or meaningless forms and rituals. For illustration, let us consider the

However, this did not remove the essential nature of religious ritual among the so-called free churches. This Reformation principle has continued into Adventism. Lori Branch, *Rituals of Spontaneity: Sentiment and Secularism from Free Prayer to Wordsworth* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006).

⁵² Norval F. Pease, *And Worship Him* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1967), 34-35.

⁵³ Pease, *And Worship Him*, 34.

⁵⁴ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 9 (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1948), 143.

⁵⁵ Denis Fortin, “Ellen G. White’s Theology of Worship and Liturgy” (Unpublished paper, Biblical Research Committee, October 17, 2006).

⁵⁶ Ellen G. White, “To Madison and Howard Miller,” July 23, 1889 (Letter 4, 1889, par. 39), in *The Ellen G. White 1888 Materials* (Silver Spring, MD: Ellen G. White Estate, 1987), 404.

⁵⁷ “Our concern is that we avoid excessive and improper liturgy. By improper liturgy we mean that which is not an accurate expression of our theology.” Pease, *And Worship Him*, 51.

actions of the elders entering the platform in the Adventist liturgy, since it involves actions and music. The elders enter to the singing of “The Lord is in His Holy Temple” (SDAH 692).⁵⁸ The elders kneel and the congregation sings and prays. A holy hush is felt over the congregation. Are these not repetitive, prescribed, rigid, even stereotyped actions by the ministers? Historically, and especially in the period of this research, all Adventist churches followed this same activity every Sabbath. We who are living in the wake of this liturgical precedent will find in some traditional congregations a great rigidity among older church members who insist that this “ceremony” continue. This action of worship is not just ceremony, an explicitly social event. It is also not only repetitive and prescribed. It also carries attached meaning for the worship participants. The question remains: Is this activity ritual? Whether or not Adventist worship is ritualistic depends upon how ritual is defined.

Three Categories for Ritual

Scholars have wrestled to find an accurate definition for ritual. As Edmund Leach stated, “[There is] the widest possible disagreement as to how the word ritual should be understood.”⁵⁹ Some question whether ritual should be used for “all kinds of pre-patterned behavior” or specifically for religious contexts.⁶⁰ With so many perspectives on ritual, how may we proceed? Insight may be gleaned from many of the fields of thought

⁵⁸ Chapter 6 shows that the music may also be the Doxology, or the *Gloria patri*.

⁵⁹ Edmund R. Leach, “Ritual,” in *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. David L. Sills, vol. 13 (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 526.

⁶⁰ Searle, “Ritual,” 54.

regarding ritual. These perspectives provide insight into understanding the complexity of spiritual identity and how it is influenced by worship and music.

The late Mark Searle saw three categories for ritual: functional, formal, and symbolic.⁶¹ The functionalist school also understands ritual as symbol. However, the key difference is that the symbolic approach concerns itself with meaning. These categories may overlap, even occur simultaneously within the same liturgy. I will briefly introduce the main concepts of each, and then return as necessary with application to the present research.

The functional view stems from the structuralist school of anthropology, established by Claude Lévi-Strauss.⁶² This school of thought understands the purpose of ritual in society as “that of expressing and reinforcing its structural and cultural systems.”⁶³ Ritual is perceived in terms of how it serves human life.⁶⁴ It helps people, both individually and corporately, to withstand life’s challenges.⁶⁵

A formal definition of ritual sets ritual apart from other behavior, as it may be identified as “repetitive, prescribed, rigid, stereotyped, and so on.”⁶⁶ Roy Rappaport

⁶¹ Searle, “Ritual,” 54.

⁶² Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, trans. Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf, vol. 1-2 (New York: Basic Books, 1963).

⁶³ Teresa L. Reeve, “Luke 3:1–4:15 and the Rite of Passage in Ancient Literature: Liminality and Transformation” (PhD Diss, University of Notre Dame, 2007), 82.

⁶⁴ Searle, “Ritual,” 54; Erik Erikson, “The Development of Ritualization,” in *World Year Book of Religion: The Religious Situation*, ed. Donald R. Cutler, vol. 1 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), 711-732.

⁶⁵ Clifford Geertz, “Religion as a Cultural System,” in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, ed. Michael Banton (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), 1-46.

⁶⁶ Searle, “Ritual,” 54.

believes ritual to denote “the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers.”⁶⁷ This perspective views ritual as formalized actions, such as a certain prescribed manner of kneeling, praying, singing, etc. Broadly, these sequences tend toward invariance at each occurrence, and are not explicitly defined by the performers.⁶⁸ The prescribed rites of the Roman Catholic Mass have been viewed as fitting this description. This formal conception of ritual may likely be what Pease and earlier Adventists thought when they rejected ritual. However, as I hope to set out in the following chapters, Adventism similarly took on “repetitive, prescribed” and “formal acts” by worshipers. Liturgical orders fit this theory well. An order is a certain kind of activity that has form and sequence. A patterned activity is a way the congregants belong, involving inclusion and exclusion, membership and competence—and ultimately, shaping spiritual identity.

The third definition of ritual, the symbolic, perceives ritual as a form of communication and an action that conveys meaning,⁶⁹ though we can seek understand this definition further than this. Evan Zuesse expands on this communication of meaning in ritual: “those conscious and voluntary, repetitious and stylized symbolic bodily actions that are centered on cosmic structures and/or sacred presences. (Verbal behavior such as chant, song, and prayer are of course included in the category of bodily actions.)”⁷⁰ His

⁶⁷ Roy A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*, Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology, ed. Meyer Fortes et al. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 24.

⁶⁸ Roy A. Rappaport, *Ecology, Meaning and Religion* (Richmond, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1979), 173-222.

⁶⁹ Searle, “Ritual,” 55.

⁷⁰ Zuesse, “Ritual,” 405.

symbolic definition embraces the formal, while also signifying something beyond itself. A conscious and voluntary action implies that the worshipers are aware of their repetitious actions. It also implies they understand the meaning of their actions. Zuesse states that the bodily actions of the worshipers point toward God's Presence, a meaning that demands awareness of the worshipers.

Let us now turn to the contributions of Victor Turner. Turner and the functional school offer numerous insights into the liturgical activity of Adventist worship.

Functional Ritual Further Explored

Victor Turner, a British cultural anthropologist, has been considered "one of the most important voices in ritual theory in the twentieth century."⁷¹ He early defined ritual as "prescribed formal behavior for occasions not given over to technological routine, having reference to beliefs in mystical beings or powers."⁷² However, in reality, his treatment of ritual had less to do with pointing toward "mystical beings" and rather, focused on how ritual affected social and cultural identity. Turner, together with Mary Douglas,⁷³ was not interested in the connection with the divine model of ritual. Together, they followed the anthropological social structure, not "magic" manipulating the divine.

Some rituals are functional, like social glue. They are not transcendental or sacred. Functional ritual helps structure the way people mark off one reality in society

⁷¹ Reeve, "Liminality and Transformation," 70. I am indebted to Reeve's synthesis of understanding on Turner's work.

⁷² Victor W. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), 19.

⁷³ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, reprint ed. (Boston: ARK Paperbacks, 1984).

from another. As such, ritual is a fundamental act of differentiation, how humans act and think, both behavioral and cognitive. For example, ritual helps humans know things they would not otherwise know. It is a constitutive experience. Sabbath is not only the day of rest, but also the last day of the week. The Sabbath is essential to the entire week. Experiencing part of the ritual is essential to understanding the entire sequence of the pattern.

Turner further developed the functionalist-structuralist perspective, as he focused on *communitas* and anti-structure in rites of passage. In his study of Ndembu ritual, he built upon the work of Arnold van Gennep⁷⁴ and the liminal phase of rites of passage. Van Gennep viewed all rites of passage as having three phases: “separation, margin (or *limen*, signifying “threshold” in Latin), and aggregation.”⁷⁵ Van Gennep states:

Although a complete scheme of rites of passage theoretically includes preliminal rites (rites of separation), liminal rites (rites of transition), and postliminal rites (rites of incorporation), in specific instances these three types are not always equally important or equally elaborated.⁷⁶

In order to interpret van Gennep, Turner expanded the theory by viewing ritual as enacted and embodied symbolism. “A symbol is a thing regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogous

⁷⁴ Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

⁷⁵ Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), 94.

⁷⁶ van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, 11.

qualities or by association in fact or thought.”⁷⁷ For Turner, ritual as symbol pointed beyond itself to social structures and beliefs.

Turner’s conversion to Roman Catholicism further impacted his understanding of ritual as symbol. He became interested in how symbols can be actions and activities, not just things like a cross. Symbols may have double or even multiple meanings. “A single symbol, in fact, represents many things at the same time: it is multivocal, not univocal. Its referents are not all of the same logical order but are drawn from many domains of social experience and ethical evaluation.”⁷⁸ Symbols are like storage systems. They absorb multiple meanings with multiple references, avoiding reduction to a single meaning. Turner’s major contribution is shifting anthropological understanding of symbol from objects, like a stone, altar or icon, to activity. Symbols work, not only with cognitive engagement, but also with kinetic. It is in kinetic behavior that cultural systems may be communicated. Says Clifford Geertz, “Behavior must be attended to, and with some exactness, because it is through the flow of behavior—or, more precisely, social action—that cultural forms find articulation.”⁷⁹

Turner interpreted van Gennep’s rite of passage through the symbolic nature of ritual:

The first phase (of separation) comprises symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure, from a set of cultural conditions (a “state”), or from both. During the intervening “liminal” period, the characteristics of the ritual subject (the “passenger”)

⁷⁷ Turner, *Forest of Symbols*, 19.

⁷⁸ Turner, *Ritual Process*, 52.

⁷⁹ Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 17.

are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state. In the third phase (reaggregation or reincorporation), the passage is consummated.⁸⁰

At this point, the passenger arrives at a relatively stable state, and is reincorporated into the structure of society. Thus, the liminal period constitutes Turner's anti-structure, the "betwixt and between" state in which the individual "possesses nothing," may be as though "ground down to a uniform condition to be fashioned anew," and where "rank and status disappear"⁸¹ from the prevailing society's "hierarchical system of politico-legal-economic positions."⁸² Turner notes that liminality blends "lowliness and sacredness," "homogeneity and comradeship." It is in this modality of equitable relationship, *communitas*, that the passengers share in humility.⁸³

While rites of passage and liminality have often been applied and understood in the context of typical Christian rites such as baptism, weddings, or funerals, great potential lies in understanding the divine liturgy as a liminal event. Such thinking is not as foreign to evangelical, even Adventist, thinking as it may first seem. Today, one may often hear the phrase, "the ground is level at the cross," when inviting worshipers to partake in the ritual often referred to as the altar of prayer, or even at traditional altar calls. Though no altar is physically present in Adventist liturgy, congregants are invited to come to the front of the worship space. This ritual action signifies going by faith to the

⁸⁰ Turner, *Ritual Process*, 94-95.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 96.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 96-97.

heavenly sanctuary where Christ intercedes on their behalf, offering his sacrificial merits on their behalf. This is believed to take place at the altar of incense in the heavenly sanctuary. Thus, the worshiper experiences a dynamic interaction between the altar of burnt offering typified by the cross and the altar of incense in the heavenly sanctuary. Thus, within the Sabbath liturgy, liminality may be experienced by the worshipers. The liminal nature of the Sabbath service may be understood as a significant factor in establishing community and spiritual identity among the worshipers.

The Sabbath liturgy may also be understood as a “rite of intensification,” in which the rituals “bring the community together, increase group solidarity, and reinforce commitment to the beliefs of the group.”⁸⁴ Catherine Bell and others support such a view of ritual. Bell positively viewed Turner (and Douglas) as focusing on “the role of ritual in the maintenance of social groups,” tending “to analyze ritual as the expressive deployment of the symbolic structures that undergird a group’s common world view.”⁸⁵ Bell sees a second approach to ritual, foremost articulated by Geertz, that focuses on the integral role ritual plays in how values are adapted to life’s changing circumstances.⁸⁶ For Bell, it is in ritual that “the participants still possess and re-embodiment strategies with which to express an adequate or potentially powerful articulation of the values by which the community orders and reorders the events and emotions of their lives.”⁸⁷ Nathan

⁸⁴ Grunlan and Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology*, 222.

⁸⁵ Catherine Bell, “Ritual, Change, and Changing Rituals,” *Worship* 63, no. 1 (1989): 32.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

Mitchell⁸⁸ further points out that through this new perspective, Turner “focused upon the unfolding identity (individual and social) of persons involved in the ritual process rather than upon the process itself.”⁸⁹

Religiously Symbolic Ritual

Adventist liturgy occurs in the context of high theological significance to the worshipers, due to liturgy’s religiously symbolic nature. Previously, we saw Zuesse stated that in ritual, the bodily actions of the worshipers pointed toward sacred presences. Zuesse’s definition is helpful, though eclipsed by the precision provided by Roy Gane.

Roy Gane, Professor of Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Languages at Andrews University, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, defines ritual as “a privileged activity system that is believed to carry out a transformation process involving interaction with a reality ordinarily inaccessible to the material domain.”⁹⁰ Activity becomes ritual when combined with meaning: “Ritual = activity + attached meaning.”⁹¹ Gane further argues that rituals are inherently meaningless. While actions may continue to be performed as mere tradition, Gane argues that “all ritual has some kind of meaning or it is not ritual.”⁹²

⁸⁸ I had the privilege of taking the course Ritual Studies from Mitchell during my master’s program at Notre Dame. I am indebted to him for planting the seed that would germinate and grow into this present study. Mitchell is now Emeritus Professor of Liturgical Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

⁸⁹ Nathan D. Mitchell, *Liturgy and the Social Sciences* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 50.

⁹⁰ Gane, *Cult and Character*, 15.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 7.

What then? Does Gane contradict Turner and the anthropological school? What about activity systems like games, entertainment, or dance? Gane states that “if an activity system was never believed to have any kind of ‘efficacy,’ whether religious, magical, social, or otherwise, [he] would not regard it as ‘ritual,’ at least not in the full sense of the word.”⁹³

Perhaps one may be more inclusive when it comes to viewing activity as ritual. With Gane’s reasoning, a group of children playing tag in the park would not be viewed as ritual. It could be questioned, “How can this activity possibly contain meaning?” This activity may certainly not mean anything religiously. But it provides the quintessential components for meaning for this social group of children. Even in tag, children form *communitas* and identity within the social group. Playing tag in the park is ritual, since it contains social meaning among the participants. The distinction here is that it is not religious ritual with symbolic theological meaning. Tag belongs in the realm of socially functional ritual, creating identity and community. Liturgy, on the other hand, possesses more polyvalence—it is both functional and religiously symbolic.

Perhaps this is what Mitchell means when he discusses the embodiment of meaning in ritual:

The meanings of ritual unfold from within the ritual action itself; they are not imported from outside the ritual event. Rituals are not necessarily meaningful, if by the term meaning one implies access to a set of codes (references) found beyond or outside the ritual performance itself. Rituals are meaningful not by reason of what they refer to, but in virtue of what they actually do, individually and socially. For this reason, ritual symbols are evocative rather than referential. They invite response, not

⁹³ Gane, *Cult and Character*, 7.

explanation or decoding. Their meaning is in their performance, not in some secret hidden truth or doctrine.⁹⁴

In the case of playing tag, meaning is evocative and embodied in the performance. However, this contradicts Gane's following point. "Without some kind of attached meaning, we would not know that ritual activities constitute a cohesive activity system, let alone a ritual."⁹⁵ From a social science perspective, Mitchell's proposal has merit. However, in the realm of religiously symbolic ritual, Gane's position holds fast. For example, in the context of ritual in the book of Leviticus, Gane argues that the activities of laying hands on a sacrificial animal cannot possibly justify meaning on purely physical grounds. Meaning must be applied to the activity system.

To further lay merit to Gane's claim, Mitchell could consider his own Roman Catholic Liturgy of the Eucharist. The Presentation of the Gifts—of bread and wine—contain no intrinsic meaning in the physical activity of bringing them to the altar. The Eucharistic Prayer, which directly follows the Presentation, illuminates the activity with rich theological meaning. Even the term, altar, demands meaning beyond itself. Otherwise, it is merely a functional table. In religious activity systems, meaning must be applied.

Gane proposes the following criteria for distinguishing between ritual and nonritual activity systems: "To be ritual, an activity system 1) must be formulaic, and 2)

⁹⁴ Mitchell, *Liturgy and the Social Sciences*, 49.

⁹⁵ Gane, *Cult and Character*, 7.

must carry out a cognitive task transformation process in which an inaccessible entity is involved.”⁹⁶

What about secular cultures whose rituals do not point to entities outside themselves? Teresa Reeve cautions that not all cultures contain ritual with any religious beliefs attached.⁹⁷ It is fair to point out that Gane is saying inaccessible entity, not being. While not every ritual may involve belief in an inaccessible being, entities could include concepts or theologies. Clifford Geertz suggested that “symbol-systems”, like ritual, communicate conceptions of religion, cosmology, and ideology.⁹⁸ “Sacred symbols function to synthesize a people’s ethos—the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood—and their worldview—the picture they have of the way things in sheer actuality are, their most comprehensive ideas of order.”⁹⁹

Thus, the liminality of ritual provides a type of rite of passage in which the worshiper experiences a transformational process involving inaccessible entities, which could include theological concepts or spiritual beings. In my theological perspective, the liminal event of Adventist ritual is the Word of God, in which the worship experiences a transformational process in relationship with the Holy Spirit. In this light, ritual embodies a process in which the worshiper may process beliefs and values, out of which the

⁹⁶ Roy E. Gane, *Ritual Dynamic Structure*, Gorgias Dissertations 14: Religion, vol. 2 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004), 68.

⁹⁷ Reeve, “Liminality and Transformation,” 73.

⁹⁸ Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 216.

⁹⁹ Geertz, “Religion as a Cultural System,” 3.

worshiper's spiritual identity may become intensified, modified, or established (more on this later in the Liturgical Theology section of this chapter).

Ritual Methodology

No theory of ritual should be completely discounted, though there are dangers in reading too much into historical practices. We must ever be careful to “see things their way.” Bell advocates that a broad approach be given to ritual. One must be sure not to minimize the amount of “preliminary framing of the data in terms of such powerful categories as ritual [and] religion,” but that both the theories of ritual and the historical context be utilized in the methodology.¹⁰⁰ Grimes adds that multiple factors must be considered, including the cultural, social, ethos, and worldview.¹⁰¹ This research begins by establishing the historical, cultural, and liturgical context in Chapter 3. In Chapter 6, the ethos and worldview will be drawn out from the data, presenting the development of spiritual identity through worship music.

Social anthropologist Martin Stringer, professor of Liturgical and Congregational Studies at the University of Birmingham, England, seeks to show what anthropology and the study of ritual bring to liturgics. His methodology lends itself well to this present study. Church bulletins provide liturgical context. However, he warns, that ritual studies “is not simply a case of running up some kind of order of service but rather making a note of everything that happens, whether it was supposed to or not, noting who does what,

¹⁰⁰ Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 266.

¹⁰¹ Ronald L. Grimes, *Ritual Criticism: Case Studies in Its Practice, Essays on Its Theory* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1990), 90.

where it is done, and at what point in the rite the action takes place.”¹⁰² Ritual studies goes beyond the order of service toward seeking a description of the manner in which worship activities are performed, including not only the leaders, but also the congregation. Oral histories and other historical accounts of actual worship practice further illuminate the ritual process, providing multiple vantage points for deriving meaning.

Adventist Liturgy as Ritual

What about Adventist liturgy? Can it be viewed as an activity system that is formulaic which interacts with a reality beyond itself? Do the actions of Adventist worship convey meaning beyond themselves?

To answer, we must recognize that Christian worship is a significant human behavior, in that God’s people gather to pay him homage in the forms of liturgy. The forms of liturgy are both the various actions, or “work of the people,” and the cultic activity of their High Priest, Jesus Christ.

Now the main point in what has been said is this: we have such a high priest, who has taken His seat at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens, a minister [*leitourgos*] in the sanctuary and in the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, not man. But now He has obtained a more excellent ministry [*leitourgias*], by as much as He is also the mediator of a better covenant, which has been enacted on better promises. (Heb 8:1-2, 6)

The liturgy of Jesus Christ, both his sacrifice and high priestly ministry, stands central to the entire message of the book of Hebrews.¹⁰³ It stands central to Seventh-day

¹⁰² Martin D. Stringer, “Liturgy and Anthropology: The History of a Relationship,” *Worship* 63, no. 6 (Nov 1989): 512.

¹⁰³ Christ and His high priestly liturgy is the center of the chiasmic structure in the book of

Adventist Christology, soteriology, and ecclesiology in worship: the solution to humanity's problem of sin defilement is through purgation by the application of Christ's blood, resulting in the cleansed conscience of both the individual and corporate worshipers (Heb 9:9, 14; 10:2, 14, 22).¹⁰⁴ The liturgy of Jesus Christ, both his sacrifice and high priestly ministry, provides the acceptable means for humanity to "draw near" to God (4:16; 7:19, 25, 10:1, 22; 11:6, 12:18, 22).¹⁰⁵ We may enter God's presence only through the liturgy of the One Mediator (1 Tim 2:5).¹⁰⁶ Raymond Holmes summarizes the significance of the correspondence between humanity's liturgy and Christ's:

For the New Testament believers the priestly cultus had reached its end with the sacrifice and ascension of Christ, and they proclaimed in the gospel the *leitourgia* which took place on Calvary's cross and continues in Christ's heavenly ministry. The new community, the church, consists of priests who have access to God by faith in Christ, and a High Priest who is performing the *leitourgia* (ministry of service) before God on behalf of His people.¹⁰⁷

Hebrews. Albert Vanhoye, *Structure and Message of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Subsidia Biblica (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1989), 40.

¹⁰⁴ Richard M. Davidson, "Typology in the Book of Hebrews," in *Issues in the Book of Hebrews*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 4 (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989), 144-145.

¹⁰⁵ Peterson, *Engaging with God*, 238.

¹⁰⁶ In 1894, Ellen White gave a series of talks to the students at the Australian Bible School Chapel. In an address to students on February 23, White showed how praise to God as prayer is mingled with the blood of Jesus Christ the heavenly High Priest, making the worship acceptable to God the Father. "We must bring our heart offerings to God in thanksgiving and praise. [. . .] Come before him as children of God and offer him praise. Christ takes that praise and offers it to God for us, and mingles it with incense. It was so hard for me to see how our weak praise could glorify God, but when I got a view of this, that Christ takes that praise and offers it to the Father himself then it is acceptable. [. . .] When we come to him and confess those sins and offer him praise, he takes our praise and offers it to the Father. I want you to see that this is so." Ellen G. White, "Address to Students," February 23, 1894 (Manuscript 15, 1894, par. 2, 22, 24), Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD.

¹⁰⁷ Holmes, *Sing a New Song*, 13.

In Ellen White's writing, she did not shrink from ritual activity in worship. Rather, she insisted that it be meaningful. She also understood that there was a cognitive process in which an otherwise inaccessible entity, Jesus Christ and God the Father, was involved:

When we bow in prayer [activity], let us remember that Jesus [an otherwise inaccessible entity] is with us. When we go into the house of God, let us remember that we are not going into the place of worship alone. We bring Jesus with us. If the people of God could have a realizing sense of this fact, they would not be inattentive hearers of the word. There would not be a cold lethargy upon hearts, so that those who profess his name cannot speak of his love.¹⁰⁸

Fernando Canale, Emeritus Professor of Theology and Philosophy at Andrews University Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, interprets Christ's presence in the liturgy relationally in the Word and the Holy Spirit. "When public worship takes place, God the creator makes himself present in Christ through the Word and the Holy Spirit, and in response, disciples offer a renewed commitment of faith, spiritual songs, praise, thanksgiving, and devotion."¹⁰⁹ Communion with God is an interpersonal, relational, and cognitive process, taking place through the various rituals of worship, private or public.

This theological foundation is significant, for it provides a rationale for why Adventist liturgy may be understood as ritual. All the various rituals of Adventist liturgy—kneeling, standing, singing, preaching, praying, Scripture reading—signify

¹⁰⁸ Ellen G. White, "The Conditions of Fruit Bearing," *Signs of the Times (ST)*, April 18, 1892. "Although God dwells not in temples made with hands, yet He honors with His presence the assemblies of His people. He has promised that when they come together to seek Him, to acknowledge their sins, and to pray for one another, He will meet with them by His Spirit." Ellen G. White, *Prophets and Kings* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1943), 50.

¹⁰⁹ Canale, "Principles of Worship and Liturgy," 102.

meaning beyond their actions. Worship and liturgy hold close relationship in their dynamic process of communicating beliefs. Worship asserts the reality of its object and defines its meaning by reference to it. How worshipers reference the object takes a particular form as liturgy. In turn, modes of worship—liturgy—suggest and shape conceptions of worship, God, the world, humanity, and salvation (see section, Liturgical Theology). Through these rituals, Adventists worship by faith in the heavenly sanctuary before the Father, through the Son, and in the Holy Spirit. This faith process is embodied as ritual, expressing beliefs and also informing them. Ritual significantly shapes the spiritual identity of believers.

In the traditional Adventist liturgy of the twentieth century, the entrance of the elders onto the platform seems to fit the religiously symbolic definition of ritual. Could it be that this entrance rite conveys the meaning that the worshipers are now in the presence of the Divine? Gane indicates that not only must activity systems be formulaic, but they must be controlled. “Controllers of ritual are those who carry out or monitor ritual activities in accordance with authoritative formulaic rules.”¹¹⁰ The entrance rite has not only been formulaic, as described above, but has also been governed by the *Church Manual* since 1932.¹¹¹ John Nixon suggests that the Adventist liturgy of the *Church Manual* became authoritative over time:

In a sense the form of the worship service, which was adhered to fairly strictly, became the substitute for an official ecclesiology. If Adventist worship could not be grounded in a coherent biblical thesis it could at least be safeguarded by a strong

¹¹⁰ Gane, *Ritual Dynamic Structure*, 69.

¹¹¹ General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Church Manual*, 150-52.

organizational formality, and this is exactly what came to pass. Uniformity of practice developed into a worship tradition that eventually became the established orthodoxy, and worshipers in the pews learned to identify a particular order of service as constituting authentic Adventist worship. In the more conservative congregations, deviation from this order came to be looked upon as heretical.¹¹²

Adventist liturgy could not influence theology if it did not function as ritual. Indeed, Adventist liturgy functions as ritual, for it is an activity system that conveys meaning, carrying out a process of interaction with God.

Searle emphasizes the “essential polyvalence of ritual,” in that it may mean different things to different people, and that it may operate at different levels and arenas of thought simultaneously:

Thus a liturgical rite may explicitly mediate contact with the divine while simultaneously rehearsing the participants in the community’s value system, covering over potential sources of conflict in the community, and consolidating the power structure operative in the community by associating it with the sacred and thus with the unquestionable.¹¹³

In the context of Nixon’s historiography, Searle’s comments ring true (though not desirable!). Ritual studies provide the hermeneutic for historical worship practice, in that it recognizes that in Adventist worship, the congregation gathers to corporately make contact to God through Jesus Christ in the heavenly sanctuary. Historically, however, the Adventist liturgical rite also consolidated the power structure of liturgy by associating it with the sacred, essentially saying, “These practices must mean these things in this context,” and thus making the liturgical tradition normative. The liturgy became the

¹¹² John S. Nixon, “Towards a Theology of Worship: An Application at the Oakwood College Seventh-day Adventist Church” (DMin diss., Andrews University, 2003), 20.

¹¹³ Searle, “Ritual,” 55.

doctrine of the church, and eventually became the standard of belief. To challenge the liturgy would amount to heresy. Whether or not liturgy indeed becomes unquestionable leads the conversation to liturgical theology, to which we will turn later in this chapter. This present research will help tease out some of this history and suggest a trajectory for musical-liturgical practices leading to the present day.

Examining liturgy as ritual is essential to the study of liturgical history. “To study liturgy as ritual is to study liturgy, whether in history or in the present, in its empirical reality as a species of significant human behaviour.”¹¹⁴ This is even more so when considering the importance of liturgy in the life of the worshiper. Says Stringer, “We must begin to look at the liturgy as it is experienced by the man or woman in the pew and try to understand the effect that it has upon them during the performance of the rite itself and throughout their lives, also the way in which this effect is being achieved.”¹¹⁵ The ritual and its meaning create an entire system of values and principles that may shape the worshiper.¹¹⁶

With a multiplicity of meanings for ritual given above, it should be understood that ritual is not, by default, unchangeable. Ritual is not fixed to Roman Catholic liturgy, mainline Protestantism, or the prevailing White liturgy in Adventism. Ronald Grimes argues against the “conservative fallacy” that symbols (activity systems) cannot be generated or changed.¹¹⁷ This research seeks to add historical veracity to Grimes’

¹¹⁴ Searle, “Ritual,” 52.

¹¹⁵ Stringer, “Liturgy and Anthropology,” 517.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 514, 517.

¹¹⁷ Ronald L. Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, rev. ed. (Columbia, SC: University of South

fieldwork, which shows that rites change and are even created by cultures, a process Grimes calls ritualization.¹¹⁸

Ritualization occurs differently across time and cultures. Grimes proposes six “modes of ritual sensibility” as the “embodied attitudes” that accompany diverse ritual expressions. These six are as follows:

- 1) ritualization (bodily, ecological)
- 2) decorum (interpersonal, formal)
- 3) ceremony (intergroup, political)
- 4) magic (technological, causal, means-end oriented)
- 5) liturgy (religious, sacral)
- 6) celebration (playful, dramatic, aesthetic)¹¹⁹

Thinking more broadly about ritual opens the door to possibilities of understanding the diversity of ritual among Black and White Adventists. Several modes may be present in one worship service. Different cultures emphasize certain modes more than others. When one mode dominates, it could be understood as, for example, rites of celebration. Awareness to these modes allows the present research to utilize such modes while seeking to elucidate the historical spiritual identity of Adventism. Grimes’s expanded taxonomy further illuminates the potential of ritual modes as a methodology for interpreting diverse ritual practices. See Figure 1, “Modes of Ritual Sensibility.”

Carolina Press, 1995), 61.

¹¹⁸ Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 40-44.

¹¹⁹ Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 40-41.

MODE	FRAME OF REFERENCE	DOMINANT MOOD	VOICE	BASIC ACTIVITY	MOTIVATION	EXAMPLES
1. Ritualization	ecological psychosomatic	ambivalence	exclamatory	embodying	compelled	symptoms mannerisms gestures
2. Decorum	interpersonal	politeness	interrogative	cooperating	expected	greeting departing tea drinking
3. Ceremony	political	Contentiousness	imperative	competing	enforced	inaugurations rallies legalities
4. Magic	transcendent	anxiety	declarative- imperative	causing	desired	healing fertility divination
5. Liturgy	ultimate	reverence	interrogative- declarative	being	cosmically necessary	meditation worship
6. Celebration	expressive	festive	subjunctive	playing	“spontaneous”	carnivals birthdays feasts

Figure 1. Modes of Ritual Sensibility, from Ronald L. Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, rev. ed. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 57.

Grimes' taxonomy provides multiple modes for interpreting Adventist ritual. Some cultural contexts in this present research may lean toward ceremony and its imperative voice in worship. Others may emphasize the reverence of liturgy, while still another could espouse the expressive playfulness of celebration. Searle viewed Grimes's taxonomy as useful and insightful, but he thought it could be difficult to differentiate ritual from other social activities, such as a parade or routine. Nonetheless, he indicated that these modes of ritual open "the way for a certain 'hermeneutics of suspicion' [as advocated by Bradshaw] in liturgical studies, particularly for the purposes of identifying the ways in which, for example, 'ceremony' (display of social power) may be masquerading as 'liturgy' or even 'celebration'."¹²⁰

We have seen thus far that Adventist liturgy may be understood as ritual, in broad categories of functional, formal, and religiously symbolic. As a liminal event, Adventist worship encounters God in His Word, a threshold experience intended to change the worshiper's character for life and service. In this way, the liminality of Adventist liturgy contributes to community and identity. As religious activity, meaning must be applied in order to be understood as ritual. Additionally, liturgical activity systems reference and even influence worldviews and ideologies. Understanding the various expressions of ritual modes allows a diversity of cultures to be examined. In light of these concepts of ritual, deeper understandings of Adventist liturgy may be understood and mined for meaning.

¹²⁰ Searle, "Ritual," 56.

If Adventist liturgy may be understood as ritual, then some of the most prominent liturgical elements—music & singing—must also be understood as ritual. Perceiving worship music in the context of ritual provides a fundamental hermeneutic for deriving historical theology and spiritual identity. To music we will now turn.

Music and Meaning

Musicology has an important role in this methodology. We must consider many aspects of musicology, including: music as ritual, the phenomenological effect of music upon the listener, the locus of meaning in music, and the theological nature of music in the liturgical context. These fields of music point the research toward an “ethnotheomusicology” of Blacks and Whites, articulating how the music affects worshipers, how they construct meaning around the musical experience, and how music in worship ultimately contributes to, and even shapes, spiritual identity.

Music as Ritual

In the Seventh-day Adventist liturgy, making music is a ritual act, for it signifies worship. To praise God in song is to say more than words of praise. “He who sings, prays twice.”¹²¹ As religious ritual, worship music receives and conveys meaning, as much as an act of prayer. Ellen White asserts, “Singing, as a part of religious service, is as much

¹²¹ This saying has been erroneously attributed to Augustine of Hippo. This saying does not exist in his writings, though he did say something similar: “For he that singeth praise, not only praiseth, but only praiseth with gladness: he that singeth praise, not only singeth, but also loveth him of whom he singeth. In praise, there is the speaking forth of one confessing; in singing, the affection of one loving.” Augustine *Exposition on the Book of Psalms*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, series 1, vol. 8, edited by Philip Schaff (New York: Christian Literature Publishing, 1886), Psalm 73:1.

an act of worship as is prayer.”¹²² Similarly, as Catholic priests often say at the beginning of Mass, following the processional hymn: “Let us continue our prayer.”¹²³

Music in worship is also something more than bowed prayer or celebratory praise. It is not meant to be merely a piece of literature, as poetic texts or composed scores. Rather, it is a work of art. It performs what it means. In music, performance and meaning co-reside. For example, consider a portion of Psalm 23. Read the following text, silently, as you have been reading this chapter:

The Lord is my shepherd;
I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures:
He leadeth me beside the still waters.
He restoreth my soul:
He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness
For his name’s sake.

When one reads silently, one often misses the possible meanings when the text is read aloud. In my teaching a course on worship, I have heard several students comment on how one of the Pauline Epistles “came alive” when he heard an actor recite an entire book from memory, performed with feeling and energy. The performance of Scripture communicates meaning beyond the mere definitions and syntax of words.

Read the text again, out loud. Perform it. Read it with meaning and feeling. Did it sound different? Did it communicate meaning differently? The recitation of Scripture invites passionate performance for a greater conveyance of meaning. Read aloud and

¹²² Ellen G. White, *Patriarchs and Prophets or the Great Controversy Between Good and Evil as Illustrated in the Lives of Holy Men of Old* (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1890), 594.

¹²³ I have been enriched by the spirit of prayer fostered by the numerous priests with whom I have ministered over the past ten years as a musician in the Roman Catholic Church.

with feeling, Psalm 23 is a succession of sensations, a significance exceeding cognitive recognition, and yet still communicating.

Ritual performance, including the performance of music, communicates symbolically. “Non-verbal dimensions” must be considered alongside written texts. Liturgical historiography values written texts, including prayer books and hymn texts. However, the discipline has tended to be overly-focused on texts. While liturgical texts give a record of what may have been said, they are too fragmentary as to what was done. Today, in various Christian denominations, I have witnessed pastors, priests, and congregations not say what was printed in a prayer book, bulletin, and hymnal. These printed sources do not accurately portray what was actually performed. Searle further stated that “while it is possible to reconstruct the beliefs of a community on the basis of their fragmentary verbal expression in the rite, it is more important to trace the trajectory of the ritual *doing* and to ask, not what is being said, but what is being done.”¹²⁴

Don Saliers provides keen insights into the role of music as ritual in Christian worship. He suggests that music communicates in “non-discursive symbolism,”¹²⁵ expressing the “verbally inexpressible.”¹²⁶ Saliers effectively demonstrates how music embodies and symbolically conveys meaning through ritual: “Music is intimately related to the narrative quality of human experience, presenting our temporality in symbolic form, but always bodily perceived through the senses. Ritual contexts activate the

¹²⁴ Emphasis his. Searle, “Ritual,” 57.

¹²⁵ Don Saliers, *Music and Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2007), 6. Saliers is Emeritus Professor of Theology and Worship at Candler School of Theology, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

¹²⁶ Saliers, *Music and Theology*, 9.

formative and expressive power of sound with respect to the deep patterning of human affections.”¹²⁷

Saliers further articulates the connection between music, spirituality, and ritual: “Music confers upon human language addressed to God the appropriate silence and mystery required by prayer. Music is the language of the soul made audible especially as music is the performative mode of the prayer and ritual engagement of a community.”¹²⁸ Saliers echoes the essence of Paul’s message in the parallel passages of Colossians 3:16 and Ephesians 5:18-19. “Let the word of Christ richly dwell within you, with all wisdom teaching and admonishing one another with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with thankfulness in your hearts to God” (*New American Standard Bible* [NASB]). Paul reiterated his point more musically in Ephesians 3:19: “Singing and making melody with your heart to the Lord” (NASB). Music embodies the communal ritual act of expressing worship—both reason and affection—toward God. “Whether around campfires, in fields of harvest, or in temples and churches, the communal act of singing has formed and expressed deep human emotions.”¹²⁹ Because music expresses worship through thoughts and emotions, congregational music holds a place of significance in the spiritual identity of the worshipers.

Richard Crawford, an American hymnologist, writes how early American Protestant sacred music carried meaning: “A piece of music [. . .] accumulates impact

¹²⁷ Saliers, *Music and Theology*, 7.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

over time not because it changes itself, but because it stores more and deeper cultural meanings for those who sing and hear it.”¹³⁰ Crawford goes on to indicate four ways congregational singing contributes to the spiritual life of the worshiper. I have separated the paragraph into numbered points; after each I give an explanation.¹³¹

1. “Usually cast in rhymed meter, the stylized form of a psalm- or hymn-tune’s text makes it easy to remember and separates it from other kinds of verbal communication.”

Poetic meter is the basic rhythmic structure of a verse of text. For example, iambic tetrameter indicates that the accent or rhythm of the meter is da-DUM, equaling one metrical foot. One iamb equals two syllables. Tetrameter means four iambic feet: da-DUM, da-DUM, da-DUM, da-DUM. Tetrameter equals eight syllables. The second official Seventh-day Adventist hymnal, *The Seventh-day Adventist Hymn and Tune Book for Use in Divine Worship*, commonly known as *Hymns and Tunes (HT)*,¹³² begins with a hymn for worship, “O Thou Who Dwellst Up on High,” set to the melody named OLD HUNDREDTH. The following is stanza three:

O bless us as we meet today,
While unto thee we sing and pray;
O bless the word of truth we hear,
And to each heart be very near.¹³³

¹³⁰ Richard Crawford, “Preface,” in *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody*, ed. Richard Crawford, Recent Researches in American Music, vol. XI and XII (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1984), ix. Crawford’s immediate context addresses early American Protestant sacred music, congregational singing, and more specifically, psalmody.

¹³¹ Each of the points come from the same location: Crawford, “Preface,” *Early American Psalmody*, ix.

¹³² *The Seventh-day Adventist Hymn and Tune Book for Use in Divine Worship (HT)* (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing House, 1886).

¹³³ *HT*, 1, stanza 3.

The text has a rhyme scheme of AABB: day/pray, hear/near. Set in Long Meter, each poetic line comprises eight syllables. Hymnologists notate this as Long Meter (LM) (8.8.8.8). One may pair this LM hymn with many LM tunes, beyond OLD HUNDREDTH. The regular rhythm and rhyme scheme make this text easy to remember. Additionally, as Crawford points out, people do not speak in this manner, which immediately sets apart hymn texts from other kinds of verbal communication.

2. “Set to a tune and sung, the text draws added impact from the music, which both governs the tempo and helps to establish and intensify a mood.”

The sound waves of music set music apart from other types of ritual. The tune and accompaniment contribute to the emotion of the worship environment more than does most spoken words. More will be said about the effect of music upon the worshiper in the next section. This phenomenological nature of music as it relates to worship must not be overlooked,¹³⁴ particularly how diverse congregations embody and codify meaning. The sounds of music—melody, harmony, rhythm, tempo, volume, and timbre—add sonic meaning to the words of a song. Music deepens the meaning of the text. The mood of the words, “Amazing grace, how sweet the sound,” has been greatly established and intensified through its common pairing with the tune NEW BRITAIN.

3. “Sung by a group, the music creates a strong, if temporary, community of shared purpose; as words flow in measured pace from many lips, they release meanings to feel and to ponder.”

Point three builds upon point two. As the religious community gathers to sing to God, the tempo (or speed) of the music keeps congregational participants unified. A

¹³⁴ One can overlook it, but at the peril of misunderstanding the phenomenological nature of music relating to worship.

shared tempo establishes order, creates community, and unifies the assembly's purpose for worship.

When an individual engages in the true spirit of worship in the liturgy, every song becomes a liminal event. The worshiper searches his/her conscience while singing words of truth. Singing together creates *communitas*, a shared community of praise, petition, and surrender. Worshipers share an emotional bond, engaging in a cognitive transformational process, together pondering the significance of the words sung and the meaning of their ritual action of singing. Singing in worship asserts the reality of the worship object, namely, God. Through singing, worshipers not only experience *communitas* with each other, but also with God, with whom they share the cognitive process. Singing is horizontally and vertically relational.

4. "As part of religious ritual, a piece appears in a context of high significance to the participants."

Building from point three, Crawford asserts that singing is a part of religious ritual. Congregational songs appear in high significance, because believers sing in worship to God. The ritual significance of music endears the songs to the hearts of the worshipers. Adventism views its Sabbath liturgy as significant, thereby leveraging the congregational songs sung on Sabbath as a fundamental mode for instilling Adventist spiritual identity. For example, the ritual of singing Second Coming hymns in the liturgy contributes to the significance of the message in the experience of the worshipers. When worshipers view the liturgy as important, they also view the components of the service to be important.

As significant ritual music, the aforementioned hymn, “O Thou Who Dwellest Upon on High,” (mentioned above in point one), reveals a liturgical theology of the service. For convenience, I again include the text for stanza three:

O bless us as we meet today,
While unto thee we sing and pray;
O bless the word of truth we hear,
And to each heart be very near.¹³⁵

Being placed at the beginning of *HT*, the text speaks both to the beginning of a Divine Service and also to the entire worship to be sung throughout the hymnal. The text teaches that the worshipers gather to the liturgy for singing, prayer, and hearing truth. Most of all, by singing the hymn, the worshipers seek to draw comfort by acknowledging God’s presence as they sing. The ritual act of singing this hymn intensifies the theology of the text.

Songs of experience become embedded into the spiritual identity of the worshiper. Dirk Ellis, citing hymnologists Harry Eskew and Hugh McElrath, points out that “a significant portion of what Christians believe is ‘formulated [more] by singing hymns than by preaching or Bible study.’”¹³⁶ Ellis adds further: “there exists a close connection between what a church and its people believe, and in time become, and what they sing.”¹³⁷ Ray Crozier indicates that social groups establish normative preferences that

¹³⁵ *HT*, 1, stanza 3.

¹³⁶ Harry Eskew and Hugh T. McElrath, *Sing with Understanding: An Introduction to Christian Hymnology* (Nashville: Church Street Press, 1995), 63; Dirk R. Ellis, “The Relationship Between Liturgical Practice and Spirituality in the Church of the Nazarene with Special Reference to John Wesley’s Doctrine of Christian Perfection” (PhD Diss, Andrews University, 2012), 577-78.

¹³⁷ Ellis, “The Relationship between Liturgical Practice and Spirituality,” 578.

contribute to a sense of identity. “Musical preferences have considerable implications for personal and social identity,” as a result of which, the musical preference provides security of deep identification with those who share the same convictions.¹³⁸ The ritual experience of music plays an important role in establishing the spiritual identity of the worshiper.

We have established that music carries ritual significance in the Adventist worship. This meaning deepens when coupled with the emotional effect of music.

Richard Crawford makes a fifth point regarding Protestant congregational song:

5. “When repeated again and again [. . .] a sacred piece can store and focus the singers’ and listeners’ emotional experience, which then stands ready to be tapped and, perhaps, also changed and enriched by the next repetition.”

During the ritual of music, a dynamic process occurs. This process influences the interpretation and conveyance of meaning. This is the objective psychophysiological effect of music in religious ritual.

Objective Psychophysiological Effect of Music

Many experience a wide range of emotions during music in worship. Many witness the pull of music to begin tapping toes or clapping. The question is, “What is music’s effect upon, and interpretation by, the listeners? In what way does music affect the listeners? How does this impact the listeners’ interpretation? How do preconceived theologies impact music’s effect? Answers to these questions point toward a dynamic relationship between musical effect, theology, and spirituality.

¹³⁸ W. Ray Crozier, “Music and Social Influence,” in *The Social Psychology of Music*, ed. David J. Hargreaves and Adrian C. North (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 72-73.

The musical effect upon the person—intellectually, physically, and emotionally—must be considered, for, principally speaking, music is not to be seen in a score, but to be heard with the ears and felt with the body. Jeremy Begbie posits, “Musical practice is inescapably *bodily*. . . . Our own physical, physiological and neurological make-up mediates and shapes the production and experience of sound to a very high degree.”¹³⁹ He further argues that “musical experience as embodied action” contains and informs theology.¹⁴⁰

In Chapter 1, I defined music as organized sound in time. Sound waves and human bodies are observable phenomena. Therefore, researchers can study music for a baseline of objective psychophysiological effect upon the listener. Jayne Standley conducted research on 129 human conditions,¹⁴¹ observing the effect of music upon persons in those conditions. Standley found notable effects of music upon patients through behavioral observations and physiological measures, however, “self-reports by patients indicate[d] less of an effect of music.”¹⁴² These findings are significant, for often

¹³⁹ Emphasis his. Jeremy Begbie, *Theology, Music and Time*, Cambridge Studies in Christian Doctrine, ed. Colin Gunton and Daniel W. Hardy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 15. Begbie is a systematic theologian and research professor at Duke University.

¹⁴⁰ Begbie, *Theology, Music and Time*, 19.

¹⁴¹ Some examples of these variables include: podiatric pain, paediatric respiration, pulse, use of analgesia, blood pressure, grasp strength, headache pain intensity, and length of labor during childbirth.

¹⁴² Cited in Leslie Bunt, “Clinical and Therapeutic Uses of Music,” in *The Social Psychology of Music*, ed. David J. Hargreaves and Adrian C. North (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 258-9. Also of note, Standley found pre-recorded music to be less effective than live music. The implications for this are important for worship ministry, though they extend beyond the scope of this study. By inference, live music is more effective upon worshipers than tracks for solo music and congregational singing. The live musician is able to “adapt the music in line with patient needs.” The music experienced on Sabbath contributes toward spiritual healing, but physical healing as well.

listeners do not know they are manifesting observable and measurable effects of music. On the other hand, the study indicates the significant role the mental processes play in the perceived effects of music. This role is not limited to the subjectivity of meaning constructed by the listener. Later in this section, we will return to the role of cognition and how it relates to the psychophysiological effect of music.

The psychophysiological effect of music contributes to the methodology of interpreting liturgical theology. This methodology allows the researcher to consider what people do and feel in worship,¹⁴³ suggesting why worshipers construct the meaning they do, and giving cues toward interpreting theology and spirituality.

By its very nature, composers—from Palestrina to Bach, from Frank Belden to Thomas Dorsey—design music to affect the listener emotionally, physically, and intellectually. Lilianne Doukhan indicates that many elements of music affect humanity, such as timbre, tempo, volume, texture, and more. However, due to their prominence in much of Protestant American music, Doukhan focuses her discussion on melody, harmony, and rhythm.¹⁴⁴ However, considering the musical elements from a transcultural, non-Western perspective, Alice Parker stresses that melody and rhythm (not harmony) are “intrinsic to human beings,” leaving harmony and polyrhythm to be subsets of melody and rhythm.¹⁴⁵ Due to the nature of melody and rhythm, these elements affect

¹⁴³ John Sloboda, *Exploring the Musical Mind: Cognition, Emotion, Ability, Function* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 345.

¹⁴⁴ Melody is the horizontal organization of music, such as in a hymn tune. Harmony is the vertical organization of music, such as in two voices sounding together. Rhythm is the organizing of sound into groupings of beat, meter, and accentuation. Doukhan, *In Tune with God*, 21-27.

¹⁴⁵ Alice Parker, *The Anatomy of Melody: Exploring the Single Line of Song* (Chicago: GIA Publications, 2006), xv; Paul Hindemith, *The Craft of Musical Composition*, trans. Arthur Mendel, rev. ed.,

humanity at an intrinsic, basic level. Broadly speaking, harmony and rhythm are no less significant than melody in how they phenomenologically affect the listener. Doukhan stresses, “It is a general assumption that the emotional impact of music resides in the particular qualities of melody. In reality, harmony and rhythm [. . .] play a much more important role when it comes to touching our emotions.”¹⁴⁶

While not negating the important role of melody, the historical development of American music reveals an intensification of the emotional influence of harmony and rhythm. This effect of music plays an important role in the historiography of this study. Chapters 4-6 demonstrate that over time, Adventist worship music expression adopted the prevailing Western musical subsets of harmony and an increased emphasis on rhythm through the predominant liturgical usage of nineteenth century gospel hymnody and later musical styles. Melody and rhythm dominated the hymnody of the nineteenth century, as seen in the extant records of White and Black spirituals. With the publication of *Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus* in 1855,¹⁴⁷ James White encouraged an Adventist expression of piety through harmony, as this was the first Adventist hymnal with musical notation.¹⁴⁸ Thereafter, Adventist liturgical music

vol. 1 (New York: Associate Music Publishers, 1945), 175. Kostka and Payne begin their textbook, *Tonal Harmony*, with these words: “One thing that distinguishes Western art music from many other kinds of music is its emphasis on harmony.” Stefan Kostka and Dorothy Payne, *Tonal Harmony: With an Introduction to Twentieth-Century Music*, 4th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000), xi.

¹⁴⁶ Doukhan, *In Tune with God*, 21.

¹⁴⁷ James S. White, ed. *Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus*, (Rochester, NY: The Advent Review Office, 1855).

¹⁴⁸ Adventists sang in harmony prior to this publication, but the singers improvised the harmony. Chapter 4 includes a historical example of this.

fostered the organic elements of music—melody and rhythm—and the subset of harmony, explicitly in the notation. More importantly, however, as Protestant congregational music evolved in the late nineteenth century, the intrinsic element of rhythm began to take a more prominent role in gospel hymnody. American music further took shape in the styles of blues, jazz, and Black gospel, espousing the subsets of harmony and polyrhythm. In American worship, the intrinsic elements of melody and rhythm gave way to an increasing predominance of harmonic and polyrhythmic expressions.

Having considered the importance that melody, harmony, and rhythm play in the history of American and Adventist worship music, let us examine further the nature of melody, harmony, and rhythm.

The impact of melody should not be overlooked. “When we listen to music, what we perceive as a tune is simply a succession of separate tones; it is we who make it into a continuous melody.”¹⁴⁹ The memory of meaning created in the sequence of melody impacts the worshiper. Brian Wren agrees, saying, “Evidently, the tune has its own work to do, not independently of its lyric, but autonomously in relation to it.”¹⁵⁰ Fred Pratt Green poetically captured the contribution of music in worship when he wrote, “When in Our Music God is Glorified”:

How oft, in making music, we have found
A new dimension in the world of sound,

¹⁴⁹ Anthony Storr, *Music and the Mind* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), 170.

¹⁵⁰ Brian Wren, *Praying Twice: The Music and Words of Congregational Song* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), 68.

As worship moved us to a more profound Alleluia!¹⁵¹

Music, particularly hymn tunes, bring a realm of meaning beyond what the hymn texts offer, emotionally affecting the worshiper. “It is inadequate to regard the tunes we sing merely as a means of vocalizing their lyrics.”¹⁵² Rather, Brian Wren argues, congregational song “is an indispensable component of Christian public worship.”¹⁵³

Harmony also affects the emotions. The intervallic relationship of pitches forming harmony create degrees of consonance and/or dissonance. Composer Paul Hindemith conceptualized harmony as a spectrum from the extremely consonant to the extremely dissonant, understood as “harmonic fluctuation.”¹⁵⁴ His degrees of harmonic tension teach a hierarchy of tension and relaxation created by a progression of pitches sounding together. These degrees of harmonic fluctuation form “pleasant, agreeable sounds,” or “unpleasant, distressing sounds,” becoming “associated with relaxation and closure” or “with forward movement and tension,” bringing “structure and organization to the music.”¹⁵⁵

Among the three musical elements, rhythm holds the potential to affect humanity the most. In the 1930s, Carl E. Seashore conducted clinical studies on the effects of

¹⁵¹ *The Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1985), 32:2.

¹⁵² Wren, *Praying Twice*, 69.

¹⁵³ Wren, *Praying Twice*, 97.

¹⁵⁴ Hindemith, *The Craft of Musical Composition*, 115-120.

¹⁵⁵ Doukhan, *In Tune with God*, 22.

music, long before the advent of rock and roll.¹⁵⁶ Seashore found that rhythm had a psychophysiological affect upon the listener:

[Rhythm] affects the circulation, respiration, and all the secretions of the body in such a way as to arouse agreeable feeling. Herein we find the *groundwork of emotion*; for rhythm, whether in perception or in action, is emotional when highly developed, and results in response of the whole organism to its pulsations. Such organic pulsations and secretions are the physical counterpart of emotion.¹⁵⁷

Rhythm is like the foundation for the construction of a musical edifice. The advance team has prepared the site for the project, laying the groundwork of emotion. Furthermore, Seashore argued, rhythm stimulates and excites:

Pronounced rhythm brings on a feeling of elation which not infrequently results in a mild form of ecstasy or absent-mindedness, a loss of consciousness of the environment. It excites, and it makes us insensible to the excitation, giving the feeling of being lulled.¹⁵⁸

Seashore followed this by giving an example of a waltz dance:

[Music] starts the organic, rhythmic movements of the body the moment it is heard, and one is drawn, as it were, enticingly into the conventional movements of the dance. But no sooner is this done, in the true enjoyment of the dance, than one becomes oblivious to intellectual pursuits, launches himself, as it were, upon the carrying measures, feels the satisfaction of congenial partnership, graceful step, freedom of movement—action without any object other than the pleasure in the action itself. There comes a sort of autointoxication from the stimulating effect of the

¹⁵⁶ While valuable in its own right, Seashore's research reveals the type of scientific inquiry being made concerning music in the first half of the twentieth century, the period of examination in Chapters 5 and 6 of this study.

¹⁵⁷ Carl E. Seashore, *Psychology of Music* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938), 143-44.

¹⁵⁸ Seashore, *Psychology of Music*, 142.

music and the successful self-expression in balanced movements sustained by that music and its associations.¹⁵⁹

The early research of Carl Seashore foreshadowed the complex findings of contemporary research. Music, rhythm in particular, affects and even elicits emotions and physical response. As Carroll Pratt said, “Music sounds the way moods feel.”¹⁶⁰

Music affects the listeners in a given setting. However, the basal emotional effect becomes difficult to quantify, due to the multitude of interpretations. In my course on church music, I conduct an experiment with my students to determine the multiplicity of effect and meaning in a given listening example. I observe a diversity of responses: some students smile, nod their head in time with the rhythm, or clap their hands; other students respond to the same piece of music with inquisitive looks, arms crossed, even furrowed brows, indicating displeasure. My experience parallels that of Doukhan:

As I play the various excerpts of music, the students all react in some way to the music, but they do so in very *different* ways. Their interpretations may vary considerably, according to the basic mood of the music, or the students may not be sensitive to or touched by the music at all. What for some feels invigorating or transcendent, comes across as boring or uninspiring to others.¹⁶¹

Music has a psychophysiological affect upon humanity, but to what extent depends on the listener’s interpretation and construction of meaning. Two primary schools of thought exist regarding music and its effect. The “cognitivist” school views

¹⁵⁹ Seashore, *Psychology of Music*, 142-43.

¹⁶⁰ Carroll C. Pratt, *The Meaning of Music: A Study in Psychological Aesthetics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1931), 203. “Carroll Pratt’s remark about music sounding the way that moods feel, for instance, now seems apter than ever.” Aaron Ridley, *Music, Value and the Passions* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 139.

¹⁶¹ Doukhan, *In Tune with God*, 38. Emphasis hers.

music as “expressing” emotions without “inducing” them. The “emotivist” school holds that music causes emotions.¹⁶² Donald Hodges’ survey of the literature reveals that more empirical studies support the emotivist position, though “researchers have not adequately distinguished between emotion and mood, and have not dealt with serious methodological [and even philosophical] shortcomings.”¹⁶³

John Sloboda, Emeritus Professor of Psychology at Keele University and internationally renowned scholar of the psychology of music, lumps Hodges in the emotivist school, calling it the “pharmaceutical” model. He reasons, “Can we choose what mental processes to engage during some musical activity? If we cannot, then there is the possibility of a rather simple approach to the psychology of music. Each type of music will have a particular mental effect on a person, just as a particular drug will have a reliable effect on human physiology.”¹⁶⁴ He posits that the pharmaceutical model is “hopelessly inadequate,” suggesting one can intellectually approach a musical encounter in a number of ways:

1. I can pay no attention to the music at all, and pursue my own thoughts, memories, and fantasies.

¹⁶² Isabelle Peretz, “Towards a Neurobiology of Musical Emotions,” in *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications*, ed. Patrik N. Juslin and John A. Sloboda (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 99.

¹⁶³ Donald A. Hodges, “Psychophysiological Measures,” in *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications*, ed. Patrik N. Juslin and John A. Sloboda (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 297. Juslin et al. propose a theoretical framework that seeks to address the impasse that includes cognitive appraisal and psychological induction mechanisms, including: brain stem reflexes, evaluative condition, emotional contagion, visual imagery, episodic memory, and musical expectancy. Patrik N. Juslin et al., “How Does Music Evoke Emotions? Exploring the Underlying Mechanisms,” in *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications*, ed. John A. Sloboda and Patrik N. Juslin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 605-42.

¹⁶⁴ Sloboda, *Exploring the Musical Mind*, 346.

2. I can derive personal associations to the music. [. . .]
3. I can exercise an analytic or critical faculty with respect to some aspect of the music. [. . .]
4. I can engage with the music in a non-analytic, contemplative mode, in which, while being attentive to it, I am not focusing on any particular event, or making specific judgements [*sic*]. I am “letting the music wash over me”.
5. I can engage with the music by attending to the relationship between myself and others also engaged in the music.¹⁶⁵

Sloboda’s list demonstrates that humans are not robotic computers with 1’s and 0’s of on–off switches. Sound waves enter the ear, and the brain’s cognitive processes engage with them in a multiplicity of ways. From this list, Sloboda argues that cognition can override the psychophysiological effects of music. And yet Sloboda makes room for the pharmaceutical approach. He explicitly states that some emotional states are caused by music:

It seems clear that there are at least some musically generated affective states which are not simply triggered through association to previously experienced instances of the same or similar music. Music has some inherent characteristics which promote affective responses.¹⁶⁶

His points resonate with the research of Isabelle Peretz, a specialist at the University of Montreal in the neurocognition of music. She demonstrates that lower-level reasoning (emotion) of the subcortical route of the brain indicates music can cause affective states as seen through the startle reflex, sensory dissonance, and a combination of the two.¹⁶⁷ Through her innovative brain lesion study involving handicapped

¹⁶⁵ Sloboda, *Exploring the Musical Mind*, 346.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 355.

¹⁶⁷ Peretz, “Towards a Neurobiology of Musical Emotions,” 106-10. Peretz notes that when listening to scary music, like that used in horror films, a multiplicity of factors affect perception, all of which require the role of the amygdala. When listening to only the sound recording, this music could be

patients,¹⁶⁸ Peretz is able to target areas of the brain that brain imaging cannot. She demonstrates that cortical functions, the region of the brain responsible for higher-level reasoning (cognition), “are key brain systems in the emotional cortical circuit subserving musical emotions.”¹⁶⁹ This means that music causes basic emotions, like happiness, sadness, anger, and fear.

However, in healthy brains the emotive function works in tandem with the cognitive processes. Sloboda relates this reality to contemplative worship:

It is necessary to mentally instruct oneself to forget where the music comes from, to forget one’s associations to it, to forget whether one likes it or not, and simply let it work its effect. There is a strong element in worship of quieting one’s own inner voices to “let God speak”. This is often expressed as a subjugation of one’s own will and inclinations to God’s. Precisely because music does have such strong personal associations, but also *of its own nature* evokes emotional responses which may be quite at variance with one’s personal predispositions towards it, there is a clear sense in which the contemplation of music embodies the particular challenge to “self” that marks out contemplative worship.¹⁷⁰

startling, but may not elicit fear. When coupled with the visual cues of a horror film, the music elicits fear in the listener. Many factors contribute to the extent to which this particular music affects the listener. However, “It remains to be determined if involvement of the amygdala precedes or follows a cortical perceptual relay. To this aim, one would need to specify the nature of the musical features that may express danger from music. [. . .] Dissonance, rhythmic irregularities, and expectancies, are elaborate musical features that may require cortical mediation. It remains possible that the amygdala could be triggered by coarser acoustical features, such as high-spectral sounds, highly dynamic sounds, or highly unpredictable sounds.” Ibid., 110. While scary music likely elicits specific emotions in the listener, this study does not venture into the exotic, unusual, or scary. The worship atmosphere of Adventist liturgy typically espouses more predictability, serenity, and contemplation. Even still, Peretz’ research opens new possibilities for interpretation of the unusual or exotic in liturgical style.

¹⁶⁸ Only through brain lesions, a type of brain damage that turns off specific neurological function, can causation of music on brain region be tested. Peretz argues that this is a major weakness in brain imaging techniques, because the cortical and subcortical systems cannot be mechanically unlinked without lesions. Peretz, “Towards a Neurobiology of Musical Emotions,” 105-106, 114.

¹⁶⁹ Peretz, “Towards a Neurobiology of Musical Emotions,” 113.

¹⁷⁰ Sloboda, *Exploring the Musical Mind*, 357. Italics his. All Christian worship could be considered contemplative, since worshipers contemplate who God is and what He has done through the various liturgical acts.

For most worshipers, music does not simply have an objective psychophysiological effect upon the listener. The listener's own cognitive function also subjectively influences the extent to which the music has a psychophysiological effect.

Sloboda's reasoning and Peretz' neurological evidence pave a middle way. Room must be given to the phenomenological nature of music and its psychophysiological effect upon the listener. This effect of music must not preclude the power of the cognitive faculties which may govern and, in many cases, override the psychophysiological. A dynamic relationship exists between cognition and emotion, both of which interact simultaneously in liturgical music.

This middle way harmonizes with "construction theory," which essentially argues that the human brain is "born knowing" how to create patterns out of life's multiplicity of stimuli. Such is the case with language. An infant immediately begins seeking to construct meaning from the words her parents speak to her. As in music, the sound waves enter the ear, are converted to neural signals to the brain, and cause a psychophysiological affect. The brain immediately begins constructing meaning to these sensations, seeking a sense of structure and pattern. Much more than the pharmaceutical model, construction theory allows for variance of perception of music between listeners based on musical experience, age, and background, and allows for cultural differences in music. "Construction theory therefore allows a better theoretical fit between music perception research and ethnomusicology."¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Harold Fiske and Jack Heller, "Music Psychology," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2267271>. Fiske and Heller refer to this type of construction theory as "hard construction theory." In contrast, soft construction theory "assumes invariant processing across all listeners regardless of musical

An extensive study of the effect of music upon mood was conducted by Walter van Dyke Bingham, from 1920 to 1923. The study investigated 20,000 persons who reported the effects produced on their moods caused by a variety of 290 recordings of vocal and instrumental musical compositions. The study found that “a musical composition not only produces a mood change in the listener, but that it also induces a markedly uniform mood in a large majority of the members of an audience.”¹⁷² How does one harmonize this with construction theory? Does the effect of music override the construction of meaning created by the individual? No, not if Peretz’ research is correct. The effect of music resides in the dynamic interplay of cognition and emotion. The large quantity of 20,000 individual test subjects confirms a shared constructed meaning and psychophysiological effect. Within a shared culture today, 20,000 individuals could gather for a Rolling Stones concert. At such a concert, the “emotional connotations of musical stimuli are consistent and predictable.”¹⁷³ The emotional effect of music is consistent and predictable *within* a shared culture. Even within a multi-cultural worship service, there are shared understandings of music. “Music not only expresses emotion

culture.” Soft construction theory comes very close to the behaviorist or pharmaceutical model.

¹⁷² Max Schoen, *The Psychology of Music: A Survey for Teacher and Musician* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1940), 89; Leonard Gilman and Frances Paperte, “Music as a Psychotherapeutic Agent,” in *Music and Your Emotions: A Practical Guide to Music Selections Associated with Desired Emotional Responses*, ed. Emil A. Gutheil (New York: Liveright, 1952), 31.

¹⁷³ John A. Sloboda and Patrik N. Juslin, “At the Interface Between the Inner and Outer World: Psychological Perspectives,” in *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications*, ed. John A. Sloboda and Patrik N. Juslin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 81.

that is perceived by listeners, it also evokes emotions in listeners.”¹⁷⁴ The emotional effect of worship music is consistent and predictable in a common worship culture.

This predictability allows the present research to examine worship music patterns and their relationship to spiritual identity, due to the marked similarity between differing occurrences of weekly Sabbath services and the common worship culture in the various churches. All worship music contexts are emotional, though these will be different emotions. This complex interfacing of emotion and cognition includes the musical phenomenon, the listener, and the environment or situation of the music.¹⁷⁵

Theology drives musical emotions significantly. “Musical emotions depend to a considerable extent on the goals and motives of the listener.”¹⁷⁶ The listener approaches the liturgy with certain *a priori* beliefs about what is to be experienced. Theological presuppositions foster a cognitive process that simultaneously affects the emotive domain, causing the worshiper to become emotionally intertwined with the experience.

In this research methodology, I am arguing that as a person experiences music in worship, music affects the person physically, emotionally, and intellectually. While experiencing the effect of music, the individual interprets and constructs meaning around the physiological and psychological experience. This meaning derives from the interpreted experience of the phenomenological effect of music upon the person, additionally filtered through one’s personal history, culture, and life experience.

¹⁷⁴ Sloboda and Juslin, “Interface,” 82.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 90.

Now that we have explored the complexity of musical effect upon the listener, let us look more closely at how the listener constructs meaning.

Music, Meaning, and Theology

“Music is a universal language,” used to be the saying of musicologists in the 1930s and 40s, presenting a “unified view of culture” that believed all cultures understand music in the same way.¹⁷⁷ This view does not take into account the complexity and diversity of musical expression found throughout the world. The saying, “Music is a language,” is a metaphor, comparing music to language. All metaphors have truth to them, but not in every way. Doukhan argues that some have exaggerated the metaphorical tie to language, misconstruing the true nature of music.¹⁷⁸ It is inadequate to define music as only sound waves. As we will see, music is organized according to the language of a particular culture.

Comparing music to language requires some nuance. A specific culture understands and communicates through a particular musical language. In his seminal work on ethnomusicology, Bruno Nettl says: “Music is one of the few universal cultural phenomena, for no people is known which does not have some kind of music.”¹⁷⁹ Nettl

¹⁷⁷ Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-Nine Issues and Concepts* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 36.

¹⁷⁸ Doukhan, *In Tune with God*, 37-40. See also: Begbie, *Theology, Music and Time*, 20-28.

¹⁷⁹ Bruno Nettl, *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology* (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 3. Nettl continues: “In spite of the great variety of musical styles the world over, there is enough homogeneity in musical behavior to make identification of music as such possible and simple. Thus, it is necessary for anthropologist, if he is to be fully informed about a particular culture, to know also something about the musical behavior of the people.”

observes that cultures use music for “communicating with the supernatural,” in “religious worship,” for “aesthetic enjoyment,” and “emotional expression.”¹⁸⁰ He further asserts, “Music is a cultural universal, it is not a universal language.”¹⁸¹ Music is found in every culture, however an individual does not understand every culture’s music.

Music speaks the particular language of its culture. Every culture has language. Chinese may be spoken in the United States, but it does not mean that all Americans will understand the language. Its sound waves enter the ear, but if the listener does not know the language, it sounds like noise, or at least as organized patterns of sound the listener cannot decipher. All the elements of music possess “cultural flavor.” Composers create melodic patterns, “shaped according to the scale patterns” of a given culture.¹⁸² As a person grows accustomed to cultural language, the brain creates an emotional connection to the music, leaving a lasting memory in the listener.

Style is the way the elements of music (including melody, harmony, and rhythm) interact. The genres of Baroque, Classical, Blues, and even the multiplicity of streams of hymnody each possess unique stylistic-cultural languages.¹⁸³ One may be fluent in

¹⁸⁰ Bruno Nettl. “Music.” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40476>.

¹⁸¹ Bruno Nettl, *Excursions in World Music*, 6th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, Prentice Hall, 2012), 13.

¹⁸² “While Western melodies use the diatonic scale built on 12 equidistant semitones, Arabic and Asian tunes use scales made of five or six tones within the octave (pentatonic and whole tone) and may accommodate intervals smaller than the semitone.” Doukhan, *In Tune with God*, 21.

¹⁸³ Such as Eskew and McElrath’s taxonomy of English nineteenth-century hymnody. Eskew and McElrath, *Sing with Understanding*, 146, 148, 151, 160. Similarly, Michael Hawn has given seven streams of contemporary congregational song since Vatican II. C. Michael Hawn, “Introduction: Streams of Song,” in *New Songs of Celebration Render: Congregational Song in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. C. Michael Hawn (Chicago: GIA Publications, 2013), xxix-xxxiii. The multiplicity of streams illustrates the rich

Classical music (Mozart, Haydn), but may not be able to communicate intelligibly with Romantic music (Rossini, Chopin), even though they possess many similarities in style. These styles belong to certain cultural groups and espouse the culture's values.¹⁸⁴ Closer to the paradigms of this study, the Black spirituals speak a different language than the hymns of classical Protestant hymnody. The cultural language of Black and White worship music must be considered as foundational to translating these modes of musical communication to a shared meaning in the minds of the worshipers.

In other words, much of the meaning in music is subjective, based on personal experience, history or background, and culture. Doukhan states, "Musical experiences always happen in a context, and we naturally establish a connection—an association—between the musical event and the environment in which it takes place."¹⁸⁵ These associations reach beyond the immediate context of the musical event to the recesses of the mind, making connections with multiple traces of memories.

As we seek to understand a musical language, consideration must be given to the actual performing of music and the listening of music:

Music is primarily something human beings do, it contrasts with a very strong stream in musicology that sees music as fundamentally about works, usually written down, treated as self-contained objects that can be understood, to a large extent at any rate, without thinking about what gave rise to them, the composer's circumstances, the way they have been interpreted, the way people react to them, and so on. The work, in

diversity of musical worship expression among the broad Christian tradition.

¹⁸⁴ "Music at its very core is a cultural phenomenon, a mirror of society." Doukhan, *In Tune with God*, 19.

¹⁸⁵ Doukhan, *In Tune with God*, 65; Nettl, *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology*, 3.

other words, is isolated from its context, past and present, and regarded as if it were the “real” music.¹⁸⁶

More often than not, listeners of music in the pew do not consider the score of music or the composer and background of the music.¹⁸⁷ When singing a hymn, congregants give a cursory glance at the score in the hymnal, in order to simply know what to sing.

This discussion of examining the performative context and the experience of the listener stems from the influential work of Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Music and Discourse: Toward a Semiology of Music*.¹⁸⁸ Semiology is the study of signs, thus, in the case of musical semiotics, it is the study of the meaning of the symbols of music, such as musical notation, structures, and meaning through correlations. Musical semiotics has tended to focus on the printed score and the experience of sound as it relates to the score.¹⁸⁹ Many styles of music do not have a score, but only have an oral tradition of composition and

¹⁸⁶ Jeremy Begbie, *Resounding Truth: Christian Wisdom in the World of Music*, Engaging Culture, ed. William A. Dyrness and Robert K. Johnston (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 39. Ethnomusicology has followed this perspective in earnest. For a discussion on the development of the discipline, see the following works, particularly the introduction sections by Helen Myers: Helen Myers, ed. *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1992); Helen Myers, ed. *Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional Studies*, The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1993).

¹⁸⁷ Begbie, *Resounding Truth*, 40-41.

¹⁸⁸ Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Music and Discourse: Toward a Semiology of Music*, trans. Carolyn Abbate (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); Maeve Louise Heaney, *Music as Theology: What Music Says about the Word*, Princeton Theological Monograph Series, ed. K. C. Hanson et al. (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 84-92; Jenefer Robinson, ed. *Music and Meaning* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

¹⁸⁹ Peter Kivy, *Sound and Semblance: Reflections on Musical Representation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984); Eduard Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful: A Contribution Towards the Revision of the Aesthetics of Music*, trans. Geoffrey Payzant (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1986); Robert S. Hatten, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven: Markedness, Correlation, and Interpretation* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994).

improvisation.¹⁹⁰ The work of Nattiez stands apart from other musical semiotics, drawing on “the widest possible range of semiotic influences” that includes ethnomusicological sources.¹⁹¹ Nattiez advocates a three-part consideration to the meaning of music: the historical background and purpose of the composer, the object of music itself, and aesthetic experience of the performer and listener.¹⁹² Nattiez’ work is revolutionary to the field of semiotics and music, for he took a broader view of meaning. Aniruddh Patel summarizes Nattiez well, when he states, “In this view, meaning exists when perception of an object/event brings something to mind other than the object/event itself. This definition stimulates systematic thinking about the *variety* of ways in which music can be meaningful.”¹⁹³

To begin, we must understand the building blocks of semiology: subject and object. In grammar, the object in a sentence is acted upon by the subject, such as, “Bach composed a cantata.” Bach is the subject and cantata is the object. Bach acted on a cantata by composing it. When dealing with psychophysiology in music, music has an objective effect upon the listener, at the base emotional level:

Composition → Listener
(subject) (object)

¹⁹⁰ Heaney, *Music as Theology*, 93.

¹⁹¹ Hatten, *Musical Meaning*, 300-301.

¹⁹² Nattiez, *Semiology of Music*, 10-17.

¹⁹³ Emphasis his. Aniruddh D. Patel, *Music, Language, and the Brain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 350.

In this scenario, the musical composition has a subject matter comprised of sound waves, structure, and style. The music here is the subject, for it acts upon the listener. There is an objective psychophysiological effect at the subcortical level of the brain.

However, when entering the realm of meaning, the paradigm of subject/object reverses. The listener constructs subjective meaning upon the object, music:

Composition ← Listener
(object) (subject)

In this case, the human brain constructs patterns of meaning to interpret the stimuli of music, a subjective construction. The listener brings to bear upon the musical event her own subjective musical experience, age, and cultural background. These scenarios happen often simultaneously, resulting in a dynamic interaction of both the composition and the listener as subject/object.

Historically, composers have understood the meaning of their compositions to flow from composer to the listener:

composer → composition → performers → listeners

This semioticist view places little emphasis on the listener’s personal role in constructing subjective meaning. Viewing these four—composer, composition, performers, and listeners—as activities—composing, performing, and listening—validates the active role each actor makes in the construction of meaning. A multi-directional meaning exists among the listeners and performers. The flow of meaning is not one-directional due to the objective and subjective nature of music discussed earlier.

composer → composition ↔ performer ↔ listener
(subject) (object) (subject) (subject)

The composer approaches the compositional activity with her own subjective experience, culture, and purpose, bringing it to bear on the composition (object). Likewise, the performer renders the composition through her own subjective skill and hermeneutic toward performance practice, as well as experience and culture. Similarly, the listener brings his subjective experience and culture as she hears the performance in the music event. Furthermore, the music may have an objective effect upon both the performer and the listener, because the object, music, contains its own subject matter that stands alone from the composer.

A common reality, however, is that for most listeners—and even many performers—the composition (object), its historical background, cultural context and the composer’s purpose are lost or forgotten:

composer –/– composition –/– performer \leftrightarrow listener

With the passing of time and changes to society and cultures, meaning also changes or is completely lost, since the relationship between a cultural group and the object of music has changed or been forgotten. The listener and performer may even associate the music with a completely different context than originally composed. This is observed with George F. Root’s (1820–1895) “Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys are Marching,” a Civil War march song. Today we sing the same tune to the words, “Jesus Loves the Little Children.” Associations have been completely lost, yet the psychophysiology of the tune continues to affect the listeners to movement and joy. Associations can also vary between

two listeners.¹⁹⁴ Thus meanings in music shift and are dynamic based upon history, cultural, and personal experience.

This does not mean, however, that the historical context of the object, the intent of the composer, and other semiological methods should be forgotten. George Root collaborated with William Bradbury (1816-1868), the composer of “Jesus Loves Me,” toward the advancement of the Sunday School movement of the late nineteenth century. Root himself likely introduced his tune, “Tramp, Tramp, Tramp,” into the movement. In time, the tune has lost the meaning of the Civil War, and today, the listener associates the tune with “Jesus Loves the Little Children.” Though disassociated due to the passing of time and change of culture, this tune has been intimately linked with children’s ministry for over a hundred years. Musical meaning may be subjective, but it may be illuminated by excavation and exegesis of its history.

The musical object deserves careful study and evaluation for meaning. Both researchers and worshipers should consider the printed score, composer, performer, and the performance event. The challenge remains, however, for the listener to understand the composer and performer’s intent for meaning. Research demonstrates that “the messages which artists attempt to communicate through their work are rarely recognized by the perceiver.”¹⁹⁵ Both musicians and congregants must put forth effort to communicate authentically. The score and performance deserve attention by the listener to what the

¹⁹⁴ “None of this, of course, is to say that associative response is not for some listeners the only form of affective response a musical experience can afford. It is merely to say that for other listeners other kinds of response are possible.” Ridley, *Music, Value and the Passions*, 124.

¹⁹⁵ Adrian C. North and David J. Hargreaves, “Experimental Aesthetics and Everyday Music Listening,” in *The Social Psychology of Music*, ed. David J. Hargreaves and Adrian C. North (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 92.

composer and performer say, and not just what the listener thinks and feels about it. When not carefully listening or studying the score, the listener loses important opportunities for deeper understanding.

When the composer and performer—contextual purveyors of meaning—are missing from the equation, it does not connote that only the listener’s subjective meaning applies. Quite on the contrary, music continues to sound in the listener’s ear, creating a psychophysiological effect. The cultural background and purpose with which the composer created the music, plus the manner in which the performer rendered the composition, contribute to the subject matter of the sound. In the words of Marshall McLuhan, “The medium is the message.”¹⁹⁶ It behooves the listener to seek an understanding of the background and purpose of the music so as to nuance one’s perception of the music.

The task of finding meaning in worship music is different from the scientific inquiry of laboratory tests. Investigations of worship music cannot completely remove the variable of culture. In the worship music setting, we do not want to remove culture, for worship must always be contextualized.¹⁹⁷ The shared culture and the knowledge of the musical language must be assumed to a certain extent. Christians who gather for worship want to be there, want to be affected by the music, and believe the ritual music conveys significance about their faith.

¹⁹⁶ Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: Mentor, 1964), 7.

¹⁹⁷ Lutheran World Federation’s Study Team on Worship and Culture, “Nairobi Statement on Worship and Culture: Contemporary Challenges and Opportunities,” 2-3.

Therefore, in a worship setting, the dynamic meaning of music conveys an “acoustical” theology.¹⁹⁸ Descriptions found in letters, periodicals, and oral histories of this research reveal conceptions of music and theology as manifest in the behavior of the worshipers.¹⁹⁹ Brian Wren, renowned hymn writer, expands the conception of theology, implying how music both communicates theology in sound, and may also help expand the theological project in general:

Christian theology as reasoned enquiry hopes not merely to express and convey the faith called forth by God’s self-disclosure [. . .] but to explore, discover, and know more about it. If there are [nonverbal] ways of exploring, discovering, and knowing [. . .] about God [. . .] they are doing theology, not merely expressing it, conveying it, or doing non-theological work with theological implications.²⁰⁰

Performers and worshipers alike “do theology” when they worship through music. “The theologian/performer must engage in responsible pragmatic and moral evaluation of the effects” of the music.²⁰¹ Furthermore, the worshiper in the pew must also be understood as the theologian/performer, as she performs her music before the audience of One. In this vein of thought, Christopher Small’s concept of “musicking” is helpful. “To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by

¹⁹⁸ Saliers, *Music and Theology*, 21.

¹⁹⁹ “One may construct formulations of the system of ideas about a concept and even a word by observing relevant behaviour.” Nettl, “Music,” *Grove Music Online*, 2.

²⁰⁰ Wren, *Praying Twice*, 352. Much has been written on the relationship between music and theology. Space does not allow for an exposition of these valuable works, though here I recommend a few: Jeremy S. Begbie and Steven R. Guthrie, eds., *Resonant Witness: Conversations between Music and Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011); Begbie, *Resounding Truth*; Paul Brainard, ed. *Reflections on the Sacred: A Musicological Perspective* (New Haven, CT: Yale Institute of Sacred Music, Worship and the Arts, 1994).

²⁰¹ Philip E. Stolzhus, *Theology as Performance: Music, Aesthetics, and God in Modern Theology* (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 251.

listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing.”²⁰²

Mary McGann has helped pioneer the study of music in liturgy.²⁰³ She affirms that music in liturgy reveals theology. “Each [cultural] idiom is not only an acoustic/sonic tradition, but a carrier of social customs, of ritual expectations, of spirituality, and of cosmology.”²⁰⁴ This theology resides not only in the texts of music, but also in the compositional sound that complements the text, evoking thoughts and emotions in a particular cultural context. This is music functioning as theology.

The methodology for finding meaning in music is complex. As a part of religious ritual, music provides a mode of expression of beliefs, and also conveys meaning to the worshipers. It promotes community, creating emotional connection to others and the theology the songs declare. Music affects the worshipers emotionally, physically, and intellectually. This effect may take place at the base emotional level, but is also nuanced by higher reasoning. Music may cause the worshiper to have objective reactions to the

²⁰² Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 9.

²⁰³Not that she has been the first, but she has articulated essentially a methodology that provided a springboard for the one developed in this study. The namesake for this chapter and study, *Worship Music as Spiritual Identity* also derived from her title. Mary E. McGann, *Exploring Music as Worship and Theology*, American Essays in Liturgy, ed. Edward Foley (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002); Mary McGann, “Interpreting the Ritual Role of Music in Christian Liturgical Practice” (PhD diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1996). See also: Edward Foley, *Ritual Music: Studies in Liturgical Musicology* (Beltsville, MD: The Pastoral Press, 1995); Philip V. Bohlman, Edith L. Blumhofer, and Maria M. Chow, eds., *Music in American Religious Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Monique Ingalls, ed. *Christian Congregational Music: Performance, Identity and Experience* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013). Jon Michael Spencer has advocated “theomusicology” as a designation for a “method for theologizing about the sacred, the secular, and the profane.” Jon Michael Spencer, *Theological Music: Introduction to Theomusicology* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 3. His method goes beyond the liturgical context of this research, though his principle is the same: music reveals theology.

²⁰⁴ McGann, *Exploring Music as Worship and Theology*, 9.

music, but the worshiper also brings her *a priori* convictions of history, culture, and personal experience to the music event. These background presuppositions inform the effect of music, allowing the worshiper to construct meaning and associate it with the music. As a signifier of meaning, music functions much like language, though understood only within a cultural context. Thus, music provides a significant mode for expressing the beliefs and spirituality of the worshipers within a particular context.

Let us now turn to liturgical theology to examine more fully how music in liturgy manifests and shapes the beliefs of the worshipers.

Liturgical Theology

Theologia Prima

Consideration must be given to the liturgical and extra-liturgical texts that help articulate the historical liturgical theology of Adventism during the period. From out of these texts emerges the task in my methodology to discover the “consistent patterns of thought and behavior found in racially diverse worship services and see how these patterns affect the congregation [and denomination] as a whole.”²⁰⁵ These patterns of acting/singing/thinking provide the liturgical theology which contributes to the overall spiritual identity among worshipers.

Liturgical theology may be understood as “the theological work of the liturgical assembly, not the work done by an academic upon liturgical material.”²⁰⁶ It begins with

²⁰⁵ Marti, *Worship across the Racial Divide: Religious Music and the Multiracial Congregation*, 9.

²⁰⁶ David W. Fagerberg, *Theologia Prima: What is Liturgical Theology?*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Hillenbrand Books, 2004), ix.

the assumption that liturgy proclaims theology. Though not a theologian in the academic sense, Ellen G. White keenly perceived this reality. She declared that “modes of worship” reveal conceptions of God, the world, humanity, and even salvation.²⁰⁷ When Christians gather for worship, modes of worship—liturgy—implicitly and explicitly embody theology. The performance of Christian liturgy is a form of doing theology.

When Christians speak of theology, they often refer to the work done by scholars. This discipline is considered *theologia secunda*, “second-level” theology, for it “concerns itself with describing, analyzing, criticizing, and organizing the doctrines” of theology.²⁰⁸ In contrast, liturgy is understood as *theologia prima*, first-level theology, for it includes the “actual living-out and personal practice of religion.”²⁰⁹ A parishioner, even a child, enacts *theologia prima* while singing praise or kneeling for prayer. For example, kneeling, singing, keeping the Sabbath—all liturgical acts—“reflect the theology of the

²⁰⁷ “It is Satan’s constant effort to misrepresent the character of God, the nature of sin, and the real issues at stake in the great controversy. His sophistry lessens the obligation of the divine law and gives men license to sin. At the same time he causes them to cherish false conceptions of God so that they regard Him with fear and hate rather than with love. The cruelty inherent in his own character is attributed to the Creator; it is embodied in systems of religion and expressed in modes of worship. Thus the minds of men are blinded, and Satan secures them as his agents to war against God. By perverted conceptions of the divine attributes, heathen nations were led to believe human sacrifices necessary to secure the favor of Deity; and horrible cruelties have been perpetrated under the various forms of idolatry.” Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan: The Conflict of the Ages in the Christian Dispensation* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1911), 569; Karl Tsatalbasidis, “If the Foundations are Destroyed, What Can the Righteous Do,” *Adventists Affirm* (Fall 2008): 57. Conceptions of God, the world, and humanity are considered the first principles, or philosophical foundations for all knowledge. Fernando Canale, “Philosophical Foundations and the Biblical Sanctuary,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 36, no. 2 (Autumn 1998): 184-185.

²⁰⁸ Millard J. Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1998), 21.

²⁰⁹ Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 21.

worshippers.”²¹⁰ Chronologically speaking, the worship of Christians reveals their *first* expressions of theological thought.

Liturgical practices reveal an often “unreflected-upon” theology. A congregation does not often purposefully reflect upon their worship actions, nonetheless, their actions manifest theological meaning. Consider the unbeliever who comes into the Christian worship experience, and falls on his face declaring, “God is here!” (1 Cor 14:24-25). The unbeliever has not reflected on the deep theology he has just performed. However, Scripture teaches that bowing before God is an act of worship (Ps 95:6). While the new worshiper had not reflected upon his theology, his liturgy of bowing signified belief, a *theologia prima*.

Some scholars, particularly Roman Catholics, take *theologia prima* to mean the first source of theology, the *locus theologicus*. Aidan Kavanagh, late professor of liturgical theology at the University of Notre Dame, believed that Christian theology had fallen from *theologia prima* into *theologia secunda*, the formulation of theology by means of reason and based upon written sources such as the Scriptures, not the actions of the liturgy. He emphatically called the discipline, liturgical theology, for the subject, liturgy, governs the object, theology—hence, *liturgical* theology.²¹¹ Catholic theologians

²¹⁰ Pease, *And Worship Him*, 31, 42.

²¹¹ Aidan Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology*, The Hale Memorial Lectures of Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1981 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 77.

view liturgical theology as normative for the “larger theological enterprise.”²¹² In this Catholic model, praxis becomes the basis for theory.²¹³

Lex Orandi Lex Credendi

In the history of Christian theology, liturgical practices became the source for soteriology, and by extension, the source for all theology. Maxwell Johnson, professor of liturgical studies at the University of Notre Dame, states, “Several of the central Christian doctrines were prayed liturgically long before they were formalized dogmatically.”²¹⁴ Sometimes doxological practices have been given as the defense for orthodox beliefs.²¹⁵

²¹² Fagerberg, *Theologica Prima*, ix, 61, 119.

²¹³ The net effect of this thinking replaces the authority of Scripture with a plethora of sources: experience, tradition, history, culture, liturgy, and even Christ. One observes this thinking in the long line of major modern theologians: Kierkegaard, Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Herrmann, Barth, Brunner, Bultmann, Moltmann, and Pannenberg. See Gulley, *Prolegomena*, 381-382. Therefore, modern theology has ancient roots. This is not to say that other sources of authority are not formative, but that an Adventist hermeneutic places Scripture as the ultimate authority.

²¹⁴ Johnson, ed. *Sacraments and Worship*, xiv. While historically this has been true, most of these developments were unbiblical. “The speed with which the early Christians tobogganed into apostasy takes one’s breath away.” C. Mervyn Maxwell, “Change of the Sabbath,” in *History of Sabbath and Sunday: [papers handed out in class] (CAR)*, 3. A prime example of the interplay between doxology and orthodoxy in the liturgy may be observed in the historical development of the Eucharist. While rightly understood as thanksgiving and “good grace”, the Eucharist primarily developed in the early centuries as a sacrifice of the Christian towards God. This sacrifice developed into a work of the priest on behalf of the people in order to achieve justification. The Roman Catholic priesthood usurped the liturgical role of Jesus Christ as High Priest in the heavenly sanctuary. Herein lies the *OED*’s primary definition of Liturgy: the Divine Service, or work of the people to please God. As stated in the third edition of the English Roman Missal, the priest says, “Pray, brethren that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God, the almighty Father.” “The Order of Mass,” *The Roman Missal*, 3rd ed. (2010), accessed December 14, 2017, https://www.magnificat.net/romanmissal/pdf/PewCard4pages_195x270_site.pdf. For more on the development of the doctrine of sacrifice, see: Frances M. Young, *The Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek Christian Writers from the New Testament to John Chrysostom*, Patristic Monograph Series, vol. 5 (Cambridge: The Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1979); Robert J. Daly, *The Origins of the Christian Doctrine of Sacrifice* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), 135-140; Maxwell E. Johnson, “The Apostolic Tradition,” in *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, ed. Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 8.

²¹⁵ The relationship between doxology and orthodoxy serves as fundamental issue for all liturgical theologians. The English Methodist and great liturgical theologian Geoffrey Wainwright suggests that the liturgy, or work of the people, finds its “focal point and function” in the holism of the Christian life. “Into

In the words of Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390 – c. 455), *ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*, meaning, “So that the rule of supplication may establish the rule of believing.”²¹⁶ This complex Latin phrase has often been quoted in short form, *lex orandi lex credendi*, which means, “The rule of praying is the rule of believing.” Kavanagh stressed the importance of the grammar of the patristic maxim, arguing that the predicate makes the phrase clear—it is the law of supplicating that *establishes (statuat)* the law of believing. “The predicate *statuat* does not permit these two fundamental laws of belief and worship in Christian life to float apart or to be opposed to each other, as in the ‘tag’ form *lex orandi, lex credendi*.”²¹⁷ Kavanagh correctly analyzed Prosper’s statement, but he places normative authority in the liturgy, the source *prima* for establishing the Christian faith.²¹⁸ Johnson agrees: “The practice of Christian worship forms the belief of

the liturgy the people bring their entire existence so that it may be gathered up in praise,” which is doxology, “the praise of God.” Wainwright’s entire systematic theology centers on this theme: Geoffrey Wainwright, *Doxology: The Praise of God in Worship, Doctrine, and Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 8. Liturgical theologians have connected the term, “doxology,” with the similar term, “orthodoxy.” Doxology and orthodoxy are related linguistically. Orthodoxy’s definition is expanded from simply “right teaching,” to being equally understood as “right glory,” “right praise,” or “right worship.” David W. Fagerberg, *What is Liturgical Theology? A Study in Methodology* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 302; Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology*, 81-83; Don E. Saliers, *Worship as Theology: Foretaste of Glory Divine* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994), 40.

²¹⁶ “In inviolable decrees of the blessed apostolic see, our holy fathers have cast down the pride of this pestiferous novelty and taught us to ascribe to the grace of Christ the very beginnings of good will, the growth of noble efforts, and the perseverance in them to the end. In addition, let us look at the sacred testimony of priestly intercessions which have been transmitted from the apostles and which are uniformly celebrated throughout the world and in every catholic church; so that the law of prayer may establish a law for belief [*ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*].” Prosper of Aquitaine, *Episcoporum Auctoritates*, Patrologia Latina, ed. Jacques P. Migne, 209. Translation Johnson, ed. *Sacraments and Worship*, 50-51. Prosper of Aquitaine was a Gallican layman and one of the earliest disciples of Augustine of Hippo. In battling the semi-Pelagian controversy, he utilized the church’s liturgical supplication for grace as an argument for the causative role of divine grace in salvation.

²¹⁷ Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology*, 91.

²¹⁸ Alexander Schmemmann further asserted, “The accepted doctrine of the Church sees in ‘the tradition of sacraments and sacred rites’ an inviolable element of Tradition, and thus also one of the sources which theology must utilize if it seeks to expound fully the faith and life of the Church.” In his note,

the church [. . .]. In turn, worship itself is formed further by that belief and, further still continues to form people into believers and disciples of the crucified and risen Lord.”²¹⁹

Not all have viewed Prosper’s maxim as unidirectional. Geoffrey Wainwright, liturgical theologian and British Methodist, articulates the critical distinction between Catholics and Protestants regarding *lex orandi, lex credendi*:

Roman Catholicism characteristically appeals to existing liturgical practice for proof in matters of doctrine. There *lex orandi, lex credendi* is most readily taken to make the (descriptive) pattern of prayer a (prescriptive) norm for belief, so that what is prayed indicates what may and must be believed. Protestantism characteristically emphasizes the primacy of doctrine over the liturgy. The phrase *lex orandi, lex credendi* is not well known among Protestants, but they would most easily take the dogmatic norm of belief as setting a rule for prayer, so that what must be believed governs what may and should be prayed.²²⁰

However, not all Catholic liturgical theologians view the maxim as dogmatically as Kavanagh and Fagerberg. Jesuit liturgical theologian Edward Kilmartin recognized a greater reality, that worship and theology influence each other. “The law of prayer is the law of belief, *and vice versa* [emphasis added].”²²¹ Even for Wainwright the Latin tag is flexible, demonstrating the dynamic relationship between worship and theology.

Schmemmann cited the Eastern Orthodox *Catechism*: “Concerning Sacred Tradition,” which states, “The term ‘Sacred Tradition’ refers to the fact that those who truly believe in and honour God transmit by word and deed, to one another and as ancestors to descendants, the doctrine of the faith, the law of God, the Sacraments and sacred rites.” Alexander Schmemmann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology*, trans. Asheleigh E. Moorhouse, 3rd ed. (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1986), 17-18. In other words, the Sacred Tradition is how the theology of the Church is fully communicated.

²¹⁹ Johnson, ed. *Sacraments and Worship*, xiv.

²²⁰ Wainwright, *Doxology*, 251-252, 218.

²²¹ Edward J. Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy: Theology and Practice*, vol. 1, Systematic Theology of Liturgy (Kansas City, MO: Sheed and Ward, 1988), 97.

“Worship influences doctrine, and doctrine worship.”²²² Edward Yarnold states that this relationship also exists between liturgy and spirituality:

The principle *lex orandi, lex credendi*, asserting as it does the mutual interaction of prayer and belief, implies a similar interaction of liturgy and spirituality. No one’s spirituality is entirely individual. Spirituality is shaped by public worship; and conversely forms and styles of public worship are conditioned by the spirituality of the worshipping community.²²³

Yarnold touches on the critical point, that spirituality is shaped by public worship. If so, then liturgy directly influences beliefs, becoming a normative source for theology.

It would seem that this discussion runs against what Seventh-day Adventists believe regarding Scripture, doctrine, and authority. Seventh-day Adventists reject any source other than the Bible as the ultimate normative theology. Adventist systematic theologians approach the theological project from the biblical text. I believe the Bible to be the inspired, authoritative, infallible self-revelation of God, standing on the Protestant heritage of *sola, tota, prima scriptura*, taking the Bible as the ultimate, normative and final authority on theology.²²⁴ However, one would be naïve to think that a list of fundamental beliefs, the Sabbath School lesson, or even scholarly articles grounded

²²² Wainwright, *Doxology*, 218.

²²³ Yarnold, “Media of Spirituality,” 39.

²²⁴ Fernando Canale, *Basic Elements of Christian Theology: Scripture Replacing Tradition* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Lithotech, 2005), 17. Richard Davidson expands on this formula: “(1) the Bible interprets the Bible (*Sola Scriptura*); (2) the totality of Scripture interprets Scripture (*Tota Scriptura*); (3) the analogy of Scripture (*analogia Scripturae*); and (4) spiritual things are spiritually discerned (*Spiritualia spiritualiter examinatur*).” “Principles of Biblical Interpretation,” unpublished manuscript. In Norman R. Gulley, *Systematic Theology: Prolegomena*, 661 (note). See also Richard M. Davidson, “Biblical Interpretation,” in *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*, ed. Raoul Dederen (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2000), 58-104; Gulley, *Prolegomena*, 116-127, 661-677. General revelation—including nature, providence in history, and personal interaction—must be interpreted through the light of Scripture. Canale, *Basic Elements*, 18; Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 201-203.

firmly in Scripture can supersede the extremely powerful influence liturgy has upon the faith of the worshiper.

The implication is that the Seventh-day Adventist Church has followed the greater Christian tradition, tending to make the liturgy normative for theology and practice. Adventism wishes that the “rule” was *lex credendi lex orandi*, but the pattern tends to be *lex orandi lex credendi*. While Scripture rightfully receives the highest place for establishing Adventist theology, it often does not practically receive this distinction in the reality of liturgical praxis. The liturgy not only functions as *theologia prima*, but *tends* to be the primary source for worshiper’s doctrine. “What do I believe? Come see my worship.” In Chapter 6, the oral histories show liturgical practice, not Scripture, provided the normative source for beliefs about worship. *Lex orandi lex credendi*. Worship establishes beliefs.

This should not be. What ought to be? *Sola scriptura statuat lex orandi*. The whole Bible, as the primary source, establishes the rule of prayer (worship and liturgy). Scripture must be the basis for doctrine. This *theologia secunda*, or doctrine, must guide the way the church worships. As a result, in the liturgy, the worshiper does not experience Scripture and doctrine as *theologia secunda*, but rather, as *theologia prima*. These distinctions are critical, for they draw out the challenging reality that worship praxis so often not only informs and intensifies beliefs, but also modifies them as well.

Furthermore, recognizing the normative tendency of liturgy, while also holding fast to these Adventist ideals, helps objectify the present research. The researcher makes observations and interpretations of the history, tracing the development of how liturgical practices shape the liturgical theology of the church, ultimately becoming normative for

the denomination. Being rooted in the biblical hermeneutic protects the researcher from interjecting bias and recommending that a historical, formative practice become normative for the present contemporary context.

Liturgy must be viewed as formative in the worship experience of the believer. Liturgy provides tools for teaching the faith.²²⁵ Through the cycle of Sabbath worship services, the congregation learns theological beliefs, values, and cultivates spiritual identity. The question, “How are we forming our church members through the liturgical theology of the worship service?” should be on every pastor’s mind. This study evidences the reality that liturgy tends to be normative, even when the denomination states the Bible is the *sola, tota, prima* authority for faith and doctrine. The Adventist liturgy is a valuable instrument for examining historical liturgical spirituality. Liturgy and spirituality “cannot be understood apart from each other.”²²⁶

Understandably, Adventist theologian Fernando Canale rejects the liturgy as the basis for beliefs. Instead, he points toward a systematic theological perspective on the relationship between worship and liturgy. He begins with the “ground-base” for theology, either cultural or biblical views of God. The ground is the foundation for theological understanding. These develop into theories on theology and salvation. These lead to life experience. This life experience turns to worship, in which the “mind is open to God.” This results in the particular styles, rituals, and music of liturgy. “Thus, the 1) ground

²²⁵ Bingham, “Liturgy and Ritual,” 34-38.

²²⁶ Fagerberg, *Theologica Prima*, 7. Fagerberg uses the term asceticism, as he comes from a Roman Catholic perspective. I equate his term to personal devotion, which could be included in spirituality.

causes our 2) theological understanding, that in turn, influences 3) our life experience in Christ, which goes on to 4) elicit our worship, and 5) shape our liturgical styles.²²⁷

Ideally, Scripture should function as the ground base that founds and informs liturgical praxis. Similarly, Canale’s chart gives insight into how culture may also ground and shape the resultant liturgical forms. See Figure 2.

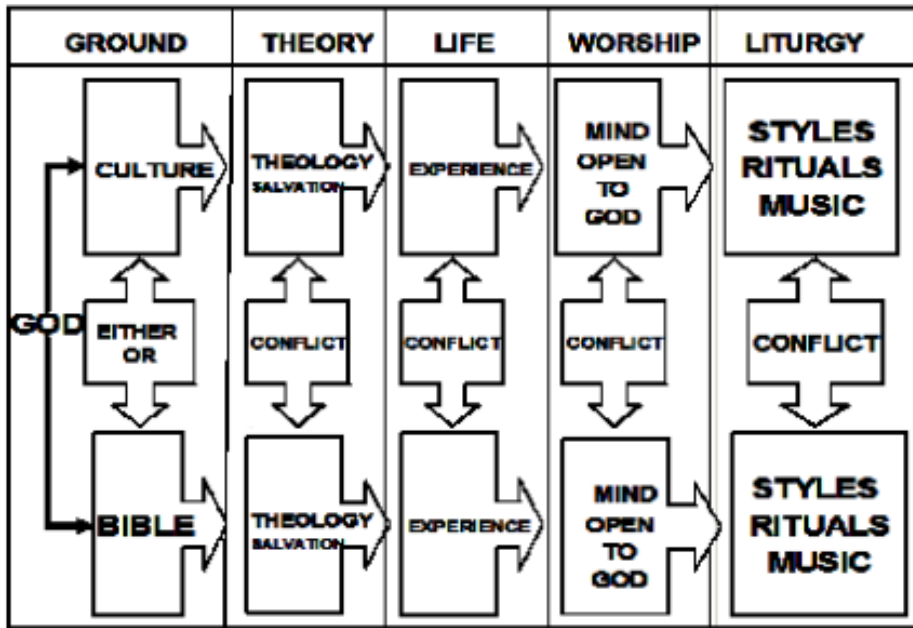


Figure 2. Development of Liturgy, from Fernando Canale, “Principles of Worship and Liturgy,” *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 20, no. 1 (2009), 93.

Canale’s work is not without limitation. This flow chart does not include the natural development of liturgy according to *lex orandi lex credendi*. The various forms of liturgy (styles, rituals, music) shape the spirituality of the worshipers leading to views of

²²⁷ Canale, “Principles of Worship and Liturgy,” 93-94.

salvation. In turn, the worship experience shapes the spiritual culture and also becomes the hermeneutical lens for interpreting Scripture.

In the development of Adventist spirituality, all three possibilities come into play. (1) At times, the Bible grounds theology, life, worship, and liturgy. (2) Other times, the prevailing culture establishes worship and liturgical norms. (3) The third possibility is that the liturgical styles—tradition—are a culture in and of themselves. Congregants enter the worship, giving little attention to what the Bible says about their liturgical practices, or unaware of the larger cultural influences on their worship. The practices become normative, not only in action, but also in establishing a worldview of salvation, becoming the hermeneutical lens for reading Scripture and even reality. In this study, we will seek to observe how this natural development of liturgy, contrary to the Scriptural ideal, contributes to modifying or intensifying beliefs and spirituality. This normative tendency of liturgy and music is conceptualized, as shown in Figure 3, “Spiritual Identity.”

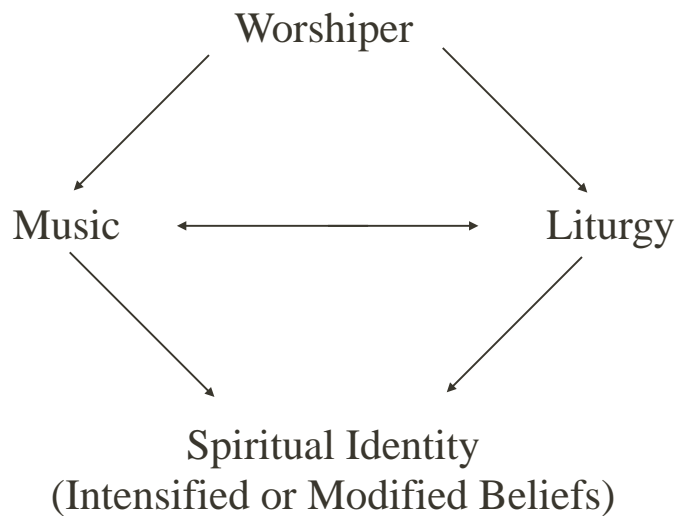


Figure 3. Spiritual Identity.

The worshiper experiences music in the liturgy. The liturgy and music interact in the context of the order of service, adding meaning to the liturgical elements. The worshiper participates in the rituals of music and liturgy. These result in the spirituality of the worshiper, intensifying or modifying beliefs. Because “the way we worship is the way we believe” is so powerful, church members will affirm their praxis by saying it is the biblical way, when in reality, it is supported by *lex orandi lex credendi*.

This development of spirituality provides the justification for this study. The racial dimension of the study provides control groups—White and Black Adventists—in which the Scriptural beliefs are formally identical, but music, liturgy, and culture are different. This enables the possibility of isolating to some extent the influence of music, liturgy, and culture on theology from the Bible’s influence on theology and hermeneutics.

Liturgical Theology Summary

In this study, liturgical theology is defined as the manifest theology derived from worship and music practices. It often may reflect the first expressions of theology, *theologia prima*, from the worshipers, long before they engage secondarily in critical theological exploration, *theologia secunda*. Recognizing this reality does not negate the Adventist principle of *sola, tota, prima scriptura*. Indeed, this principle may help Adventist ministers not fall into the tendency of *lex orandi, lex credendi*, “the rule of praying establishes the rule of believing.” The Protestant ideal is *lex credendi, lex orandi*, “so that the rule of believing may establish the rule of praying.” This study seeks to demonstrate a more nuanced reality, showing how theology and worship music affect each other.

The great hymnologist Erik Routley stated that “a hymn is an opportunity for a congregation to declare its experience and to rejoice in Christian doctrine corporately.”²²⁸ Singing the faith binds them together while the songs’ texts edify their understanding. Mark Noll argues that not only does worship practices reflect beliefs, but for evangelical Christianity, the *lex credendi* is the *lex cantandi*, “what evangelicals have been is what we have sung.”²²⁹ Perhaps we can build off of Noll’s Latin, arguing more fully for the formative theological role of music in worship: *lex cantandi, lex credamus*. “The way we sing *may be* (subjunctive) the way we believe.” Singing reveals, intensifies and/or modifies spiritual identity. Theology shapes music, and music shapes theology. Liturgy and theology perform a sacred dance inspired and beautified by music.

Chapter Two Summary

This chapter set out to describe a methodology for ascertaining the spiritual identity of Black and White Adventist worshipers as manifest in their liturgical music. It incorporates perspectives from a wide range of disciplines, including historical, cultural, and liturgical contexts; oral history; ritual studies; ritual music; neurological, psychological, and physiological factors related to music; musicology; hymnology; ethnomusicology; semiology; and liturgical theology.

The research must be situated within a historical context. While any historiography will create bias due to the researcher’s selection and presentation of data,

²²⁸ Erik Routley, *Hymns Today and Tomorrow* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1964), 18.

²²⁹ Mark A. Noll, *American Evangelical Christianity: An Introduction* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 2001), 268.

this study seeks to “see things their way,” by focusing on people and their lived experiences in worship and music. Societal and cultural conditions deserve attention. Liturgical practices must also be articulated. Church bulletins, newspapers, articles, and correspondences may provide some of this evidence. A significant contribution to the evidence comes from oral histories of persons still living from the end of the research period. These histories offer unique insight into the lived worship of the people. They provide descriptions of the actions of worship.

These descriptors give insight into the ritual practices of the churches. Oral histories provide the opportunity to ask the worshipers themselves what the rituals in the liturgy meant. The historical, cultural, and theological contexts of the denomination also provide hermeneutical tools for discovering meaning associated with the ritual practices.

Music is situated in the ritual context of liturgy, as an activity layered with meaning. It creates community, fosters an emotional experience, and occurs within a context of high significance. Its repetition also helps make the worship practices memorable. The meaning of music is cumulative in the life of the worshiper.

Moreover, the meaning of music is subjective, based upon the history, culture, and experience of the worshiper. However, music has an objective baseline psychophysiological effect upon the listener. This is difficult to ascertain, as higher reasoning influences the lower. The worshiper brings *a priori* beliefs into the musical event, imposing beliefs and values upon the experience. Human beings naturally attach meaning to experiences of music. Thus, as music affects the worshiper, she immediately begins to construct meaning around the musical stimuli and liturgical context, with or without a biblical basis.

Music is not a universal language, for there is no universal language. Not everyone in the world speaks English or Chinese. Nevertheless, the metaphor of language is helpful. Just as every culture has music, every musical culture reflects the values of that culture. Music speaks the language of that culture. Those who speak a particular cultural language, understand its musical language of melody, harmony, rhythm and its other elements. In the context of this study, Blacks and Whites understand American hymnody and spirituals differently, based upon their history, culture, and experience.

Music—a mode of worship—reflects not only values of the worshipers, but also worldview, revealing conceptions of God, the world, humanity, and even salvation. Though its musical language is contextually defined through its culture, music communicates fundamental theological principles to the worshipers. Worshipers often experience the liturgy as one's first theological experience and expression of faith. This manifest theology is liturgical theology.

Ideally, the Seventh-day Adventist liturgical theology should derive from Scripture and doctrine. Denominational theology frames music in the liturgy, resulting in a unified expression and proclamation of the Adventist faith in worship. In this context, liturgy is formative.

What is often the case, however, is that liturgy tends to be normative. The Latin phrase *lex orandi, lex credendi* is usually taken to mean, “the rule of praying is the rule of believing.” It may be stated more plainly: “The way we worship is the way we believe.” Liturgical and musical praxis not only reveal one's faith and encompassing spirituality, but the praxis tends to shape, intensify, and even modify beliefs and values that comprise spiritual identity. Because of the prevalence of music in Adventist history and liturgy, its

theological content in hymnody, its strong emotional content in its composition, and its use in the personal spiritual life, liturgical music serves as a unique source for deriving a historical spiritual identity of Adventist worshipers.

The development of worship music practice among Black and White Seventh-day Adventists until the first half of the twentieth century provides an excellent case study for this methodology. In this study, I seek to demonstrate how music in liturgy promotes, develops, and often establishes spiritual identity in the existential experience of the worshiper.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MUSIC IN LITURGY AMONG BLACK AND WHITE CHRISTIANS IN THE UNITED STATES BEFORE 1840

Introduction

Give me that old-time religion,
Give me that old-time religion,
Give me that old-time religion,
It's good enough for me.

In Chapter 2, I argued that spiritual identity—the beliefs and values that make up one's spirituality—may be drawn out from liturgical and musical practices. In this chapter, I lay out the historical context for spiritual identity among Black and White Christians in the United States,¹ beginning with the early settlers and slaves around 1600 until the middle of the nineteenth century. This history briefly surveys Black and White worship, liturgy, and music. Due to the unique history between Blacks and Whites in the United States, each of these ethnicities have cultivated both shared and distinct spiritual identities, based on their experience and fueled by racial paradigms. This historiography

¹ As a White American male, I recognize my own shortcomings and inherent biases in worship, music, and race. I make no claims as to being an expert or knowing Black worship from the Black American experience. As such, I rely on the experience and expressions of those I interviewed to inform both my investigation and conclusions. I am also indebted to my former graduate assistant of two years, Dorhel Davis. As a female African American who attended Oakwood University and is my same age, she afforded me countless candid conversations about race, music, and worship.

is essential for understanding the spiritual identities among Black and White Adventists of later centuries.

This chapter consists of five sections. Section one lays a foundation for the rest of the chapter, examining Black and White Christianity, its religious diversity, the growing reach of Puritanism, and the slaves' roots in Africa. Section two addresses the spirit of revival, restoration, and revolution that fed the ensuing liturgical revolution and provided the theological background for the emergence of Adventism. In the third section, the new liturgical revolution is considered, seeing how the new frontier worship affected the leading Protestant denominations in the early nineteenth century. Section four delves deeper into the Black experience, spirituality, and theology. Finally, section five draws the chapter together, showing how Black and White theology, liturgy, and music, contributed to the independent Black church movement and the derived Black and White historical liturgical theology.

Early Black and White America

The historical development of Black and White spiritual identity begins with the antecedents of religious thought and practice in early America. We begin our study with early Black and White America, surveying both the diverse religious landscape, the widespread influence of the Puritan Way, and the common practice of slavery. To better situate the slave experience in America, preliminary consideration is given to African roots. This section will cast light on the rest of the chapter. We return to Black spirituality in greater depth in section four. These early beginnings influence the trajectory of religious practices, race relations, and spirituality in America.

Religious Diversity and the Puritan Way

The earliest Europeans and Africans arrived in what would become the United States in close proximity of time. Though they converged in the New World in the first decades of the seventeenth century, their cultures and social status were vastly different. Blacks were battered in bondage; Whites wielded the whip. From the beginning, the Black and White relationship was based upon racist attitudes and practices.

Early White settlers' religiosity varied and they colonized geographically in like-minded groups. Anglican White settlers founded Virginia in 1607. Puritans held the north with settlement at Massachusetts Bay in 1630.² Catholics arrived in Maryland in 1634.³ By the end of the colonial period, the English "Dissenting" voice, comprised of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers, held a majority over the Anglican and Catholic denominations. America possessed a Protestant identity. "The people [of the colonies] are Protestants, and of the kind which is the most adverse to all implicit subjection of mind and opinion."⁴

However, more than just Protestant identity, America's diverse peoples came to share two common values: Puritanism and slavery (more on this in the next subsection). Historian Philip Schaff wrote, in 1845, "Puritan Protestantism forms properly the main basis of our North American Church. Viewed as a whole, she owes her general

² Mark A. Noll indicates that historians have tended to view the Virginian settlement as predominantly secular, while the later Puritan settlement at Massachusetts Bay in 1630 held a more religious character. *History of Christianity*, 36.

³ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 26-27.

⁴ Edmund Burke, *Speech of Edmund Burke, esq., On Moving His Resolution for Conciliation with the Colonies, March 22, 1775*, reprint ed. (Taylors, SC: Van Hooser Publications, 1975), 27.

characteristic features, her distinctive image, neither to the German or Continental Reformed, nor the German Lutheran, nor to the English Episcopal communion,” but to the Puritans.⁵

The religious views of the English Puritans were carried by their descendants to the Americas in the 1630s. These views established the framework for their legacy on American life. Puritan spirituality held a high, but rigid, view of the Ten Commandments, preventing any kind of images or embodied action in worship, outside of the Lord’s Supper.⁶ This sprang from their intense biblicism in all things. Spirituality was central, for the “heart of Puritan[ism . . .] was the weekly gathering in church for worship, fellowship, and instruction” in “meeting houses.”⁷ The meeting house (or, meetinghouse), was not a church. Puritans understood the church to be the community of Christians, the Body of Christ, and not a building. While the meetinghouse was used for public meetings, it was “chiefly the place where they met God.” The meetinghouse was likely not a carry-over from Europe, but “an authentic, native product.”⁸ While the sermon was the focus of the worship, Puritans expressed their praise and petition through prayer and singing the psalms *a cappella*, without instruments. The use of hymn texts other than the Bible, and the use of instruments was perceived as popery.

⁵ Philip Schaff, *The Principle of Protestantism: As Related to the Present State of the Church* (Chambersburg, PA: Publication Office of the German Reformed Church, 1845), 114.

⁶ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 44.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁸ Horton Davies, *The Worship of the American Puritans, 1629–1730* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1990), 233, 235.

Their basic tenets sprang from fundamental Calvinistic thought.⁹ “Individuals are sinners who need divine salvation; God has provided that salvation by grace, from his mercy alone; saved sinners now have the right and privilege to serve God by following his law.”¹⁰ Humanity, it was believed, expressly relied on God for this salvation, with an essentially Calvinistic view of election and predestination. God bestowed His covenant of grace upon these elect. Puritans viewed themselves as the new Israel in the New World, with a new covenant to establish a theocracy. The irony of their mission was that their freedom to establish a religion without English control would result in binding generations of Americans to its particular worldview:

The Puritan moral vision was so strenuous that almost all Americans since have been forced to react to it in some way. Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, Puritan morality was widely thought to provide the foundation for the great success of the United States. Then for the next century or so it was thought that Puritan morality was the great nemesis to be exorcised from the American past.¹¹

The Puritan Way left a lasting impression on the new continent and American life, particularly in New England. Many of its standards would become societal norms for American life in the middle of the nineteenth century, including morality, biblicism, Sunday/Sabbath observance, and music. Though some contrasts may be seen, Noll argues that Virginians shared similar concerns with the Puritans. The earliest Virginian laws required Sunday/Sabbath observance, including a penalty for violation of the

⁹ Davies expounds on the nuances of Puritan thought and its antecedents, giving a comprehensive treatment to English Puritanism from 1550 to 1750. Horton Davies, *The Worship of the English Puritans*, 2nd ed. (Morgan, PA: Soli Deo Gloria Publications, 1997).

¹⁰ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 46.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 40.

Sunday/Sabbath, as well as for adultery and excessive dress.¹² Many of these views carried over into nineteenth century Protestant America, including Adventism. These similarities helped tie the early colonies together.

Slavery in Early America

In addition to the Puritan glue, slavery also bound the colonies together, economically, socially, and religiously. In 1618, Angela, the first known African, arrived at Point Comfort, Virginia aboard the *Treasurer*. This name suggests she was baptized prior to her arrival in the New World. The following year, 1619, twenty Africans were brought to Jamestown, Virginia, as indentured servants.¹³ Slavery quickly became part of the fabric of American life. Every colony practiced slavery to some extent.¹⁴ Virginia and other Southern settlements took an early turn from the practice of possessing indentured servants to creating a workforce of Black chattel slaves for its burgeoning tobacco economy.¹⁵ Likewise, slavery enriched northern merchants in New York, Boston, Newport, and other trade centers.¹⁶

¹² Noll, *History of Christianity*, 37.

¹³ At this time in history, an indentured servant, whether Black or White, would render service for seven years, after which he/she would be set free. Freedom provided the ability to actively engage in economic, social, and political life. "A Chronology of African American Religion," in *Encyclopedia of African American Religions*, ed. Larry G. Murphy, J. Gordon Melton, and Gary L. Ward (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), lix.

¹⁴ Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972), 649.

¹⁵ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 36-37.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

From the beginning of westward Christian expansion, White settlers maintained a conflicted attitude toward the conversion of slaves. For the first decades of colonization, White settlers took a disinterest in evangelism toward servants and slaves. Any effort to convert Blacks was likely in order to prevent the continuation of African Traditional Religion (ATR).¹⁷ Yet, also from the beginning, the conversion of slaves was used as justification for the institution.¹⁸ In 1660, English King Charles II ordered the missionary effort to Christianize First Nations¹⁹ and slaves.²⁰ Tension existed between the message of the gospel and the slaveholders' economic interests. According to British law, baptism would legally emancipate slaves.²¹ Scripture demanded freedom for the baptized: "Stand fast therefore in the liberty by which Christ has made us free, and do not be entangled again with a yoke of bondage" (Gal 5:1; cf. Rom 6:3-4, 7, *New King James Version*). Perhaps, above all, Western Christianity espoused the view that Christians must not hold other Christians in servitude.²²

¹⁷ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 79; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 66.

¹⁸ Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 96.

¹⁹ Sherrow O. Pinder argues for the use of First Nations to refer to Native Americans, as the latter is "embedded with colonial implications." "Indian" tends to be viewed as a pejorative term. *Whiteness and Racialized Ethnic Groups*, xviii, note 1.

²⁰ Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 97. He notes that similar edicts were sent specifically to the colonial governors of Virginia (1682) and New York (1686).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 98.

²² Larry G. Murphy, "Religion in the African American Community," in *Encyclopedia of African American Religions*, ed. Larry G. Murphy, J. Gordon Melton, and Gary L. Ward (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), xxxiii.

Nonetheless, successive actions were taken to ensure that Black slaves would not enjoy the full liberty of the gospel in America. Beginning in 1667, a “series of actions” clarified that any baptized Black would not receive emancipation. In 1670, Virginia legislators passed a law revoking the right to vote from all Black persons, and in the future all slaves brought to Virginia by sea would be “declared slaves for life.”²³ The Church of England “kept Protestant dissenters (and the threat of ‘gospel liberty’) from gaining a foothold” until the eruption of piety and social consciousness that followed from the Great Awakening in the 1730s and 40s.²⁴ The English religious establishment “also made clear that its efforts to convert slaves and incorporate them into the churches would be undertaken without questioning the slave system,” leaving Anglicanism to become “a prop for unusual social deference and the legitimization of the slave system.”²⁵ Both the Americans and the British established laws that prevented slaves from full participation in worship and Christian life.

This, however, did not mean that slaves could not know or experience the gospel amongst themselves. This also did not mean that Whites were the gate-keepers of the gospel message. African roots contributed to the knowledge and religious experience among Blacks, sometimes above and beyond, and even in spite of, treatment and exclusion by Whites.

²³ Murphy, Melton, and Ward, “A Chronology of African American Religion,” lix.

²⁴ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 90.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 90.

African Roots

Out of Egypt I called my son. . .
Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God.
Beyond the rivers of Ethiopia. . .
. . . Even them will I bring. . .²⁶

White Europeans had many encounters with Black Africans long before the establishment of the United States of America. It is also likely that African slaves may have already heard the Christian gospel. Christianity had roots in Africa since the early church, but was “largely, but not wholly, lost.”²⁷ “Not wholly” is significant, as Frans Verstraelen argues that “Christianity has been a reality in Africa for almost two thousand years,” and its “history should therefore be reflected” in Africa’s general history, the history of Christianity in Africa, general Christian history, and world history.²⁸ John Mbiti adds, “Christianity in Africa is so old that it can rightly be described as an

²⁶ Hos 11:1 NRSV, Ps 68:31, Zeph 3:10, Isa 56:6, 7, cited in Charles E. Bradford, *Sabbath Roots: The African Connection; A Biblical Perspective* (Barre, VT: Ministerial Association of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1999), 10.

²⁷ Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 2. See also Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

²⁸ Frans J. Verstraelen, *History of Christianity in Africa in the Context of African History: A Comparative Assessment of Four Recent Historiographical Contributions* (Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 2002). Verstraelen critiques the prevalent historiography of Christianity in Africa, as predominantly Western, and often by European Americans writing from “an African perspective.” He states that history can be written by these persons, though it ought to be nuanced from a native African perspective. His concern appears to be the bias imposed by European Americans, based on their own White, non-African experience. Verstraelen’s critique holds merit, but also some epistemological challenges. While it may be helpful for the researcher to possess a shared experience with those of whom he/she studies, the shared experience may also pose its own biases or prevent the researcher from looking objectively at the data. The greatest challenge Verstraelen poses, is that all historiography could be viewed as biased and therefore flawed. Following his reasoning, it would be impossible for the historian to write on the Reformation, because the researcher lives in the twenty-first century and does not write from a sixteenth-century perspective. A researcher ought to be able to possess the methodological skills necessary to write in his/her discipline effectively, without one’s skin color being the primary concern for the historiography’s veracity. Foreign culture and skin color should not be the basis for judging the quality of research.

indigenous tradition in African religion long before the start of Islam in the seventh century. Christianity was well established all over North Africa, Egypt, parts of the Sudan and Ethiopia.”²⁹ Charles Bradford shows that the biblical seventh-day Sabbath has continued in Africa since the early church.³⁰ A common misconception of early African peoples has been that they only followed ATR. In reality, the African peoples possessed a “significant and sophisticated”³¹ diversity of cultures and religious backgrounds, including ATR, Islam, and Christianity. White Europeans encountered Black African Muslim “Moors” on the West coast of Africa in the 1440s, and Portuguese Christian missionaries delivered the gospel to West Africa in the early sixteenth century.³² Therefore, by the time Whites began importing African slaves to America in the seventeenth century, the imprisoned may have clung to a variety of possible religious views in order to cultivate strength, endurance, and hope through their ordeal.

While early historians dismissed the African heritage of African Americans, more recent scholarship demonstrates that the African worldview provides the hermeneutical lens for Black American conceptions of reality. Earlier studies in the historiography of African American studies focused on the extent of Africanism survivals in the Black Christian Church. Edward Frazier argued that Africanisms were effectually lost through the capture of West Africans as slaves for importation to the Americas, through the

²⁹ John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 2nd ed. (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1989), 223.

³⁰ Bradford, *Sabbath Roots*, 87-118.

³¹ Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 48.

³² *Ibid.*, 5-6.

Middle Passage, and by the harsh treatment of slaves by White slave-owners.³³ Melville Herskovits viewed Frazier's arguments as mere myths, and greatly contributed to an understanding that Black Americans possess a rich cultural heritage derived from their African roots.³⁴ Eugene Genovese further contributed to discovering the identity of Africans slaves, redefining their resistance to slavery as a rejection of slave status and affirming their African taproot in religion, music, and culture.³⁵

Albert Raboteau synthesized these views, believing it essential to recognize the “true aspects of both positions. It is not a debate with a winner and loser, for using differing perspectives, both [Herskovits and Frazier] are right.”³⁶ Herskovits was right in “demonstrating the mutual influence of cultures in the acculturative process. His theory of reinterpretation as a factor in cultural contact is an advance over the notion that a people's beliefs, values, and behavioral patterns simply disappeared in the face of systematic oppression.”³⁷ Cultural Africanisms did survive, though sometimes this may be overstated. Frazier brought a needed critique of Herskovits, in questioning the “significance or meaning” of “African survivals.”³⁸ Raboteau further points out that Africanisms did not continue in the United States like they did in other regions, such as

³³ Edward Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, The University of Chicago Sociological Series (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939).

³⁴ Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (New York: Harper, 1941).

³⁵ Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974).

³⁶ Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 86.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 86.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 86.

Cuba, Haiti, and Brazil. “In the United States the gods of Africa died.”³⁹ In those other regions, Roman Catholicism’s stronghold of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the saints, and sacramental objects offered greater similarities to ATR. In contrast, Puritan America “held such objects to be idolatrous.”⁴⁰

The formation of a distinct theological system, both manifest and cultivated through worship, developed out of the slave experience. Slaveholders forbade slaves to worship amongst themselves, and thus the slaves sought a secret sanctuary in which they could find comfort amidst oppression, meeting in woods and glens to keep their institution of worship invisible.⁴¹ This later became known as the “Invisible Institution.” Africanisms were not merely maintained in America, but the slave experience transformed religion into a hybrid of African and American “styles of worship, forms of ritual, systems of belief, and fundamental perspectives.”⁴² For the enslaved, African life and culture provided the “bedrock” of Black being or ontology, which “structured their response to American slavery and the Christian gospel.”⁴³

The emphasis in research has shifted from the syncretistic model of Albert Raboteau to larger questions. William Gravelly argues that White racism drove Black

³⁹ Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 86.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁴¹ Meetings were held late at night away from the masters’ notice. Common practice was to meet in the “brush arbors,” gathering around a kettle of water that would dampen the sound. Sometimes the kettle was turned upside down to dampen the sound. See Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 179; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 215.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴³ Cone, “Black Worship,” 482.

Americans to develop their own religious identity, for the antecedents of religious separatism were based upon racist systems of thought and practice.⁴⁴ The issues of race and racism highlight fundamental understandings of what it means to be human. To Mambo Ama Mazama, White Christianity's fundamental ontology was racist, dominated Christian praxis, and theology.⁴⁵ Whites viewed Blacks more as property than as persons, which resulted in distinct oppressive religious practices by Whites and distinct practices of protest by Blacks. At the heart of the matter, Blacks and Whites had differing views of what constituted humanity and how to approach God.⁴⁶

Thus, Africanisms were not abandoned wholesale during slavery. Enslaved Africans adapted their African worldview to accommodate their suffering. When introduced to Christianity, they re-interpreted the Christian narrative in light of their own oppression. The African worldview was never discarded, but rather applied in a new context. As shown above, contemporary scholars now argue that it was precisely the African worldview that carried the enslaved through their ordeal, and even today continues to offer respite amidst White racism.

More must be said about the African worldview and how the Black experience in America helped shape Black spirituality. We will delve more deeply into these in section

⁴⁴ Gravely, "The Rise of African Churches in America," 136. Gravely further asserts that one factor which has continued to be relevant in the origins of Black religious independence is White proscription.

⁴⁵ Mambo Ama Mazama, "Afrocentricity and African Spirituality," *Journal of Black Studies* 33, no. 2 (Nov 2002): 225-26.

⁴⁶ James Cone yearns for an emancipation of the "gospel from its 'whiteness' so that blacks may be capable of making an honest self-affirmation through Jesus Christ." For Cone, "to be black means that your hearts, your soul, your mind, and your body are where the dispossessed are." James H. Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power*, paperback ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1997), 32, 151. See also George D. Kelsey, *Racism and the Christian Understanding of Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965).

four. However, now let us continue the story of how Blacks and Whites, together, experienced revival, restoration, and revolution in the churches.

Revival, Restoration, Revolution, and Slavery

In this section, we consider the waves of revival in America, the quest for restoration of biblical ideals, and the revolutionary spirit—both politically and theologically. The dynamic of the Great Awakening and the American Revolutionary War are explored, while also situating the evolving relationship between Blacks and Whites. This section provides a fuller context in which both the Black and White worship experience and theology developed.

The Great Awakening

By the 1730s, the colonies were ripe for change. Noll observes three patterns. In New England, Puritanism stood as a vital “people’s religion.” From the middle colonies flowed a subtle “Protestant pluralism.” In the South, the Anglican establishment perpetuated the “deferential culture” toward slavery, “both economically and ideologically.”⁴⁷ The Great Awakening of the 1730s and 40s surprised the entire colonial landscape, from New England to the South, resulting in a “general upsurge in revivalistic piety,”⁴⁸ impacting the churches, American life, and slavery. George Whitefield (1714–1770), Gilbert Tennent (1703–1764), and Samuel Davies (1723–1761) each made efforts to preach the gospel to Black slaves, though they did not address the institution of

⁴⁷ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 90.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 91.

slavery.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, this period bridged the “chasm between white and black cultures,” with its message of personal experience with God.⁵⁰ Out of this revival came the first Black congregations,⁵¹ with the first Black Baptist congregation established in 1758, in Mecklenburg County, Virginia.⁵²

The ensuing American evangelical Protestantism that developed in the Great Awakening, “with its emphasis on biblical preaching, inward conversion, and credible accounts of the signs of grace, was not as conducive to syncretism with African theology and ritual.”⁵³ Two inferences may be made from this statement. First, due to the differences between Christianity and ATR, slaves were not as likely to convert to Christianity. Second, and more likely, slaves adopted Christianity, but had to make greater adaptations to their African worldview.

Theological Restoration

The Great Awakening brought forth a revivalistic spirit. Part of this spirit was to revive, or restore, Christianity to its historical NT beliefs and practices. George Knight argues that the “spirit” of Primitivism had continued since sixteenth-century Anabaptism into the nineteenth-century American Restorationist Movement. “While Anabaptism

⁴⁹ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 106-107. Samuel Davies was a notable hymn-writer, though none of his hymns have continued in common use today or in early Adventism. John Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1892), 280-81.

⁵⁰ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 107.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁵² Murphy, Melton, and Ward, “A Chronology of African American Religion,” lx.

⁵³ Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 88.

never made much of an institutional impact on early nineteenth-century American religion, the spirit of Anabaptism literally permeated the evangelical denominations of the day.”⁵⁴ Anabaptists did not believe that the Reformation had faithfully followed *sola scriptura*. Anabaptists asserted that the liturgical practice of infant baptism and sprinkling should be abandoned and replaced by adult believer immersion. This restoration of Christianity sprang from a variety of streams of thought.

That spirit did not likely come directly from Anabaptists,⁵⁵ but more likely was a combination of the Puritan Way coupled with the values of religious liberty stemming from the “right of private judgment.” Nicholas Miller argues that the Protestant Reformation laid the groundwork not only for the doctrine of justification by grace alone, but for religious liberty and the “right of private judgment,” meaning that every person had the ability to interpret the Bible for oneself.⁵⁶ The protesting princes, though “nobly championing their own ‘rights’ to conscience and religious freedom . . . , were apparently blind to any inconsistency in their attitudes and actions in condemning and persecuting the Anabaptists.”⁵⁷

In an interesting turn of history, the Reformation principle of the right of private judgment contributed to the humanist enlightenment movement that began in England

⁵⁴ George R. Knight, *A Search for Identity: The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Beliefs* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2000), 30.

⁵⁵ Knight does not show a direct connection between Anabaptist thought and Restorationism in America.

⁵⁶ Nicholas P. Miller, *The Religious Roots of the First Amendment: Dissenting Protestants and the Separation of Church and State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 17.

⁵⁷ Miller, *Religious Roots*, 18.

and expanded through the words of John Locke.⁵⁸ This philosophy developed into Deism, a belief that replaced the vengeful Puritan God for a kindly deity that created the world as an “orderly and understandable place” and had granted humanity “nearly infinite potential.”⁵⁹ Deism rejected miracles, and the supernatural origin of Scripture. “Deism utilized human reason rather than the Bible for its ultimate authority.”⁶⁰ Deism embraced five essentials: God exists, He deserves worship, the practice of virtue, humanity must repent of wrongdoing, and a future judgment.⁶¹ Notable founding fathers who were also Deists include: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Paine. Deism is important to the development of Adventist theology, for William Miller (1782–1849), the founder of the Adventism of the Millerite movement, was a Deist. After his conversion, he leveraged his logical method toward his revolutionary Bible study, to which he referred as a “feast of reason.”⁶²

The Puritan Way, the right of private judgment, and Deism provided a catalyst for the revolutionary spirit in America and the broad sweeping reforms of nineteenth-century America. Coupled with this liberated spirit was Napoléon Bonaparte’s general, Louis-Alexandre Berthier, toppling Roman Catholicism by capturing Pope Pius VI in 1798. This pursuit of liberty and the mortal wound (Rev 13:3) of the papacy, which promised

⁵⁸ Miller, *Religious Roots*, 85-87.

⁵⁹ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 135-6.

⁶⁰ Knight, *A Search for Identity*, 34.

⁶¹ John Corrigan and Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life*, 8th ed. (Boston: Prentice Hall, 2010), 94.

⁶² William Miller, *Apology and Defence* (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1845), 12.

the demise of monarchical governments, created a context of freedom of intellectual thought and religious practice unprecedented in Christian history.

Liberation in politics, intellect, and religion paved the way for the American Restorationist Movement. Restorationism believed that the past Protestant reformers had done all they could. Now, God was calling them to a complete return to the beliefs and practices of NT Christianity. Like the Anabaptists, the Restorationists believed the Bible must be the only source and authority for the faith, having “no creed but the Bible.”⁶³ This mantra fostered expressions like the following early nineteenth-century hymn written by Joseph Thomas, a “Christian” itinerant preacher:

A horrid thing pervades the land,
The priests and prophets in a band,
(Called by the name of preachers,)
Direct the superstitious mind,
What man shall do, his God to find,
He must obey his teachers. . . .

Is this religion? God forbid,
The light within the cloud is hid,
My soul be not deceived;
The Great Redeemer never told
The priests to separate his fold,
And this I’ve long believed. . . .

Let Christians now unite and say,
We’ll throw all human rules away,
And take God’s word to rule us;
King Jesus shall our leader be,
And in his name we will agree,

⁶³ Knight, *A Search for Identity*, 31.

The priests no more shall fool us.⁶⁴

In the American context, political freedom logically led to spiritual freedom.

David E. Harrell, Jr. draws together the beliefs and values of Restorationism, the right of private judgment, and the tenor of the American spirit:

As the post-revolutionary generation of Americans lionized reason as the divine path to the discovery of natural law, so restorationists believed that man's reason would reveal the primal truth in divine law. The secret in both cases was honest investigation and an open mind. As the political democratization of the nation challenged the remaining remnants of privilege and class distinction and claimed a symbolic victory with the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828, so the restoration movements of the early nineteenth century were religious challenges to the churches of the elite—bold assertions by the common people that they were able to construct and manage their own religious affairs. Finally, the idea of religious restoration fit well with the optimistic mood of early America.⁶⁵

Restorationism intensified Puritan biblicism, opening new vistas for free thinkers to explore new ways of religious belief and worship. Strong proponents of this philosophy emerged from the prominent Christian churches. In 1784, James O'Kelly led Virginia Methodists to adopt the name "Christian" as an ecumenical bond reaching across sectarian bounds. The Vermont Baptist, Abner Jones, followed "Christian" fellowship in 1801. In 1804, a Kentucky Presbyterian minister, Barton Stone, similarly joined. In 1807, the Scottish Evangelical, Thomas Campbell, espoused the "Christian" bond of unity. Later, his son Alexander would champion this movement.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ In *History of Christianity*, 143. Ellipses by Noll.

⁶⁵ David E. Harrell, Jr., "Restorationism and the Stone-Campbell Tradition," in *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements*, ed. Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), 845.

⁶⁶ Corrigan and Hudson, *Religion in America*, 117.

Several denominations grew out of the Restorationist Movement, including the Disciples of Christ, the Churches of Christ, the Christian Church, and the Christian Connexion. Several influential Millerite leaders were ministers in the Connexion, including James S. White (1821–1881),⁶⁷ Joseph Bates (1792–1872), and Joshua V. Himes (1805–1895), the latter of whom was a convert to the Millerite message in 1839 and single-handedly advanced the cause through his vigorous publishing ministry.⁶⁸ James White, Joseph Bates, and Ellen G. Harmon (1827–1915)—later James’ wife (August 30, 1846)—would pioneer the Sabbatarian Adventist movement, later establishing the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1861/1863.

Theology, Revolution, and Slavery

Theological and moral tensions again became strained during the Revolutionary period. The seed-thought for the Revolution stemmed from the Protestant Reformation, building upon the values of *sola scriptura*, and the right of private judgment. These principles, however, would both attract countless Black Americans to gospel liberty, while also bringing to light the perpetuation of White racism.

The glaring contradiction of the revolution lay with the question of freedom. How could the colonies demand religious and political freedom when Black slaves were under much greater severity of oppression from White slaveholders than were White Americans from White Europeans? Noll asks, “How was it that so much moral indignation could

⁶⁷ James Springer White, not to be confused with the liturgical historian, James Floyd White.

⁶⁸ Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 145.

flow against Britain for the *threat* of ‘slavery’ ostensibly implied by Parliamentary actions (often misguided, even stupid, but rarely malicious), when white Americans calmly continued to enslave hundreds of thousands of black Africans?”⁶⁹

Most importantly, the Revolution culminated in an American ontology that would perpetuate racism through the US Constitution. The Black population of North America had grown exponentially from 1710 to 1770, increasing tenfold from 44,866 to 459,822.⁷⁰ In an effort to curb Southern overrepresentation in Congress, the North urged that Blacks and “other persons,” which represented property, should be counted as only three-fifths,⁷¹ known as the Three-Fifths Compromise. This compromise became all the more objectionable, backfiring as it stimulated “the African slave trade by increasing the political power of those southern states which continued to import Negroes.”⁷² Though the purpose of the Three-Fifths Compromise related to congressional representation, it did not leave such an impression in the minds of the people. “The principles of America’s founding documents, like the principles of Christianity, could be put to use for human liberation, but they could also be twisted to justify the status quo between masters and slaves.”⁷³

⁶⁹ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 139.

⁷⁰ Painter, *Creating Black Americans*, 37.

⁷¹ “Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.” US Constitution, art. 1, sec. 2, cl. 3.

⁷² Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1971), 49.

⁷³ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 140.

Antislavery agitation quickly died down immediately following the Revolution. The invention of the cotton gin (1794) displaced the role of slaves in the south for some time. In addition, the abolition of slavery in the North combined to mitigate the unrest of White conscience and Black life over the institution.⁷⁴ Abolition would again be taken up, though its challenge would be greater, as slavery had been institutionalized in the very identity of the country.

Seventy-six years later, Frederick Douglass (1818–1895) called out White racism and the effects of the Constitution. Speaking on Independence Day, 1852, for the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society in Rochester, New York, Douglass related the meaning of the Fourth of July for Black Americans. While the Compromise had been about representation, it had become ontological, intensifying the view that Blacks were property and more akin to animals than humans. With the Constitution echoing in his psyche, Douglass reasoned that the very laws that held both slaves and Whites accountable for their actions, implied that “the slave is a moral, intellectual, and responsible being.” If it was against the law for the slave to steal or commit murder, then he was expected to live according to moral principles. And if he was expected to live by the same moral principles as the White man, Douglass affirmed, “the slave is a man!”⁷⁵ And yet, for the Black American, the holiday represented the worst of the nation, for it highlighted the vast experiential difference between Blacks and Whites:

⁷⁴ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 139.

⁷⁵ Frederick Douglass, “The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro, Speech at Rochester, New York, July 5, 1852,” in *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings*, ed. Philip S. Foner (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1999), 195.

What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer; a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. . . . You boast of your love of liberty, your superior civilization and your pure Christianity, while the whole political power of the nation . . . is solemnly pledged to support and perpetuate the enslavement of three million of your countrymen. . . . You can bare your bosom to the storm of British artillery to throw off a three-penny tax on tea; and yet wring the last hard earned farthing from the grasp of the black laborers of your country. You profess to believe “that, of one blood, God made all nations of men to dwell on the face of all the earth,” and hath commanded all men, everywhere, to love one another; yet you notoriously hate (and glory in your hatred) all men whose skins are not colored like your own. . . . The existence of slavery in this country brands your republicanism as a sham, your humanity as a base pretense, and your Christianity a lie.⁷⁶

The Revolutionary period had brought to light the great contradiction. Racism became institutionalized, embedded into the fabric of American life and thought. The perpetuation of slavery continued the racist attitudes, based on skin color, which were borne across the Atlantic by White Europeans. And yet, the European heritage of the Protestant Reformation positively affected American thought with the notion of freedom. Herein lay the contradiction: Religious liberty afforded White Americans new vistas for life and thought and yet the oppression of Black folk persisted. Inversely, Black oppression paid the price for White privilege.

Summary

The ferment of the Protestant Reformation, Puritanism, and the French and American Revolutions contributed to the spirit of revivalism and Restorationism in the church. While valuable theological precursors to Adventism, these developments also revealed the great gulf between Blacks and Whites. The eighteenth century brought a new

⁷⁶ Douglass, “The Meaning of July Fourth,” 196-203.

era to Black Americans as numerous slaves began to be converted to Christianity. The African worldview adapted to the various American denominations to which slaves converted. However, restoration and revolution not only provided new ways to believe and practice, but it also revealed the great injustice caused by Whites toward Blacks. Freedom only applied to Whites politically, theologically, and liturgically, not extending the same freedoms to Blacks.

Americanism and the Protestant Churches

Frontier Worship: The American Liturgical Revolution

American Christianity developed further as a result of the Second Great Awakening. This period of revival began among the Methodists led by Francis Asbury (1745–1816) in the 1790s, and continued in waves across denominations through the first half of the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ Charles Finney (1792–1875) represents the height of the Awakening in the 1830s. Adventism emerged in the 1840s from this revolutionary spirit, at this unique time in American history.

The Second Great Awakening was a natural outworking of the Revolution and Restorationist principles. The right of private judgment instilled in professions, from lawyers to physicians to ministers, a rejection of traditions. Mark Noll notes that, in 1781, a Presbyterian minister bluntly stated, “This is a time in which a spirit of liberty prevails, a time in which the externals of religion may properly be new modeled, if needful, and

⁷⁷ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 166.

fixed upon a gospel plan.”⁷⁸ This statement was just a precursor of what was to come through later waves of revival.

James F. White labels the Second Awakening, with its ensuing century of revivals as the Frontier Tradition, so called for its early ministry efforts in the American “frontiers” of Appalachia, Ohio, and the Tennessee River valleys. In later revival waves, this would also include New England, the Midwest, and even as far as the West Coast. These ripples of reform quickly moved from the frontier to urban centers. Frontier worship was the first tradition to create a “whole system of worship that led to baptism rather than leading from it.”⁷⁹ “Paradoxically, the essential discovery of the frontier churches was a form of worship for the unchurched, a need none of the other traditions had yet dealt with seriously.”⁸⁰

White interpreted Frontier practices as having been influenced by several prior traditions: by Separatist and Puritan traditions with their Biblicism and local autonomy; the Reformed tradition brought the camp meeting and prominent leadership figures; and the Methodist tradition brought evangelistic preaching, vibrant congregational singing, and a “direct link” to the spiritual revival of the eighteenth century.⁸¹

Most importantly, American expansion and freedom of thought contributed to new circumstances never witnessed before in Christian worship:

⁷⁸ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 150.

⁷⁹ White, *Protestant Worship*, 171.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 172.

From about 1800 on, the special circumstance of ministering on the frontier to a people largely unchurched led to the development of a distinctive new tradition of worship, the first to originate in America. Its two staples are a pragmatic bent to do whatever is needed in worship and the freedom to do this uninhibited by canons or service books. In a sense, it is a tradition of no tradition, but that attitude soon became a tradition in its own right.⁸²

These factors resulted in a distinctive American religious context. The circumstances of the eighteenth century fashioned “a uniquely American Christianity.”⁸³ Some historians, such as William Davidson, argue that the American Christian was not a new breed, and rather emphasize European heritage.⁸⁴ However, James F. White emphasized, “It is not too much to speak of the results of the frontier experience as ‘the Americanization of Protestant worship.’”⁸⁵

From the nineteenth century forward, it becomes increasingly imperative to discuss the issues within an American context. European thought clearly influenced American theology and practice. The unique circumstances of the colonies and the establishment of the United States resulted in a distinctive American Christianity. Within that classification are the two-colored strata: Black and White Americans. Mothers Africa and Europe remain significant as heritage for their daughters, who wrestled with racial life as Americans. However, the unique history and circumstances that shape the history herein described, have less to do with Europe or Africa, and ultimately come down to the

⁸² White, *Protestant Worship*, 172.

⁸³ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 144.

⁸⁴ William F. Davidson, *The Free Will Baptists in History* (Nashville: Randall House, 2001), 3.

⁸⁵ White, *Protestant Worship*, 172. White did not give the source for his quote. He may be putting “Americanization of Protestant worship” in quotes in an effort to coin the phrase.

color line in America. As a result of this history, and as mentioned in the Introduction, I find it more helpful to refer to these peoples as Black Americans and White Americans, for these titles speak to the unique American context. Both Black and White Christianity contribute to the Americanism of society, culture, theology, liturgy, and music herein discussed.

The American revivals fueled a liturgical revolution in the young nation. This liturgical revolution is examined in the context of the primary evangelical churches—Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist. In this section, the development of their respective liturgical orders is explored, noting how these traditions were greatly affected by Americanism. Having established the order, music is situated in its context, giving consideration to the denominations' use and teachings on music in worship. This revolution resulted in the establishment of the frontier and free-church traditions. This revolution should not be made light of, for it impacted all the major evangelical denominations, setting a precedent for Adventist liturgical practice in the 1840s and following.

While revivalism contributed to the liturgical practices of the Frontier tradition, this Americanization of worship also impacted older traditions. The direction of influence may be questioned. For example, did Methodism impact American thinking, or did Americanism influence Methodism? It is probably both. Due to the long-time emphasis on the former, I would like to emphasize the latter. Methodism was not unaffected by the American spirit. The evangelical churches of the nineteenth century were part and parcel of Americanism. Not Presbyterian, Baptist or Methodist, but rather Americanism set the milieu for the Adventist worship, liturgy, and music that would follow.

The leading American denominations—Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist—were not “altogether distinct.” These denominations embraced the Reformation principle of the priesthood of all believers, actively applying democracy not only in church organization, but also worship, liturgy, and music. “Their Protestantism was more an extension of the dominant evangelical trends,” and “drew on themes from the history of Christianity” and “the history of the United States.”⁸⁶ According to Robb Redman, the nineteenth-century denominations emerged—not just from the traditional denominations—but from the revivalistic frontier worship. These new denominations include the Disciples of Christ, the Christian Church, the holiness churches, and even Seventh-day Adventists. “Together, this collection of groups formed the evangelical movement that continues to this day, held together in large part by a common commitment to revivalist worship.”⁸⁷

The remainder of this section focuses on music and liturgy in worship among the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist churches, primarily from 1800–1850, setting the direct context for the emergence of the Adventist movement and its liturgical and musical tradition. It demonstrates specifically how these denominations were affected by the prevailing Americanism and frontier worship. It also establishes the liturgical and musical context to which Black Americans converted, giving context to the Black Americans’ experience of White racism, which ultimately lead to the independent Black church movement. Finally, the purpose here is to elucidate the spirituality manifest in the

⁸⁶ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 192.

⁸⁷ Redman, *Worship Awakening*, 9.

musical and liturgical practices of the early half of the nineteenth century. It would be impossible to include the religious thought of all the theologians of these denominations during this time span. However, key leaders and musicians have been selected to offer part of a much larger picture.

Presbyterian Music in Worship

The Presbyterian Church may be understood as an outgrowth from a critique of the Anglican Church, yet inspired by the critique of the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century, especially Calvin and Knox. Among many things, the Presbyterian criticism became manifest in manners of worship. A partisan spirit had arisen among Anglicans regarding the correct theological focus for worship.

Presbyterian Liturgical Order

The traditional church had upheld a strong theology of the Body of Christ, where in its liturgical forms, the promotion of unity was of highest concern in the outward and visible aspects of religion. This fixed liturgy provided the maximum opportunity for “formalized corporate participation.”⁸⁸ The Puritans contrasted with this approach to worship, arguing that worship must be based upon the Word of God.⁸⁹ In 1644, the Puritans put forth their ideal worship in the *Westminster Directory for Worship*. This *Directory* served as the foundation for worship among the later established Presbyterian body.⁹⁰ The following is the implied order of worship found in the *Directory*:

⁸⁸ Julius Melton, *Presbyterian Worship in America* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1967), 13.

⁸⁹ White, *Protestant Worship*, 124.

⁹⁰ Melton, *Presbyterian Worship in America*, 19, 22.

Prayer of adoration, invocation, and preparation
Reading of Scripture
Singing of praise
Long prayer of adoration, confession, thanksgiving, supplication, and intercession,
followed by Lord's Prayer
Sermon
(Lord's Supper, when celebrated)
Prayer
Singing of a psalm
Offering
Blessing⁹¹

The Directory for the Worship of God in the Presbyterian Church in the United State of America, as amended, 1789-1886, shows very little change in the order of worship:

Short prayer of adoration and invocation for preparation
Singing of psalm or hymn
Reading of Scripture
Full and comprehensive prayer:
Adoration, thanksgiving, confession, supplication, request for intercession,
intercession for others
Sermon
(Lord's Supper, when celebrated)
Prayer
Singing of a psalm
Offering (systematic)
Blessing⁹²

It appears, from these almost identical orders of service, that Presbyterians had established their own tradition for worship and continued it long into the nineteenth

⁹¹ Melton, *Presbyterian Worship in America*, 21-22.

⁹² I have inferred the above order of service from the *Directory for Worship* found in *The Form of Government, the Discipline, and the Directory for Worship, of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, as Ratified and Adopted by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia in the Year of Our Lord 1788; and as Amended in the Years 1805-1892*, (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, 1896), 72-80.

century in America. From 1644, Presbyterians had *fixed* their own liturgy, as attested to by their near identical worship practice for over 200 years.

Presbyterian Liturgy and Music

It may be observed from the nineteenth-century *Directory* that music played an important, though limited, role in Presbyterian worship. The first mention of singing follows immediately after the opening prayer. Music may be seen as an extension of that prayer. Taking the tenor of the 1644 and the nineteenth century directories together, music is an act of worship and adoration towards God. Yet at this point in the service, music seems to be subservient to prayer, as the Long Prayer immediately follows. The singing of a psalm after the Sermon and Prayer may be seen as a response to the sermon, a response to hearing the Word of God.⁹³

The *Directory*'s order of service was not entirely satisfactory, especially for musicians. Lowell Mason (1792-1872) was one of the leading figures in American church music in the nineteenth century. He is valuable for our study, as it has been said, his "interest in vocal music and music education, and his familiarity with the organ and its use in church services, placed him in the mainstream of popular musical activity . . . [making] him one of the most widely known American musical figures of his time."⁹⁴ Mason spent a few years traveling in Europe, conducting his own personal research in worship and music practice of the Old World.

⁹³ "The subject of a sermon should be some verse or verses of Scripture." *Directory for Worship*, 77-78.

⁹⁴ Elwyn A. Wienandt, Introduction to *Musical Letters from Abroad, 1854*, by Lowell Mason (New York: Da Capo Press, 1967), vii.

While visiting the public worship of a Scottish Church in London (1852), Mason recorded, “The order of exercises observed in this church is an excellent one, and I therefore copy it:”

Singing, a Hymn by the Congregation.
Prayer, half as long as the Prayer usually is in Presbyterian Churches.
Choir Singing. An Anthem.
Reading Scriptures, with Exposition.
Hymn, sung by the Congregation.
Prayer, about the length of the first.
Sermon.
Singing by Congregation. Notices.
Concluding Prayer, and Benediction.⁹⁵

Mason noted a similar ideal service while visiting Reverend Mr. Binney’s church, Fish Street Hill, Weigh House Chapel, London. Mason says the order of the service was “most beautiful” and “I hardly know that it could be improved:”

Invocation. The Lord’s Prayer alone was used the Sabbath we were there.
Hymn.
Reading first lesson from Scriptures.
Prayer—half as long as the long prayer in American churches.
Psalm, chanted.
Reading second lesson from Scriptures—New Testament.
Prayer, about the length former.
Hymn.
Sermon.
Anthem, a hymn.
Very short prayer, and benediction.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Lowell Mason, *Musical Letters from Abroad, 1854* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1967), 161-63.

⁹⁶ Mason, *Musical Letters*, 166.

In both instances, Mason praised these ideal services, which included more music. The Scottish practice had expanded the use of music from two times in the service to four. The American *Directory* had also recommended, “That more time be allowed for this excellent part [singing] of divine service than has been usual in most of our churches.”⁹⁷

As a musician, Mason was concerned with the congregation singing well. One gathers the sense from Mason that music is an art form, but art offered to God. He often gives critiques of poor singing, but his greater concern was that the congregation be engaged in singing. The manner in which music was sung related to one’s attitude in worship. Such was valuable and necessary for congregational singing and ought to be encouraged. It should be done well, perhaps so as to please God in worship, but also to edify the body there worshipping. The standing posture should be used for singing, and sitting for other exercises. In discussing the hymns sung in the service, Mason says that a congregational tune should not go higher than D, or E flat, for most congregations could not sing higher.⁹⁸ On the surface, this counsel appears practical, however, theology guided the suggestion. If the people were unable to sing the music, they would be unable to engage in worship. This counsel harmonizes with the *Directory*. “It is also proper that we cultivate some knowledge of the rules of music; that we may praise God in a becoming manner with our voices, as well as with our hearts.”⁹⁹

⁹⁷ *Directory for Worship*, 74.

⁹⁸ Mason, *Musical Letters*, 162-63.

⁹⁹ *Directory for Worship*, 73.

In the first London account, it was even noted that a choir sang an anthem. The American *Directory* did not forbid the use of choirs—it didn't mention choirs at all. It seems plausible that choral anthems could be part of the service in America as well. The permission for choirs may be alluded to in the *Directory*. It may have been due to the practice of lining out, which was common in the American Christian churches. "It is proper to sing without parceling out the psalm, line by line. The practice of reading the psalm, line by line, was introduced in times of ignorance, when many in the congregation could not read: therefore, it is recommended, that it be laid aside, as far as convenient."¹⁰⁰ Either a precentor or a choir led the lining out of hymns. Or perhaps in America, the choir replaced congregational singing because the congregational singing had become poor as a result of lining out. This practice was common among all the leading American denominations. The singing in times past had been so bad that the precentor would read or sing out the phrase, followed by the congregation responding back singing the line.¹⁰¹

According to Melton, the early nineteenth century was volatile, as musicians introduced instruments into the churches. Some early adopters of organs were: First Presbyterian of Alexandria, Virginia, in 1817; Independent Presbyterian of Savannah, Georgia, by the 1820s; First Presbyterian of Rochester, New York, by 1830; and Second Presbyterian Church of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1856. In the last church, some conservatives even padlocked away a cello,¹⁰² indicating that not all approved of the use

¹⁰⁰ *Directory for Worship*, 73-74.

¹⁰¹ Karen B. Westerfield Tucker, *American Methodist Worship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 161; Harry Eskew, David W. Music, and Paul A. Richardson, *Singing Baptists: Studies in Baptist Hymnody in America* (Nashville: Church Street Press, 1994), 15.

¹⁰² Melton, *Presbyterian Worship in America*, 35.

of instruments in public worship. The measures of adding choir and organ, with the termination of “lining-out,” were an attempt to improve congregational singing. Like any good worship war, sides were drawn, either condemning the new methods as secular—or worse popery—or praising it as more theological and aesthetically pleasing.

Presbyterians had used psalm-singing in their services, without instruments, for almost two hundred years. In the 1644 *Directory*, no hymns were mentioned, for hymn writing had not developed in England nor been a welcomed practice, as it had been in Germany. The Presbyterians had clung to the old Calvinistic practice, by way of strict Puritanism, of singing the psalms in worship unaccompanied. This a cappella method had not produced good results, for in nineteenth-century America, the people were squirming for new innovations for corporate song. One cause was pragmatic, as the poor singing needed improvement. Conservatives claimed it was due to the influences of secular culture. Still others desired an improved worship experience, seeking change for theological reasons.

Let us now turn to consider Presbyterian statements on music itself. We will be able to glean further insights into Presbyterian thought on music in worship.

Presbyterian Views on Music

The nineteenth-century *Directory* serves as the best source of thought regarding music, as this document represents a union of church-wide thought. As we have already observed, the *Directory* offers helpful direction for the use of music in worship. The instruction on music is quite short, the total length equaling a full page. This quote, plus the others mentioned above comprise the entire direction for music in worship. The

following statements, combined with those above, reveal a concise theology of music in worship:

It is the duty of Christians to praise God, by singing psalms, or hymns, publicly in the church, as also privately in the family. In singing the praises of God, we are to sing with the spirit, and with the understanding also; making melody in our hearts unto the Lord. . . . The whole congregation should be furnished with books, and ought to join in this part of worship.¹⁰³

The content of the music, in its psalms and hymns, makes the music appropriate for worship. The texts of the psalms and hymns are rich with many theologies. But if the worship were only about the text, order would read, “by saying psalms, or hymns.” The means of delivering praise to God is by singing. Singing is to take place in corporate worship as well as in family worship. Thus, singing, as an act of worship, deserves place in one’s Christian experience. Presbyterians must have believed that music inherently possesses qualities in its melodies and harmonies which are both pleasing to God and edifying for the church.

The next sentence declares that the singing should be done “in the spirit and with the understanding.” The text of the music is important, and the congregation should take its meaning to heart. They should be filled with the Holy Spirit, otherwise their singing would become vain repetition. The *Directory* instructs the churches to see that the whole congregation be furnished with books, that is, hymnals. This speaks to the corporality of worship. The *Directory* had taught that not only a few should sing, as in the old practice of lining out, but that all should sing together and sing well.

¹⁰³ *Directory for Worship*, 73.

The Presbyterian *Directory* guided Mason as he traveled in Europe. He appreciated musical form, but with understanding and meaning. He visited the Catholic church of St. Roch in Paris, France, July 7, 1852. “The singing in the mass was so indifferently performed, the day we were present, that it is difficult to find anything to say in favor of it.” Later he says, “The fact is, the Roman Catholic service (musical) seems to receive but little attention, and to be very carelessly performed everywhere.”¹⁰⁴ Could it be that to perform music “indifferently” might have meant to sing “without the spirit”?

Mason’s thought on the right attitude in making music in worship is revealed in his classic statement on the “ideal organist.” He wrote these notes at the Thomaskirche in Leipzig, Germany, while listening to the organ being played. It was at this church where Bach composed his monumental three-year cycle of church cantatas.

A most important, nay absolutely essential qualification, of a good church organist is, that he should have not only a true knowledge of his office, its nature and design, but that he should also possess a true feeling of sympathy and fellowship with all. . . . The organ (like the minister’s voice or powers of eloquence) is to be regarded only as a means to an end. . . . The organist will feel that both himself and his instrument, with all musical science and art, occupy only a secondary place. . . . For though one may have the gift of musical prophecy, or teaching, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and though he has faith to remove all mountains of difficulties, and has not charity, or this love of the work to which he is called, and sympathy with those who are also engaged in it, though in another department, it profiteth him nothing. Shall I furnish another name for the thing of which I speak? “The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.”

. . . Any one who is fit for an organist will, of course, love music; his soul will delight in it; but yet, in the church, certainly, it should never be the object of supreme

¹⁰⁴ Mason, *Musical Letters*, 154-55.

devotion; . . . Mere musical effect, the exhibition of Handel or Mozart, be it repeated, is not that which the organist should aim. . . . A good organist must . . . seek and obtain a higher satisfaction in the promotion of the spiritual good of his fellow men. . . . A Handel's genius, a Bach's skill, or a Mendelssohn's learning, will not be sufficient.¹⁰⁵

The musician's heart must "fear the Lord." Additionally, the musician must put love for man and the edification of his fellow parishioners above his own musical desires. To accomplish the masterful feats like Bach, Mozart, or Mendelssohn is for naught without living Christ's two great commandments. The Presbyterian ethos for music in worship continued in Mason. Due to Mason's legacy in all the Christian churches, Presbyterianism left an impact on American music in worship.

Summary

For Presbyterians of this period, music represented a living out of their theology of the Body of Christ. They believed that music should be performed well. Most importantly, though worship needs music, the music of the heart supersedes sound. The theology of the body was a motivating factor in all three major denominations, receiving the greatest attention in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Next, we will examine the use of music and religious thought on music of the Baptist Church.

Baptist Music in Worship

From the beginning, Baptist groups have been divided. Beginning with the English Separatist John Smyth in 1609 and splintering into General and Particular

¹⁰⁵ Mason, *Musical Letters*, 55-57.

Baptists, Baptist thought has not been unified.¹⁰⁶ The earliest Baptist congregation in America derived from Separatist and Puritan congregations.¹⁰⁷ General Baptists began speaking of themselves as Free Will Baptists in 1812.¹⁰⁸ Due to the complexity of Baptist streams of thought, articulating early Baptist liturgical order is difficult. The Separatists, Puritans, and Baptists make up what James White classified as the Free Church tradition. While these originated in Europe, they experienced a “full flowering” in America.¹⁰⁹

Baptist Liturgical Order

In Boston, the seventeenth-century Puritan, John Cotton (1585–1652), taught “no particular order was necessary” for public worship.¹¹⁰ Yet, a general order was as follows:

Opening Prayers
Singing of Psalm
Scripture
Sermon
Exhortations
Questions
Lord’s Supper¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ G. Thomas Halbrooks, “Baptist Worship,” in *The Complete Library of Christian Worship*, ed. Robert E. Webber, vol. 2, *Twenty Centuries of Christian Worship* (Nashville: Star Song Publishing Group, 1994), 82.

¹⁰⁷ Doug Adams, *Meeting House to Camp Meeting: Toward a History of American Free Church Worship from 1620 to 1835* (Saratoga, CA: Modern Liturgy-Resource Publications, 1981), 66.

¹⁰⁸ Davidson, *The Free Will Baptists in History*, 89.

¹⁰⁹ White, *Protestant Worship*, 117. White also included the Anabaptists of Europe.

¹¹⁰ Adams, *Meeting House to Camp Meeting*, 22.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 23-33.

Services began around nine o'clock, lasting from two to three hours, depending on whether the psalms were lined out.¹¹² Baptist worship in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries tended toward similarity to the tradition handed down to it. By 1794, a similar order of worship continued among Baptists, including prayer, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, singing, and the administration of the Lord's Supper and baptism.¹¹³ In 1812, Free-will Baptist articles of faith stated the church followed "every institution of the Lord . . . [found] in the new Testament." This included baptism, laying on of hands, the Lord's Supper, foot washing, anointing with oil, fasting, prayer, "singing praises to God," and the "public Ministry of the word."¹¹⁴ "All the brethren" were "obligated" to attend public worship, but were granted liberty to listen to outside preachers when those meetings did not conflict with meeting time of their own church.¹¹⁵ "Early American Baptists broke from the Separatists and Puritans to assert a different understanding of who were eligible to worship rather than how they were to worship."¹¹⁶

¹¹² Adams, *Meeting House to Camp Meeting*, 33-34.

¹¹³ The Baptist Confession of Faith: First Put Forth in 1643; Afterwards Enlarged, Corrected and Published by an Assembly of Delegates (from the Churches in Great Britain) Met in London July 3, 1689; Adopted by the Association at Philadelphia September 22, 1742; and Now Received by Churches of the Same Denomination, in Most of the American States. To Which is Added, a Short Treatise of Church Discipline, Early American Imprints, Series 1, no. 26614, (Portland, ME: Thomas Baker Wait, 1794), filmed, 50-51, accessed December 14, 2017, <https://archive.org/stream/confeo00phil?ui=embed>.

¹¹⁴ James Roach and Jesse Heath, *An Abstract of the Former Articles of Faith Confessed by the Original Baptist Church, Holding the Doctrine of General Provision. With a Proper Code of Discipline, for the Future Government of the Church* (Newbern, AL: Salmon Hall, 1812), 9.

¹¹⁵ Roach and Heath, *Abstract*, 13.

¹¹⁶ Adams, *Meeting House to Camp Meeting*, 66.

The Great Awakening brought increased lay involvement in Baptist public worship, such as speaking in testimonies, preaching, and prayer.¹¹⁷

White supremacy was on full display in the Free-will Baptist *Code of Discipline* (1812). “No person of colour within the pale of the Church shall bear Testimony against any but those who are of colour.”¹¹⁸ This meant that in the liturgy and other meetings, Blacks could not bear negative testimony about Whites. Based on Bradshaw’s principles, this implies that during testimony time, Blacks had spoken of the injustices of Whites. White leaders sought to prevent such attacks, legislating a prohibition in the *Discipline*. Thus, White free-will Baptists exerted their will, attempting to limit the free-will of Blacks.

Baptist Liturgy and Music

Writing on Baptist hymnody, David Music and Paul Richardson have found no records of a description of singing methods in the seventeenth century. Evidence suggests eighteenth-century Baptist practice was very similar to general Puritan and Separatist trends, as seen above in the Presbyterian Church.¹¹⁹

Nonetheless, the first half of the nineteenth century brought rapid growth to the Baptist community. This growth in membership brought new expressions to worship. The hymn publishing industry experienced a significant boom, meeting the needs of

¹¹⁷ Adams, *Meeting House to Camp Meeting*, 97.

¹¹⁸ Roach and Heath, *Abstract*, 17.

¹¹⁹ David W. Music and Paul A. Richardson, “*I Will Sing the Wondrous Story*”: *A History of Baptist Hymnody in North America* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2008), 87.

corporate worship, private worship, and the Second Great Awakening, effecting changes in Baptist use of music in worship.¹²⁰ In this period, the appearance of choirs, use of instruments, and abandonment of psalmody opposed the fears of “popish innovations.”¹²¹ Those fears were fed by the Baptist adoption of the priesthood of all believers. They understood this to mean: “Each worshiper was responsible for voicing his or her own praise: God was not to be worshiped vicariously through other people. Thus, choirs and soloists were excluded [before the 19th c.], and the song had to be in unison so it would be simple enough for all to participate.”¹²² It appears that these fears may have been valid, as “it appears that the congregation was effectively silenced and that all or the majority of the singing was done by the choir.”¹²³

David Benedict (1779-1874), a nineteenth-century Baptist historian, wrote his own experiential history, *Fifty Years among the Baptists*, which covers the period of 1800–1850. In the last decade, he recorded marked changes in church music. Congregational singing had generally prevailed among Baptists. In the last decade, or 1840s, in parts of New England, gallery choirs took the lead in congregational singing. While in the south and west, congregations still followed the “old-fashioned way” of lining-out the psalm or hymn.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Music and Richardson, *History of Baptist Hymnody*, 157.

¹²¹ Eskew, Music, and Richardson, *Singing Baptists*, 15, 17.

¹²² Music and Richardson, *History of Baptist Hymnody*, 87.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹²⁴ David Benedict, *Fifty Years among the Baptists* (New York: Sheldon & Company, 1860), 281.

Regarding instruments, Baptist sentiment softened over time as well. Benedict found that the pitch pipe was used by many, though this could hardly be considered an instrument, as it would simply give the starting pitch, giving way to a cappella singing. Opposition remained toward musical instruments in the liturgy. “Strong prejudices, however, for a time existed in the minds of many of our old members against the ‘big fiddle,’ as the bass viol was called, and indeed against all kinds of musical instruments.”¹²⁵ People during those early days would refer to musical instruments pejoratively as “mechanical music” or “wooden music.”¹²⁶ Benedict wrote specifically on use of the organ:

The changes which have been experienced in the feelings of a large portion of our people has often surprised me. Staunch old Baptists in former times would as soon have tolerated the Pope of Rome in their pulpits as an organ in their galleries, and yet the instrument has gradually found its way among them, and their successors in church management, with nothing like the jars and difficulties which arose of old concerning the bass viol and smaller instruments of music.¹²⁷

The organ met with less resistance than the string bass. Benedict could not discern how the organ would fair in Baptist liturgical use in the future.

How far this modern organ fever will extend among our people, and whether it will on the whole work a *re*-formation or *de*-formation in their singing service, time will more fully develop. . . . Whenever it shall assume an overwhelming influence, and only a few artistic performers be retained in the singers’ seats, to be directed by men who take but little interest in any of the services of the sanctuary, except what

¹²⁵ Benedict, *Fifty Years among the Baptists*, 282.

¹²⁶ Eskew, Music, and Richardson, *Singing Baptists*, 43.

¹²⁷ Benedict, *Fifty Years among the Baptists*, 283.

pertains to their professional duty, then a machine, harmless in itself, will be looked upon with disfavor if not with disgust by the more pious portion of our assemblies.¹²⁸

The fears of the Baptists over new methods for singing should not be surprising. Their religious culture had defined certain styles as popish or secular. These new musical styles carried hard cultural associations. I say hard, for they were hard to break. Because instruments were associated with popery and secularism, the instruments carried Catholic or secular meaning into Baptist worship. Instead of being counter-cultural, some perceived worship to become polluted by these foreign instruments. Benedict does not say that the congregation no longer sang hymns, but that the choir had taken a more active role. Nor does Benedict say that the organ replaced congregational singing. Rather, organs and stringed instruments were brought in to bolster the singing. I would contend that Music and Richardson have exaggerated their claim that the congregation was effectively silenced. However, in an attempt to improve singing, the congregation took a lesser role in their corporate worship by the middle of the nineteenth century.

In his *Harmonia Americana* (1791), a songbook for divine worship and societies, Samuel Holyoke made mention of another method of singing receiving much controversy. Fuging-tunes had become a popular method of singing. These songs would proceed homophonically (sounding together) for the first, second, and fourth phrases. In the third phrase, voices would enter fugally, entering one after another in imitative fashion. Holyoke said in his Preface:

Perhaps some may be disappointed, that fuging pieces are in general omitted. But the principle reason why few were inserted was the trifling effect produced by that sort of

¹²⁸ Italics his. Benedict, *Fifty Years among the Baptists*, 285.

music; for the parts, falling in, one after another, each conveying a different idea, confound the sense, and render the performance a mere jargon of words.¹²⁹

Before the turn of the century, congregational uniformity and cohesion was valued. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Baptist use of music in worship reveals that, though congregational singing was desired, much of the singing and music making was left to the professionals. Let us turn now to the religious thought of Baptists regarding music. Their explicit statements on music reveal their implicit liturgical theology.

Baptist Views on Music

In the Preface to his hymnbook, Holyoke gave a strong emphasis on congregational singing:

Let every person take the part, to which his voice is best adapted. . . . The performance being thus regulated, the whole force of the sentiments will be impressed upon the mind, we may then enter into the spirit, and justice may be done to every part of the composition. . . . Above all, let a suitable attention be paid to the important truths uttered in singing, that the great judge of quick and dead may be praised with reverence and solemnity.¹³⁰

Holyoke believed congregational singing ought to be of quality, but most of all, for the glory of God. Interestingly, his hymnbook presented the music in three- and four-part harmony. His view of congregational singing was unity without uniformity on a

¹²⁹ Samuel Holyoke, *Harmonia Americana, Containing a Concise Introduction to the Grounds of Music with a Variety of Airs, Suitable for Divine Worship, and the Use of Musical Societies* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas & Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1791), 17.

¹³⁰ Holyoke, *Harmonia Americana*, 15-16.

unison pitch, as opposed to some, in which uniformity and unison singing go hand in hand.

Andrew Broaddus (1770-1848) was one of the prominent pastor-hymnists of the early nineteenth-century south. Broaddus contributed to Baptist hymnody,¹³¹ though Music, Eskew, and Richardson only show Broaddus' theology in the poetic texts. Music itself was also important to Broaddus from his early years. Raised Episcopalian, his father refused to allow him to go to the Baptist meetings. Nonetheless, young Andrew "would go out and listen to the singing; and in his later years, he was often heard to say, that he had never listened to anything which sounded more like the music of heaven."¹³² Yet, in his hymnbook, which he desired to "promote the interest of vital godliness," he reveals a theology of music in worship:

There are too often seen among us, in the House of God, as well as in the social circle, symptoms of a thoughtless manner of chanting forth divine praises. Brethren and Sisters, be cautious! watch against a wandering heart and a formal spirit. And now, wishing that all who sing, may "sing with the spirit and with the understanding," and that God may be glorified with heart and voice, the Compiler commits his work to the use of the friends of Zion, and to the blessing of Zion's King.¹³³

His theology is very similar to the thought of Mason and the Presbyterian Church. Yet, he was cautious of worship becoming too formal. Most significant are his words, "That God may be glorified with heart and voice." He believed that worship is an attitude

¹³¹ Eskew, Music, and Richardson, *Singing Baptists*, 51-64.

¹³² Andrew Broaddus, *Sermons and Other Writings of the Reverend Andrew Broaddus, with a Memoir of His Life by J. B. Jeter* (New York: Lewis Colby, 1852), 12.

¹³³ Andrew Broaddus, *The Dover Selection of Spiritual Songs, with an Appendix of Choice Hymns* (Richmond, VA: W. H. Anderson, 1828), vii-viii.

of the heart, but it is also expressed through song. Later, he summarized worship relationally, “The true glory of a place of worship consists in the presence of Jesus Christ.”¹³⁴

Baptist Summary

As we have seen, the use of music in the Baptist churches in the nineteenth century experienced great change. In this brief survey of Baptist religious thought on music in worship, it appears that a Baptist theology of music in worship shared some of the corporate concerns of Presbyterianism. Controversy over instruments and the need for more congregational involvement in singing in some cases resulted in an increase in professionalism instead. But, it also included a sense of the personal emotive religion, which has been a lasting characteristic of Baptist denominations.

Methodist Music in Worship

The Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC), like the Baptist and Presbyterian churches, developed largely as a critique of the Anglican Church. For John and Charles Wesley, the Anglican Church had not provided the necessary personal religion desired by the masses. Part of their personal experience was displayed in the seriousness with which they approached singing. Congregational song tied together many elements of Wesleyan theology: scripture, experience, and Body of Christ.

¹³⁴ Broaddus, *Sermons and Other Writings*, 232.

Toward an American Methodist Liturgy

The MEC, the American variation of John Wesley’s English Methodism, was established in 1784, when Wesley ordained the first American bishops, Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury.¹³⁵ Also in 1784, Wesley published the *Sunday Service* for Methodists in America, giving the following liturgical order:

Scripture sentences
Exhortation
General Confession (unison)
Prayer for Pardon
Lord’s Prayer
Versicles & Responses
Psalm with Gloria Patri
First lesson OT
Te Deum
Second lesson NT
Jubilate
Apostles’ Creed
Versicles & Responses
Three collects (Day, peace, grace)
Prayer for Supreme Rulers
Prayer for St. Chrysostum
Grace (2 Cor. 13:14)¹³⁶

While this order seemed to have been suitable for about the next two decades, it may have been “regarded as a prohibitive expense for poor, illiterate communities for whom energetic preaching, extempore prayer, and lined-out hymn singing—not liturgical

¹³⁵ In 1939, the MEC merged with other Methodist churches, forming the United Methodist Church.

¹³⁶ Richey, Rowe, and Schmidt, *Methodist Experience*, 34-35. See also Wesley, *John Wesley’s Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America, 1784*.

prayer—were central.”¹³⁷ In 1792, the 314 pages of Wesley’s prayer book, *The Sunday Service*, was discarded and replaced by the 37 pages of “Sacramental Services, &c,” in the *Discipline*.¹³⁸ The Methodist service was again formally modified at the General Conference of 1824, at which Scripture reading, the “Lord’s Prayer,” and the apostolic benediction were removed from the public liturgy.¹³⁹ Now morning worship could breathe with American simplicity: “Let the morning-service consist of singing, prayer, the reading of a chapter out of the OT, and another out of the New, and preaching.”¹⁴⁰ This simplification of Methodist liturgy was not only influenced by the frontier context in which Methodist pastors ministered, it was also significantly affected by the liturgical revolution put forth by Charles Finney.

It is important to discuss Finney at this juncture, for his impact upon the American liturgical revolution must not be overstated. He could have been discussed above within Frontier Worship, or perhaps in the Presbyterian section. However, I have placed the following discussion here, for it best situates the Methodist context. This will help address the so-called Methodist roots of Adventist liturgy that we will take up in Chapter 4. The fundamental thesis here is that the American liturgical revolution provided the roots for Adventist liturgy more so than one denomination (Methodism).

¹³⁷ Tucker, *American Methodist Worship*, 8.

¹³⁸ White, *Protestant Worship*, 158.

¹³⁹ Tucker, *American Methodist Worship*, 10.

¹⁴⁰ The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, Revised and Approved at the General Conference Held at Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, in November, 1792: in which Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, Presided: Arranged under Proper Heads, and Methodised in a More Acceptable and Easy Manner, Early American Imprints, Series 1, no. 24543 (Philadelphia: Parry Hall, 1792), filmed, 41, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://divinityarchive.com/handle/11258/16726>.

Furthermore, in the midst of this discussion, we are asking the question, “What was Methodist liturgy?” We saw what it looked like as proposed by Wesley in 1784. Let us now consider Finney and his impact upon the American liturgical revolution. The Methodist order of service that remained in the wake of the revival period looked nothing like Wesley’s order. It looked American.

Charles Finney, the Culmination of Liturgical Revolution

Presbyterian evangelist, Charles Grandison Finney (1792–1875) has been regarded as the greatest Second Great Awakening evangelist. Perhaps even more significant, Finney was the “most influential liturgical reformer in American history.”¹⁴¹ Finney endorsed pragmatism, viewing worship as a means to evangelistic ends. “Pragmatism has triumphed over biblicism. The meaning of freedom has shifted from being free to follow scripture to being free to do what works.”¹⁴² He followed a simple method for his religious meetings, employing winsome songs of memorable melody and lyrics, dramatic preaching, mixed gender prayer, public censure, and the “anxious seat” where those considering conversion could wait to receive prayer. Evangelistic worship became the norm for corporate worship. In Lecture XIV on “Measures to Promote Revivals,” Finney laid out his argument for the complete liberty he applied in public worship:

¹⁴¹ White, *Protestant Worship*, 176; Tucker, *American Methodist Worship*, 11; Redman, *Worship Awakening*, 9.

¹⁴² White, *Protestant Worship*, 177.

In discoursing from these words I design to show: 1) That under the Gospel dispensation, God has established no particular system of measures to be employed and invariably adhered to in promoting religion. 2) To Show that our present forms of public worship, and everything, so far as measures are concerned, have been arrived at by degrees, and by a succession of New Measures. . . . We are left in the dark as to the measures which were pursued by the apostles and primitive preachers.¹⁴³

His teaching favored freedom and innovation over tradition, thus relativizing all tradition and breaking down opposition to innovation. His philosophy allowed for more “indigenous” forms of worship that were more suited to the emerging American outlook and culture. “Finney called for a Copernican revolution to make religious life audience-centered. He despised the formal study of divinity because it produced dull and ineffective communication.”¹⁴⁴ Redman indicates that Finney reversed the role and relationship of worship and evangelism. Whereas in the revivals of Whitefield and Edwards, evangelism was a byproduct of worship, while saving souls was a high priority to those early camp meeting and quarterly meetings, worship was a higher priority. However, Finney placed greater value on evangelism. “Everything that was said and done, sung and prayed in his evangelistic meeting must happen in a way that maximized the opportunity for conversion.”¹⁴⁵

Old School Presbyterians were skeptical of Finney’s methods, though the New School embraced the liturgical revolution, with its new music and evangelistic preaching. This led to a split in the denomination in 1837. Methodists and Baptists heartily

¹⁴³ Charles G. Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (New York: Leavitt, Lord and Company, 1835), 232.

¹⁴⁴ Hatch, *Democratization*, 197.

¹⁴⁵ Redman, *Worship Awakening*, 8.

embraced the new measures advanced by Finney. “What became identified as the revival style of hymn singing, ardent prayer, and fiery preaching that flourished on the frontier exemplified the basic and most fruitful means of winning souls.”¹⁴⁶ While some objected to the new worship, Finney’s legacy of “simple free and locally derived styles of worship have [since] always existed alongside the official *ordines* approved by the legislative bodies of Methodism.”¹⁴⁷ The following are the orders of worship in the Methodist Episcopal Church from 1792–1864. *Italics* indicate change or addition from a previous order:

1792	1824	1864
Singing	Singing	Singing
Prayer	Prayer concluded with Lord’s Prayer	Prayer with Lord’s Prayer (<i>congregation</i> joining)
Reading (1 chap. OT, 1 chap. NT)	Reading (1 chap. OT, 1 chap. NT)	Reading (1 <i>lesson</i> OT, 1 <i>lesson</i> NT)
Preaching	Preaching	Preaching
Dismissal	Dismissal	Doxology
“On days of Administering the Lord’s Supper, the two chapters in the morning-service may be omitted.”	Apostolic Benediction “In administering the sacraments and in the Burial of the Dead, let the ritual invariably be used.”	Dismissal Apostolic Benediction

¹⁴⁶ Tucker, *American Methodist Worship*, 11.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

As can be observed,¹⁴⁸ the Methodist liturgy of the nineteenth century represented a significant departure from the Wesley's liturgy prescribed in the *Sunday Service*. The Anglican service had been discarded rapidly for a simple American service. Little changed over the next seven decades, with the church favoring simplicity. It appears that Finney's liturgical revolution furthered a simplification of the Methodist order of worship, and more so influenced the style or spirit in which the services were conducted. Such was the case with all three of the major Protestant denominations. Each favored a simple service and were impacted by Finney's evangelistic ideology for liturgy.

Methodist Use and Views on Music

Music formed a significant part of Methodist spiritual identity. "Public worship, as well as private, family, and social worship, would not have been considered *Methodist* unless accompanied with song [*italics original*]." ¹⁴⁹ The hymnals of Methodists reveal "theological, liturgical, and ecclesiological principles." ¹⁵⁰

In 1779, John Wesley had published *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists*. This hymn-book, late in Wesley's life, represented the best of the Methodist movement in England. It was comprised of hymns by the Wesleys and other favorites. It also included tunes and harmonizations to go with the hymn texts. It was a great leap forward from many of his preceding hymn-books, but this English

¹⁴⁸ Richey, Rowe, and Schmidt, *Methodist Experience*, 35.

¹⁴⁹ Tucker, *American Methodist Worship*, 156.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 156. Albeit, those beliefs may be as much the work of the hymnal editors as the believers.

hymnal did not serve the American Methodists well. At the turn of the century, Methodists were in need of an American hymn-book.

Ordained co-bishop with Thomas Coke in 1784 of the American colonies, Francis Asbury sensed the great need for the American Methodists. He said in the preface of a new “pocket” hymn-book:

The large Congregational Hymn-Book is admirable indeed, but is too expensive for the poor, who have little time and less money. . . . But all the excellencies of the former publications are in a great measure concentrated [*sic*] in the present, which contains the choicest and most precious of the Hymns that are to be found in the former editions; and at the same time is so portable, that you may always carry it with you without the least inconvenience. . . .

We must therefore earnestly entreat you, if you have any respect for the authority of the Conferences, or of us, or any regard for the prosperity of the Connection, to purchase no Hymn-Books, but what are signed with the names of your two Bishops.

We exhort you to sing with the Spirit, and with the understanding also: and thus may the high praises of God be set up from East to West, from North to South: and we shall be happily instrumental in leading the devotion of thousands, and shall rejoice to join you in time and eternity.

We are, Dear Brethren, Your faithful Pastors in Christ,
Thomas Coke,
Francis Asbury.¹⁵¹

Several observations may be made regarding this preface. The people were demanding hymn-books. The European hymn-books of the English Methodists were too large and costly. Singing was a vital element of private devotion, as well as family, social, and public worship. It was expected for each follower of Methodism to have a

¹⁵¹ Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury, eds., *Pocket Hymn-Book, Designed as a Constant Companion for the Pious* (Philadelphia: Henry Tuckniss, 1800), i.

personal experience with Christ. Family time with God was also vital. Considering Wesley's contribution to the societies, we can see here that they have continued, and that music makes up part of the time of the societies' gatherings. And most certainly, music and congregational singing was part of corporate worship. All should take part in the singing and not just the rich who could afford nice books but even the poor. Music was not just a privilege; it was vital for all to experience Christ in song. One could sing anywhere, hence, the *Pocket Hymn-Book*. In whatever the person would do, he or she might open up the *Pocket Hymn-Book*, and find solace, hope, or praise for any of life's situations. A strong ecclesiology may be observed: "If you have any respect for the authority of the Conferences, or of us, or any regard for the prosperity of the Connection, to purchase no Hymn-Books, but what are signed with the names of your two Bishops." Here there seems to be a general sense of *lex orandi lex credendi*, the way we worship is the way we believe. Music was an important element in defining the body of believers. It reflected their belief in the body. Its text acclaimed their doctrines and their experience. Music seemed to be a glue which would hold these bodies of scattered believers together. Music was to define Methodists. They believed it marked them as peculiar to other groups.

Bishop Asbury was very strong on the corporality of congregational song. In the 1798 *Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America*, Asbury expressed the importance of music in worship, including practical guidelines.

The singing of psalms and hymns and spiritual songs in the congregation, has been allowed by all the churches of God in all ages . . . to be part of divine worship; and, from its very nature, it evidently belongs to the whole congregation. It would be unseemly for the minister alone to sing: but if these be the duty of one member of the congregation, it must be the duty of all who have voices for singing; and there are very few who may not join in the tenor part, all the defects of their voices being

swallowed up in the general sound. Few things can be more pleasing to the Lord, than a congregation, with one heart and one voice, praising his holy name. It is indeed to be feared, that there is seldom a large congregation, where every individual is sincere. However, all who do in sincerity desire a blessing, should strive to join in the general chorus—we mean, in every part of the hymn. If one part of it be above the experience of the singer, he should adjoin a silent prayer, that the Lord may give him the grace he needs; for the Lord listens to hear what the heart speaks, and takes all as nothing, if the heart be silent. Again, when his experience rises above the hymn, his secret prayer should be in behalf of that part of the congregation which it suits: but in the proper hymns of praise he may throw off all reserve, for we are all infinitely indebted to our good God. From these remarks we surely must be sensible of the necessity of confining ourselves to simple tunes, as the fuge-tunes have an unavoidable tendency to confine to a few this part of divine worship, which belongs to the whole. And those, we think, have made few remarks on public worship, who have not observed, on the one hand, how naturally the fuge-tunes puff up with vanity those who excel in them; and on the other hand, how it deadens devotion, and only at the best raises an admiration of the singers, and not of Christ.¹⁵²

For Asbury, congregational singing should involve all the people present. Only in this way could it be corporate. He was wary of styles, such as the fuge-tunes, which would only put a few in place of the whole. Worship music placed Christ at the center, and was in the fullest sense congregational. It must be pointed out, Asbury did not forbid the use of choirs, ensembles, soloists, etc. He had said, “Few things can be more pleasing to the Lord, than a congregation, with one heart and one voice, praising his holy name.” Only if these new methods would bolster the corporality of the worship could they be accepted.

The corporality of congregational song had been important to Wesley as well. In his 1784 *Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America*, Wesley removed all

¹⁵² Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury, eds., *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America: with Explanatory Notes* (Philadelphia: Henry Tuckniss, 1798), 123-24. Much of Asbury’s direction comes from the 1792 *Discipline*, 41-42.

indications in the rubrics for any service music and anthems by choirs. He desired the congregation own the music of the service, thus fulfilling their calling as the body of Christ. Wesley preferred to hear “the whole congregation . . . ‘sing with the spirit and the understanding also’” as opposed to listening to a few who “kept [the singing] to themselves, and quite shut out the congregation.”¹⁵³ The latter of his comments clearly reveals his disdain for the performance-driven liturgy of the Anglican Church, as demonstrated by its boys’ choirs and organ voluntaries.

Wesley had been explicit in stating that there should be no organs placed anywhere.¹⁵⁴ Yet later in the nineteenth century, George Smith would cry, “Organs, choirs, and promiscuous sittings have pretty well petrified Methodism in our cities and large towns.”¹⁵⁵ It appears that the defiant American spirit had its hold upon Methodism. Indeed, many of Wesley’s admonitions were laid aside.

Regarding the fuge-tunes decried by Asbury above, it was believed they jeopardized the corporate nature of singing. Furthermore, it was believed by many Methodists, that the moving parts would obstruct the melody, which possessed the natural power of music to move the passions.¹⁵⁶ This belief about music had developed from the teaching of John Wesley himself, when he wrote heatedly against contrapuntal music:

By the power of music, I mean, its power to affect the hearers; to raise various passions in the human mind. . . . The ancient composers studied melody alone; the

¹⁵³ John Wesley, *Journal*, 9-10 August 1768, and *Works* 22:152, cited in Tucker, *American Methodist Worship*, 159.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 159.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 167.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 160.

due arrangement of single notes; and it was by melody alone, that they wrought such wonderful effects. . . . But the modern composers study harmony, . . . and yet blended with, each other, wherein they, “Now high, now low, pursue the resonant fugue. . . . Be that as it may, ever since it was introduced, ever since counterpoint has been invented, as it has altered the grand design of music, so it has well nigh destroyed its effects. And as the nature of music is thus changed, so is likewise the design of it. . . . Our [modern] composers do not aim at moving the passions, but at quite another thing; at varying and contrasting the notes a thousand different ways. What has counterpoint to do with the passions? It is applied to a quite different faculty of the mind; not to our joy, or hope, or fear; but merely to the ear, to the imagination, or internal sense. And the pleasure it gives is not upon this principle; not by raising any passion whatever. It no more affects the passions than the judgment: both the one and the other lie quite out of its province. . . . It is this, it is counterpoint, it is harmony, (so called,) which destroys the power of music. And if ever this should be banished from our composition, if ever we should return to the simplicity and melody of the ancients, then the effects of our music will be as surprising as any that were wrought by theirs.¹⁵⁷

The harmony here spoken of should not confuse the reader with the homophony of the hymns which Wesley had published. He is not writing against homophony, but polyphony and counterpoint. Wesley viewed fugues and fuge-tunes as an affront to congregational worship and song. His thought does not seem to suggest that melody worked some sort of magic upon the listener, enlivening the passions. His language sounds more like the Presbyterian *Directory* of making melody of the heart towards God through music. What is clear, is that Wesley did not believe that the intellectual style of contrapuntal music was appropriate for the worship of God, where the believers hearts are to be stirred heavenward.

¹⁵⁷ John Emory, ed. *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley*, vol. 7 (New York: J. Emory & B. Waugh, 1831), 455-57.

Methodist Summary

The Methodist Episcopal Church experienced a swift Americanization of its liturgy within its first decade in the New World. Like the other major denominations, Methodism followed the evangelistic new measures put forth by Charles Finney. Notwithstanding, Methodism had a strong ecclesiology of music in worship. Congregational involvement was the central focus of its key leaders. However, like the other prominent Protestant denominations, it too fell to the sway of modern styles, which as a result, modified her theology of the Body of Christ. Most unfortunate for the Methodist Church, as its congregations grew more silent, she lost much of her peculiarity so eagerly desired when she was first an early movement.

While these and many other denominations were affected by the Revolutionary and revivalist spirit, the most significant denomination to influence Adventism was Methodism. Seventh-day Adventism's third founder, Ellen White, was raised in and was converted to Christ through the Methodist Episcopal Church. We have already observed that Methodism had attracted many Black Americans through its message and worship style. Knight posits that Methodism held great influence over the whole young nation:

Like Restorationism, Methodism's theology permeated early nineteenth-century America. It not only was the most rapidly growing denomination of the times but its free will orientation (as opposed to the predestination perspective of the Puritan heritage) seemed to line up with the experience of a nation nurtured in a frontier mentality that suggested that anything could be accomplished if one willed it and worked at it.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ Knight, *A Search for Identity*, 32.

Methodism held theological influence among those who would found the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Its fundamental teachings stood in contrast to the Puritan and Calvinistic teaching that was so prevalent in American society. These teachings included: the offering of Christ on the cross as atonement for all people, free will, prevenient grace, resistible grace, and sanctification as a “process of becoming more like Jesus.”¹⁵⁹

Black Experience and Black Theology

This fourth section relates the development of Black spirituality and its accompanying theology. Black American Christians both adopted and modified White American religious thought and practices. Therefore, any deeper exploration of Black worship must follow the prevailing White context. This does not, however, negate the unique contributions and African Roots that Black Christians brought to the development of American religious life. Rather, this section brings to light the issues foreshadowed in section one. Particularly significant is the development of the spiritual which, among both Blacks and Whites, provides a rich glimpse into how worship music manifests and promotes spirituality. Due to the fact that many Christians do not know the African worldview carried to the New World by slaves, a discussion of the fundamental principles of Black theology is given, including time, theology, cosmology, anthropology, and soteriology. This background provides the theological context for the final and fifth section of this chapter.

¹⁵⁹ Knight, *A Search for Identity*, 32-33.

Christianity in America continued to evolve and reflect American history and society more than it did the motherlands of Africa and Europe. In saying so, I do not suggest that African and European philosophies did not continue, but rather that they were transformed in the American context. This development has been an ongoing process, continuing to this day. The rich complexity of religious thought and practice is manifest, not only among White Americans, as described above, but also among Black Americans.

African Americans commonly share the historical taproot of African soil, even when denominationally diverse. That said, it must be noted that the African heritage has continued to develop, for culture is not static:

It is misleading to call African only those elements in the black slave community which were for the most part taken over directly from Africa. That gives a wrong idea of what culture implies. Culture is not static by nature, but is an ongoing process in which past and present interact on each other.¹⁶⁰

Although this African heritage is not monolithic, there are primordial presuppositions shared among African Americans. Through the centuries, Black spirituality in worship has shaped the Black worldview and theology. This development has produced Black theology, what it means to be Black and Christian.¹⁶¹ In particular, in

¹⁶⁰ Theo Witvliet, *The Way of the Black Messiah: The Hermeneutical Challenge of Black Theology as a Theology of Liberation* (Oak Park, IL: Meyer Stone Books, 1987), 194.

¹⁶¹ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 4. The seminal works are James H. Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation*, 40th anniversary ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2010); Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power*. New Black scholars are seeking new vistas in applying Black theology to contexts outside of the Black community, offering the Black experience as hope for those seeking liberation from oppressive societies. See Dwight N. Hopkins, *Down, Up, and Over: Slave Religion and Black Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000); Linda E. Thomas, ed. *Living Stones in the Household of God: The Legacy and Future of Black Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004).

order to understand Black worship, three building blocks must be considered: the African past, slave religion, and the adaptation of White Christianity to the African worldview.¹⁶² Only by taking all three of these factors into account may one ascertain the nuances of Black spirituality.¹⁶³

As a system of thought, Black theology is system of theology based upon multiple sources, in which the tradition of the African American experience played the most central role. Black theology “claims to be a way of breaking out of the corrupting influence of White thought to formulate a theology built on norms and drawn from sources appropriate to the black community.”¹⁶⁴ These sources include music, prayer,

¹⁶² Cone, “Black Worship,” 482.

¹⁶³ Bridges, *Resurrection Song*, 3. Michael Battle argues that this common spirituality is community. Battle, *The Black Church in America: African American Christian Spirituality*, xi. James Cone sees the essence of African American spirituality in the Black quest for freedom from White supremacy. Cone, “Black Worship,” 481-490. C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence Mamiya stress the dialectic nature of African American spirituality, which is built upon Du Bois’ articulation of “double-consciousness.” Many dialectics appear in the Black Church: priestly and prophetic functions, worldly versus otherworldly, universalism and particularism, communal and privatistic, charismatic versus bureaucratic, resistance versus accommodation. Lincoln and Mamiya, *Black Church*, 10-16. See also Hans A. Baer and Merrill Singer, *African American Religion: Varieties of Protest and Accommodation*, 2nd ed. (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 2002). Jon Michael Spencer applies this dialectical model to African American spirituality in Black music as protest and praise. Spencer, *Protest and Praise*. Mambo Ama Mazama argues against the double-consciousness put forth by Du Bois. European Christianity desacralized the African cosmology, and so he argues that Afrocentricity should be reestablished among Africans. By extension, this argument would infer that African spirituality should not be lost but embraced by African Americans as well. Mazama, “Afrocentricity.” Costen believes that “the use of these models in studying African American worship traditions allows for a more dynamic view of worship along a continuum of tensions and struggles amid changes in society and the desire for liberation. This is especially important for music forms and styles that greatly affect worship.” Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 75. This dialectical model holds much truth, but neglects the historical development that has helped to shape the African American worldview. Other more niche African American spiritualities have been written: Emilie Townes draws on the oft-neglected sources of African American women, giving voice to their individual and communal spirituality that results in social witness. Emilie M. Townes, *In a Blaze of Glory: Womanist Spirituality as Social Witness* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995). Nicholas Cooper-Lewter and Henry Mitchell examine African American spirituality by seeking to derive the essence or “soul” of folk theology of common Black Americans in everyday life. Nicholas C. Cooper-Lewter and Henry H. Mitchel, *Soul Theology: The Heart of American Black Culture* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986).

¹⁶⁴ Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 907. In Cone’s first work, *Black Theology and Black Power*, he relied on White theologians to build his argument. However, by the time he wrote *The Spirituals and the*

preaching, folklore, dancing, among others. The practice of worship as the experienced religion provides the primary source for theology. Black Christianity has therefore followed the natural development of liturgical theology: *lex orandi lex credendi*. These “fundamental ways of knowing and experiencing God”¹⁶⁵ provide the ontological reality of Black spirituality in worship and music.

Black Spirituals and Black Spirituality

Deep River,
My home is over Jordan.
Deep River, Lord,
I want to cross over into campground.

Oh, don't you want to go,
To the Gospel feast;
That Promised Land,
Where all is peace?

Oh, deep River, Lord,
I want to cross over into campground.

More than a haunting melody, the anonymous Negro spiritual, “Deep River,” evokes the ethos and essence of Black American spiritual identity. The “sorrow songs”¹⁶⁶ stand as a testament to the strength of human will, endurance of faith, and deep spirituality embedded in the very fabric of Black Americans’ lives as they endured great

Blues, he established his entire Black systematic theology based upon Black sources. Cone has an extreme distrust of White theologians, for the “white vision of reality is too distorted,” and racist. Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation*, 53.

¹⁶⁵ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 1.

¹⁶⁶ Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 155.

oppression by the dominant White super-culture. The collection and interpretation of Negro spirituals has developed significantly over the past 150 years.

The meaning of Black spirituals has captivated the interest of many. Offering the first significant interpretation of Black spirituals, W. E. B. Du Bois regarded sorrow songs as the most beautiful expression of human experience and deepest heartfelt yearning for hope.¹⁶⁷ Lawrence Levine argues that the slave songs provide a wealth of source material for understanding the meaning and function of slave life—in essence—getting to the soul of the slave experience.¹⁶⁸ James Cone offers a systematic theology based upon both the sacred spirituals and the secular blues, in order to substantiate his Black theology upon primary Black sources.¹⁶⁹

It is commonplace to think of the spirituals as having double entendre. If so, “Deep River” would mean both the desire of the slave at death to cross over to the promised land of the Christian heaven and the code meaning of crossing over from the bondage of the American South to the free states of the North. However, spirituals may contain more than two meanings. Therefore, I infer the following: A deep flowing river may be an African metaphor for the circle of life, connecting the African American

¹⁶⁷ Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 182-3, 189.

¹⁶⁸ Lawrence W. Levine, “Slave Songs and Slave Consciousness: An Exploration in Neglected Sources,” in *African-American Religion: Interpretive Essays in History and Culture*, ed. Timothy E. Fulop and Albert J. Raboteau (New York: Routledge, 1997), 59-87.

¹⁶⁹ James H. Cone, *The Spirituals and the Blues*, paperback ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1992). Jon Michael Spencer validates this methodology, arguing quite convincingly that sacred, secular, and profane music all reveal implicit theology. He then applies his methodology to Black sacred music. Spencer, *Theological Music: Introduction to Theomusicology*; Jon Michael Spencer, “The Theology of American Popular Music,” *Black Sacred Music: A Journal of Theomusicology* 3, no. 2 (Fall 1989).

community with the African past. Thus, the spiritual may also calls to mind the desire of the slave community to cross over the Atlantic, back to one's homeland, Africa. Even more, "Deep River" may allude to the return of the soul to the circle of life—rejoining one's ancestors, the unborn, and even the Divine—while the Jordan rolls.

Since the days of slavery, spirituality has flowed deeper than a river among the Black Christian community. Spirituality is the core of Black American culture, religion, and quest for freedom.¹⁷⁰ Despite various denominational polities, liturgical traditions, and geographical distinctions, striking similarities in spirituality exist among the majority of Black American congregations in the United States. "The root of this uniqueness is embedded in the African soil with its worldview and practices."¹⁷¹ This cosmology and its praxis is manifest in Black worship. Melva Costen, renowned scholar of Black studies, says, "African American congregations generally agree that corporate Christian worship is acknowledgment of and response to the presence and power of God as revealed in Jesus the Christ through the work of the Holy Spirit."¹⁷² Thus, spirituality, the totality of one's religious life, stems from one's existential experience of God's presence in worship and music.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Bridges, *Resurrection Song*, 1.

¹⁷¹ Maynard-Reid, *Diverse Worship*, 53.

¹⁷² Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 79.

¹⁷³ Marva Dawn, *Reaching Out without Dumbing Down: A Theology of Worship for the Turn-of-the-Century Culture* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 94, 192, 247; Saliers, *Worship as Theology*, 23, 132; Jean-Jacque von Allmen, *Worship: Its Theology and Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 26-32; White, *Protestant Worship*, 200; Sally Morgenthaler, *Worship Evangelism: Inviting Unbelievers into the Presence of God* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1999), 23-24, 65-67, 97-102; John D. Witvliet, "At Play in the Lord's House: Why Worship Matters," *Books and Culture* 4, no. 6 (November/December 1998): 23; Robert E. Webber, *Ancient-Future Worship: Proclaiming and Enacting God's Narrative* (Grand Rapids: BakerBooks, 2008), 133; John

Worship is the center and unifying source for Black spiritual consciousness.¹⁷⁴

Explicitly and implicitly, it manifests the core beliefs of the Black experience:

Core beliefs are much more than easily mouthed shibboleths or conformist creeds. They are the bedrock attitudes that govern all deliberate behavior and relationships and all spontaneous responses to crises. . . . [They] are not mere propositions to which assent is given.¹⁷⁵

These core beliefs are the first principles, the fundamental theological realities that underlie the Black worldview.

Carlyle Stewart recognizes that great diversity exists in Black spirituality due to philosophical and theological suppositions. However, despite the “multiplicities of spiritual belief, practices, and expression, a firm cosmology [worldview] undergirds and informs the practice of African and African American spirituality at all levels.”¹⁷⁶

Fundamental Principles of Black Theology

In this chapter, as we outline the antecedents of thought and practice for Black and White Adventism, it is important to articulate the African worldview, just as we looked at the seed-thought stemming from White Europeans. We now turn to these fundamental principles of Black theology, seeking to understand how African Americans are perceived to experience God in worship and music. These principles include time,

Jefferson Davis, *Worship and the Reality of God: An Evangelical Theology of Real Presence* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2010).

¹⁷⁴ Carlyle Fielding Stewart, III, *Soul Survivors: An African American Spirituality* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 113.

¹⁷⁵ Cooper-Lewter and Mitchel, *Soul Theology*, 3.

¹⁷⁶ Stewart, *Soul Survivors*, 8.

God, the world, humanity and salvation. The deep-rooted African *a priori* worldview nuances Black spirituality. Attention must be given to this theological background, “because most North American Christians are unfamiliar with the African heritage.”¹⁷⁷

Time

One of the primary elements of African heritage, the concept of time, continued into Black American spirituality in worship and music. Scholars have sought to differentiate African theology with Western theology regarding time. Some have mistakenly argued that the African perspective is the same as the biblical worldview. While similarities exist, important differences exist as well. In the end, the understanding of God in African and African American spirituality affects how the community experiences God in worship, and is different than a biblical worship experience.

Thomas Hoyt, Jr., a scholar in biblical studies, has attempted to show that the African concept of time in theology is synonymous with a biblical worldview. Based upon the sources, I think he has rightly interpreted Scripture, but misapplied it to the traditional African worldview. Hoyt astutely describes the concept of time according to Scripture. “God, who created time, is active in time, moving it toward the fulfillment that God intends. Consequently, time is an integral structure of God’s reality.”¹⁷⁸ This

¹⁷⁷ Melva Wilson Costen, “African-American Worship,” in *The Complete Library of Christian Worship*, ed. Robert E. Webber, vol. 2, *Twenty Centuries of Christian Worship* (Nashville: Star Song Publishing Group, 1994), 89.

¹⁷⁸ Thomas Hoyt, Jr., “The African-American Worship Experience and The Bible,” in *The Black Christian Worship Experience*, ed. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Black Church Scholars Series, vol. 6 (Atlanta: The Interdenominational Theological Center Press, 1992), 11.

interpretation harmonizes with the conclusions of Seventh-day Adventist systematician, Fernando Canale.¹⁷⁹ However, Black spirituality is often viewed as being holistic:

Black spirituality, in contrast with much of western tradition, is holistic. Like the biblical tradition, there is no dualism. Divisions between intellect and emotion, spirit and body, action and contemplation, individual and community, sacred and secular are foreign to us. In keeping with our African heritage, we are not ashamed of our emotions. For us the religious experience is an experience of the whole human being, both the feelings and the intellect, the heart as well as the head. Moreover, we find foreign any notion that the body is evil. We find our own holistic spiritual approach to be in accord with the scriptures and the logic of the incarnation.¹⁸⁰

In contrast, Stewart explains that White European Christianity bases its conception of time on Greek philosophy and its dualistic reality. In this dialectic system, the physical is temporal; the metaphysical is timeless. Because God is beyond His creation, He resides outside of time and is timeless. In White European Christianity, creation is bound to time, a prison in which humanity is held. Beyond this creation, the metaphysical is eternal or timeless. That which is timeless cannot enter time. Time has no ontological meaning. Time has no purpose. Only significant events are important and are given meaning by the individual. “Worship based on the Greek paradigm does not celebrate life but seeks to escape life and appease the deity.”¹⁸¹ The African view does hold some similarities with both the biblical and the Greek worldviews. The African God is relational and personal with His creation. Yet, God is also timeless for He is beyond

¹⁷⁹ That God is active in time, and time, though analogical, is integral to God’s reality. Canale, *Basic Elements*, 56-73.

¹⁸⁰ Black Roman Catholic Bishops, “What We Have Seen and Heard,” *Origins* 14 (October 1984): 277; Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 5.

¹⁸¹ Hoyt, “The African-American Worship Experience and The Bible,” 4.

His creation. However, as we will see in the next section, the African cosmology also views God as beyond His creation and therefore exists outside of time.

The African concept of time is circular, in contrast with European Christianity, that views time as linear.¹⁸² The universe is not only eternal, but cycles through past, present, and future, “leap-frogging aspects of time.” The past may also directly influence the future.¹⁸³ The primary emphasis lies with the present, which is informed by the past. The future will happen and continue forever.¹⁸⁴ The major focus is on the rhythms of life. Individual humans, animals, and plants make up the minor rhythms, and seasons, years, and epochs make up the major rhythms. These rhythms indicate that the universe will never end.¹⁸⁵

Due to the circular nature of time, human life is viewed holistically, and thus the African American worship experience is holistic and celebrates the circle of life that God has created. No separation exists between the secular and sacred. The “circle of life” and the “rhythm of life” include a harmonious world, humanity, and the Creator God.

This seemingly simple conception of time and holism possesses radical implications for the rest of the theological reality of African American spirituality as

¹⁸² Bridges, *Resurrection Song*, 15; Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 16-17.

¹⁸³ Bridges, *Resurrection Song*, 16. Mbiti nuances this view, stating that African thinking is two-dimensional with a long past, and the present. This is due to the experiential nature of life. The future has not been experienced yet. Future thoughts only extend to a few months beyond the present. The past and present make up experienced time, which could be called micro-time. Micro-time is included in macro-time, which includes all time. There is no end of time. Death is the gateway into the community of macro-time, the community of the departed and the spirits. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 16-17, 21-24.

¹⁸⁴ John S. Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, rev. ed. (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1991), 37.

¹⁸⁵ Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, 37.

manifest in worship and music.¹⁸⁶ Understanding these realities in light of the conception of time will aid in understanding how the Black community perceives how God is experienced in worship and music. Let us now turn to the conceptions of God and the world, seeing how time affects each.

Theology and Cosmology

The African conception of time plays a central role in theology and cosmology, the doctrines of God and the world. For this section, it is helpful to address both God and world together, as these themes are often interrelated. This section will provide the context for the African American view of humanity.

All African religions have a notion of God.¹⁸⁷ God, the Divine, is the Creator of the world and all life. As Creator, God's reality exists outside and beyond the universe, because He created it.¹⁸⁸ God is not limited to space and time, because He created them. Western philosophy describes God's reality as metaphysical, while the universe is in the realm of the physical. Similarly, in African thought, God could also be described as transcendent to the universe.

Many African religions view the universe as having a beginning, but no end.¹⁸⁹ The universe consists of the visible and the invisible, the heavens and the earth. Some

¹⁸⁶ Hoyt, "The African-American Worship Experience and The Bible," 7.

¹⁸⁷ Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 29. Mbiti's most comprehensive examination of the African worldview may be found in John S. Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa* (London: SPCK, 1970). He examined over 300 people groups and, without exception, all believe in some type of God. Therefore, at its core, African spirituality and by extension, African American spirituality, views reality religiously.

¹⁸⁸ Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, 43.

¹⁸⁹ "The universe is considered to be unending in terms of both space and time." Mbiti,

conceive of a three-tier creation of the heavens, the earth, and the underworld.

Regardless, these divisions are linked together.¹⁹⁰

In African and African American spirituality, God is “both very far and very near, he is both beyond and within.”¹⁹¹ He may enter time and space and become imminent. African thought emphasizes God’s radical imminence as “God-as-member-of-the-community.”¹⁹² This view provides Africans and African Americans constant contact with God.¹⁹³ In African religion, God’s reality may be expressed similarly to the Western understanding of God as transcendent and imminent, though these terms should only be understood as analogical—similar, but not the same—to the African view. There is an affinity between these conceptions.¹⁹⁴

God’s imminence may be felt in that “God is simultaneously present everywhere in the universe.”¹⁹⁵ Though everywhere simultaneously, He is not identical with anything or any place, for He is also beyond everything. Creation cannot exceed the Creator. God is “the absolute, hegemonic, supreme, primordial reality, which orchestrates, governs, empowers, transforms, and infuses creation with a creative soul force that is the basis and

Introduction to African Religion, 37. “This beginning is God.” Bridges, *Resurrection Song*, 15.

¹⁹⁰ Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, 35.

¹⁹¹ Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, 58.

¹⁹² Bridges, *Resurrection Song*, 21.

¹⁹³ Joseph Omosade Awolalu, *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites* (Essex, UK: Longman Group Limited, 1979), 67.

¹⁹⁴ Bridges, *Resurrection Song*, 21.

¹⁹⁵ Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, 57.

power of life.”¹⁹⁶ Historically, God’s imminence provided comfort for African slaves in the Americas, for their God was personal, intimate, and active in their lives. He was good, merciful, holy, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, limitless, self-existent, the first cause, unchanging, and unknowable.¹⁹⁷ For modern Black Americans, God’s presence is imminent towards the oppressed, giving strength to rise victorious over oppression, providing everything needed to triumph.¹⁹⁸ In the Black sacred cosmos, God is an avenging, liberating hero.¹⁹⁹ In the eyes of James Cone, the Black church “cannot accept a view of God which does not represent God as being for oppressed blacks and thus against white oppressors. Living in a world of white oppressors, blacks have no time for a neutral God.”²⁰⁰

To summarize, God is timeless, because He is transcendent to created time and space. He is also radically imminent in creation, infusing it with soul force. This view of God will have tremendous implications for the African American understanding of salvation. But first, we must examine human reality.

Anthropology

The understandings of time, God, and the world play an important role in the African American understanding of what it means to be human. While not applicable in

¹⁹⁶ Stewart, *Soul Survivors*, 8.

¹⁹⁷ Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, 55-59.

¹⁹⁸ Cone, “Black Worship,” 489.

¹⁹⁹ Lincoln and Mamiya, *Black Church*, 3.

²⁰⁰ Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation*, 74.

every denominational context, this section seeks to elicit the commonality shared in Black spirituality, and the continuance of the fundamental reality of the African worldview in worship and music.

The African worldview situates humanity as the center of the universe, a reality God both created and sustains. Humanity stands as the center of heaven and earth and the link between the visible and the invisible.²⁰¹ Put another way, humanity experiences God through both the visible and the invisible. This is due to humanity's nature and spirit. Through bodily and spiritual holism, humanity possesses the natural and God-given ability to connect the visible and invisible worlds.

Stewart gives a helpful explanation of how human spirit and nature interact based upon the Divine Nature and Spirit. Nature refers to "the material forms of reality and creation. Spirit is that dynamic, cosmic force that inspirits all creation with movement, energy, and vitality."²⁰² He explains that this Divine reality manifests itself in nature, society, and human history. Together, the Divine Nature and Spirit form the unified reality of African worldview, which is "the foundation of all African and African American spirituality."²⁰³ Dona Richards adds,

The essence of the African cosmos is spiritual reality. That is its fundamental nature, its primary essence. But realities are not conceived as being in irreconcilable opposition, as they are in the West, and spirit is not separate from matter. Both spiritual and material being are necessary in order for there to be a meaningful reality.

²⁰¹ Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, 40.

²⁰² Stewart, *Soul Survivors*, 8-9.

²⁰³ Stewart, *Soul Survivors*, 9. Costen adds, "Nature and spirit, Creator and Creation are viewed as a unified reality in African cosmology, thus providing an important foundation for African Spirituality." Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 23.

While spiritual being gives force and energy to matter, material being gives form to spirit.²⁰⁴

This unified reality contributes to the African conception of holism, explaining Black worship that encompasses mind and emotion, spirit and body. God is to be experienced in both Nature and Spirit. Stewart argues that the “God of Nature and Spirit [. . .] imbues black people with a creative soul force that sustains their survival and validates their existence.” God’s freedom to “transform reality is therefore bequeathed to humankind.”²⁰⁵ Whereas a Western worldview separates the physical from the metaphysical in a bad-good relationship, African holism unifies these realities, viewing nature and spirit as both good. God cannot be experienced without both realities.

I am insisting here that, while a holism is discussed, the reality for Black spirituality is fundamentally dualistic. The difference is that Africans and African Americans do not separate the physical and metaphysical as bad and good. Both the physical and metaphysical are necessary to experience spirituality. The Western conception seeks to detach from the body, seeking contact with the Divine only in Spirit. This may clearly be understood in how White Christians have traditionally refused to clap their hands and dance in worship, seeking only to experience God in the mind. Black Christians seek God through their entire being, a type of holism. The ontology is dualistic, but the experience is a practical holism.

This unified reality provides the paradigm in which many African Americans approach God in worship. The material, physical expression in worship allows the

²⁰⁴ Dona M. Richards, *Let the Circle be Unbroken* (Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1989), 5.

²⁰⁵ Stewart, *Soul Survivors*, 9.

community to tap into the soul force, or spiritual energy, to connect with God. Bodily movement is a “means of communication with God” in which the Holy Spirit takes possession of both soul and body at the peak of worship.²⁰⁶ This has implications for the African American conception of salvation, as we will see in the next section.

Key to understanding the African American conception of humanity is the immortality of the soul, and its expression in the spirituals.²⁰⁷ Among many African cultures, “there is no major difference between death and life. Both are perceived as different modes of being.”²⁰⁸ American slaves understood the soul of humanity to be immortal.²⁰⁹ The soul derived from the timeless realm. Furthermore, this was emphasized through the spirituals. Howard Thurman makes this clear:

If time is regarded as having certain characteristics that are event transcending and the human spirit is not essentially time bound but a time binder, then the concept of personal survival of death follows automatically. For man is never completely involved in, nor absorbed by, experience. He is an experiencer with recollection and memory—so these songs insist [Negro spirituals]. The logic of such a position is that man was not born *in* time, that he was not created by a time-space experience, but rather that man was born *into* time. Something of him enters all time-space experience, even birth, completely and fully intact, and is not created by the time-space relationship. In short, the most significant thing about man is what Eckhart calls the “uncreated element” in his soul. This was an assumed fact profoundly at work in the life and thought of the early slaves.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 41.

²⁰⁷ There is not an African belief in the immortality of the body. This contributes to the understanding that Black anthropology is fundamentally dualistic.

²⁰⁸ Mazama, “Afrocentricity,” 220.

²⁰⁹ Howard Thurman, *The Negro Spiritual Speaks of Life and Death* (New York: Harper and Row, 1947), 50-52. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 93.

²¹⁰ Thurman, *The Negro Spiritual Speaks of Life and Death*, 52.

The immortal soul contributes to the communal circle of life. Costen quotes an Akan in West Africa: “Onipe fi soro besi a, obesi nnipa krom,” which she translates as, “When a person descends from heaven, he or she enters a town inhabited by human beings.”²¹¹ As the soul is joined with body, one’s reality is not individual, but communal—a “town” of humanity. When the human dies, the soul is rejoined with the community of heaven. Community consists of the living, the “living-dead,” the yet unborn, and the non-human spirits.²¹² This communion is the circle of life. The African conception of holism connects the living with the past and the future into the circle of life. In African spirituality, worshipers connect with all past and future creation and community.

With this interpretive lens, the spiritual songs of American slaves take on new meaning. As stated at the outset of this section, “Deep River” could very well be interpreted in multiple legitimate ways. If the African heritage was not lost among American slaves, then the words of the spiritual speak with the African worldview in mind. “Deep River” may mean the crossing over from life into the community of the living-dead. It may also mean a living connection with both the invisible spirit-realm and the visible physical world.

The song’s focus on water demonstrates the importance and power of the rhythm of life in the African slave worldview. Consider the concepts of “deep river” and

²¹¹ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 9. An Akan is a member of a people inhabiting southern Ghana and adjacent parts of Ivory Coast.

²¹² Bridges, *Resurrection Song*, 17-20. Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, 70.

“Jordan.” Water may very well represent the continuous flow of the circle of life.²¹³

Costen states that water may symbolize three basic dimensions of African spirituality:

1. *Cosmical*: water is basic to life in the universe; without water there is no life;
2. *Death*: water can consume all of life and cause death;
3. *Purification and Regeneration*: water symbolizes cleanliness and re-creation.²¹⁴

River cults were common for many West Africans, in which it was believed that powerful spirits inhabited rivers and other large bodies of water. Rituals in these cults included washing, renewal, and even infilling from the spirits in the water. Initiation included total immersion into the sacred river.²¹⁵ In some cultures, God’s presence is experienced in the water.²¹⁶ Through the singing of this and other spirituals, the slave could establish a living link with God and the rhythm of life. Costen states, “The language of [spirituals] reflects a reaching out through space and time as singers identify with the lived experiences of others, so that the characters, scenes, and events of the Bible become present.”²¹⁷

Ontologically, there are similarities between African, African American, and even Western spirituality. The soul is timeless and spaceless, and the body is temporal and spatial. The difference lies in how the individual interacts with the body and soul. In

²¹³ Melva Wilson Costen, “African Roots of Afro-American Baptismal Practices,” in *The Black Christian Worship Experience*, ed. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Black Church Scholars Series, vol. VI (Atlanta: The Interdenominational Theological Center Press, 1992), 23, 25.

²¹⁴ Costen, “African Roots,” 27-28.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 38.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 42. See also Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa*, 145-150.

²¹⁷ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 8.

classical Western spirituality, the Divine is experienced through the soul apart from the body. In African spirituality, the community establishes a connection with the Divine through both body and soul. The actions of the body provide the means for participation with the cosmos and God's presence.

This Black sacred cosmos permeates all of life, connecting all aspects of life to spirituality. God's creation is "alive, sacred, and the foundation of religious values,"²¹⁸ implying that "everyday living is not separate from worship."²¹⁹ "Modalities of the sacred and of being are revealed through the natural world and cosmic rhythms."²²⁰ The "rhythm of life" is bound up in "a harmonious world created and ordered by Almighty God."²²¹ Holism is deeply rooted in African ontology. Melva Costen summarizes these points:

The basic premise of African Spirituality is the interrelatedness of all of life, beginning with the creation of all there is by a divine Creator—called by different names but understood as Uniquely One, and extending to the smallest existing form of life. Life for African people who continue to adhere to African Traditional Religions (ATR) is viewed and lived holistically. Internalizing and living such a view of life allows humans to understand and believe that God, the Creator, remains present and is dynamically involved in the world. The cosmos, the entire universe, is sacred, and all that God has made is not only sacred, but divinely linked. Cosmic "rhythm" is the embodiment of divine order, providing the basis for life together, and the means by which life pulsates.²²²

²¹⁸ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 6.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

²²¹ "Every mode of existence presupposes and depends on another. Unless there is unity in the cosmos, one cannot be totally whole." *Ibid.*, 5. Costen notes that Black Christians were thinking holistically long before Pierre Teilhard de Chardin fashioned a Christian cosmology as a synthesis of love for God connected to love for the world. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 1-38.

²²² Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 22.

Soteriology

Black worship culminates in a celebration of God's powerful deliverance on behalf of an oppressed people. At the heart of slave religion was the core conviction that God would fight on their behalf, that salvation is not only eschatological, but also practical. The African worldview of holism provided the conceptual framework for a Black liberation worship theology.

Today, Black Christians generally do not view salvation as an abstract concept like many White Christians do. Salvation is not limited to the invisible world, but rather finds its point of contact in the material. Taking its cues from the Hebrew exodus, redemption is deliverance for the oppressed from the oppressor. The Black sacred cosmos includes freedom as a core conviction.

For the slave and the Black American today, liberation has functioned as the articulating principle for Black worship, and its soteriology.²²³ The biblical narrative, not only of the Exodus, but even that of Jesus Christ has been read through these

²²³ An articulating principle operates by linking existing elements into new patterns, thereby adding new meanings to them. In contradistinction to liberation, Fernando Canale proposes an exposition of the Adventist system of theology, indicating the role of the sanctuary as the articulating principle of all theology. Fernando Canale, "From Vision to System: Finishing the Task of Adventist Theology, Part I: Historical Review," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 15, no. 2 (2004); Fernando Canale, "From Vision to System: Finishing the Task of Adventist Biblical and Systematic Theologies, Part II," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 16, no. 1 (2005); Fernando Canale, "From Vision to System: Finishing the Task of Adventist Theology, Part III: Sanctuary and Hermeneutics," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 17, no. 2 (2006). Black theology, a subset of Liberation theology, places liberation at the center of its system. Gulley, *Prolegomena*, 483; Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 908. While giving a misplaced emphasis in a theological system, Black theology has made a significant contribution to the field of theology by emphasizing the tangible effect of a liberating theology. Within an Adventist system of thought, Liberation theology would fit better within the narrative of the great controversy. In this way, God and humanity's story of liberation and redemption would not displace the articulating principle of the sanctuary, but rather contextualize it.

hermeneutical reading glasses. As part of the Black sacred cosmos, African Americans have identified with the biblical Jesus, who shared a similar experience through the incarnation and its relationship to humiliation, suffering, death, and eventual triumph.²²⁴ Yes, He rose as a victorious Liberator. “He, too, was despised, mistreated, and ultimately lynched.”²²⁵ Jesus is a companion and also the Black Messiah:

When blacks confess Jesus as the black messiah, this title is not ‘just’ a symbol. Brought from Africa because of their physical value as manual workers, in their physicality the object of the lust of white masters, these strangers and outcasts in the New World paradoxically enough felt accepted in that physicality by the God who allowed himself to be nailed to the cross. In the context of racism and slavery, his self-emptying is his blackness.²²⁶

African Americans have viewed Christ’s incarnation as the embodiment of the human link between the visible and the invisible, between the Divine Nature and Spirit, “God with us.” Through the Black Messiah, there is certainty of God’s imminent presence among the weak, human worshipers. God’s felt presence in worship therefore reflects the joy of the community for their redemption from oppression. Salvation is understood within a framework of liberation:

²²⁴ Lincoln and Mamiya, *Black Church*, 4. See also Henry H. Mitchell, *Black Belief: Folk Beliefs of Blacks in America and West Africa* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975); Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation*; Gayraud S. Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Interpretation of the Religious History of Afro-American People*, 3rd ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998).

²²⁵ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 26.

²²⁶ Witvliet, *Black Messiah*, 265. “When we consider slavery, lynching and ghettos, how can we explain black people’s mental and physical survival? How was it possible for black slaves to hope for freedom when a mere empirical analysis would elicit despair? How is it possible for blacks today to keep their sanity in the struggle for freedom when one considers the continued existence of black suffering? The answer is found in Jesus and God. Jesus heals wounded spirits and broken hearts. No matter what trials and tribulations the people encounter, they refuse to let despair define their humanity.” Cone, “Black Worship,” 490.

The genius of Black worship is its openness to the creative power of God that frees and enables people, regardless of denomination, to “turn themselves loose” and celebrate God’s act in Jesus Christ. . . . Traditional African American worship can be viewed as a spiritual art form. The drama inherent in worship lends itself naturally to joyful glorification and enjoyment of God.²²⁷

The saving nature of worship plays out in the conversion of individuals.

Conversion includes overcoming sin. Yet, sin is primarily the sin of oppression. Sin exists as the ontic reality of that which/who oppresses. Repentance and confession of sin are personal. “Confessions are intricately bound in testimonies of personal conversion experiences.”²²⁸ Giving witness of how God has gotten one over has been a significant part of African American worship.

Conversion is therefore highly experiential and relational. This leads to a relational knowing of God personally, not an intellectual knowing. An illiterate slave, commenting on her understanding of the gospel, replied, “I can’t read a word. But I read Jesus in my heart. [. . .] I know he’s there ‘cause I read him in my heart, just like you know about him from reading the book!”²²⁹

However, this relational knowing in salvation correlates with the aforementioned foundational reality of the human soul connecting with the Divine through the rhythm of life. Accounts by former slaves reveal the connection between Nature and Spirit in salvation.²³⁰ “I tell you it’s a wonderful feeling when you feel the spirit of the Lord God

²²⁷ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 65.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

²²⁹ Cited in *Ibid.*, 8.

²³⁰ “The faith stories of individuals and communities are the major sources of African American

Almighty in the tips of your fingers, and the bottom of yo' heart. . . . I tell you, honey, you got to be touched from the inside, and be struck by his hand like I was 'fore you feel that holy uplifting spirit."²³¹

William Wells Brown, one of the first Black men of letters, recounted about conversion—getting religion—during the post-reconstruction South. Brown, a free Black from the North, voiced disapproval of the worship among ex-slaves in the South, saying they clung to their folk religiosity.²³² Brown met a young woman who had not had the conversion experience expected of her by the community. The church did not believe she would get “the Witness,” until she had had a shouting spell.

“And did you really shout?” [Brown asked.]

“Yes. I did it to stop their mouths, for at nearly every meeting, one or more would say, ‘Sister Smith, I hope to live to see you show that you’ve got the Witness, for where the grace of God is, there will be shouting, and the sooner you comes to that point the better it will be for you in the world to come.’”²³³

Ritual actions, such as shouting, have their root in African spirituality.²³⁴ The human link between the visible and invisible may be seen here. The point of contact

theology.” Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 4.

²³¹ Sister Kelly, “Proud of that ‘Old Time’ Religion,” in *African American Religious History: A Documentary Witness*, ed. Milton C. Sernett (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 72-73. Taken from *Unwritten History of Slavery: Autobiographical Accounts of Negro Ex-slaves*. 1945. Reprint, Washington, DC: Microcard Editions, 1968, 81-84.

²³² Sernett, *African American Religious History: A Documentary Witness*, 256.

²³³ William Wells Brown, “Black Religion in the Post-Reconstruction South,” in *African American Religious History: A Documentary Witness*, ed. Milton C. Sernett (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 258. Taken from *My Southern Home: or, The South and Its People* (Boston: A. G. Brown, 1880), 190-197. See Chapter 4, which describes early American “shouting Methodists,” as well as the demonstrative nature of early Adventist worship.

²³⁴ Lincoln and Mamiya, *Black Church*, 352; Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 2.

between humanity and the grace of God may be found in the shouting. This was not the case with Sister Smith. She most likely had accommodated to White American spirituality. Her peers, however, continued to maintain their African spirituality in their expression of experiencing salvation.

The African and slave worldview comes to bear upon a common spiritual identity. As discussed in Chapter 2, Ronald Grimes devised a taxonomy for understanding the ritualization process, with seven categories of ritual sensibility: ritualization, decorum, ceremony, magic, liturgy, and celebration. In ATR and slave religion, the primary modes of ritual were ritualization, magic, and celebration. These modes embraced accompanying frames of reference: psychosomatic (ritualization), transcendent (magic), and expressive (celebration). The African and slave theology, however, would not only view the encounter with God as transcendent, but also immanent, God within. The mood of ritual spanned ambivalence, anxiety, and festivity. Anxiety arose in the ritual, as worshipers were uncertain about their standing in society, or pleasing the God. The voice of ritual was exclamatory, declarative, and subjunctive. Most ritual activities embodied the beliefs, featuring a very demonstrative activity level in worship, such as the ring shout and other various physical mannerisms and gestures. The activities may also be viewed as causative toward God, but also at times playful, when praising God with apparent abandonment. Worshipers felt compelled to praise or protest, as acts of worship. In America, Black slaves desired deliverance from their captors, thus pushing the ritual mode toward that of magic. In this mode, worshipers may have sought healing, fertility, or even divination. In the celebration mode, worshiper activity was playful and

spontaneous. Thus, Black spirituality was not one-dimensional. It embraced several modes of ritual sensibility in its liturgical gatherings.

The rich African worldview carried over into African American spirituality in worship and music. Its fundamental theological realities of time, God, the world, humanity, and even salvation continued into Christian worship practices. Black Americans modified Christianity to adapt to a dynamic African worldview. This ontological reality was not abandoned, but strengthened in light of slavery and persistent White oppression. Due to this long lasting theological legacy and societal pressures, this African conception of reality became hard-baked into the Black American worldview.

Independent Black Church Movement and Liturgical Theology

In this fifth and final section, the independent Black church movement is explored, coupled with the elucidation of the liturgical theology manifest by Blacks and Whites during this period. The contributing factors for the movement are explored, and several influential events are analyzed. Finally, the derogatory “Negro pew” receives analysis, for it shows in great detail the disparity of ontological views between Blacks and Whites. This final section contextualizes an understanding of the relationship between Black and White Adventists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Bearing in mind the fundamental theological principles noted above, we turn to the independent Black church movement. The unique worldview of African Americans contributed toward this movement, for many of its principles were at odds with White theology. First, we will examine the contributing factors in this movement. These factors are significant, for many continue until this day. Many of these factors fueled the move

for Regional Conferences in the middle of the twentieth century among Seventh-day Adventists. Second, it will be demonstrated how racial worship conflicts and the enjoining manifest liturgical theology provided a catalyst for the movement. Finally, the Negro pew highlights the opposing liturgical theologies manifest by Blacks and Whites during the nineteenth century. These developments are essential for understanding the later history of worship, music, and race among Seventh-day Adventists in the twentieth century.

Contributing Factors

The greater adoption of Christianity by Black slaves occurred in the Second Great Awakening of the 1790s and the ensuing waves of revival. The religious practices of the shouting Methodists and spiritual Baptists would allow a continuance of some Africanisms that synthesized with fundamental Protestantism.²³⁵ However, they were not drawn to them due to the White doctrines, so much so as that these groups allowed a certain amount of flexibility in worship. These institutions provided Blacks an organizational system in which to create a new version of Christianity.²³⁶ They sought to “Steal Away” to form their own version of Christianity:

Steal away, steal away, steal away to Jesus!
Steal away, steal away home,
I ain't got long to stay here.

My Lord, He calls me,
He calls me by the thunder;
The trumpet sounds within my soul,

²³⁵ Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 88.

²³⁶ Cone, “Black Worship,” 485-486.

I ain't got long to stay here.

In this context, the Negro spiritual takes on more meaning than just hope in the Christian afterlife. It was a call to freedom in worship at the Invisible Institution away from the Whites who had stolen them away from their African home.²³⁷ Black worship was different from White worship due to this particular experience.

The situation of worship naturally led Blacks to worship differently from Whites. Similarities lie in the transcultural elements of worship, including music, prayer, and preaching, and Scripture. The Black experience, however, nuanced the contextualization of these liturgical elements. Scholars vary in opinion regarding the most significant liturgical elements in Black worship. Clifford Jones notes that the three primary elements of Black worship are music, prayer, and preaching.²³⁸ W. E. B. Du Bois labeled it as “the preacher, the music, and the frenzy.”²³⁹ It should be noted that Du Bois was specifically speaking as a northerner visiting southern Black churches of the Invisible Institution. Lincoln and Mamiya state, “Singing is second only to preaching as the magnet of attraction and the primary vehicle of spiritual transport for the worshipping congregation.”²⁴⁰ However, Pedrito Maynard-Reid disagrees, saying:

In the African American community, music is to worship as breathing is to life. So important is music (particularly vocal music) to the worship service that it has been said it is possible to “have church” without an outstanding sermon, but not without

²³⁷ Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 213.

²³⁸ Jones, “African-American Worship: Its Heritage, Character, and Quality.”

²³⁹ Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 116.

²⁴⁰ Lincoln and Mamiya, *Black Church*, 346.

good singing. . . . If music is to worship what breathing is to life, then it is possibly the most essential ingredient in the liturgy.²⁴¹

Lincoln and Mamiya take a middle position, saying, “Good preaching and good singing are almost invariably the minimum conditions of a successful ministry. Both activities trace their roots back to Africa where music and religion and life itself were all one holistic enterprise.”²⁴²

James Cone declares, “Black worship is biblical.”²⁴³ Black Americans may have inherited the Bible from their White slaveholders, but they interpreted it differently in fundamental ways and based upon their unique experience of the African past and American slavery. Biblical interpretation comes by way of the Spirit experientially, not intellectually. In 1832, a White preacher stated, “Many of the blacks look upon white people as merely taught by the Book; they consider themselves instructed by the inspiration of the Spirit.”²⁴⁴ Having a different hermeneutic towards Scripture, Black Americans have different conclusions about God, themselves, and the world around them. Slaves found meaning and hope in the narrative of the Hebrew slaves and their exodus from slavery. Blacks identify themselves with the Hebrew slaves and White slaveholders with the Egyptians.²⁴⁵ Therefore, the Bible is “a book not of eternal truths and rules, but of specific history” that is also a “plan for the redemption of God’s

²⁴¹ Maynard-Reid, *Diverse Worship*, 69-70.

²⁴² Lincoln and Mamiya, *Black Church*, 346.

²⁴³ Cone, “Black Worship,” 489.

²⁴⁴ Cited in Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 214.

²⁴⁵ Cone, “Black Worship,” 489.

creation, a political task to be carried out.”²⁴⁶ Spirituality is intrinsically tied to liberation. This existential hermeneutic allowed the Black religious community to resist White forms of spirituality and develop unique modes of worship for itself.

Black Americans share the commonality of their history of struggle for survival from slavery. As a people, they experienced enslavement, were marginalized, denied respect, and oppressed. Black spirituality has interpreted all of reality through this lens of oppression. The African American tradition of spirituality could very well be viewed as a long history of response to the dominant power of White oppression. According to Friedrich Nietzsche’s theory of opposites, conquering and wiping out other alternatives determine what becomes normative within the social structure.²⁴⁷ Many Whites sought to beat down Black worship practices, viewing their practices as heathen and pagan. For them, only White spirituality could be normative for Christianity. “The reality of human corruption, oppression, and inequality anywhere in the world provides a hermeneutical principle, a lens through which the Word of God is seen, heard, understood, felt, and interpreted in worship.”²⁴⁸ Therefore, for Blacks, public worship becomes “a series of recitals of what God has done to bring the people out of ‘hurt, harm, and danger.’” Through sermon, song, prayer, and testimony, the people tell their story of “how they got over.”²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 907.

²⁴⁷ See Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, ed. Walter Kaufmann, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Vintage Books, 1968); Bridges, *Resurrection Song*, 71.

²⁴⁸ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 3.

²⁴⁹ Cone, “Black Worship,” 489.

As Black Americans mediated Christianity through a hermeneutic of Scripture rooted in the Black experience, Black preachers played a central role in the development of independent Black churches. This relevant gospel of hope established trust in the Black ministry, contributing to the need for an independent Black church.²⁵⁰

In light of these circumstances and developments, Black Americans felt strong conviction to establish their own congregations and denominations outside of White control, and seek freedom in worship. Historians have generally underestimated the existence of independent Black churches. Black churches, separate from mainline denominations, emerged in the North *and* the South before 1800. Though few in number, their existence demonstrates the value Blacks placed on religious freedom from White control.²⁵¹ Legal and social developments contributed to the advancement of worship freedom of Blacks in the North. Federal and state disestablishment of religion, voluntarism, and the abolition of slavery after the Revolution provided opportunity for church organizations to thrive.²⁵²

This exodus from the White churches into autonomous Black churches and even denominations can rightly be called the independent Black church movement.²⁵³ The independence of Black churches during the antebellum period is a matter of degree of

²⁵⁰ Albert J. Raboteau, *A Fire in the Bones: Reflections on African-American Religious History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 24.

²⁵¹ Raboteau, *Fire in the Bones*, 25.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 26.

²⁵³ John W. Cromwell, "The First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia," *The Journal of Negro History* 7, no. 1 (January 1922): 64.

affiliation. A church may have been: 1) a nonaffiliated Black congregation; 2) a church affiliated with a White-controlled association or denomination, either pastored by a White minister or a Black preacher or minister but supervised by a White individual or committee; 3) a church affiliated with a separate Black church regional association; or 4) a church affiliated with a Black national denomination.²⁵⁴ Racism, societal injustices, and inequities produced the context for independent denominations and separate congregations to flourish.²⁵⁵ “Without question, the emergence of African American denominations provides major visible evidence of institutional liberation movements initiated by an oppressed people.”²⁵⁶

One of the motivating factors during the antebellum period was the issue of White racism. The independent Black church movement’s leaders were predominantly freedmen in the North. There arose in them an “intense earnestness and deep feeling” regarding their enslaved brothers and sisters. Freedom was real, and its widespread experience seemed very near. Thus, to sing of the “coming of the Lord” received a double entendre.²⁵⁷ Masses of slaves and freed slaves had begun to enter the White churches. In this period of unrest, practically all the Protestant churches began to provide separate

²⁵⁴ Baer and Singer, *African American Religion*, 13.

²⁵⁵ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 66. Edward E. Cleveland argued however, that independent Black denominations (or Regional Conferences in the Adventist tradition) helped promote the proclamation of the gospel in Black culture using methodologies appropriate in that particular context. He argued that Blacks are different from Whites, necessitating different organizational leadership. See Cleveland, *Let the Church Roll On*.

²⁵⁶ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 68. Baer and Singer give a helpful outline of the types of independent congregations and denominations. Baer and Singer, *African American Religion*, 12-13.

²⁵⁷ Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 121.

pews and separate galleries for Blacks.²⁵⁸ This became known as the derogatory “Negro pew” (more on this later). Thus, the position of Blacks in relation to Whites in the house of worship became a hot point of contention in the worship conflicts after the Revolutionary War.

Historical Liturgical Theology

Historical sources indicate the alienation of Blacks by Whites developed sooner in the Methodist context than in the other churches.²⁵⁹ Former slaves may have been motivated to form an independent Methodist denomination, partly due to a lack of trust in the (former) master’s denomination.²⁶⁰ The lack of trust stemmed from the abuse of White proscription in worship practices.

The Methodist Episcopal Church witnessed its early beginnings in the United States in four prominent locales: Baltimore, Maryland; Wilmington, Delaware; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and New York City.²⁶¹ Several significant events transpired at the first Methodist chapel, located on Lovely Lane, Baltimore. Blacks and Whites joined together for its erection and first sermon. In 1784, at this chapel, Francis Asbury

²⁵⁸ Cromwell, “The First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia,” 64.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 65.

²⁶⁰ Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 295.

²⁶¹ John Gordon Melton, *A Will to Choose: The Origins of African American Methodism* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 63.

was ordained the first bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, establishing the denomination in the Americas.²⁶²

However, racism raised its head virtually from the beginning of the Methodist movement in America. In 1780 and 1784, policies were established to excommunicate slaveholders who did not emancipate their slaves. This opposition to slavery was short-lived, for the following year, in 1785, the Methodist Church suspended the rule against slavery.²⁶³ These rules were quietly disregarded and, by 1787, were wholly withdrawn in practice. That same year, Blacks voiced their desire to worship separately.²⁶⁴ Thus, the first separate African American denomination in the United States grew out of the Methodist denomination,²⁶⁵ named the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME). The AME eventually became an established independent denomination in 1816.

As aforementioned, in November 1787,²⁶⁶ African American worshipers in the Methodist Episcopal Church formally voiced their protest to the White proscription

²⁶² Melton, *A Will to Choose*, 64.

²⁶³ Methodist leader, Thomas Coke, stated, “We thought it prudent to suspend the minute concerning slavery, on account of the great opposition that had been given it, our work being in too infantile a state to push things to extremity.” Cited in Raboteau, *Fire in the Bones*, 22-23. Baptists similarly withdrew their support of emancipation during this period.

²⁶⁴ Melton, *A Will to Choose*, 64.

²⁶⁵ Lincoln and Mamiya, *Black Church*, 47.

²⁶⁶ Admittedly, mythology has surrounded this date. Richard Allen’s own memoir does not give a specific date. One could conclude from Allen’s testimony the event took place in 1786. Richard Allen, *The Life, Experience, and Gospel Labours of the Rt. Rev. Richard Allen* (Philadelphia: Martin and Boden, 1833), 12-13. Historian William Gravely concludes from all the historiography that the event took place in November 1787. Gravely, “The Rise of African Churches in America,” 136-137. Milton Sernett advocates a date around 1792 or 1793. Milton C. Sernett, *Black Religion and American Evangelicalism: White Protestants, Plantation Missions, and the Flowering of Negro Christianity, 1787–1865* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1975), 116ff, 218ff. The actual date is insignificant. The date may be false, but the narrative is truth. Allen argued in his memoir, “A GREAT part of this work having been written many years after events actually took place; and as my memory could not exactly point out the exact time of

during prayer at St. George's Methodist Church, Philadelphia. Richard Allen (1760–1831) and Absalom Jones (1746–1818) led the Black Methodists out of the church, never to return. Allen and Jones had become partners in ministry in 1786, when Allen arrived in Philadelphia. Together they formed the Free African Society and began plans for a place of worship for “people of colour.”²⁶⁷ One could infer, therefore, that the motivation to walk out of St. George's Church was preceded by injustices, not only in 1787, but in the many experiences prior to that event.

The prayer conflict was not the first controversy they met in that church.

Benjamin Arnett, an AME minister, recalled the development of the controversies:

The causes which led to the organization of the African M. E. Church are numerous; but a few facts will give an idea of the principal reason of our origin. After the close of the war of the Revolution, while the world was rejoicing at the establishment of a government whose declared principles were universal, political, civil, and religious liberty, and while they were singing the anthems of peace, there was another mighty conflict going on—not on the battle-field, with saber and musket, but in the churches and the social circles of the land. Prejudice, the unrelenting enemy of the oppressed and weak, was asserting its power; and from the year 1787 to 1816, the conflict continued without cessation. The colored portion of the numerous congregations of the North and South were wronged, proscribed, ostracised, and compelled to sit in the back seats in the sanctuary of the Lord. The sons of toil and daughters of oppression remained on these seats for some time, hoping that some of the members, at least, would receive a sufficient amount of grace to enable them to treat these children of sorrow with Christian courtesy. But they were doomed to disappointment; for soon bad yielded to worse, and they were sent up into the dusty galleries. These, high above the congregation, they had to serve the Lord silently—for not an amen must come down from among that sable band. These and other indignities our fathers bore with Christian patience for a number of years. They were denied the communion of

many occurrences; they are, however, (as many as I can recollect) pointed out; some without day or date, which, I presume, will be of no material consequence, so that they are confined to the truth.” Allen, *The Life, Experience and Labours*, 3.

²⁶⁷ Allen, *The Life, Experience and Labours*, 12. Lincoln and Mamiya, *Black Church*, 51.

the Lord's supper until all the white members had partaken. This treatment continued until forbearance ceased to be a virtue, and our fathers drew out from among them; for the watch-fires of soul-freedom were burning in their bosoms. These were kindled and fed by the sentiments of the age in which they lived; for on every side could be heard the watch-word of the nation—"All men are born free and equal, and endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."²⁶⁸

Arnett's argument demonstrates that it was the worship practices of Whites that created the oppression and spiritual burden for Blacks. The Black penchant for lively worship was held in check by the mandate to keep silent. If Blacks were the source of contention, this may have been a factor. However, the account demonstrates, more significantly, that it was White proscription that forced Blacks to the Negro pew and denied them communion until the Whites had partaken. We do not know how often these worship issues arose. Weekly? Monthly? Only a few times over a period of years? It may be sufficient to say, however, that these conflicts occurred often enough to make it feel that the oppression was common practice.

These tensions reached their culmination in the prayer conflict of St. George's Church. Richard Allen's own words provide the most authoritative account of the event:

A number of us usually attended St. George's Church in Fourth street; and when the coloured people began to get numerous in attending the church, they moved us from the seats we usually sat on, and placed us around the wall, and on Sabbath morning we went to church and the sexton stood at the door, and told us to go in the gallery. He told us to go, and we would see where to sit. We expected to take the seats over the ones we formerly occupied below, not knowing any better. We took those seats. Meeting had begun, and they were nearly done singing, and just as we got to the seats, the elder said, "Let us pray." We had not been long upon our knees before I heard considerable scuffling and low talking. I raised my head up and saw one of the

²⁶⁸ Benjamin W. Arnett, *Proceedings of the Semi-Centenary Celebration of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Cincinnati, Held in Allen Temple, February 8-10, 1874* (Cincinnati, OH: H. Watkin, 1874), 10-11.

trustees, H- M-, having hold of the Rev. Absalom Jones, pulling him up off of his knees, and saying, “You must get up--you must not kneel here.” Mr. Jones replied, “Wait until prayer is over.” Mr. H- M- said “No, you must get up now, or I will call for aid and I force you away.” Mr. Jones said, “Wait until prayer is over, and I will get up and trouble you no more.” With that he beckoned to one of the other trustees, Mr. L- S- to come to his assistance. He came, and went to William White to pull him up. By this time prayer was over, and we all went out of the church in a body, and they were no more plagued with us in the church. This raised a great excitement and inquiry among the citizens, in so much that I believe they were ashamed of their conduct. But my dear Lord was with us, and we were filled with fresh vigour to get a house erected to worship God in. Seeing our forlorn and distressed situation, many of the hearts of our citizens were moved to urge us forward; notwithstanding we had subscribed largely towards finishing St. George’s Church, in building the gallery and laying new floors, and just as the house was made comfortable, we were turned out from enjoying the comforts of worshipping therein. We then hired a store room, and held worship by ourselves. Here we were pursued with threats of being disowned, and read publicly out of meeting if we did continue worship in the place we had hired; but we believed the Lord would be our friend.²⁶⁹

The behavior of the trustee appears erratic. He had told the Black folk to take their seats in the gallery, but apparently, he did not specify where. The folk took their “pew” upstairs in the gallery directly above the seats they once occupied down below. Once they got there, they were told this was not the right place. The trustee’s change of instruction created confusion and chaos. It appears the White trustee sought to exercise his power over the Black folk, keeping them in subservience to him.

The worship conflict reveals a profound Black liturgical theology, when applying the hermeneutical method of *lex orandi lex credendi*. This method seems highly applicable to the Black American context, for it derives meaning from the human

²⁶⁹ Allen, *The Life, Experience and Labours*, 13-14.

experience. The slave experience has been shown to be a primary theological hermeneutic among Blacks, both in the interpretation of life events and Scripture itself.²⁷⁰

The prayer conflict at St. George implies a Black liturgical theology, as found in Absalom Jones' repeated statement, "Wait until prayer is over." Jones was willing to accommodate White proscription, however, he believed corporate prayer superseded racism. This statement suggests that while on their knees all were equal before God. The White trustees' threat to physically force Jones to stand up during the prayer highlights their opposing theologies of prayer.

Black Christians possessed a balanced theology that did not distinguish between races. Benjamin Arnett articulated this balance regarding soteriology:

But from the beginning we have had only one object in view, and one desire. Our object was to save men from their sins; our desire was to please God, and follow the instructions of the great Teacher. Our organization, like others, had its general and special purposes. The general purpose was to assist in bringing the world to the foot of the cross of Christ; and the special was to assist in relieving the African race from physical, mental, and moral bondage.²⁷¹

The ground was level at the foot of the cross—the gospel was for all peoples. Their special purpose was to relieve the needs of the oppressed. This was not a flaw in worship theology. They readily saw that the African race was in great need and oppression. Their mission was relevant to their contemporary society.

Arnett added to the story, stating, "The first meeting was held in the blacksmith-shop of Richard Allen, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at the corner of Sixth and Lombard

²⁷⁰ Raboteau, *Fire in the Bones*, 27.

²⁷¹ Arnett, *Proceedings*, 12.

Streets. The mother church of the connection stands on the site of the old ‘blacksmith-shop.’ The place of meeting was called ‘Bethel,’ for God was with them.”²⁷² Even so, worship issues continued even in the Bethel Church until its full independence in 1816. These issues were ecclesiological in nature. Only ordained elders could administer the Lord’s Supper. Heretofore, Black ministers had only been ordained as deacons in the Methodist Episcopal Church.²⁷³ Ownership of the church building also came to be a point of contention.²⁷⁴

In 1815, White Philadelphians tore down a Black house of worship, because the “disorderly and noisy” religious services of the Black folk displeased the Whites.²⁷⁵ Just after the War of 1812, this dissonance of White hostility would break any foreseeable chances of harmony with Blacks and the vision of biracial equality and American humanitarianism would be shattered.²⁷⁶ Finally, in 1816, Richard Allen and his African Methodist Episcopal Church found their freedom.

²⁷² Arnett, *Proceedings*, 11.

²⁷³ Reginald F. Hildebrand, “Methodist Episcopal Policy on the Ordination of Black Ministers, 1784–1864,” *Methodist History* 20 (April 1982): 126-127.

²⁷⁴ Issues over the ownership of church buildings challenged the Methodist churches soon after the Civil War. The Methodist structure must be considered in order to understand the conflict between the Black and White Methodists regarding the ownership of the church. Methodism originated as a movement of connections between ministers. These ministers organized into conferences to promote the efficiency of carrying out the tasks of worship and evangelism. Bishops of those conferences directed the ministers to maximize their efforts. As a confederation of connections, the conference was the largest organizing body, and therefore owned all the property. African American Methodists’ institutional loyalty was closely linked with maintaining possession of the building in which they had been worshiping. Melton points out that though the AME and African Methodist Episcopal Zion denominations decried the conference ownership, they too organized connectional churches and established central ownership of property. Melton, *A Will to Choose*, 42-43.

²⁷⁵ “Report of the Committee Appointed at a Town Meeting of the Citizens of the City and County of Philadelphia,” *Hazard’s Register of Pennsylvania* 14, no. 13 (September 27, 1834): 201.

²⁷⁶ Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia’s Black Community, 1720–*

The oppressive liturgical practices of Whites prevented Blacks from participating fully in approaching the throne of grace (Heb 4:16). By their actions, the Whites declared that they possessed an inherent privilege of accessing God's presence over and beyond that of Blacks. This access to God's presence was manifest clearly in segregation through the use of the Negro pew.

The Negro Pew

The Negro pew was commonplace and numerous. In his autobiography, the Black freeman, John Malvin, wrote describing his own experience at a First Baptist Church in Cleveland, Ohio. White members discussed the question as to where the colored people should sit. Opinions oscillated between finishing construction of the pews in the gallery, or making Blacks purchase pews either on the broad or side aisle or in front of the pulpit. The White leadership settled on causing the Black folk to sit in the gallery. However, Malvin pressed the issue, casting it as a worship issue:

On every proper occasion thereafter at church meetings I would bring up the question of the distinction of color in the *house of worship* [emphasis added], and the members became nearly divided on the question, and after struggling for eighteen months, it was finally concluded that the colored people should have the privilege of obtaining pews in any part of the building, as other persons, and my object was thus accomplished.²⁷⁷

Malvin recognized that the issue of race in worship had practical theological implications. Malvin articulated a worship theology when pressed on where Blacks

1840 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 213.

²⁷⁷ Allan Peskin, ed. *North into Freedom: The Autobiography of John Malvin, Free Negro, 1795-1880* (Cleveland, OH: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1966), 57.

should sit in the church. “To that I objected, stating that if I had to be colonized, I preferred to be colonized at Liberia, rather than in the House of God; that Christ or the Apostles never made any distinction on account of race or color.”²⁷⁸ How great the irony to prefer colonization in a country whose name means freedom!

A White man,²⁷⁹ Harvey Newcomb, wrote extensively on the liturgical theology implied by segregated worship in his book, *The “Negro Pew.”* Newcomb suggested Isaiah 65:5 to be the guiding Scripture for the prevailing White liturgical theology. “Stand by thyself, come not near to me; for I am holier than thou. These are a smoke in my nose, a fire that burneth all the day.”²⁸⁰ Newcomb suggested that Whites perceived themselves to be holier than Blacks. As such, Whiteness was the articulating principle for the entire White theological construct. It was based upon the superiority of the White race and the inferiority of the Black race. Because posture and position play a significant role in worship, the White attitude of taking the prime seating in the church implies they believed they should have more direct access to God. As Martin Luther King, Jr. later wrote, “Lamentably, it is an historical fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but, as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups tend to be more

²⁷⁸ Peskin, ed. *North into Freedom*, 57.

²⁷⁹ I derive his race from his statement in the Preface: “The author has taken up his pen, not for the purpose of finding fault, or railing at his brethren; but from a firm conviction that justice requires this at his hand, in behalf of an oppressed and injured people, whom he is not ashamed to call his brethren, though the fancy of some may prefer white to black.” Harvey Newcomb, *The “Negro Pew”: Being an Inquiry Concerning the Propriety of Distinctions in the House of God, on Account of Color* (Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1837), iv.

²⁸⁰ Newcomb, *The “Negro Pew,”* 69.

immoral than individuals.”²⁸¹ History has revealed that White supremacy, as a theological value, has been difficult to shed.

Newcomb further demonstrated the role racism played in theology, for prejudice was inherent in anthropology, due to the fall, revealing even an implicit doctrine of sin, or hamartiology. “Prejudice is one of the fruits of the general wreck of human nature, consequent upon the fall; by which the higher and more noble powers of the soul have come into subjection to the corrupt inclinations of the heart.”²⁸² One should not be surprised to find racism as a defining characteristic in anthropology, for humanity’s nature is now prone to sin. “There is perhaps no form of prejudice, which operates more powerfully to blind the understanding, obscure the perception of truth, and prevent moral feeling, than that which it assumes in this land, in regard to the people of color.”²⁸³

Perhaps one of the clearest early examples of White liturgical theology and its contribution to the independent Black church movement occurred during the administration of the sacraments in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Black minister, James King, described the event:

The preaching was good, and all went on lively until the time came to take the sacrament, when the officiating minister invited all ministers, traveling and local, to come forward and take the sacrament to their comfort. These two ministers of the Lord Jesus went forward and knelt down at the table; but, just as they bowed their heads, one of the elders came and put his hand on the shoulder of each and told them that they must wait until the next table, and that they must get up. They got up before the whole congregation. Father King said all the spirit left him when he got up, for he

²⁸¹ Martin Luther King, Jr, “Letter from Birmingham Jail—April 16, 1963,” in *African American Religious History: A Documentary Witness*, ed. Milton C. Sernett (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 523.

²⁸² Newcomb, The “Negro Pew,” 7.

²⁸³ Newcomb, The “Negro Pew,” 9.

thought the Bible said God was no respecter [*sic*] of persons, and if that was true he had the same right at the table as the others. When all the whites had partaken of the holy eucharist, then the minister, with a long face, invited the colored brethren and sisters to come forward and commemorate the death and suffering of their Saviour, as though there were two saviours, one for the white and one for the black. But the spirit of soul freedom was too strong in the old fathers and Christians—they would not go forward and partake of the supper, not because they loved their master any the less, but because they were conscious that those who made the distinctions were wrong, and were encouraging the spirit of caste and feeding the prejudices of the times.²⁸⁴

According to King, White liturgical practice taught a theology that God was a respecter of persons, and that the Christian God preferred Whites to Blacks. Furthermore, by distributing the Eucharist by segregated means, King argued that White worship proclaimed two saviors, “one for the white and one for the black,” in effect teaching a *black and white* contrast in salvation. King showed the relationship between theology, worship, and the sacraments, saying that he thought “the Bible said God was no respecter of persons, and if that was true he had the same right at the table as the others.”²⁸⁵ This historic White worship practice reveals much about their views of soteriology, Christology, and sacramental theology.

In New England, the “spirit of colorphobia” among Whites towards Black regarding worship was palpable. A family was dragged out from an Orthodox Church. At a Baptist church in Boston, the Whites tarred the pew designated for persons of color.²⁸⁶ Newcomb likened the racist segregation to the caste system of India, a worldview in

²⁸⁴ Arnett, *Proceedings*, 16.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁸⁶ William C. Nell, *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (Boston: Robert F. Wallcut, 1855), 33.

which the lower caste (Blacks) would be perceived to be polluting the worship place of the higher caste (Whites) in the Christian temple.²⁸⁷ This theology was carried out practically in the positions of worship and the bestowal of the sacraments. He cited Anglican Bishop Corrie, who served as a missionary to India. Bishop Corrie observed the caste system in the Indian-Christian context:

The different castes sat on different mats, on different sides of the church, to which they entered by different doors; they *approached the Lord's table at different times*, and had once different cups, or managed to get the catechists to change the cup before the lower castes began to communicate: even the missionary clergyman was persuaded to receive the holy supper last; they would allow no persons at baptism, of an inferior caste; they had *separate divisions in the burial grounds* [*italics, Newcomb*].²⁸⁸

Newcomb unpacked his illustration, demonstrating the false worship theology manifest among Whites in the United States:

"They approached the Lord's table at different times." On the announcement of this fact, every true Christian will doubtless feel an involuntary emotion of repugnance, at a practice so obviously inconsistent with Christian fellowship and communion; and so subversive of the feelings of kindness, affection, and equal privileges, which reigned upon the hallowed occasion which it commemorates. His mind will involuntarily revert to those scenes of extravagance, in which the corrupt Christians at Corinth abused this sacred ordinance, by taking "one before another his own supper." Yet, why are we so insensible to the incongruity of the same practice, existing in our own churches, in this land of republican equality and gospel light? Even in this city, where is the "*cradle of liberty*," where was the centre of Puritan influence, the colored disciple may be seen coming up alone to the altar, to partake of the crumbs left by his more favored brethren; or seated in the broad aisle, receiving the cup last of all, lest he should violate the laws of caste, and *pollute* the Christian temple!²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ Newcomb, *The "Negro Pew,"* 79-80.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 81-82.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 83-84.

The effect on sacramental theology can be observed poignantly by the Roman Catholic treatment of Black priests during the period. White priests and bishops prevented the ministry of ordained Black priests,²⁹⁰ and therefore, in reality, rejected their ordination. If a priest's ontology were changed in ordination, then wouldn't a Black priest carry the same essence as a White priest? In a revealing study, Kessia Bennett shows that Roman Catholics believe the male ontology to be different than female ontology.²⁹¹ It seems plausible that they also believed White ontology to be different than Blacks, given the context of the Three Fifths Compromise. By their actions, White clergy denied Blacks' ordination and exalted their racism as creed. Their true saving grace was not the Eucharist, but rather White supremacy. "They attend with Pharisaical strictness to the outward forms of religion, and at the same time neglect the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith. They are always ready to sacrifice, but seldom to show mercy."²⁹²

Newcomb interpreted White racism as grieving the Holy Spirit when Blacks were excluded from the house of worship.²⁹³ The "I am holier than thou" (Isa 65:5) attitude of

²⁹⁰ Raboteau has summarized well the treatment of Blacks in the Roman Catholic Church, in chapter 6, "Minority within a Minority: The History of Black Catholics in America," in Raboteau, *Fire in the Bones*, 117-137.

²⁹¹ Kessia R. Bennett, "Divided Anthropology: An Ontological Look at the Vatican's Rejection of Women in the Priesthood," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 52, no. 1 (2014). See also Darius Jankiewicz, "The Problem of Ordination: Lessons from Early Christian History," *Theology of Ordination Study Committee* (January 2013). <https://www.adventistarchives.org/the-problem-of-ordination.pdf>.

²⁹² Frederick Douglass, "Slaveholding Religion and the Christianity of Christ (1845)," in *African American Religious History: A Documentary Witness*, ed. Milton C. Sernett (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 108.

²⁹³ Newcomb, *The "Negro Pew,"* 93.

Whites towards Blacks was, in reality, God's view towards White proscription.

“Distinctions in assemblies for religious worship, on account of the outward condition of men, are peculiarly offensive in the sight of God.”²⁹⁴

Newcomb found valuable parallels between Christ's disciples desire to be the greatest and White proscription. He suggested Christ's example of the footwashing functioned as a “leveling principle.”

How odious and hateful, in the sight of God, must be an assembly of sinners, all unworthy of the least of his mercies, who appear in His presence, so much puffed up with pride and conscious superiority, that they will not suffer their fellow sinner, of a darker skin, to appear on a level with themselves, but thrust him away into a corner! And will he not regard the publican's cry, though it comes up from the *negro pew*, in preference to this proud Pharisaical spirit? Surely, “God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.”²⁹⁵

Newcomb idealized a Church in which Whites and Blacks would meet “upon a level” in the house of God, where all would call each other brother and sister, where all equally relied on the mercy of God, worshiping Him for His grace and justice.²⁹⁶

Newcomb gives valuable commentary on the theological issues apparent in the worship conflicts between Whites and Blacks in the antebellum period. He understood that worship practices reveal underlying beliefs.

Men are influenced, in their intercourse with one another, by the principles they embrace, and the opinions they adopt. Hence, if those principles and opinions are founded upon false premises, they must be injurious in their operation. It is *unjust* to adopt principles, which will operate to the injury of any man, unless those principles

²⁹⁴ Newcomb, *The “Negro Pew,”* 94.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 96.

are founded in *immutable right*; and then their operation can be injurious only to *wrong doers*.²⁹⁷

The fact that prejudice warped liturgical theology was paramount in his writing:

[Prejudice] excludes [Blacks] from the society of their equals, and from equal privileges in public meetings, at the polls, in public houses, on board public conveyances, in schools, and even in the house of God! Yes; in the temples dedicated to the worship of the Great Jehovah, who declares himself to be “no respecter of persons,” it excludes them from a seat by the side of their Christian brethren! Alas! How has my heart sunk within me, when I have seen the professed disciples of the meek and lowly Saviour, (who did not scorn to sit at meat even with publicans and sinners,) coming up, one company after another, to receive at the altar the emblems of his dying love; and after all the rest had partaken the officiating minister announce, “Now, we will give our colored brethren an opportunity!” And, equally injurious and oppressive is the practice which provides them seats in the broad aisle, and serves them last of all; so as to force them to feel a sense of degradation.²⁹⁸

A balanced, biblical theology would teach that in the house of God, all men are created equal and share equal access to His presence.

Newcomb’s theology of worship was also eschatological in its focus:

Is this brotherly love? Is it Christian charity? Is it the feeling which pervades the heavenly ranks? Will the colored man there be directed to the footstool, and forced away from his master’s table? In the resurrection, will the celestial ranks be graduated according to the color which they bore in this life? Will the colored man’s complexion on earth, dim the radiance of the star in glory? Or will this be the ground of difference between one and another star in glory?²⁹⁹

In summary, the liturgical practices during the development of the independent Black churches reveal a profound liturgical theology. Specifically, White racism affected liturgical theology, causing Whites to have a misconstrued theology of God,

²⁹⁷ Newcomb, *The “Negro Pew,”* 11.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

anthropology, hamartiology, soteriology, Christology, sacramental theology, and eschatology. In general, Black Christians and even some White Christians possessed a balanced liturgical theology, teaching that God is not a respecter of persons, granting free and equal access for all humanity to His divine presence. Analysis of these worship events has also demonstrated the veracity of the hermeneutical method, *lex orandi lex credendi*, for doing historical theology.

Due to the issues mentioned above, some Black communities will possess more affinities to the African American sacred cosmos than others. This is the case with Black Adventists. The history of the independent Black churches provides the backdrop to Black and White Adventist liturgical history, framing the context of ministry among difference cultural groups. As demonstrated above, liturgical practices shaped liturgical theology and also revealed liturgical theology. The liturgical theology of Blacks and Whites in this history demonstrates that implicit belief, values, and underlying worldview become manifest in liturgy. It set the racial-liturgical-theological context for Black and White Adventism in the following centuries.

Chapter Three Summary

This chapter surveyed the complex and richly varied liturgical history among Black and White Christians, beginning with the importation of the first slaves to America until the middle of the nineteenth century. This storied past relates the dynamic between Blacks and Whites in worship, liturgy, music, and racism. Most importantly, it establishes the context for the emergence of the Advent movement in the 1840s and its daughter, the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Puritanism set the religious context for American life, passing on liturgical, musical, and even racial beliefs and values. Since the arrival and establishment of the Puritans, Americans have been reacting to this worldview. Its modes of worship passed on to the later leading denominations, including the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Christian churches. By and large, the churches abandoned the Puritan tradition of psalm singing, creating new and enthusiastic expressions for congregational song.

Revivalism and biblicism oriented liturgical practices away from the confines of European tradition. Coupled with the Reformation principle of the right of private judgment, religious liberty contributed to a general liturgical pattern of simplicity among the leading Christian denominations. This history provides crucial context for an understanding of the origins of Seventh-day Adventist liturgical practice.

European settlers did not shirk one of the most debilitating anthropological principles handed down from Platonism: racism and White supremacy.³⁰⁰ Soon after White European settlers landed on Plymouth Rock, the enslavement of Black Africans ensued and permeated American life, both in the North and the South. Racism and slavery were not just pragmatic institutions; they manifested the implicit worldviews of both Blacks and Whites. Race was ontological. This meant that racism was a fundamental principle, affecting understandings of God, the world, humanity, and even salvation. These conceptions came to the forefront liturgically.

Not all Whites held this worldview. Many genuinely sought the conversion of Blacks, for they, too, were children of God. In the early decades of the Second Great

³⁰⁰ See my definition and history of racism in Chapter 1.

Awakening, many Blacks sought fellowship among the White churches. Foremost among the mainline churches were the Baptist and Methodist denominations, for they provided Blacks with a simple liturgy that allowed freedom of expression—for a while. Soon however, the prevailing White supremacy and proscription prompted Blacks to steal away to harbors of hope and freedom in worship, away from White control. The independent Black church movement was a countercultural protest to the lip service given to liberty during the Revolution, a liberty seemingly only meant for Whites, not Blacks.

This quest for freedom among Blacks developed a uniquely American genre of congregational singing, aptly named the spiritual. The spiritual gave expression to both Black and White spirituality, bringing forth each ethnicity's and the various denominations' theologies and worldviews. Black and White spirituals influenced each other in fervor, style, and language. The spiritual stands as a major musical contribution to the history of music. These spirituals were the heart and soul of the Invisible Institution, the various Black churches, and Free Church worship in the nineteenth century. This form of music would develop later in the nineteenth century into gospel hymnody, a continuation of Black and White worship music expression. We will look at both the spiritual and gospel hymnody more in the following chapters. We shall see that these musical expressions contributed to the spiritual identity of Black and White Adventists, just as they did among earlier Christians.

CHAPTER 4

WORSHIP AND MUSIC AMONG BLACK AND WHITE ADVENTISTS IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1840 TO 1894

Introduction

This chapter examines worship and music among Adventist Americans from about 1840 until 1894. It seeks to demonstrate how music in worship helped promote and solidify spiritual identity within the Adventist movement. This chapter also touches on Black and White worship and music in the Adventist context.¹ The spiritual and musical identity developed among Adventists in the nineteenth century provides a rich heritage for later Seventh-day Adventism. This history is essential for understanding the musical-liturgical practices for twentieth-century Adventism. However, due to space and the flow of logic for this chapter and the next, the development of the Black work² and its trajectory toward the establishment of the Regional Conferences will be taken up in Chapter 5, giving that unique history from the Civil War forward.

¹ As a White American male, I recognize my own shortcomings and inherent biases in worship, music, and race. I make no claims as to being an expert or knowing Black worship from the Black American experience. As such, I rely on the experience and expressions of those I interviewed to inform both my investigation and conclusions. I am also indebted to my former graduate assistant of two years, Dorhel Davis. As a female African American who attended Oakwood University and is my same age, she afforded me countless candid conversations about race, music, and worship.

² An Adventist term for ministry to and among Black Americans.

This chapter follows a synchronic-diachronic methodology. Snapshots in time are given, exploring hymnody, liturgy, and the experience of music in worship. Each snapshot captures a major time period of Adventist history. With this synchronic method in mind, we proceed through the following diachronic periods: The Millerite movement (1840-1844), Sabbatarian Adventism (1844–1860), and Seventh-day Adventism (1860–1894).

Few books, studies, or articles have covered Adventist liturgical and musicological history in the nineteenth century.³ These histories have tended to be cursory. The common assumption has been shared among Adventist historians: The “literary sources for early Seventh-day Adventist worship practices are scanty.”⁴ Times

³ Early scholarly work on Adventist worship and music included: Pease, *And Worship Him*, 34-35; Paul Hamel, *Ellen White and Music: Background and Principles* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1976). The most substantial dissertations include: Doggette, “Emotion and Rationality in African American Seventh-day Adventist Worship,” 27-49; Viviane Haenni, “The Colton Celebration Congregation: A Case Study in American Adventist Worship Renewal 1986-1991” (PhD diss., Andrews University, 1996), 15-26, 38-43. Few have written scholarly work on Adventist hymnody. Early works include: Ronald D. Graybill, “Singing and Society: The Hymns of the Saturday-keeping Adventists, 1849-1863” (Paper, Andrews University, 1974); Harold B. Hannum, *Let the People Sing: A Guide to Singing the Lord’s Songs with Understanding* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1981). Wayne Hooper and Edward E. White, *Companion to the Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal*, ed. Raymond H. Woolsey (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1988), 31. Linda Mack, “Seventh-day Adventist Hymnody,” in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. J. R. Watson and Emma Hornby (Canterbury Press). Raimo Lehtinen gives an historical overview of music ministry among Adventists in the nineteenth century, in Raimo J. Lehtinen, “An Organizational Model for a Coordinated Program of Music Ministry for the Seventh-day Adventist Church in North America and Europe” (PhD diss., Andrews University, 1992), 36-54. Theodore Levterov’s dissertation presents numerous liturgical accounts, though he is primarily describing the historical context for “charismatic and visionary experiences.” Theodore N. Levterov, “The Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Understanding of Ellen G. White’s Prophetic Gift, 1844-1889” (PhD diss., Andrews University, 2011), 1-79. However, Levterov’s recent chapter contribution on the history of Adventist worship presents the most comprehensive treatment to date. Theodore Levterov, “Early Adventist Worship, 1845–1900s,” in *Worship, Ministry, and the Authority of the Church*, ed. Ángel M. Rodríguez, Studies in Adventist Ecclesiology, vol. 3 (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 2016).

⁴ Oliver K. S. Koh, “A Proposed Order of Worship for the Seventh-day Adventist Church Informed by the Theological Presuppositions Implied in the Genesis Account of the Creation and Fall of Man and the Covenant Promise of Genesis 3:15.” (DMin diss., Andrews University, 1982), 101.

have changed since Oliver Koh typed these words. In the 1980s, researchers of Adventist studies traveled to the various Adventist Heritage rooms at Adventist colleges and the General Conference, discovering and presenting only the data they could physically find. Today however, one may search the database of the *Words of the Pioneers* and all the published, and previously unpublished writings, of Ellen White through the *Ellen G. White Comprehensive Research Edition* CD-ROM.⁵ I have uncovered hundreds of “hits” regarding music, religious exercises (the pioneers’ term for liturgy), hymnody, and singing—in addition to the traditional methods of archival research. As the following chapter will show, the historical record is not scant; it is abundant.

A challenge remains. The records available do not give explicit orders of worship, a concise liturgical theology, or even all the listings of hymns sung in the Sabbath service. The perceived challenge is a methodological one. The methodology outlined in Chapter 1 provides a new heuristic technique for viewing the various data as actual evidence for historical liturgical practice, for it draws from multiple points of inquiry. There is much data for further research in this area of Adventist Studies. I have delimited from this present research almost 1000 hits in the database on the pioneers’ teachings on a theology of music, as well as nearly 1000 hits on “worship” in the writings of Ellen White during the period. Grappling with these near-countless sources must be the work of other scholars and future research. Hopefully this chapter will open a new way for considering early Adventist musicology, doxology, and spirituality. Considering the substantial evidence through this methodology adds credence to the thesis that worship

⁵ George R. Knight, “Ellen G. White’s Writings,” in *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, ed. Denis Fortin and Jerry Moon (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2013), 139-40.

music expressed, intensified and/or shaped the spiritual identity of nineteenth-century Adventists.

The Millerite Movement (1840-1844)

Overture to a Musical Movement

You will see your Lord a-coming,
You will see your Lord a-coming,
You will see your Lord a-coming,
While the old church yards,
Hear the band of music,
Hear the band of music,
Hear the band of music,
Which is sounding thro' the air.⁶

With this White spiritual, James Springer White (1821–1881), one of the leading pioneers of the Seventh-day Adventist Church,⁷ called to order his first Millerite⁸ evangelistic tour at a gathering in Litchfield Plains, Maine, in 1843.⁹ Though the hymn tune was simple, it influenced the popular culture around it. Though the hymn text was repetitious, it captured the essence of the spirit of the movement.

⁶ “Old Church Yard,” *Millennial Harp: Designed for Meetings on the Second Coming of Christ*, edited by Joshua V. Himes, improved ed., three parts in one vol. (Boston: 1843), vol. II, 24.

⁷ “He initiated almost everything that is the Seventh-day Adventist Church today.” Gerald Wheeler, *James White: Innovator and Overcomer* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2003), ix.

⁸ I generally employ the term, Millerites, for the period of 1840–1844. The term, Adventist, will be applied to all groups from 1840 to the present.

⁹ James S. White, *Life Incidents: Connection with the Great Advent Movement, as Illustrated by the Three Angels of Revelation XIV*, vol. 1 (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868), 94.

James White grew up in a musical home.¹⁰ His father taught vocal music, and his sisters were “first-class singers.” As the time of Christ’s soon coming weighed upon him and his family, they “found relief in singing some of the most stirring revival melodies of those times.”¹¹ White would often open meetings with song,¹² and would later even enter a worship place singing strongly while beating time on his Bible.¹³ White described the service in his own words:

Litchfield Plains was my next place of labor. The house was crowded the first evening. In fact, it was with difficulty that I found my way to the pulpit. To call the people to order, the first words they heard from me were in singing, “You will see your Lord a coming, . . .”

The reader certainly cannot see poetic merit in the repetition of these simple lines. And if he has never heard the sweet melody to which they were attached, he will be at a loss to see how one voice could employ them so as to hold nearly a thousand persons in almost breathless silence. But it is a fact that there was in those days a power in what was called Advent singing, such as was felt in no other. It seemed to me that not a hand or foot moved in all the crowd before me till I had finished all the words of this lengthy melody. Many wept, and the state of feeling was most favorable

¹⁰ Hamel, *Ellen White and Music*, 13.

¹¹ White, *Life Incidents*, 105.

¹² *Ibid.*, 91.

¹³ As recalled by William A. Spicer (1865–1952): “I remember well, as a boy, sitting in our church waiting for the preacher, our backs were to the street door, through which the minister would enter. Then suddenly the silence would be broken by a sweetly musical and strong, sure voice, singing a familiar hymn. I can see the singer now, James White, silvery-haired, coming down the aisle, beating time on his Bible, and singing—’When I can read my title clear.’” William A. Spicer, *Pioneer Days of the Advent Movement* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1941), 146-7. Wayne Hooper states that White was beating on his Bible at the Litchfield Plains service. Hooper and White, *Companion*, 11. Hooper appears to have conflated Spicer’s and White’s accounts. However, the extant evidence gives no indication this was done. We can only infer that White had a tendency to do this, and read it back into the story. Jim Nix correctly points the reader to Spicer’s “When I Can Read My Title Clear” for the Bible clapping account. James R. Nix, *Early Advent Singing* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1994), 69.

for the introduction of the grave subject for the evening. The house was crowded three times each day, and a deep impression was made upon the entire community.¹⁴

White's commentary and actions encapsulate the spirit of the Millerite and subsequent Adventist movements. The Millerite movement was an interdenominational movement of the 1840s focused on heralding the Advent, or soon second coming, of Jesus Christ in 1843/44.¹⁵ The movement received its name from its founder, William Miller, who, in 1833, began publicly preaching the "cleansing of the sanctuary"—the earth—would occur at Christ's second coming.¹⁶ In 1836, Miller published sixteen lectures on the soon return of Jesus Christ in about the year 1843.¹⁷ Miller's influence expanded greatly after meeting Joshua V. Himes (1805–1895) in Exeter New Hampshire, November 1839.¹⁸ Convinced of the message, Himes promoted the movement through

¹⁴ White, *Life Incidents*, 94-5.

¹⁵ Writing in 1818, Miller stated that "in about twenty-five years from that time all the affairs of our present state would be wound up." Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller: Generally Known as a Lecturer on the Prophecies, and the Second Coming of Christ* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1853), 76. But on February 4, 1843, Miller wrote to Joshua V. Himes, Miller's extraordinary publicist, that "Christ will come again to this earth, cleanse, purify, and take possession of the same, with all his saints, some time between March 21, 1843, and March 21, 1844." Bliss, *Memoirs*, 180-81; William Miller, "Dear Brother Himes," *ST*, February 15, 1843, 173. Miller was severely disappointed following the Spring of 1844. Bliss, *Memoirs*, 262. Not until a few weeks prior to the "10th day of 7th month", or October 22, 1844, did Miller and his fellow Adventists come to fully expect Christ's sure second advent. "This was the *only* specific day [sic] which was regarded by intelligent Adventists with any positiveness." Bliss, *Memoirs*, 276, 269-70.

¹⁶ Miller, *Apology and Defence*, 17-18. Sylvester Bliss indicates that Miller may have first published his convictions in the *Vermont Telegraph* as early as 1831. *Memoirs*, 99.

¹⁷ William Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ, About the Year 1843: Exhibited in a Course of Lectures* (Troy, NY: Kemble and Hooper, 1836), 2.

¹⁸ Hatch, *Democratization*, 145.

the publication of the *ST*, later called the *Advent Herald*.¹⁹ The movement's adherents called themselves Adventists, for they eagerly awaited Christ's second advent.²⁰

The Advent movement held a sizable influence in society. In his *Apology and Defence*, Miller claimed two hundred ministers embraced the message; one thousand congregations were raised up; six thousand conversions, seven hundred of which were “infidels”—persons of no faith; and according to his estimate, over fifty-thousand believers.²¹ Though Jesus Christ did not return the second time in the fall of 1844 as the Millerites had desired, the legacy of the advent hope continues in the ministry of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which formally organized in 1863. As the largest of the remnant of the Millerite movement, the Seventh-day Adventist Church now numbers over eighteen million believers.²²

Millerite Hymnody

Spirituals

Millerite hymnody may be classified within the “spirituals” stream of congregational song. Joshua Himes understood that the quintessential Millerite songs were spirituals.²³ In writing a notice for the forthcoming *Millennial Harp*, Himes wrote,

¹⁹ Joshua V. Himes, *ST*, March 20, 1840.

²⁰ *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, rev. ed., s.v. “Millerite Movement.”

²¹ Miller, *Apology and Defence*, 22-3.

²² Seventh-day Adventist Church, “Seventh-day Adventist World Church Statistics 2014,” accessed December 14, 2017, <https://www.adventist.org/en/information/statistics/article/go/-/seventh-day-adventist-world-church-statistics-2014/>.

²³ Hatch gives a helpful taxonomy of the waves of popular American religious song in the nineteenth century. Hatch, *Democratization*, 146-61.

“We have selected some of the best and most effective tunes, which greatly add to the melody of our ‘spiritual songs.’”²⁴

In Chapter 3, we examined the heritage and meaning of Black spirituals. Here, we look at the definition of “spiritual,” and the close relationship between both Black and White spirituals.

Scripture declares the singing of “spirituals” to be a necessary part of religion: “Let the word of Christ richly dwell within you, with all wisdom teaching and admonishing one another with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with thankfulness in your hearts to God” (Col 3:16, NASB). As to what these spirituals sounded like, or the nature of the sacred text, scholarship is unclear.²⁵

Nevertheless, by the nineteenth century, the spiritual had taken on a particular meaning. The *Grove Dictionary* defines the term spiritual as “a type of folksong that originated in American revivalist activity between 1740 and the close of the 19th century.”²⁶ This definition includes the music of the revivals of the First and Second Great Awakenings and subsequent revivals.²⁷ Early Adventist hymnody owes its heritage to this lineage, a heritage of both Black and White.

²⁴ Joshua V. Himes, “Editorial Correspondence, No. III,” *ST*, June 29, 1842, 101. “Note. The ‘Harp’ is now published in connection with the ‘Musings,’ and is designed to be used together. Most of the Hymns can be sung.” “Preface,” *Millennial Harp or Second Advent Hymns: Designed for Meetings on the Second Coming of Christ*, edited by Joshua V. Himes (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842). This note means that not all the hymns could be sung. This was a devotional book, for the purpose of prayerful meditation upon the texts.

²⁵ Tim Dowley, *Christian Music: A Global History* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 31-32.

²⁶ James C. Downey and Paul Oliver. “Spiritual.” In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26433>.

²⁷ This definition also includes the revivals by Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey in the late nineteenth century, though by that point, spirituals had developed into the genre of gospel hymnody (more

Harry Eskew and Hugh McElrath define spiritual as a “simple and contagious” folk hymn designed to appeal to “unlettered frontier folk.”²⁸ Chief characteristics of spirituals are their repetitive nature, the addition of a chorus to a standard hymn, or the insertion of a tag line, such as “glory hallelujah.”²⁹ Black and White spirituals share many of these characteristics, though it is difficult to determine which held the most influence on the other.

The Millerite spirituals are classified as White spirituals, though there has been abundant evidence showing that both Black and White spirituals influenced each other.³⁰ Eileen Southern indicates that the first references to folksongs of Black Americans appeared in the early nineteenth century. Some of these tunes can be traced back to Richard Allen’s hymnal of 1801.³¹ This dating is important, for the first publishing of the spirituals coincides with the Second Great Awakening. In the spirit of revival, Blacks and

on this, later in this chapter).

²⁸ Eskew and McElrath, *Sing with Understanding*, 185.

²⁹ Eskew and McElrath, *Sing with Understanding*, 185-86.

³⁰ Hatch, *Democratization*, 157; Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The “Invisible Institution” in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 243. Lawrence Levine has deftly surveyed the literature and shown that Blacks and Whites influenced each other’s spirituals. He emphasizes, however, that the “Debate over origins indicates clearly that a belief in the direct continuity of African musical traditions or in the process of syncretism is not a necessary prerequisite to the conclusion that the Negro slaves’ music was their own, regardless of where they received the components out of which it was fashioned, a conclusion which is crucial to any attempt to utilize these songs as an aid in reconstructing the slaves’ consciousness.” Levine, “Slave Songs and Slave Consciousness,” 63.

³¹ Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 180. Writers termed the spirituals, hymns, with added choruses and refrains composed by Black Americans. White Christians viewed these as unorthodox hymns, due to their improvisational nature. In 1841, the AME Church passed a resolution opposing the singing of such hymns in public worship.

Whites worshiped *together*, particularly at camp meetings.³² These worship gatherings provided the environment to cultivate the spiritual genre.

Many scholars have sought to demonstrate that the Black spirituals derived from Whites. George Pullen Jackson demonstrated the interrelatedness and musical borrowing between both styles.³³ He gave a side-by-side comparison of White spiritual text and tune on the left-hand page, and its Black spiritual counterpart on the right-hand page. The similarities of the tunes are, in many cases, striking. In contrast, Lawrence Levine stresses the influence Black spirituals had upon White spirituals:

Insofar as white evangelical music departed from traditional Protestant hymnology and embodied or approached the complex rhythmic structure, the percussive qualities, the polymeter, the syncopation, the emphasis on overlapping call and response patterns that characterized Negro music both in West Africa and the New World, the possibility that it was influenced by slaves who attended and joined in the singing at religious meetings is quite high.³⁴

Let it be clear. The spirituals, such as “You Will See Your Lord a-Coming,” bear the mark of not only White Americans, but also Black. Going forward, it is imperative to understand that this mutual exchange between Blacks and Whites left an indelible mark

³² Dena J. Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 199. But Blacks also, and especially, worshiped separately in their own developing independent Black churches in the North, and at the Invisible Institution in the South.

³³ George Pullen Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals: Their Life Span and Kinship* (Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin Publisher, 1943). James Weldon Johnson and John Rosamond Johnson, eds., *The Book of Negro Spirituals*, vol. 1 (Binghamton, NY: The Viking Press 1925); James Weldon Johnson and John Rosamond Johnson, eds., *The Second Book of Negro Spirituals*, vol. 2 (Binghamton, NY: The Viking Press, 1926); Newman I. White, *American Negro Folk-Songs* (Hatboro, PA: Folklore Associates, 1928); Dargan, *Lining Out the Word*.

³⁴ Levine, “Slave Songs and Slave Consciousness,” 61.

upon what would become known as early Adventist hymnody. It is best to conclude that Blacks and Whites influenced each other's spirituals.

Publishing

Millerites utilized and, at the hand of Joshua Himes, published several hymnbooks “to advance their movement.”³⁵ Prior to 1842, Millerites used the hymnbooks from their mother churches.³⁶ However, soon they started to publish song books that focused on Millerite themes of “judgment, second advent, reward of the saints, and the midnight cry.”³⁷ Prominent books included: *Millennial Harp* (1842, 1843);³⁸ *Millennial Musings: A Choice Selection of Hymns Designed for the Use of Second Advent Meetings* (1841, 1842);³⁹ and *Second Advent Hymns: Designed to be Used in Prayer and Camp-*

³⁵ Hatch, *Democratization*, 159.

³⁶ Mack, “Seventh-day Adventist Hymnody,” 1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

³⁸ *Millennial Harp, or Second Advent Hymns: Designed for Meetings on the Second Coming of Christ*, (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1842).

³⁹ *Millennial Musings: A Choice Selection of Hymns Designed for the Use of Second Advent Meetings*, (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1842).

Meetings (1842, 1843).⁴⁰ Millerite hymnals were designed for conference meetings and Bible classes,⁴¹ camp meetings,⁴² and even prayer meetings.⁴³

Over time, Himes became more pointed in the purpose and delimitation of his hymn selection. In 1843, he wrote regarding *Sacred Melodies* that it “contains all the most approved Second Advent hymns.”⁴⁴ This seems to imply the collection had gone through the editorial process, which ensured the hymn text was in harmony with Millerite doctrine. Near the end of 1843, Himes published the “Improved Harp.”⁴⁵ This edition, he said, “Comprehends all the valuable sacred poetry and music now in use among us, in our Advent meetings. . . . We design this work for congregations among us who meet statedly for divine worship. It contains hymns of a character and variety to meet the wants of the Advent congregations generally.”⁴⁶ Such a hymnbook would meet the needs of a local congregation, not just for evangelical conferences on the Advent hope. The

⁴⁰ *Second Advent Hymns: Designed to Be Used in Prayer and Camp-Meetings*, (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1842).

⁴¹ Himes published a lesser known volume, *Songs of Zion*, “suited to the wants of second advent Conference meetings and Bible Classes.” “Doings of the Committee of Publication,” *ST*, August 2, 1841, 72.

⁴² Himes published another collection of hymns, *Second Advent Melodies*, as “adapted to the use of Conference and camp-meetings.” “Second Advent Melodies,” *ST*, March 8, 1843, 5.

⁴³ Himes designed the *Millennial Harp* for “Conference and Prayer Meetings.” “Millennial Harp,” *ST*, March 8, 1843, 8.

⁴⁴ “Sacred Melodies,” *ST*, April 5, 1843, 37.

⁴⁵ *Millennial Harp: Designed for Meetings on the Second Coming of Christ, Improved ed.*, 3 vols. (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1843).

⁴⁶ “The Improved Harp,” *ST*, November 22, 1843, 117.

“Advertisement” in the front of *Millennial Musings* summarizes well the purpose of Millerite hymnody in the spiritual life of the believers:

The believers in the second advent of the Lord Jesus Christ at hand, have for some time felt the need of a collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs, which were in accordance with their views of the advent and glorified kingdom of Christ. In order to meet this demand, the following hymns have been carefully selected from various authors, in Europe and America. The compilers have taken the liberty to amend and abridge them, when required.

It is commended to the faithful in Christ, who are looking for his approach, and who expect soon to unite in the new song, with the redeemed of every kindred, tongue, and nation.⁴⁷

This comprehensive application of hymnody instilled, both broadly and deeply, a Millerite spiritual identity through worship at various liturgical functions, such as Divine Worship, Conference, Prayer Meetings, and Bible Classes.

Millerite Liturgical Practice

In this section, we examine Millerite liturgical practice. It will establish the religious context for worship music used in liturgical gatherings, as well as personal devotional practices that sprung from the corporate hymnody.

As an interdenominational movement, Millerites first worshiped in their various denominational churches. However, many of the leading clergy did not take kindly to the Advent message given by Miller and his followers, leading some, such as the Harmon family, to be cast out of their congregations.⁴⁸ Sometimes Millerite music created

⁴⁷ The Compilers, “Advertisement,” *Millennial Musings: A Choice Selection of Hymns, Designed for the Use of Second Advent Meetings*, edited by Joshua V. Himes and Josiah Litch, Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842.

⁴⁸ Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing

controversy as Advent believers continued to worship with their mainline churches. Members of mainline churches were suspended from fellowship for using Millerite hymnody,⁴⁹ even though the mainline hymnals already possessed Advent hymns in their hymn-books dating from Watts and Wesley.⁵⁰

In 1843, Charles Fitch (1805–1844) preached a sermon on Revelation 18, calling for Advent believers to, “Come out of her, my people,” implying that the various Protestant denominations were Babylon.⁵¹ Thus, in 1843 and 1844, Millerites began to gather together for worship due to conviction, and due to the strong negative reaction of the various churches to which they had belonged. Millerites began to gather for public worship every evening, and three times on the Sabbath (Sunday).⁵² So where did Adventist believers meet? They did not have church buildings. In light of the disappointment of 1844, Adventists found it difficult to worship in established churches, due to the scorn of other Christians. Their unique beliefs also made their worship unique. Thus, they worshiped in private homes in the early years.⁵³ They met in “private houses, in large kitchens, in barns, in groves, and in schoolhouses; but it was not long before we

Association, 1915), 43-53.

⁴⁹ Frederick Winans, “Dear Madam,” *ST*, November 15, 1843, 111.

⁵⁰ “Meeting of the Christian Alliance,” *ST*, May 22, 1844, 126. “An Old Advent Hymn,” *ST*, October 30, 1844, 89.

⁵¹ George R. Knight, *A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2012), 19-20.

⁵² Joshua V. Himes, “Public Worship,” *The Midnight Cry*, April 20, 1843, 17.

⁵³ John N. Loughborough, “The First Seventh-day Adventist Meeting-House,” *Missionary Magazine* 13, no. 5 (May, 1901): 207, History of first four churches in Battle Creek, DF 453, CAR.

were able to build humble houses of worship.”⁵⁴ When Adventists erected places of worship, they borrowed from the architectural style of New England, the Puritan meetinghouse.⁵⁵ Adventists understood meetinghouses to be “houses of worship,”⁵⁶ where God would meet with His people as they worshiped.

In addition to these regular local worship gatherings, Millerites held general conferences, gatherings of those who were expecting the soon advent of the Lord. These were neither mere business meetings nor just Bible studies. These conferences included the worship of God in singing, testimony, and the exhortation and/or study of God’s Word.⁵⁷ These worship practices, what we would call liturgy in this study, were understood in the nineteenth century as “religious exercises.”⁵⁸ It is important to note that

⁵⁴ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1923), 26; Robert G. Wearn, “Worship in the Early Life of Ellen G. White” (Term Paper, Andrews University, 1967), 10, Principles of worship, Document Folder (DF) 2119, file 31, CAR.

⁵⁵ Gary Land, “From Meetinghouse to Modern: Adventist Church Architecture in Michigan,” *Adventist Heritage* 4, no. 1 (Summer, 1977): 28.

⁵⁶ “Brief Mention,” *Missionary Magazine* 13, no. 1 (January 1, 1901): 47.

⁵⁷ Joshua V. Himes, *The First Report of the General Conference of Christian Expecting the Advent of the Lord: Held in Boston, Oct. 14, 15, 1840* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1841), 13. “The most profound attention was paid to the stirring eloquence of the last speaker, and stillness of the audience throughout the services was proof of their deep interest in the sentiment of discourse, that the kingdom of God preached in the gospel is a future dispensation near to come. The conference closed with a hymn and benediction.” “Notice. General Conference on Christ’s Second Coming,” *ST*, December 1, 1841, 131. “We are glad to see the believers in the advent near, of all names and denominations, voluntarily associated for conference and prayer.” Joshua V. Himes, “Conference meetings,” *ST*, April 15, 1841, 13. “Our meetings are interspersed with short prayers, appropriate hymns, exhortations, etc. Since they were commenced they have increased in number and interest, and we think they are doing good especially to those believers who attend.” John Pearson, “A Letter from John Pearson,” *ST*, April 15, 1841, 13.

⁵⁸ Dictionary definitions of exercise include: “1) In a general sense, any kind of work, labor or exertion of body; 2) Practice, performance; as the exercise of religion; . . . 6) Exertion of the body and mind or faculties for improvement, as in oratory, in painting or statuary [which are art and could include music]; 8) Exertion of the mind; application of the mental powers; and 10) Act of divine worship.” *Noah Webster’s Dictionary*, (1828), s.v. “Exercise.” Later, Ellen White sometimes expressed the term, exercises, in a spiritual sense: “I expect you are buffeted by the enemy. Do not yield one inch to him. Let faith be in lively exercise. Let it enter within the second veil and take hold upon the most excellent glory.” Ellen G. White to

preaching was considered a religious exercise and therefore an act of worship.⁵⁹

Religious exercises also included social gatherings of a spiritual nature, and reports on the progress of the Advent cause.⁶⁰ At an 1842 conference, “religious exercises were kept up at the intermissions between the public exercises and meals, and where lights were kept burning through the night.”⁶¹

Robert Wearner, writing in 1967, discussed the role conferences played in Millerite liturgical practice:

The conferences are well-known as meetings where doctrine was discovered and unity was brought about. But they also marked a new period in worship development. They were the first examples of corporate worship among our Sabbath-keeping Adventist forefathers. Before this time the Whites and Joseph Bates had met from time to time in small home groups. Now they met together in larger groups.⁶²

Brother and Sister Loveland, December 13, 1850 (Letter 30, 1850), in *The Ellen G. White Letters and Manuscripts with Annotations, 1845–1859*, vol. 1 (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2014), 265. See also Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Dodge, July 21, 1851 (Letter 4, 1851), in *The Ellen G. White Letters and Manuscripts, 1845–1859*, vol. 1. (*EGWLM*), 295; “Opposition to the Sabbath,” (Manuscript 5, 1851. par. 6), in *IEGWLM*, 280; Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister C., January 24, 1861 (Letter 1a, 1861), in *IT*, 241-242. Sometimes she used it in a spiritual sense and a liturgical sense: “Attended the ordinances in the afternoon. It is the first time they have ever attended to this exercise. It was a solemn, interesting season.” (Manuscript 6, 1859); “The Cause in Wisconsin,” (Manuscript 3, 1862).

⁵⁹ H. B. Skinner, “Lunenburg Conference,” *ST*, May 25, 1842, 59. “If time continue, there will be a Second Advent Conference, near Warterloo, Shefford, Canada East, to commence on Thursday, Jan. 9th, 1845, and to continue over the Sabbath. The time will be occupied in preaching the word and other religious exercises.” A. Hutchinson, “Second Advent Conference,” *ST*, December 25, 1844, 156.

⁶⁰ “Order of the Meeting,” *ST* July 15, 1841, 61; “Evening Session,” *ST*, July 15, 1841, 62. A Second Advent Library was consecrated through religious exercises. James S. White, “A Word,” *ST*, October 1, 1841, 103.

⁶¹ “The Second Advent Camp-Meeting,” *ST*, July 13, 1842, 114.

⁶² Wearner, “Worship in the Early Life of Ellen G. White,” 8.

Wearner is astute in noting the significance the liturgical record of the conferences offers to our search for the origins of Adventist worship among the Millerites.⁶³ Because of the significance of the conferences, we can infer that the Millerites were more likely to record their musical and liturgical practices at these gatherings. These provide the best glimpses of worship development.

At a Watch Meeting on New Year's Eve of 1843, a common liturgical order was followed:

The services commenced with the use of the hymn, 'The clouds at length are breaking!' in which a thousand voices united. Bro. S. S. Snow then addressed the throne of grace; and was followed by the use of the hymn commencing with 'Lo! he comes with clouds descending.' Bro. J. E. Jones preached the first discourse on the subject of the Prophetic Periods. . . . After this discourse, was sung the hymn 'Remember Lot's wife,' when, it being about nine o'clock, the audience were dismissed with prayer by Brother Himes.⁶⁴

James White recalled a near identical order that also inserted a Scripture reading just before the sermon.⁶⁵

⁶³ However, Wearner made dubious claims. He stated, "Although not specifically mentioned doubtlessly prayer and hymn singing figured as a part of this first corporate worship." Wearner, "Worship in the Early Life of Ellen G. White," 8-9. Not every account includes descriptions of prayer and hymn singing. If they are not mentioned in the account, then we actually do not know if there was music. It seems reasonable to assume such practice. Nonetheless, we do not know this. He continued, "Prayer, Bible study, and hymn singing seem to have characterized each [conference], although the details of their worship practices have not been preserved for us." Wearner, "Worship in the Early Life of Ellen G. White," 9. More nuance is warranted. Some services featured hymn singing, while others did not.

⁶⁴ "Watch Meeting," *ST*, January 3, 1844, 168. This hymn, "Remember Lot's Wife," is not in any of the Millerite hymnals. Hymnary.org lists the hymn as first occurring in *A Selection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs: Designed for the Use of the Pious*, (Cincinnati, OH: Morgan and Sanxay, 1835).

⁶⁵ "I learn," said I, 'that Elder Nickerson is in the congregation. Will he please take a seat with me, and join in the services of the evening?' He cheerfully came forward, and I gave him an Advent hymn from the Methodist book to read, and found him willing to pray. I then sung an Advent melody, and took the text: 'But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of Heaven, but my Father only' Matt.24:36." James S. White, *Life Sketches: Ancestry, Early Life, Christian Experience, and Extensive Labors, of Elder James White, and His Wife, Mrs. Ellen G. White* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1880), 56, cf. 81.

Put together, an order of service is discerned:

Opening Hymn
Prayer
Hymn
Scripture
Sermon
Closing Hymn

As discussed in Chapter 2, Paul Bradshaw would challenge my lumping together these liturgical practices. Admittedly, I am combining liturgical practices from various locations and times. However, seen together, we get a broader picture of the shape of Millerite liturgical order. This pattern appears to be the broad framework from which these and later Adventists worked. Local practice would naturally create variance, as well as liturgical appropriateness. Not every locale worshiped the same way. Not every service had music or even preaching. “The corporate worship of early SDA’s [Seventh-day Adventist’s] was set within a flexible framework of order to provide for spontaneous, free expression by any one of the participants. Flexibility did not exist as a prescribed item in the regular order of services. Rather, it existed in the attitude of the worshippers.”⁶⁶ Millerite liturgical practice followed the American liturgical revolution of simplicity, freedom, and spontaneity. However, it was not complete disarray and chaos. Patterns of

⁶⁶ Harold Camacho, “Early Seventh Day Adventist Religious Meetings” (Term Paper, Andrews University, 1972), 1, Principles of worship, CAR. Camacho looked at the descriptions of the services at the General Conferences as reported in the Daily Bulletins. He also used the PhD thesis of Horace Shaw, “A Rhetorical Analysis of the Speaking of Mrs. Ellen G. White, a Pioneer Leader and Spokeswoman of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.” Shaw sent several hundred questionnaires to church pioneers still living in the 1950s. Camacho utilized Shaw’s list, and sent questionnaires to fifteen persons from Shaw’s list. Camacho received five answered questionnaires. “Those who did answer gave a very fine description of early SDA [Seventh-day Adventist] worship.” Camacho examined the social meetings, the Sabbath services, and special meetings. Camacho and Shaw’s research aid the later portions of this study, particularly in Chapter 5.

worship clearly emerged, even in the early Millerite period. It is insufficient to claim that liturgy was only free and spontaneous. It is also inadequate to argue a fixed pattern. Its liturgical order was straightforward: hymns, prayer, scripture, and preaching, following a general pattern. This pattern allowed for liturgical expression led by the worshipers, rather than in prayer books or by clergy. Millerite and subsequent Adventist liturgical practice followed a general order that allowed local and appropriate-to-the-day modification.

Millerite Music in Worship

Within the liturgical context thus established, music in worship fostered spiritual expression, both reflecting and impressing the faith upon the worshiper. We now turn to examples of musical liturgical practice.

Worship gatherings instilled the hope of Christ's soon return through the singing of songs of the message. A November 1, 1840, *ST* article provides an example of the role of hymnody commonplace in these gatherings. "The Conference now sung the Hymn beginning, 'When thou my righteous Judge shall come,' Closed with the Benediction."⁶⁷ This hymn was written by Selina Hastings (1707–1791), in the same historical milieu of Isaac Watts (1674–1748). Joshua Himes had not yet published any of his hymnals. He would include the hymn in the 1842 *Millennial Musings*.⁶⁸ Therefore, when he published

⁶⁷ "Another Conference," *ST*, November 1, 1840.

⁶⁸ *Millennial Musings: A Choice Selection of Hymns Designed for the Use of Second Advent Meetings*, (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1842), 38, Hymn 27.

the conference details in a full report, he enhanced the *ST* article, providing the full hymn.

The report read:

The Conference now sung the following hymn:

When thou, my righteous Judge, shalt come
To call thy ransomed people home,
Shall I among them stand?
Shall such a worthless worm as I,
Who sometimes am afraid to die,
Be found at thy right hand?

I love to meet among them now,
Before thy gracious throne to bow,
Though weakest of them all;
But can I bear the piercing thought,
To have my worthless name left out,
When thou for them shall call?

Prevent, prevent it, by thy grace!
Be thou, dear Lord, my hiding place,
In that expected day;
Thy pard'ning voice O let me hear,
To still each unbelieving fear,
Nor let me fall, I pray.

Let me among thy saints be found,
Whene'er th' Archangel's trump shall sound,
To see thy smiling face;
Then loud, through all the crowd, I'll sing,
While heaven's resounding mansions ring
With shouts of boundless grace.

And closed with the Benediction.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Himes, *The First Report of the General Conference of Christian Expecting the Advent of the Lord: Held in Boston, Oct. 14, 15, 1840*, 18.

Could it be that Himes wanted to help his readership by including the full stanzas for them to sing and pray the faith at home? Including the hymn promoted the experience of the message. It brought the conference liturgy into the spiritual life of the believer at home. It is significant that, at times, the hymn text was published, though the sermons were not included in the printing.⁷⁰ Without the sermon, the message remained in the music—a testament to the formative nature of hymn singing. In early 1841, Himes wrote:

After all, there is yet remaining such a love of Christ's future coming in glory, that it is abundantly retained in the hymns of the various denominations, so far as they have severally made selections for themselves. The doctrine is also retained in Watts' versification of many of the Psalms, although in some instances, where the Psalms appear to teach the coming of the Lord to judgment, Watts has rather given them a different sense. These second advent hymns, generally written long ago, and in the better faith of the church, are considered such an important help in the advancement of this cause, that I now propose giving a series of them in the Signs of the Times, not only for present devotional purposes and instruction, but as another decisive testimony, that the church in all ages, has publicly professed and sung their faith of the second coming of Christ, and publicly professes the same still, though many now, rather think us heretics for doing it. See the proof passages and doubt not.⁷¹

In a later recollection of the event, Joseph Bates (1792–1872)⁷² retold the event, detailing the same liturgy, also commenting on the spirit of the worship:

The meeting closed by singing the hymn beginning, 'When thou, my righteous Judge, shalt come.' The Spirit of the Lord had pervaded the meeting from its commencement but now it seemed to vibrate and move the whole congregation. The singing of the

⁷⁰ Sometimes the sermons were printed. However, more often the writer simply mentioned the speaker, the topic, and overall affect of the message, such as, "Brother White preached with great freedom and power."

⁷¹ Joshua V. Himes, "Second Advent Hymns," *ST*, March 1, 1841, 181.

⁷² Bates led James and Ellen White to the message of the Sabbath, and outlined the basis for what would become the Sabbatarian Adventist movement. George R. Knight, *Joseph Bates: The Real Founder of Seventh-day Adventism* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2004), ix.

hymn just mentioned, was ‘with the Spirit and with understanding also.’ Thank the Lord now for that joyous occasion.”⁷³

Bates indicated that God’s Spirit had been felt throughout the conference, but became especially present and active in the singing of the Advent hymn. The singing was “with the Spirit and the understanding,” meaning, it appeared the congregation actively engaged with the meaning of the words of the hymn. They were also animated by the Spirit in the singing of the music.

Singing among the Millerite Adventists played a significant role in the culture and spirituality of the movement. James White said, “It is a fact that there was in those days a power in what was called Advent singing, such as was felt in no other.”⁷⁴ “The clear, weighty, and solemn preaching of the second coming of Christ, and the fervent prayers and animated singing of the new Second-Advent hymns, accompanied by the Spirit of the living God, sent such thrills through the camp that many were shouting aloud for joy.”⁷⁵ The social power of singing continued well past the Millerite movement: “The singing of advent hymns in those days invariably constituted a part of the social intercourse of

⁷³ Joseph Bates, *The Autobiography of Elder Joseph Bates* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868), 249-50. James White similarly wrote: “On Sunday, it was judged that there were ten thousand people in the camp. The clear, weighty, and solemn preaching of the second coming of Christ, and the fervent prayers and animated singing of the new Second-Advent hymns, accompanied by the Spirit of the living God, sent such thrills through the camp that many were shouting aloud for joy.” James S. White, *The Early Life and Later Experience and Labors of Elder Joseph Bates* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1877), 274.

⁷⁴ White, *Life Incidents*, 94.

⁷⁵ White, *Joseph Bates*, 274.

devoted Adventist families.”⁷⁶ American writer and poet, John Greenleaf Whittier (1807–1892), described the enthusiastic singing of the Millerites:

When I reached the [camp-] ground, a hymn, the words of which I could not distinguish, was pealing through the dim aisles of the forest. I know nothing of music, having neither ear nor taste for it; but I could readily see that it had its effect upon the multitude before me, kindling to higher intensity their already excited enthusiasm.⁷⁷

Advent singing and the Millerite hymns gained widespread notoriety. After a camp meeting of fifteen thousand people broke, many folks took the train to return home. An accident occurred between two trains, for two hours detaining some of the Advent believers at the Salem, Massachusetts, train depot. James White noted that to pass the time, his “company commenced singing Advent hymns, and became so animated and deeply engaged that the people in the city came out in crowds, and seemed to listen with breathless attention until the cars came and changed the scene.”⁷⁸

Black Americans were attracted to the Advent message of judgment and the soon return of Christ at which they would receive true freedom from bondage. Benjamin Baker details the relationship of Millerites to Black Americans, the question of slavery in Millerite theology, Millerite abolitionist leaders, Black Millerites, and the Black visionary, William Foy (1818–1893).⁷⁹ I will not seek to duplicate Baker’s work here, but only attempt to give some key historical points.

⁷⁶ William C. White, “Sketches and Memories of James and Ellen G. White, XXX: Early Memories of Our First Home,” *RH*, February 13, 1936, 7.

⁷⁷ James S. White, *Sketches of the Christian Life and Public Labors of William Miller: Gathered from His Memoir by the Late Sylvester Bliss, and from Other Sources* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1875), 163-4.

⁷⁸ White, *Joseph Bates*, 277.

⁷⁹ Benjamin J. Baker, “‘I Do not Mean to Live a Coward or Die a Coward’: An Examination of

Baker indicates the Advent message was attractive to Blacks, though it was so otherworldly in spirit, the movement did little to nothing to address the present need for justice among Black Americans.⁸⁰ Joseph Bates merely argued the second coming would eradicate slavery.⁸¹ Says Baker, “This stubborn and pervasive mindset would guide Adventist thinking on slavery until its termination in 1865 and engender a Seventh-day Adventist informal hands-off policy on blacks that lasted into the twentieth century.”⁸² Baker emphasizes the Millerite movement was a predominantly White movement, and the Blacks who did convert to the message were Northern Blacks. Had the message been borne to Southern Blacks, Baker speculates to what extent the profound message could have had on slavery, United States history, and the gospel message of Jesus Christ’s soon return.⁸³ In Chapter 5, we will consider the development of the Black work in the South and its contribution to worship and music in Adventism.

Ellen G. White’s Lifelong Relationship to Black People” (PhD diss., Howard University, 2011), 34-56; Louis B. Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow: The Story of American Seventh-day Adventists with an African Heritage* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1984), 17-28.

⁸⁰ Baker, “Ellen White’s Relationship to Black People,” 37.

⁸¹ “Some of my good friends that were engaged in the temperance and abolition cause, came to know why I could not attend their stated meetings as formerly, and argued that my belief in the coming of the Saviour should make me more ardent in endeavoring to suppress these growing evils. My reply was, that in embracing the doctrine of the second coming of the Saviour, I found enough to engage my whole time in getting ready for such an event, and aiding others to do the same, and that all who embraced this doctrine would and must necessarily be advocates of temperance and the abolition of slavery; and those who opposed the doctrine of the second advent could not be very effective laborers in moral reform. And further, I could not see duty in leaving such a great work to labor single-handed as we had done, when so much more could be accomplished in working at the fountainhead, and make us every way right as we should be for the coming of the Lord.” Bates, *The Autobiography of Elder Joseph Bates*, 261.

⁸² Baker, “Ellen White’s Relationship to Black People,” 38. Though their turn to the Advent message shifted their focus, many Millerite leaders had been strong abolitionists, including William Miller, Joshua Himes, Charles Fitch, and George Storrs.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 37, 46.

In 1842, William Foy received visions similar to those Ellen (Harmon) White would begin receiving in 1844 and following.⁸⁴ Foy's experience and views had an influence upon White.⁸⁵ It is important to note, the visions of Foy and the first vision of Harmon both include abundant descriptions of music in heaven. White would experience an increasing number of visions and counsel regarding music.⁸⁶ Below, I compare the visions of Foy⁸⁷ and White.⁸⁸ They do not present but a couple parallel musical passages, though together depict a very musical second coming and musical heaven (Table 1).

⁸⁴ Benjamin's father, Delbert Baker, gives a full history and exegesis of Foy's visions, comparing the visions with Scripture and Ellen White. Delber W. Baker, *The Unknown Prophet*, revised and updated ed. (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2013).

⁸⁵ Baker, "Ellen White's Relationship to Black People," 57.

⁸⁶ Ellen White's counsel on music greatly exceeds the scope of this study. Much of her writings on music offer counsel toward the purpose and role of music, rather than giving descriptions of liturgical expressions through music. I have already written on Ellen White's use, experience, and teachings on music in the later part of her life. Please see: David A. Williams, "An Historical Theology of Ellen G. White's Experiences and Teachings on Music During the Writing of the Desire of Ages while in Australia from 1892–1898," *Ellen White and Current Issues Symposium* 10, 2015.

⁸⁷ William E. Foy, *The Christian Experience of William E. Foy, Together with the Two Visions He Received in the Months of Jan. and Feb. 1842* (Portland, ME: n.p., 1845), 3-8.

⁸⁸ Ellen G. White, *Early Writings* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1882), 13-20.

Table 1. Music in the visions of William Foy and Ellen White

William Foy, January 18 & February 4, 1842	Ellen (Harmon) White, December 1844
<p>The guardian angels, in the midst of the saints, struck a song of triumph, and the saints, both small and great sang with loud voices, and passed within the gate.</p> <p>I lifted mine eyes and looked above . . . there countless millions of bright angels, whose wings were like unto pure gold; and they sung with loud voices, while their wings cried “Holy! Holy!”</p> <p>Around this mountain was a space in which stood no being. But after this vacant circle, stood as it appeared to be, a choir of angels, and as far as my sight could extend, throughout this boundless place, stood the countless millions of the righteous. And O, the singing no mortal can describe! It appeared to me, the angels next to the circle around about the mountain, with loud voices struck a lovely song and then ceased. The saints next to them caught the strain, and with voice yet more loud, repeated it: and thus it echoed and re-echoed, until it had been sung by all the saints, and then it ceased: and then again the angels sang.</p> <p>On every branch of the tree were small angels standing. There was an innumerable multitude of them, and they sung with loud voices, and such singing has not been heard this side of heaven.</p> <p>Beneath this tree standing on the sea of glass, were the countless millions of the righteous, arrayed in white raiment, with crowns on their heads, and cards upon their breasts; and in the multitude I saw some that I knew while they were living upon the earth and they were all singing with loud voices.</p>	<p>Soon our eyes were drawn to the east, for a small black cloud had appeared. . . . The bottom appeared like fire; a rainbow was over the cloud, while around it were ten thousand angels singing a most lovely song; and upon it sat the Son of man.</p> <p>Then the angels ceased to sing, and there was some time of awful silence, when Jesus spoke: “Those who have clean hands and pure hearts shall be able to stand; My grace is sufficient for you.” At this our faces lighted up, and joy filled every heart. And the angels struck a note higher and sang again, while the cloud drew still nearer the earth.</p> <p>We tried to call up our greatest trials, but they looked so mall compared with the far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory that surrounded us that we could not speak them out, and we all cried out, “Alleluia, heaven is cheap enough!” and we touched our glorious harps and made heaven’s arches ring.</p>

White gave more musical description to the second coming of Christ, while Foy emphasized the music in heaven. Both noted the music of both angels and the redeemed singing praise to God in heaven. White indicated that, beyond singing, there were also instruments in heaven, played by those saved. Both also described the retinue of angels surrounding Jesus, offering continual praise to His name. These visions represented the eschatological hope the Advent believers shared when they gathered for worship. They sang the Advent hymns in eager anticipation of seeing Christ and joining around His throne in joyful praise.

Other Millerites experienced the Advent hope through expressions of music. James White and his company had traveled to the Eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay, Maryland, to the town of Chester on Kent Island. James White recalled, “The people came out to hear, and listened attentively, particularly the slaves, who had to stand on the back side of the white congregation and wait until they had all passed out.”¹ The Southern state of Maryland practiced slavery until the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. It is significant that James White indicated that the Blacks were slaves, for he and his travelers were presently in the South. Ministry in the South followed the status quo of White supremacy, giving preference to Whites to pass out of the gathering place first. James White noted, however, that this allowed them opportunity to speak with the Black folk. He inquired if they believed the Advent message, and they affirmed they did. He went on, indicating that the Blacks enjoyed the White spirituals:

¹ White, *Joseph Bates*, 286-7.

They seemed delighted with the Advent hymns. They heard Bro. Gurney sing the hymn, "I'm a pilgrim and I'm a stranger." One of the colored men came to our lodgings to beg one of the printed copies. Bro. G. had but one. Said he, "I'll give you a quarter of a dollar for it;" probably it was all the money the poor fellow had. He lingered as though he could not be denied. Bro. G. then copied it for him, which pleased him very much.²

Hymns of the Advent hope were a source of comfort, for Jesus was coming soon and a temporary sleep would be eclipsed by eternal life. A Baptist minister, David Goddard, Jr., died in the hope of a soon resurrection on April 6, 1844. He had "converted to the faith" in November 1842. Upon his deathbed, they sang several hymns. Then he directed the company that at his funeral, they should sing his favorite hymn:

O Land of rest, for thee I sigh!
When will the moment come,
When I shall lay my armor by,
And dwell with Christ at home?³

After this direction, he shouted, "Glory to God!" and fell asleep in Jesus.⁴ Singing the hope of Christ's return and being in the land of rest constituted an expression of worship for Goddard, as indicated by his shout of "Glory to God" as he fell asleep.

The Advent hymns buoyed the faith of not only ministers, but also children. Charles Fitch's son, Willie passed away on December 5, 1843, just ten days' shy of his seventh birthday. Ten months prior, Willie "took an inflammatory rheumatism, which left

² White, *Joseph Bates*, 287.

³ *Millennial Harp: Designed for Meetings on the Second Coming of Christ*, Improved ed., 3 vols. (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1843), vol. 1, 72.

⁴ Samuel Davenport, "Obituary of David Goddard, Jr.," *Sings of the Times*, June 5, 1844, 141.

him with an organic disease of the heart.” Willie loved the Advent hymns. Said Fitch of Willie’s final weeks:

I stood and watched by his side three weeks, held him in my arms to relieve his distress, and sung to him at his oft repeated request the second advent hymns to beguile his tedious hours. “Sing to me, Pa,” was his repeated request every hour. “What shall I sing, my dear?” “Sing, ‘How Long O Lord Our Saviour,’” and again, “sing, ‘Lo, What a Glorious Sight Appears,’ sing, ‘My Faith Looks Up to Thee.’”⁵

Even from the early age of three, Willie declared, “The blessed Saviour is my Saviour.” The young man stood firm in his faith in Jesus and His soon return. “The Saviour will come pretty soon, and then we shan’t have any more trouble.” Charles Fitch taught his child to love the Savior and His soon appearing. Young Willie expressed his faith through singing.

Hymnody also played a significant role in the passing of William Miller. Miller died on Thursday, December 20, 1849. He was buried in the Low Hampton Cemetery near his home. The memorial service was held at the Congregational church in Fairhaven.⁶ No other deathbed narrative captures the tenor of Millerite hymnody as does Miller’s own *Memoir*, compiled by Sylvester Bliss in 1853. During his final months he reclined, suffering in pain. “During his greatest sufferings he solaced himself by quotations of numerous passages of Scripture, and favorite hymns of Watts and others,

⁵ Charles Fitch, “Letter to Brother Himes,” *The Midnight Cry*, December 21, 1843, 1. The hymns, “How Long” and “Lo” are located in *Millennial Harp* (1843), vol. 1: 6, 4. Surprisingly, “My Faith” was not included in Millerite hymnals, though it had been in circulation for about ten years. Ray Palmer penned the hymn in 1830. “My Faith Looks Up to Thee,” *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 877.

⁶ Joshua V. Himes, “Funeral of Father Miller,” *Advent Herald*, January 5, 1850, 184.

expressive of the hope and joy of the redeemed.”⁷ Bliss recorded three hymns of which Miller was particularly fond and that were sung during the closing scenes of his life: “There is a Land of Pure Delight,” “In the Midst of Temptation,” and “Happy the Spirit Released from its Clay.”⁸ Miller’s funeral featured five hymns: “Unveil Thy Bosom, Faithful Tomb;” “Happy the Spirit Released from its Clay;” “How Blest the Righteous When He Dies;” “Why do We Mourn Departed Friends?” and “They Sleep in Jesus, and are Blessed.”⁹ The mention of the numerous hymns at the close of Miller’s life is significant, for it highlights the indispensable role music played in the spiritual identity of even the most prominent of Millerites.

In 1856, Uriah Smith published a hymn and tune with “words on the death of William Miller.” The words are set to the tune, STEPNEY. Smith looked fondly upon Miller for his leadership in the Advent message. It appears Smith believed that Miller would be raised when Christ returned:

Dark is the hour when Death prevails
And triumphs o’er the just -
A painful void within the breast
When dust goes back to dust;
And solemn is the pall, the bier,
That bears them from our presence here.

But there’s a bright, a glorious hope,
That scatters death’s dark gloom;
It cheers the saddened spirits up,

⁷ Bliss, *Memoirs*, 376.

⁸ Bliss, *Memoirs*, 377-8. “There” and “Happy” are not in the Harp. “In the Midst,” *The Advent Harp: Designed for Believers in the Speedy Coming of Christ*, (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1849), 446.

⁹ Bliss, *Memoirs*, 379-80. “Unveil,” “How Blest,” and “Why,” *Advent Harp*, 159, 158, 454. “Why Do We Mourn,” *Millennial Harp* (1843), vol. 1, 44.

It gilds the Christian's tomb,
It brings the resurrection near,
When those we love shall re-appear.

Then mourn we not as those whose hopes,
With fleeting life, depart;
For we have heard a voice from heaven,
To every stricken heart:
Blest are the dead, forever blest,
Who from henceforth in Jesus rest.

With kind regard the Lord beholds
His saints, when called to die;
And precious in his holy sight
Their sacred dust shall lie,
Till all these storms of life are o'er,
And they shall rise to die no more.

A few more days and we shall meet
The loved, whose toil is o'er,
And plant with joy our bounding feet
On Canaan's radiant shore;
Where, free from all earth's cares and fears,
We'll part no more through endless years.¹⁰

As we have seen, hymnody played a significant role in the spirituality of Millerites. The hope of the second coming, the music of heaven, and the joy of the message buoyed the faith of the worshipers through music. No other Millerite spiritual captured this hope more than did "You Will See Your Lord A-Coming." We now turn to a detailed exposition of the liturgical expressions of this quintessential Millerite spiritual.

¹⁰ Uriah Smith, "Dark is the Hour When Death Prevails," *RH*, April 10, 1856, 8.

Old Church Yard

The Millerite Adventists favored “You Will See Your Lord A-Coming,” also known as “Old Church Yard,” in their hymnody. Speaking of the hymn in *White and Negro Spirituals*, George Pullen Jackson said the hymn was “one of the most infectious and lasting of the Millerite songs.”¹¹ Each of the major Millerite hymnals—*Millennial Musings* (1842), *Millennial Harp* (1842), and *Second Advent Hymns* (1842)—contained “Old Church Yard.”

The placement and categorization of the hymn demonstrates its significance among Millerites. In Himes’ 1842 *Second Advent Hymns*, “Old Church Yard” is the first song in the booklet. This songbook contains no indices, and thus the hymn is not only the first entry in a section, but of the whole book. In practice, this hymn would be the first song to which one would turn to select a hymn to sing. In the 1849 publication of *Advent Harp*, five years after the Great Disappointment of 1844, Himes categorized the hymn under the section of “jubilee” in the index at the back of the book. It is not listed under “second coming” or “Lord’s Supper”—the latter was a use by James White, which will be examined below.

The origin of “Old Church Yard,” though obscure and even debated, has had a lasting impact, not only for Adventists, but also the greater society. Some confusion about its origins has persisted among Seventh-day Adventists. One internet blogger believes the hymn tune was taken from Stephen Foster’s “Way Down Upon the Swanee

¹¹ Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals*, 108.

River.”¹² Such a claim is unfounded. The popular songwriter wrote “Swanee River,” also known as “Old Folks at Home” in 1851. The chronology is impossible. Furthermore, the melodies of the songs have nothing in common.

Confusion has also continued in more scholarly circles. In the *Companion to the Hymnal*, Wayne Hooper pointed the reader to Ellen Lorenz.¹³ In *Glory, Hallelujah! The Story of the Campmeeting Spiritual*, Lorenz says “The Old Church Yards” had as its tune, “The Old Granite State,” a song sung by the Hutchinson Family of New Hampshire.¹⁴ If true, this would mean that the hymn was taken from a secular source.¹⁵

However, Scott Gac, Associate Professor of History and American Studies at Trinity College, Connecticut, presents a different perspective. In *Singing for Freedom*, Gac shows that the Hutchinson Family Singers more likely borrowed the tune after attending a Millerite revival meeting in 1842/3.¹⁶ As already shown, “Old Church Yard” had already been in use before this time. The Hutchinson Family Singers adopted the tune, turning it into their signature piece, “The Old Granite State.” Instead of the words,

¹² Phil Ward, “Early Adventist Music,” Seventh-day Adventist Church, North New South Wales Youth Ministries, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://nnswyouth.com.au/items/early-adventist-music>. Ron Graybill indicates early Adventists used “Swanee River” for a hymn text written by Uriah Smith, “Up To a Land of Light We’re Going,” number 29 in the 1858 *Supplement to Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus*, 1855. Graybill, “Singing and Society,” 16.

¹³ Hooper and White, 436.

¹⁴ Ellen Lorenz is the only one to refer to the tune as “The Old Church Yards.” All other records list it as “Old Church Yard.” Ellen Jane Lorenz, *Glory Hallelujah! The Story of the Campmeeting Spiritual* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1980), 93.

¹⁵ Many hymn tunes have been borrowed from popular songs. Such a process is not problematic. For our purposes in this paper, however, it does not answer the question of origins.

¹⁶ Scott Gac, *Singing for Freedom: The Hutchinson Family Singers and the Nineteenth-Century Culture of Reform* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 148, 162.

“You will see your Lord a-coming,” they sang, “We have come from the mountains.” Gac further suggests “The Old Granite State” was in demand by many in the North to become the national anthem.¹⁷ “The Old Granite State” became a popular sensation in the second half of the nineteenth century, implying these similar melodies came to mean different things based upon their cultural context. The tune was not only developed by culture, but it also contributed to the development of both the Adventist and New Hampshire cultures. Thus, the music’s meaning was dynamically interpreted by its users.

The hymn’s origin apparently lies with the Millerite movement, though no original composition has been found. In a personal e-mail to the author, Gac states, “I am unable to point you toward a possible composer of the tune. It is likely impossible to attribute it to a single source, like so many melodies from the antebellum era.”¹⁸ The “Old Church Yard” hymn tune received its first appearance in print in July 1842, in the *Millennial Harp* (Figure 4). Previously, only the hymn text had been published in January 1842, in *Millennial Musings*.

The hymn was intended for congregational singing, though likely unaccompanied.¹⁹ The composition of the tune facilitated engagement. The tune is in F major, presented in two-part counterpoint (see Figure 4) with the upper voice containing the melody. This counterpoint follows tonal rules, moving in parallel motion at a third, and only utilizing the intervals of a fourth and a fifth as passing tones, pedal tones, or at

¹⁷ Gac, *Singing for Freedom*, 164.

¹⁸ Scott Gac, e-mail message to author, November 29, 2011.

¹⁹ See section below on Seventh-day Adventist Hymnody.



Figure 4. “Old Church Yard,” in *Millennial Harp*, (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842).

cadences. However, as a result of the harmonies of the fourth and fifth, the thirds of the implied chords are missing, a relative weakness of the composition. Other tunes in this hymnbook contain two-part, three-part, and four-part harmonization.

The melody has a range of one octave and is mostly stepwise. This would have made it easy for new Adventist converts to learn. It is not uncommon for tunes of this period to reach up to a high F. The persistent rhythm of eighth-notes disposes the hymn to a rather quick tempo. The form of the tune is aa’bb’, where the melody of the verse is

virtually repeated except for the lead-in to the chorus. The chorus likewise is repeated except for its final two bars.

The liturgical and socio-behavioral use of the hymn by James White presents significant cues for its interpretation. In his autobiography, White twice recorded his use of the hymn, once at a revival meeting and once as a prelude to the Lord's Supper. In the summer of 1843, White preached at a Christian Connexion fellowship in the group's Eastern Conference. After preaching for the afternoon service, White and his two sisters sang the hymn before the Lord's Supper. The Christian's observed the Supper annually, likely due to their strong Restorationist beliefs.²⁰

At the close of this service, the Lord's supper was to be celebrated, and while the friends of Jesus were gathering around his table, I joined with my sisters in singing, "You will see your Lord a coming," etc.

Our voices were in those days clear and powerful, and our spirits triumphant in the Lord. And as we would strike the chorus of each verse—"With a band of music,"—a good Bro. Clark, who ever seemed to have resting upon him a solemn sense of the great day of God near at hand, would rise, strike his hands together over his head, shout "Glory!" and immediately sit down. A more solemn appearing man I never saw. Each repetition of this chorus would bring Bro. Clark to his feet, and call from him the same shout of glory. The Spirit of God came upon the brethren, who by this time were seated ready to receive the emblems of our dying Lord. The influence of the melody, accompanied by Bro. Clark's solemn appearance and sweet shouts, seemed electrifying. Many were in tears, while responses of "Amen," and "Praise the

²⁰ Timothy E. Fulop, "Gospel Liberty, Freewill Baptists and the Christian Connection: Charisma and Routinization in Early National New England," in *The 160th Annual Conference of The American Society of Church History, April 11-13, 1996* (Lisle, IL: Theological Research Exchange Network, 1996), 3. Elias Smith, the founder of the Christian Connexion, believed that the church should get back to New Testament practices. Perhaps he believed that to keep the Lord's Supper was to only remember it on Passover. The difficulty with this interpretation, however, is that James White says this event took place in the summer not the spring.

Lord,” were heard from almost every one who loved the Advent hope. The emblems were passed, and that yearly meeting closed.²¹

White’s account makes clear that his use of the hymn in this context was not congregational singing, but was actually a performance. Given that the Hutchinson Family Singers had begun their concerts in November 1840,²² and that the world-famous Rainer Family of Switzerland had performed in the States in the latter half of 1841,²³ it is plausible that the White trio turned a popular entertainment genre of performance into a meditation before the celebration of the Lord’s Supper. White’s comment, “Our voices were in those days clear and powerful,” suggests the blending of the voices like in the popular genre as well. If the trio sang from the *Millennial Harp*, either the two sisters sang the melody and James sang the lower part, or one of the sisters improvised a harmonized part—a solution entirely possible given that the arrangement in the hymnbook had so many open fifths.

The most peculiar aspect of this hymn tune is its conclusion. As Figure 4 shows, the melody ends on the fifth scale degree. The accompanying voice also ends on the fifth of the scale, implying a half cadence. It is possible that in performance, the singers could have chosen to end with the lower voice ending on the tonic, though that might have been difficult to control with a congregation singing. The result of the half cadence is that the song never sounds like it has concluded. The meaning in the tune is tied to the meaning of the text. The corresponding words to this half cadence are “sounding thro’ the air.” It

²¹ White, *Life Incidents*, 107.

²² Gac, *Singing for Freedom*, 124.

²³ Gac, *Singing for Freedom*, 137.

seems reasonable that the composer must have intended for the Advent message to never stop until the Lord returned, that is, to keep on sounding through the air. Such text painting is typical of the Romantic style of the period. In this sense, the text possessed a “now and not yet,” for the “band of music” was to be understood as “angelic hallelujahs” that filled the air.²⁴ It looked by faith to the redeemed in heaven as they performed their praise to God:

The music of the mansion will be all manner of instruments, softened by an innumerable multitude of harmonious voices, so adjusted as to make one perfect whole, and pour the full tide of sound upon the enraptured ear. A song is already prepared, and the performers are practising upon it in their different apartments, with reference to the festival. Oh, what will be the effect when they shall perform in full bands!²⁵

Joshua Himes and the Millerites had understood the hymn to be the essence of the hope of the Second Advent, as shown above in its placement in *Second Advent Hymns*. The later spin-off group, the Advent Christians, also had understood the hymn to be a song about the jubilee, the joy of the second coming and eternity. This makes White’s usage so unusual. In using the hymn to begin his meeting in Litchfield Plains, he added meaning to the song which also revealed a liturgical theology. He not only understood the hymn to be about the second coming, but that the eschatological hope itself was the call to worship, the very reason to worship.

Again, in the Litchfield Plains context, White’s own words speak to the meaning of the melody itself. The “sweet melody” held “nearly a thousand persons in breathless

²⁴ C. P. Whitten, “Dear Brethren,” *ST*, July 24, 1844, 194.

²⁵ Reverend Buckminster, “A Magnificent Festival,” *ST*, August 7, 1844, 3.

silence.” He says no one moved until the words of the lengthy melody were finished. White believed that it was possible, if the listener was willing, for the melody to dramatically move the congregation and prepare them for the “grave subject for the evening.”

White also went outside the bounds for the customary use of the hymn by singing it as a prelude to the Lord’s Supper. In so doing, White turned the hymn into a Eucharistic hymn—a hymn of thanksgiving. For White, the blessed hope was a reason for the meal of thanksgiving. His usage of a second coming hymn at the Lord’s Supper alludes to Paul’s words, “For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord’s death until He comes” (1 Cor 11:26 NASB).

It would be remiss not to point out the White trio’s singing was “clear, powerful, and [their] spirits triumphant in the Lord.” From the context of the passage, the White’s Spirit-filled singing exerted a moving power upon those in the congregation, for there were “many tears, while responses of ‘Amen,’ and ‘Praise the Lord’” were heard from almost everyone. “Almost everyone” gives credence to the claim that White believed that the congregation could respond to the music, rather than the music having complete power over the listeners.

The response of Brother Clark at the celebration of the Lord’s Supper presents another layer of interpretation. Each time the chorus was sung, Clark would rise, clap his hands over his head and shout “Glory!” and then sit down. Why did Clark not stand at the verses? Could it be that the music of the refrain had a particular meaning for him? The record does not include Clark’s explanation, except for his shout of “glory.” However, his body language gives important clues. Additionally, the text of the chorus aids in

interpretation. With slight variation, the refrain always says “the band of music...which is sounding thro’ the air.” With this hymn, the singers sang music about the hope of music sounding in the air. It seems Clark was moved by the music and the hope of that future music. It was not just the words of the hymn, but the coupling of the words and music together that held special import for Clark. Considering the text of the hymn (see Figure 5), especially verse seven (“You will see the saints a-rising”), Clark’s rising at the refrain was symbolic of the future rising of the saints to meet Christ coming in the clouds of glory.

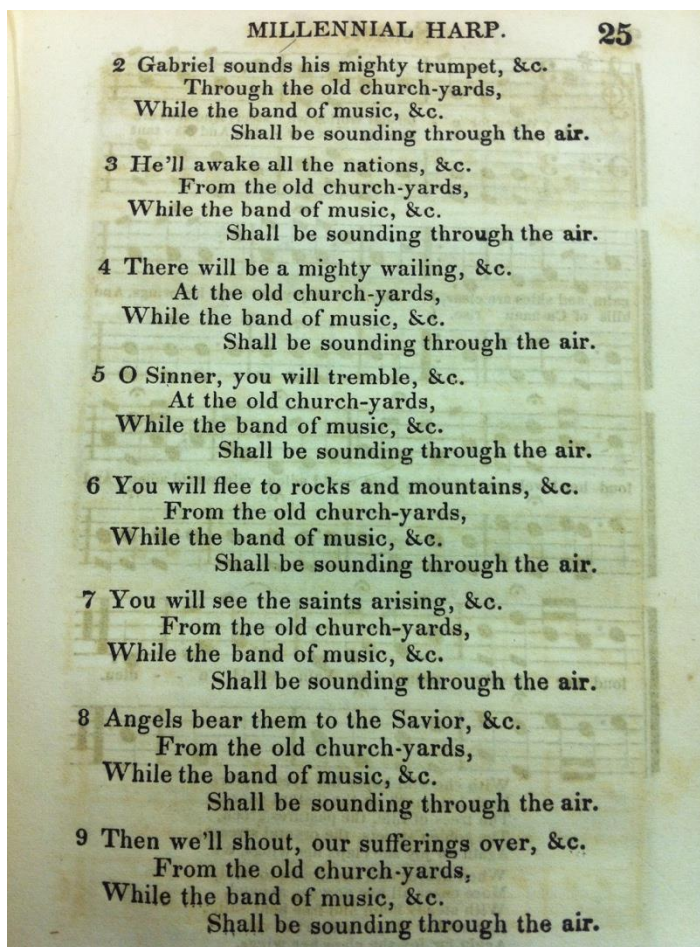


Figure 5. Verses 2-9 of “Old Church Yard.”

Millerite Summary

Hymnody played a significant role in the development of the Millerite movement. The favored hymn “Old Church Yard” served as a catalyst among Adventists to spread their hopes of the soon second coming. Its use brought together key doctrinal beliefs and coupled them with Spirit-filled zeal. This religious fervor was contagious, spreading beyond the Adventists into the popular culture via the Hutchinson Family Singers. Thus, the hymn was a product of the revival culture, but also contributed to the greater popular culture.

The hymn’s usage in worship and revival meetings reveals rich theological concepts. Together, text and tune signified the message of the soon coming Savior, as seen with the half cadence at the end of the song. James White used the hymn in creative ways, adding meaning to both the music and liturgical-theological expression, as seen in his use of the song to begin worship and his use of the song at the Lord’s Supper. The behavior of Brother Clark demonstrated the power of music to reveal its meaning through the worshiper’s bodily movement. Clark’s rising symbolized the hope of the resurrection when the music would call forth the dead in Christ to rise, on October 22, 1844. However, Christ did not return that day.

Sabbatarian Adventism (1844–1860)

The Great Disappointment of October 22, 1844, shattered the hopes of the Advent believers. As they sought to pick up the pieces and orient their lives, many sought to understand what had happened. This quest resulted in a dividing of Adventism into many factions: those who rejected the event and Christ’s coming altogether, those who thought He would come sometime in the future, those that believed He came spiritually, and those

who came to understand that something else had happened on that date.²⁶ The latter of these groups, a “little flock,”²⁷ has grown into the present Seventh-day Adventist Church. This emergent group is termed, Sabbatarian Adventists, a designation lasting until 1860.²⁸

Like a traditional wedding, these Adventists brought with them something borrowed and also something new. As detailed in Chapter 3, as well as in the previous section, Adventists inherited the American liturgical revolution. Their liturgical order is patterned similarly to all the other evangelical and free-church traditions. The Divine Liturgy that Adventists followed is not unique to them. However, these Adventists developed something new, a unique theological perspective which reoriented the inherited tradition.

As an example of *lex credendi, lex orandi* the development of Sabbatarian Adventist theology shaped the content of the liturgical practices. This development represents a theological seismic shift, and yet still within the Christian tradition. The little flock erected five pillars, or landmarks,²⁹ that would establish Adventism as a liturgical

²⁶ Knight, *A Search for Identity*, 55-58.

²⁷ James S. White, *A Word to the “Little Flock”* (Gorham, ME: 1847), 1.

²⁸ Much excellent work has been written on the development of early Adventism and the establishment of its core teachings. Beyond Knight’s *Search for Identity*, there are: Rolf J. Pöhler, *Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching: A Case Study in Doctrinal Development* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 2000); Merlin D. Burt, “The Historical Background, Interconnected Development, and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White’s Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849” (PhD diss., Andrews University, 2002); P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission*, reprint ed. (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1995); Alberto R. Timm, “The Sanctuary and the Three Angels’ Messages 1844-1863: Integrating Factors in the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Doctrines” (PhD diss., Andrews University, 1995); Levterov, “Development of the Adventist Understanding of Ellen White’s Gift”; Le Roy Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1978).

²⁹ Knight, *A Search for Identity*, 27; Denis Fortin, “The Theology of Ellen G. White,” in *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, ed. Denis Fortin and Jerry Moon (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing

renewal movement. These five pillars were the cleansing of the sanctuary, the second and third angels' messages, the temple of God and His Law, the Sabbath, and conditional immortality.³⁰

My purpose here is not to review the development of Adventist theology, though its general content must be brought to bear in understanding how music contributed to the establishment of Adventist teaching in the spiritual life of the believers. Adventism brought a theological contribution to the American liturgical revolution. Adventism's revolution reframed Christian liturgical practices with unique ritual meaning and significance. As a liturgical renewal movement, Adventism's five pillars created a shift in narrative. Worship was now framed in the context of the great controversy. The sanctuary doctrine and conditional immortality began to help Adventists view the ontology of their worship outside of the platonic tradition. Christ's ministry in the most holy place of the heavenly sanctuary emphasized a liturgical focus that was heavenward, not earthly. The Sabbath doctrine brought an added emphasis on liturgical time, resulting in a dramatic lifestyle change for former Sunday worshipers. As a "prophetic movement with a prophetic message and prophetic mission,"³¹ it had liturgical urgency, believing in the soon second coming of Jesus Christ.

These doctrinal shifts were not small discrepancies with the great Christian tradition. These struck at the heart of foundational theological principles, and were

Association, 2013), 242-43.

³⁰ Ellen White first articulated the landmarks of Adventism, based on pioneers' Bible study, amidst the theological controversies of the 1880s. Ellen G. White, Manuscript 13, 1889.

³¹ Neal C. Wilson, "Preface," *A Search for Identity*, 8.

manifest liturgically. Ellen White would later write, “modes of worship” reveal conceptions of God, the world, humanity, and salvation.³² In essence, these pillars established a different worldview through which Adventists would practice and experience worship in liturgy. Adventist hymnody contributed significantly toward the establishment of the major Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines, as we will now see.

Sabbatarian Adventist Hymnody

The development of hymnody from 1844-1860 signals pointers to the importance of music among Sabbatarian Adventists and its contribution toward the development of spiritual identity. The frequency of publication, the desire for unity and pure doctrine, and an increased emphasis on publishing music all speak to the value placed upon music and its role in spirituality.

Sabbatarian Adventists, having come out of the evangelical American worship and music tradition, possessed similar tendencies and characteristics of the broader Christian culture. Wayne Hooper situated Adventist hymnody in the context of American church music: liberated from psalmody and Dr. Watts, “energetic folk hymnody of the camp meetings,” and the singing school movement led by Lowell Mason and others in

³² “It is Satan’s constant effort to misrepresent the character of God, the nature of sin, and the real issues at stake in the great controversy. His sophistry lessens the obligation of the divine law and gives men license to sin. At the same time he causes them to cherish false conceptions of God so that they regard Him with fear and hate rather than with love. The cruelty inherent in his own character is attributed to the Creator; it is embodied in systems of religion and expressed in modes of worship. Thus the minds of men are blinded, and Satan secures them as his agents to war against God. By perverted conceptions of the divine attributes, heathen nations were led to believe human sacrifices necessary to secure the favor of Deity; and horrible cruelties have been perpetrated under the various forms of idolatry.” White, *The Great Controversy*, 569.

the 1850s.³³ Hooper appeared to wrestle with early Adventists' use of secular music, however. In 1852, Uriah Smith wrote a hymn for the tune, "Old Folks at Home" by Stephen Foster. Hooper argued tunes such as "Old Folks at Home" were of the same style as the hymn tunes of Lowell Mason and other contemporaries.³⁴ Hooper did not understand the role of culture and the nature of music itself, as we have discussed in Chapter 2. As Doukhan states, all music is secular, and it becomes sacred through its purpose and role.³⁵ Hooper's argument fails to acknowledge the role culture played in the development of Adventist hymnody. Adventist pioneers at times incorporated secular tunes into the Adventist corpus, and in the process, changed the meaning of the music. That music no longer carried a secular association, but a religious one.

Sabbatarian Adventists wrestled with the same realities facing the majority of American worshipers, and in many ways, early Adventists mirrored early America:

Early American Protestants favored familiar music for singing in public worship. Most congregations sang without accompaniment. Few church members owned tunebooks or could have read the music in them if they had, and, therefore, a small stock of tunes was preferred. Even singing-schools, choirs, and musical societies, whose members sang from books and professed some measure of musical literacy, consistently mixed old favorites with the new pieces they explored.³⁶

The lack of songbooks, or more specifically, Sabbatarian Adventist hymnbooks, posed a critical issue. How could the Adventist "mode of worship" be transmitted into the

³³ Hooper and White, *Companion*, 20.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

³⁵ Doukhan, *In Tune with God*, 44.

³⁶ Crawford, "Early American Psalmody," ix.

spiritual identity of the little flock without its own corpus of hymnody? James White rose up to meet this need. Using the musical styles of the day, White singlehandedly provided the resource needed for fostering a distinctive Sabbatarian Adventist spirituality.

During this period, the little Adventist flock witnessed a great frequency of hymnbook publications. Five hymnals and four supplements were published during this time at the hand of James White:³⁷

- 1849 *Hymns for God's Peculiar People That Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus*, 53 hymns on 48 pages.³⁸
- 1852 *Hymns for Second Advent Believers Who Observe the Sabbath of the Lord*, 139 hymns on 112 pages.³⁹
- 1853 *Supplement to Advent and Sabbath Hymns*, 38 hymns on 32 pages.
- 1854 *Hymns for Youth and Children* (compiled by Anna White), 117 hymns on 82 pages.
- 1855 *Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus*, 474 hymns on 352 pages.⁴⁰
- 1858 *Supplement*, 75 hymns on 94 pages.
- 1860 *Addition to the Supplement*, 8 hymns on 16 pages.

In *Early Advent Singing*, Jim Nix notes that the first book of any size published by James White was not a book on doctrine or Ellen White's visions, but rather the 1849 *Hymns for God's Peculiar People*.⁴¹ James White's publication of this first book, a forty-

³⁷ Patterned after James Nix, *Early Advent Singing*, 75.

³⁸ James S. White, ed. *Hymns for God's Peculiar People, That Keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jesus*, (Oswego, NY: Richard Oliphant, 1849). Hereafter, *Hymns* (1849).

³⁹ James S. White, ed. *Hymns for Second Advent Believers Who Observe the Sabbath of the Lord*, (Rochester, NY: James White, 1852). Hereafter, *Hymns* (1852). This hymnal is almost identical to *Hymns* (1849). Neither hymnal possesses a topical index.

⁴⁰ James S. White, ed. *Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus*, (Rochester, NY: The Advent Review Office, 1855). Hereafter, *Hymns* (1855).

⁴¹ Nix, *Early Advent Singing*, 76.

eight-page hymnbook, speaks volumes to the importance of music for these early Adventists.

White's earlier twenty-four-page publication in 1847, "A Word to the 'Little Flock,'" concisely articulated core theological concepts. Following this paper, the intense evangelistic Sabbath Conferences of 1848-1849 ensued, in which the Sabbatarian Adventists began to organize and develop their theology and structure for the movement. In December of 1849, White announced the hymnbook in the periodical, *The Present Truth*,⁴² publishing the hymnbook in March of 1850.⁴³

White's publication of the 1849 hymnbook is significant. Publishing a book nearly fifty pages containing key theological concepts, would certainly serve as a catalyst to promote unity among the flock. It was also to promote correct teaching; the hymnbook was a "choice selection of hymns applicable to our faith and hope at this time."⁴⁴

Even more, White's move demonstrates the importance of music among the developing Sabbatarian Adventists. The Bible and one's hymnbook were essential to one's practice of spirituality. "This is the doctrine of the Bible, as well as the language of devotion. Doubting souls, who are ashamed of your past interest in God's truth, you must

⁴² James S. White, "Hymns for God's Peculiar People that Keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jesus," *Present Truth*, December 1849, 47.

⁴³ James S. White, "Hymns for God's Peculiar People that Keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jesus," *Present Truth*, March 1850, 64. Regarding getting the paper and new hymnbook out, Ellen White wrote that it "took all James' time to write for the paper and get out the hymn book. We do not have many idle moments." Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Collins, February 18, 1850, (Letter 4, 1850).

⁴⁴ J. B. Cook, "Doubting," *The Advent Testimony*, March 1846, 13.

. . . change both your Bible and Hymn Book.”⁴⁵ The Bible and one’s hymnbook were a source of doctrinal truth. Singing the truth rooted one in the faith.⁴⁶

Though it would not be until 1855 in which a Sabbatarian Adventist hymnbook would receive musical notation, the 1849 hymnbook was certainly intended to be sung. The reader of the hymnbook would need to know a tune to which she would sing the hymn. If the hymns were a source of doctrinal instruction then, at best, White and others must have viewed music as a pleasurable tool in teaching. Music was used for the purpose of edification in scriptural truth.

The Sabbatarian Adventists more than doubled their hymnody during the early 1850s. With the publication of the *Advent and Sabbath Hymns* in 1852 and the *Supplement* in 1853, the number of pages of hymns went from forty-eight to 112. The *Supplement* added thirty-two more pages. In 1854, Anna White (1831–1910) compiled *Hymns for Youth and Children*. White was only 23 when she published this songbook. She believed that right doctrine could be made enjoyable through music:

In compiling the following Hymns, the object has been to select those of worth and poetic merit, in whose lines is breathed the spirit of truth; and to avoid the popular and prevailing errors of the age. As the minds of the young are readily impressed by Hymns adapted to pleasant music, we see the necessity of their songs of praise containing correct sentiment. A pure theology should be sustained by pure Hymns.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ James S. White, “Obedience,” *RH*, September 1850, 41.

⁴⁶ Liturgical theologian, Geoffrey Wainwright, agrees, stating, “At its most characteristic, the Christian hymn may perhaps be considered as a sung confession of faith.” Wainwright, *Doxology*, 183.

⁴⁷ Anna White, *Hymns for Youth and Children* (Rochester, NY: Advent Review Office, 1854), Preface.

During this time, advertisements in the *RH* announcing *Advent and Sabbath Hymns* and the *Supplement* appeared in almost each issue. These ads ran until the 1855 hymnbook was published. In preparing for the new 1855 hymnal, *Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God*, James White desired greater conformity in public worship. He also desired that music to be a part of social and family gatherings and devotions. It was his effort that in singing, the peculiar people would profess the truth:

We have now commenced the work of compiling and publishing a Hymn Book for the use of the Church of God scattered abroad. It is designed to promote, not only public worship, but also social and family devotions.

It requires much care to select and prepare Hymns adapted to the faith of those who “keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.” Our object has been to select those of merit, which express the faith and hope of the Church, as set forth in the Scriptures of truth, and which are free from the prevailing errors of the age. Singing is an important part of the worship of God; and, certainly, those who would worship him “in spirit and in truth,” should seek to express truthful sentiments in all their songs of praise. As most Hymns sustain some one or more of the popular “fables” of the times, it will be seen that our task in selecting is difficult.

We design giving about fifty pieces of music in the last part of the Book, which will greatly promote uniformity and correctness in singing among the scattered Churches, which is very desirable.⁴⁸

When the hymnbook was finally released, White expanded it with more hymns and music than planned. “The new hymn book is printed and in the hands of the Binder. It contains 352 pp. and 76 pieces of music.”⁴⁹ In this hymnbook, the Adventists received over six times the original number of pages of hymns as they had possessed in 1849.

⁴⁸ James S. White, “The New Hymn Book,” *RH*, April 3, 1855, 165.

⁴⁹ White, “The New Hymn Book,” 208.

This was the first Sabbatarian Adventist hymnal to receive an index, with categories for: Public Worship, Holy Scriptures, The Law of God, The Sabbath, Repentance, Faith, Baptism, The Lord's Supper, The Sleep of the Saints, First Resurrection, Second Advent, Waiting for Christ, The Judgment, The Kingdom of God, Christian Fellowship, Christian Holiness, Christian Warfare, Watchfulness and Prayer, and Family Devotions.⁵⁰ Tying these theological themes with the act of singing signified a theological association with singing. These poetic verses might have been read, prayed, or preached, but they were certainly sung.

The remaining seventy-six pages are indexed as "Miscellaneous, with a piece of music commencing with nearly every left-hand page, while the right-hand page contains a hymn, or hymns, of the same meter, appropriate to the music."⁵¹ This was the first Sabbatarian Adventist hymnal to receive any actual musical notation. The *Supplement of 1858* and the *Additional Supplement of 1860* brought more pages of tunes.

The new hymnal of 1855 received great reviews among the Adventist leadership. Evangelist John N. Loughborough praised the 1855 hymnbook. "The Hymns are such as the remnant may sing in the Spirit. The Music is what is needed to promote order and harmony in singing. The arrangement of Hymns under different and appropriate subjects I consider excellent."⁵² Merritt Cornell wrote from Battle Creek, Michigan with his critique:

⁵⁰ *Hymns* (1855), Index.

⁵¹ James S. White, "Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jesus," *RH*, March 20, 1855, 200.

⁵² John N. Loughborough, "New Works," *RH*, March 20, 1855, 200.

I have examined critically 224 pages of the new Hymn Book, and am much pleased with the choice and variety of Hymns. Heretofore we have been deprived of appropriate Hymns for several points in our faith. I think the churches generally will appreciate the new Book, not only for the variety and excellence of the Hymns, but also for their order and good arrangement.⁵³

Similarly, Joseph Clarke had high praise for this hymnal, even nine years after its publication. “The hymn-book is the fruit of much experience and care, and all who worship in the holy assembly need a hymn-book like this, the best no doubt in the world.”⁵⁴

Advertisements for this 1855 hymnal ran in the *RH* for the next six years, appearing in almost every issue until the revised edition was published in 1861. The *Supplement to the Advent and Sabbath Hymns* was also periodically advertised along with the 1855 hymnal. The insistence of the publishers to get these songbooks into the hands of the scattered flock not only demonstrates their interest in a theologically unified body, but also indicates their desire for music to be among them as well.

Let us now turn to the liturgical practice of the Sabbatarian Adventists. The liturgical practices will contextualize the application and use of Sabbatarian hymnody in the spiritual life.

Sabbatarian Adventist Liturgical Practice

In this section, we examine the liturgical practice of Sabbatarian Adventists. We first consider the topic of religious enthusiasm in liturgical practice, offering perspective for the manner in which these Christians worshiped. Following this brief exposition, we

⁵³ Merritt E. Cornell, “The New Hymn Book,” *RH*, April 3, 1855, 208.

⁵⁴ Joseph Clarke, “Books on the Present Truth,” *RH*, August 30, 1864, 106.

turn to the development of the liturgical order during this period. These facets of Sabbatarian Adventism provide the context for the sung liturgical practices, which we explore in the next section.

Demonstrative Worship

Sabbatarian Adventist worship was demonstrative, often exhibiting great religious enthusiasm, and valuing the spirit of freedom. Within the course of its first decade (1845–1855), the movement developed from a perspective of trusting liturgical exercises for the rule of faith, toward more fully embracing the centrality of the Bible, both liturgically and spiritually.

Merlin Burt indicates Adventists expressed their worship of God through “dramatic physical and emotional activity,” sometimes “with intense charismatic-like experiences.”⁵⁵ Though Burt rightly uses the phrase, “charismatic-like,” it is anachronistic to simply label all the activity as charismatic.⁵⁶ The reader tends to read into nineteenth-century Adventist liturgy meanings developed by the Charismatic Movement of the late twentieth century. More importantly, enthusiastic worship is not synonymous with supernatural activity. Burt’s phrase, religious enthusiasm, comes closer in describing the manner of early Adventist liturgical practice.

⁵⁵ Merlin D. Burt, “Ellen G. White and Religious Enthusiasm in Early Adventist Experience,” in *The Ellen G. White Letters and Manuscripts with Annotations*, ed. Timothy L. Poirier, vol. 1, 1845–1859 (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald 2014), 917; Levterov, “Early Adventist Worship, 1845–1900s,” 67–72.

⁵⁶ Arthur L. White, *Charismatic Experiences in Early Seventh-day Adventist History* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1973).

Alternatively, Michael Campbell uses the phrase, “ecstatic experiences,” though he makes no distinction or classification of the various practices. His article lumps together all liturgical behavior as ecstatic. Too much lumping has taken place among Adventist research on liturgical history, warranting more Bradshaw splitting. These practices may be better classified as following: Those of an enthusiastic nature, such as swooning, shouting, jumping, dancing, and clapping; those of a worship posture, such as prostration, weeping, and even being “slain” to the ground; and supernatural manifestations, including visions, speaking in tongues, healings, and dreams.⁵⁷ It does not stand to reason to label all these behaviors and manifestations as charismatic, ecstatic or enthusiastic; rather, all these behaviors are demonstrative. The various liturgical practices outwardly demonstrate worship. Prostration,⁵⁸ or even being “overpowered by the Spirit of God as to lose all strength,”⁵⁹ neither belong to the category of religious enthusiasm, nor ecstatic experiences. They are better understood as demonstrative of worship. Therefore, in an effort to be most descriptive, I have termed this section, demonstrative worship, for it encapsulates the breadth of enthusiasm, supernatural manifestations, and the outward display of reflective worship as well.

Early Sabbatarian Adventists valued freedom in worship, with outward demonstration of the effects of the working of the Holy Spirit. At one service, James

⁵⁷ Michael W. Campbell, “Ecstatic Experiences,” in *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, ed. Denis Fortin and Jerry Moon (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2013), 791.

⁵⁸ Prostration may best be understood within its theological-ritual context, an English meaning of the Hebrew *hištaḥ^awâ* and Greek *proskuneō*. See Chapter 1.

⁵⁹ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1 (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1948), 44.

White noted, “The meeting at first moved quite heavily; but near its close the brethren began to get free.”⁶⁰ White intentionally sought freedom in worship, “consciously leading the ‘brethren’ to this freedom of expression.”⁶¹

During the Millerite period, Adventists had demonstrated great fervor and excitement in their services. They worshiped “nearly all night,” with “great excitement,” “noise of shouting,” and “clapping of hands.”⁶² Even during this period, some felt the enthusiasm could be taken to extremes. James White later recalled, in 1868, the perspective of Elder Plummer, a Millerite, who

had no objections to shouts of praise to God, over victories won in his name. But when persons had shouted “Glory to God” nine hundred and ninety-nine times, with no evidence of one victory gained, and had blistered their hands in striking them together with violence, he thought it was time for them to stop.⁶³

It is imperative to remember that Adventism arose during the Second Great Awakening and its great religious fervor, as discussed in Chapter 3. Ellen (Harmon) White first belonged to the “shouting Methodists.”⁶⁴ Her experience and views have tended to be normative for Adventist liturgical history, justifying a closer look at the manner of worship practice during this period.

⁶⁰ [James S. White], “Eastern Tour,” *RH*, November 15, 1853, 148.

⁶¹ Camacho, “Early Seventh Day Adventist Religious Meetings,” 5.

⁶² White, *Life Incidents*, 157; Levterov, “Development of the Adventist Understanding of Ellen White’s Gift,” 28.

⁶³ White, *Life Incidents*, 158-59.

⁶⁴ James R. Nix, “Another Look at Israel Damman” (Unpublished Paper, Ellen G. White Estate, 2004), 12.

In February, 1845, White had gone on tour to relate the encouraging news of her first vision with fellow Adventists, visiting the towns of Poland, Orrington, Garland, Exeter, Atkinson, Palmyra, and Topsham.⁶⁵ She attended an enthusiastic worship gathering on February 15, 1845. This meeting was led by Israel Dammon and Elder Hall in the home of James Ayer in Atkinson, Maine.⁶⁶ Just a day or days before the Atkinson worship service, she received her “Bridegroom vision,” while staying in the home of Israel Dammon in Exeter.⁶⁷

She received this vision within the context of the broader theological outlook, the Bridegroom View, which was held by many Adventists in the wake of the Great Disappointment. The Bridegroom View, ranging from January 1845 until about January 1847, was a theological perspective that interpreted the meaning of the Great Disappointment of October 22, 1844. Bridegroom Adventists were split between those who maintained that Christ’s second coming was still a future event, and those who believed Christ had returned on that date, spiritually to their hearts. Ellen White received her second vision, the Bridegroom vision, in the midst of this developing theological outlook. Her vision conjoined the parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25 with the coming of the Son of Man to the Ancient of Days in Daniel 7. As the Bridegroom, Christ had gone in before the Father to receive the Church as His bride at the “marriage supper,”

⁶⁵ Herbert E. Douglass, *Messenger of the Lord: The Prophetic Ministry of Ellen G. White* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1998), 473.

⁶⁶ Burt, “Religious Enthusiasm,” 926.

⁶⁷ Ellen G. Harmon to Joseph Bates, July 13, 1847, Letter 3, 1847.

on October 22, 1844. At the Second Coming, Christ will receive his Bride when he gathers up His saints.⁶⁸

White experienced the Bridegroom vision just days before she met with the group of spiritualizing Adventists in Atkinson on February 15, 1845. Significant theological differences divided Bridegroom Adventists. It is imperative for the reader to notice here, that the Bridegroom vision spoke to these differences, addressing even ontological understandings. However, at the time, White herself did not make these theological distinctions I seek to point out here. She first published the vision in a letter dated February 15, 1846,⁶⁹ and then published it again in a broadside on April 6, 1846.⁷⁰ In her letter to Joseph Bates on May 30, 1847, she retold her reception of the Bridegroom vision, stating she received the vision at the home of Israel Dammon in Exeter in early February, 1845: “I had a view of Jesus rising from His mediatorial throne and going to the holiest as Bridegroom to receive His kingdom. They were all deeply interested in the view. They all said it was entirely new to them.”⁷¹ This vision made explicit to White, that Jesus had not come spiritually, but had shifted His ministry in the heavenly sanctuary.

⁶⁸ Merlin D. Burt, “The ‘Shut Door’ and Ellen White’s Visions,” in *The Ellen G. White Letters and Manuscripts with Annotations*, ed. Timothy L. Poirier, vol. 1, 1845–1859 (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2014), 43.

⁶⁹ Ellen G. Harmon to Enoch Jacobs, February 15, 1846, Letter 1, 1846.

⁷⁰ Ellen G. Harmon, “To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad,” Broadside, (Manuscript 1, 1846).

⁷¹ Ellen G. White to Joseph Bates, May 30, 1847, Letter 3, 1847.

The ontology of heaven became even more explicit with her third vision in the spring of 1845. Merlin Burt summarizes the vision: “She was transported to the future and walked with Jesus and the saints in the earth made new. There were literal trees, grass, animals, and food. Jesus was a real person, as were the resurrected saints.”⁷² Following White’s description of this vision, she includes the words to the hymn, “The Better Land”:

We have heard from the bright, the holy land,
We have heard, and our hearts are glad;
For we were a lonely pilgrim band,
And weary, and worn and sad.
They tell us the pilgrims have a dwelling there—
No longer are homeless ones;
And we know that the goodly land is fair,
Where life’s pure river runs.

They say green fields are waving there,
That never a blight shall know;
And the deserts wild are blooming fair,
And the roses of Sharon grow.
There are lovely birds in the bowers green—
Their songs are blithe and sweet;
And their warblings gushing ever new,
The angels’ harpings greet.

We have heard of the palms, the robes, the crowns,
And the silvery band in white;
Of the City fair with pearly gates,
All radiant with light.
We have heard of the angels there, and saints,
With their harps of gold, how they sing;
Of the mount, with the fruitful tree of life,

⁷² Burt, “Religious Enthusiasm,” 927; Ellen G. White, *Spiritual Gifts: My Christian Experience, Views and Labors in Connection with the Rise and Progress of the Third Angel’s Message*, vol. 2 (Battle Creek, MI: James White, 1860), 52-55.

Of the leaves that healing bring.

The King of that country, he is fair,
He's the joy and the light of the place;
In his beauty we shall behold him there,
And bask in his smiling face.
We'll be there, we'll be there in a little while;
We'll join the pure and the blest;
We'll have the palm, the robe, the crown,
And forever be at rest.⁷³

In vision and in song, White understood heaven and the Second Coming to be real. Singing “The Better Land” drove home this theological perspective, embedding this theology deep within White’s spirituality.

Sabbatarian Adventists did not use words like “ontology.” White did, however, take issue with the spiritualizer faction among Bridegroom Adventists in the aftermath of the Great Disappointment. She viewed some of their practices and theology as fanaticism.⁷⁴ The historical records do not indicate what message White shared at the worship gathering in Atkinson. One can only speculate from silence.⁷⁵ She likely shared her first vision, but may have also shared the Bridegroom vision she just days before received.⁷⁶

⁷³ White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 2:56.

⁷⁴ White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 2:39-40.

⁷⁵ Nix, “Another Look at Israel Damman,” 13, 15.

⁷⁶ No historian or theologian has addressed the significance of the content of White’s visions in how they related to the liturgical practices of Sabbatarian Adventism.

Late in White's life, she more fully articulated a critique of the spiritualizer's liturgical theology, when, on April 17, 1901, she addressed the ministers at the General Conference:

In the period of disappointment after the passing of the time in 1844, fanaticism in various forms arose. Some held that the resurrection of the righteous dead had already taken place. I was sent to bear a message to those believing this, as I am now bearing a message to you. They declared that they were perfected, that body, soul, and spirit were holy. They made demonstrations similar to those you have made, and confused their own minds and the minds of others by their wonderful suppositions. Yet these persons were our beloved brethren, and we were longing to help them. I went into their meetings. There was much excitement, with noise and confusion. One could not tell what was piped or what was harped. Some appeared to be in vision, and fell to the floor. Others were jumping, dancing, and shouting. They declared that as their flesh was purified, they were ready for translation. This they repeated again and again. I bore my testimony in the name of the Lord, placing His rebuke upon these manifestations. . . .

These things bring a reproach upon the cause of truth, and hinder the proclamation of the last message of mercy to the world.⁷⁷

White made these comments in the context of her response to the Holy Flesh Movement of 1901.⁷⁸ She viewed the Holy Flesh theology as similar to the teachings of the spiritualizing Adventists of the late 1840s. Over the course of almost sixty years, White had opportunity to reflect upon the meaning of the spiritualizer's theology. Now, in 1901, she clearly understood the ontology within their theological perspective. They believed Christ had come spiritually, making their body, soul, and spirit purified. She

⁷⁷ Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1958), 34-35.

⁷⁸ Katrina Blue, "Threads from an Old Fabric: New Discoveries Regarding the Holy Flesh Movement in Indiana (1899-1901) and Ellen White's Response," *Ellen White and Current Issues Symposium* 8 (2012); André Reis, "Elena G. de White y la música," in *En espíritu y en verdad*, ed. Adriana Perera (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 2013).

interpreted their demonstrations as the theological embodiment of their suppositions. In other words, the fanatical religious enthusiasm manifested a spiritualizing liturgical theology. White noted a progression: excitement, bodily manifestation, and the declaration of purification. From a ritual studies perspective, the enthusiastic ritual provided the liminal moment for purification, making the worshiper “ready for translation.” The repetition of the ritual suggests a sacramental nature for their liturgical practice.⁷⁹

In contrast, each of White’s first three visions taught a cosmology of a literal—real—heaven, earth, and bodily return of Jesus Christ. While her earlier visions could be open to greater possibilities of interpretation, her later visions progressively became more and more closed, that is, explicit in theology. The Bridegroom vision held that Christ moved into a different priestly role in the heavenly sanctuary. This vision was given just before White went to the spiritualizers’ worship in Atkinson, at which the spiritualizers demonstrated great religious enthusiasm.

Even prior to the third vision of a literal new earth, White’s Bridegroom vision of the heavenly sanctuary emphasized heaven to be a real, physical, geographical place in the universe. Jesus Christ himself is there, bodily, ministering on humanity’s behalf during the eschatological Day of Atonement. The objective reality of Christ’s ministry is ontologically external to the experience of the worshiper. The vision addressed, not only the spiritualizers’ eschatology, but also their ontological understanding of worship and spirituality.

⁷⁹ Fernando Canale, “Evangelical Model of Spirituality,” lecture for THST 814—Theological Foundations for Christian Spirituality and Discipleship, Andrews University, 2012, lesson 7, slide 20.

Therefore, White's sequence of visions contributed to the development of theology regarding religious enthusiasm in Adventist worship. Her Bridegroom vision did not prohibit excitement, but tempered it.

Demonstrative worship continued among Sabbatarian Adventists, at least until 1850. At a conference in Topsham, Maine, twenty-eight Adventists gathered, actively worshiping:

Sunday the power of God came upon us like a mighty rushing wind. All arose upon their feet and praised God with a loud voice; it was something as it was when the foundation of the house of God was laid. The voice of weeping could not be told from the voice of shouting. It was a triumphant time; all were strengthened and refreshed. I never witnessed such a powerful time before.⁸⁰

White's recollection highlights a spectrum of worship behavior, spanning from weeping to shouting. In contrast to the earlier spiritualizing worship, there is no mention of noise and confusion, though there was great religious enthusiasm in shouting.

Adventist reckoning of the Sabbath hours developed through liturgical practice: via speaking in tongues, visions, and ultimately Bible study. In late 1846, about fifty Adventists had accepted the Sabbath through the publication of Joseph Bates' pamphlet, *The Seventh Day Sabbath, A Perpetual Sign*.⁸¹ However, they were unclear as to when to observe the Sabbath. Bates recommended following "equatorial time," leading the little flock to observe the Sabbath from six o'clock Friday evening until six o'clock Saturday evening. This view prevailed for several years. In 1848, this appeared to be confirmed in

⁸⁰ Ellen G. White to the Church in Brother Leonard W. Hastings' Home, November 27, 1850, (Letter 28, 1850).

⁸¹ Joseph Bates, *The Seventh Day Sabbath, A Perpetual Sign* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1846); White, *Charismatic Experiences*, 6.

a worship service at which Brother Chamberlain spoke in tongues.⁸² The supernatural manifestation carried much weight with the believers.⁸³

In the midst of the Sabbath question, Ellen White received a significant vision regarding exercises and excitement. This vision is “a key document,”⁸⁴ marking a “pivotal change”⁸⁵ among Sabbatarian Adventists.

I saw that the exercises were in great danger of being adulterated, and their former opinion and knowledge governing in a measure their exercise, therefore implicit confidence could not be placed in these exercises. But if anyone was lost to everything around him, and he should be in the state that Paul was in, whether in the body or out of the body, he could not tell, and God communicate to him through His angels, there would be then no danger of a mistake.

I saw that we should strive at all times to be free from unhealthy and unnecessary excitement. I saw that there was great danger of leaving the Word of God and resting down and trusting in exercises. I saw that God had moved by His Spirit upon your company in some of their exercises and their promptings; but I saw danger ahead. . . .

I saw that the burden of the message now was the truth. The Word of God should be strictly followed and held up to the people of God. And it would be beautiful and lovely if God’s people should be brought into a strait [place], to see the workings of God through exercises of visions.⁸⁶

This vision brought a renewed vigor to the Restorationist value of the Word of God. Campbell states, “While it is clear that early Sabbatarian Adventists, and in particular White, prior to 1850, expressed their beliefs in enthusiastic ways, after 1850

⁸² James S. White to [Stockbridge Howland], July 2, 1848.

⁸³ White, *Charismatic Experiences*, 7.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁵ Campbell, “Ecstatic Experiences,” 792.

⁸⁶ Ellen G. White, “Vision at Paris, Maine,” Manuscript 11, 1850 (Dec. 25).

such occurrences became less frequent and more guarded.”⁸⁷ It wasn’t until 1855, in response to Ellen White’s calls to return to the Bible, that John N. Andrews (1829–1883), carefully investigated the Scriptures for evidence as to when to observe the Sabbath. He concluded Sabbath lasted from sundown Friday until sundown Saturday.⁸⁸ Following this, Ellen White received a vision in which an angel affirmed Andrews’ Bible study. Furthermore, believers were to “press together,”⁸⁹ not only in unity, but also in worship centered on God’s Word. From this point forward, Adventists placed liturgical priority of the Bible over various modes of demonstrative worship.

Ellen White’s writings cooled significantly regarding religious enthusiasm during the Sabbatarian period. This did not, however, preclude the possibility of demonstrative worship among the movement. Merlin Burt concludes in his survey of Ellen White’s teachings on the subject, that she “believed physical responses such as shouting, weeping, laughter, and prostration were valid when prompted by the Holy Spirit.”⁹⁰ Adventists desired the Spirit of God to lead them in their freedom of worship. What followed was a spirituality that allowed for religious enthusiasm in response to the Word, but not central to experiencing God’s presence and counsel.

The ritual spirituality of Sabbatarian Adventists shifted in the light of Ellen White’s counsels. As a result, Adventist worship shifted in modes of ritual sensibility.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Campbell, “Ecstatic Experiences,” 792.

⁸⁸ White, *Charismatic Experiences*, 7.

⁸⁹ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:116.

⁹⁰ Burt, “Religious Enthusiasm,” 931.

⁹¹ See Chapter 2 and Ronald Grime’s taxonomy of modes of ritual sensibility.

American revivalism and its accompanying spirituality embraced the mode of ritualization, with a strong emphasis on the psychosomatic. Worship was exclamatory, embodying beliefs through mannerisms and gestures. The religious fervor compelled the worshipers to move. Camp meetings fit Grime's mode of celebration, through its expressive and festive nature. Worship was spontaneous, rather than compelled or enforced. Thus, the spirituality of early Adventists shared some similarities with Black Christians and slave religion.⁹² Following Ellen White's counsel, Adventists began to follow the modes of decorum and liturgy. Because God is a person to be respected, worship took on an interpersonal frame of reference. Proper decorum began to be expected very early among Adventism, beginning with the counsel of 1850. The ritual mode also began a shift toward liturgy. This is important to notice. This trend became normative and firmly established the denomination for at least the next 100 years. The liturgical modes of ritual possess an ultimate frame of reference. Undoubtedly, Millerites held this view too, as they eagerly anticipated the soon return of Jesus and the ultimate destruction of sin. However, now, among Sabbatarian Adventists, the ultimate reference turns toward Jesus Christ and his ministry in the heavenly sanctuary. This began to foster the dominant mood of reverence. The voice of worship began shifting from exclamatory, to interrogative and declarative. Instead of embodying religion through demonstrative activity, the basic activity became being. Identity became tied to being God's remnant Advent people gathered for worship to hear a Word from the Lord. The motivation was expectance (decorum), rather than cosmically necessary (liturgy). In the research

⁹² See Chapter 3's discussion of the modes of ritual sensibility pertaining to slave religion and African Traditional Religion.

interviews of Chapter 6, the latter becomes more apparent. Nonetheless, from 1850 onward, Adventist spirituality in music and liturgy began to center on meditation and worship, rather than demonstrative mannerisms.

Liturgical Order

Sabbatarian Adventists continued in the Christian tradition for their liturgical practice.⁹³ A common Sabbath order of service included opening Scripture, prayer, hymn, and sermon.⁹⁴ Other Sunday Christians followed the sermon with a hymn, prayer, and benediction. Similarly, in some Adventist services a hymn and prayer followed the sermon.⁹⁵ Due to the lack of Adventist ministers, regional quarterly conferences would be held for worship, the Ordinances, business, and social activities.⁹⁶ On two recorded Sabbaths, hymns also served as bookends to the Lord's Supper. The ordinances were preceded by up to two hours of prayer and baptisms at a river.⁹⁷ Sometimes they did not always have a sermon, but used the time for testimonies of "faith, hope, trials and joys."⁹⁸ Some accounts appear to not mention any singing at all:

A prayer-meeting was appointed for First-day morning at nine o'clock, and at the hour more than three hundred people were assembled. Two or three prayers were offered, then the time was occupied by different brethren, who spoke to the point,

⁹³ Sunday School Advocate, "An Angel Caught Me," in the *RH*, September 2, 1858, 123.

⁹⁴ S. S. Griswold, "They Kingdom Come," *RH*, December 6, 1853, 169.

⁹⁵ Uriah Smith, "Business Proceedings of the Battle Creek Conference," *RH*, April 16, 1857, 188.

⁹⁶ Levterov, "Early Adventist Worship, 1845–1900s," 60.

⁹⁷ D. Hildreth, "Meetings in Round Grove, Ill[inoi]s," *RH*, July 7, 1863, 46; Mary Maxson, "The Fast," *RH*, September 20, 1864, 134.

⁹⁸ [James S. White], "Rochester Conference," *RH*, August 4, 1853, 48.

with freedom and power, till half past ten, when we took the stand and spoke nearly two hours on the first and second angel's messages of Rev. xiv, 6-8. It was thought that there were four hundred people present. We never had a better hearing.⁹⁹

Camacho states, "At this meeting it appears as if there was no singing. Perhaps it was not necessary at this meeting."¹⁰⁰ The record does not indicate whether or not the congregation sang. It is also reasonable to argue that because singing is so commonplace, it was unnecessary to mention it. It is better for us to conclude that we don't know if there was music here. We cannot say with certainty one way or another. Though unlikely, it is reasonable to conclude that some gatherings had singing, while others did not. A very practical reason they may not have had singing could have been due to the lack of a song leader with skill in leading a tune—a notable problem we will see in the next period.

In contrast, at another worship service the record does indicate there was singing:

The evening following First-day, the meeting was moved about two miles to the Wesleyan Meetinghouse in Morley. The Spirit of God seemed to go with us. As the people were coming in, the brethren sung [*sic*] with the Spirit and understanding also. The place was heavenly. God's Spirit rested down upon us. Bro. Andrews then gave an excellent discourse from Titus ii, 13. He spoke with freedom of the "blessed hope" and of the period when it would be realized. The congregation was large and attentive.¹⁰¹

This account mentions the singing, likely due to the spirit in which the congregation sang.

White noted, "The brethren sung with the Spirit and understanding also."

⁹⁹ [James S. White], "Western Tour," *RH*, July 7, 1853, 28.

¹⁰⁰ Camacho, "Early Seventh Day Adventist Religious Meetings," 3-4.

¹⁰¹ "James S. White, "Eastern Tour," *RH*, September 20, 1853, 84-85.

On Sunday, October 9, 1853, believers gathered to celebrate the Lord's resurrection through the ritual of baptism. First, James White described the ritual:

On the morning of the 9th, the brethren and friends assembled at the water where three were baptized. The Lord was with us. It seems that some, at least, of the heavenly host hovered over that little brook where these believing souls were *buried* [*sic*] with Christ in baptism. It was easy singing, praying and shouting. Glory to God! how refreshing to the spirit to look back upon such sacred seasons.¹⁰²

Then White supplied the meaning:

To those who would observe the first day of the week as a Sabbath, to commemorate the works of redemption we would say, you have no need, neither have you a right, to steal the holiness of the seventh day, and give it to the first day of the week, and then keep it to celebrate redemption. Heaven has provided memorials of the crucifixion and the resurrection, with which the church should be satisfied, and let the Sabbath rest remain as a memorial of Jehovah's rest on the first seventh day of time. The Lord's Supper was instituted to shew forth the Lord's death, while baptism shews forth his resurrection.¹⁰³

Sabbatarian Adventists argued in their publications that the seventh-day Sabbath, not Sunday, was the primary day for religious exercises.¹⁰⁴ They believed Christ turned the Sabbath into a "great temple of divine worship, where sacrifices, prayers, hymns of praise and holy teachings alone should be witnessed," a day sacred to "divine worship and deeds of benevolence."¹⁰⁵ While pioneers emphasized worship on Sabbath, they also held worship services on any day of the week for religious gatherings, such as meetings

¹⁰² James S. White, "Eastern Tour," *RH*, November 1, 1853, 133.

¹⁰³ White, "Eastern Tour," 133.

¹⁰⁴ James S. White, "Your Fifth Proof," *RH*, November 29, 1853, 162; Uriah Smith, "Thoughts for Consideration," *RH*, February 14, 1854, 32; Merritt E. Cornell, "Extracts from the Records of the Supreme Court of Ohio, Concerning Sunday Laws," *RH*, November 11, 1858, 197.

¹⁰⁵ Christian Chronicle, "Observance of the Sabbath," *RH*, February 16, 1860, 100.

and conferences.¹⁰⁶ At conferences, business sessions were regarded as separate from religious exercises.¹⁰⁷ As a devotional experience, religious exercises were held by some on the evening of the last day of the year, beginning the new year with God.¹⁰⁸

Uriah Smith taught that having the right frame of mind would make one's religious exercises "heavenly and profitable."¹⁰⁹ In the terms of this study, having the attitude of worship will make liturgy—the actions of worship—of merit and benefit to one's spirituality. Similarly, Alfred Hutchins stated that without a change of mind, of heart, by Christ, "spiritual truths and exercises can neither engage nor influence the heart."¹¹⁰

Sabbatarian Adventist Music in Worship

Sabbatarian Adventists frequently wrote in to the *RH*, giving testimony and admonishing the growing flock to keep the Advent hope. As they penned their letters and articles, they mentioned hymn titles, made allusions to texts, and quoted entire hymn verses. Frequently the *RH* editors, James White and Uriah Smith, published hymns, and occasionally they even included the music. These instances are so abundant that it is

¹⁰⁶ On a Sunday for conference: Uriah Smith, "The Conference," *RH*, May 27, 1858, 13; Idem., "Battle Creek Conference," *RH*, October 2, 1860, 156; Joseph Bates, "A New Argument for Consciousness in Death," *RH*, October 23, 1856, 197.

¹⁰⁷ Uriah Smith, "Business Proceedings of the General Conference of June 3-6, 1859," *RH*, June 9, 1859, 20.

¹⁰⁸ Raymond F. Cottrell, "Watch Night," *RH*, January 21, 1858, 81.

¹⁰⁹ Uriah Smith, "Keeping the Heart, No. 2," *RH*, October 9, 1856, 177.

¹¹⁰ Alfred S. Hutchins, "Prayer," *RH*, July 8, 1858, 61.

impossible to address them all in this chapter. I have mentioned most of these occurrences in the following footnotes.

Christ's return and the hope of heaven continued to be paramount in the Sabbatarian Adventist spirituality, often expressing this hope through poetry.¹¹¹ Heaven is a musical place,¹¹² and Christ's coming will be musical.¹¹³ Sabbatarian Adventists sought to imitate heavenly glory by means of their music in worship on earth. Christ's coming meant not only an eschatological hope, but a culmination of earthly singing and participation in the music of heaven.¹¹⁴ Sabbatarian Adventists understood Christ's

¹¹¹ H. N. Stevens, "A Brief Exposition of the Angels of Revelation," *RH*, December 23, 1851, 72; L. O. Stowell, "The Love of Heaven," *RH*, September 2, 1852, 72; Uriah Smith, "The Lord Will Come," *RH*, October 16, 1855, 57; Annie Smith's book, *Home Here, and Home in Heaven*, is an entire book of poetry centered on heaven and the second coming. Here I reference an example of a poem specifically connecting heaven, Christ's coming, and music: Annie R. Smith, "Home, Round Whose Radiant Throne Forever Burns," *Home Here, and Home in Heaven. Part II. Home in Heaven* (Rochester, NY: Advent Review Office, 1855), 14-28; Idem., "True Happiness," *Home Here*, 106-108; "Sonnet," from *Am. Presb.*, in *RH*, August 20, 1857, 126; Susan Elmer, "Prepare for Heaven," *RH*, October 21, 1862, 166.

¹¹² Samuel W. Rhodes, "Dear Friends in Christ," *RH*, October 28, 1852, 100; Sarah M. Swan, "Our Home," *RH*, December 10, 1857, 38; "I have thought of Heaven's music. If that of earth be so sweet, what must the music of heaven be?" "Sacred Meditations," from *Guide to Perfection*, in *RH*, June 17, 1858, 35; "There will be in heaven worship, doubtless, in its gentlest song, and its loudest and universal acclaim—all the harmonies of its sound; the involved and exciting mysteries of music; the powers of its eloquence and its expression exhausted on that work of praise, when the redeemed shall cry: 'Worthy is the Lamb.' . . . How great a matter it will be, to be found at length in heaven. How amazing! 'Then to grace how great a debtor!'" The last phrase alludes to the hymn, "Come Thou Fount," however, this hymn was not published in the Adventist hymnals at this point; "Heaven," from *Independent*, in *RH*, October 13, 1859, 167; Susan Elmer, "Heaven Lost," *RH*, October 9, 1860, 165; Susan Elmer, "The Wise," *RH*, October 28, 1862, 171;

¹¹³ Vincent, "The Glorious Resurrection," from *The Midnight Cry*, 1843, in *RH*, December 9, 1852, 117; G. Greenwell, "The Nobleman's Journey," *RH*, October 3, 1854, 62

¹¹⁴ Ellen encouraged her son, William Clarence (W. C., or Willie), that at Jesus' coming, he would participate in the music of heaven. "When Jesus comes, He will call for that good boy, Willie White, and will put upon your head a wreath of gold, and put in your hand a little harp that you can play upon, and it will send forth beautiful music." Ellen G. White to W. C. White, March 14, 1860, (Letter 3, 1860).

coming to be filled with the singing of angels and the saints.¹¹⁵ Salvation prepared the faithful to enjoy participating in the music of heaven.¹¹⁶

The music of heaven especially captivated the hopeful interest of the pioneers, expressing their hope through numerous hymns on heaven and the second coming.¹¹⁷ The 144,000 “are to sing a song that the ‘great multitude’ can never learn, and ‘follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth;’ hence, they are Messiah’s attendants and musicians.”¹¹⁸ Writing on the future redeemed in heaven, Ellen White penned, “Soon I heard a voice

¹¹⁵ Ellen G. White, “Letter from Sister Harmon,” *The Day-Star*, January 24, 1846; Idem., “To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad,” *Broadside 1*, April 6, 1846; Idem., “To Those Who are Receiving the Seal of the Living God,” *Broadside 2*, January 31, 1849; Idem., “The Present Truth,” *RH*, August 1, 1849; “Hoping unto the End,” from the *Rural New Yorker*, in *RH*, August 6, 1857, 110;

¹¹⁶ Uriah Smith, “The Connection Between Holiness and Eternal Happiness,” *RH*, October 16, 1860, 174.

¹¹⁷ A. Wheelock, “The Glorious Hope,” from *The Circular Letter of the Berea Baptist Church, NY*, in the *RH*, April 18, 1854, 100. “O Brother Be Faithful,” *Hymns* (1852), 19, published in “O Brother Be Faithful,” *RH*, September 27, 1853, 89. “Jerusalem, My Happy Home,” *Hymns* (1852), 69, also published in “Jerusalem! My Happy Home!” *RH*, October 10, 1854. “If through Unruffled Seas,” *Hymns* (1855), 214; “If, Through Unruffled Seas,” *RH*, March 20, 1855, 200. “I’m but a Stranger Here,” *Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus* (1861), 356, hereafter referred to as *Hymns* (1861); “Heaven is My Home,” *RH*, November 12, 1857, 8. Uriah Smith published a hymn, “Homeward Bound,” on the backpage of the *Review*, noting that a Brother Whipple had sent in the music and text. He wondered who could sing “this beautiful piece of music” without “reviving his hope or renewing his courage.” He then makes the following comment with a quote from the hymn: “We trust that we are indeed homeward bound, and that the time will soon come when ‘Glory to God! We shall shout evermore, We’re home at last, home at last.’” “Homeward Bound,” *RH*, December 17, 1857, 47; it was later published in *Hymns* (1861), 351. “O Happy Day” was first published in the *Review*, later to be published in *Hymns* (1861), 181; “O Happy Day,” *RH*, January 21, 1858, 88. “O Solemn Thought,” from “The Dream of Pilate’s Wife,” in the *American Vocalist*, was reprinted in *RH*, May 20, 1858, 8; while the music was not found in the 1855 hymnal, it does appear in *Hymns and Tunes* (1861), 188. “Forever with the Lord,” *Hymns* (1855), 212; text by James Montgomery, 1835; *Hymns* (1855) uses ST. THOMAS; however, in a posting in the *Review*, the music is by Isaac B. Woodbury: “Forever with the Lord,” *RH*, July 29, 1858, 88. Two final hymns are found in the *Review*, but I have not been able to find them in any subsequent Adventist hymnal, suggesting that some hymns were only published in the *Review* but never in a hymnal; “Will You Go,” *RH*, November 25, 1858, 8; Robert Grant, “None but Thee,” *RH*, November 13, 1860, 201.

¹¹⁸ “The One Hundred and Forty and Four Thousand,” *RH*, July 3, 1856, 76. This quote derives from a pamphlet which the editors of the *Review* sought to refute. The editors give points, both on which they agree and those they disagree. This statement on music is one they did not contest.

that sounded like many musical instruments, all sounding in perfect strains, sweet and harmonious. It surpassed any music I had ever heard. It seemed to be so full of mercy, compassion, and elevating, holy joy. It thrilled through my whole being.”¹¹⁹ She desired, more than anything else, to see Jesus, to worship Him, and worship Him in music. In 1852, she stated, “My affections, interest, treasure, all, is in the bright world to come. I long to see the King in his beauty, whom angels adore, and as they bow, cast their glittering crowns before him, and then touch their golden harps, and fill all heaven with their rich music.”¹²⁰ Sabbatarian Adventists did not lose their hope of Christ’s soon coming, continuing to express this hope liturgically at the Sabbath divine service through congregational singing.

At public worship, music was not the object, but a means for devotion. “The exercise must not be regarded as musical, but religious. . . . So with the singing of hymns; that manner which most effectually engages the hearts of the congregation is best, though it may lack musical elegance.”¹²¹ Music was not the object or focus of worship. Rather, music was an act of devotion to the focus himself, Jesus Christ. Echoing the words of Charles Wesley, “Jesus the soul of music is.”¹²² Public worship embodied a rich theology that joined together heaven, music, worship, and most of all, Jesus:

¹¹⁹ Ellen G. White, “The Future,” *RH*, December 31, 1857, par. 7, 12.

¹²⁰ Ellen G. White, “To the Brethren and Sisters,” *RH*, June 10, 1852, par. 16.

¹²¹ Uriah Smith, “Worship in Singing,” *RH*, February 2, 1860, 83.

¹²² Charles Wesley, “Music,” *RH*, June 24, 1858, 41; Wesley also penned many second-coming hymns: “Lift Your Heads, Ye Friends of Jesus;” “Lo! He Comes, with Clouds Descending;” “I Call the World’s Redeemer Mine;” “Thou Judge of Quick and Dead;” “Jesus, Faithful to His Word;” “Stand the Omnipotent Decree;” and “Come, Let Us Anew Our Journey Pursue,” as cited in “A Revolution in the

HEAVEN. Did you ever hear of a name more sweet? It is the personification of all that is holy, just and good. It is the home of angelic hosts, who with meekness, simplicity and fervent love worship the Most High in the beauty of holiness. And there is the city with its brilliant walls, golden streets, shady walks, fragrant flowers, luscious fruit, and pleasant music. But the sinner's Friend is the crowning attraction of the place. In him we behold all that is lovely, all that is pure, all that is good.¹²³

Music sung from the heart was a genuine act of worship. It expressed a relationship with Jesus. By this ritual act, spiritually by faith, the worshiper participated in the music of heaven.

Singing shaped and intensified the Advent hope coupled to a relationship with Jesus. Susan Elmer wrote to the *Review*, admonishing readers to keep courage as they travel through this "dark world of sin and sorrow" to "that better land." She urged that they had ample reason to "take courage," for:

Jesus now is passing by,
Calling mourners to him.

The editors printed this text as block quote signifying it was poetry. The text alluded to the hymn, "Drooping Souls." The full text of the hymn portrays the full import of her letter:

1 Drooping souls, no longer grieve,
Heaven is propitious;
If on Christ you do believe,
You will find him precious.
Jesus now is passing by,
Calling wand'ers to him;
He has died that you and I
Might look up and view him.

Primitive Protestant Faith," *RH*, October 28, 1862, 170.

¹²³ "Help from Heaven," *RH*, July 10, 1860, 64.

2 From his hands, his feet, his side,
Flows a healing fountain;
See the consolation tide,
Boundless as the ocean.
See the living waters move,
For the sick and dying;
Now resolve to gain his love,
Or to perish trying.

3 Grace he offers full and free,
Drooping souls to gladden;
Hear him say, "Come unto me,
Weary, heavy laden":
Though your sins like mountains high,
Rise and reach to heaven,
Soon as you on him rely,
All shall be forgiven.¹²⁴

Elmer's allusion is notable. She did not select the first line of the hymn, which would be common if a hymn was only casually known. Rather, she drew out a portion of the text in the middle of the stanza, and personalized it by paraphrasing "wand'ers" to "mourners." This indicates that she knew the hymn well. It is plausible that she sang the hymn enough to have internalized the text. Thus, as she penned her letter, seeking the words to signify her intended meaning, a hymn from her experience "popped" into her memory. The hymn had become part of her thinking, because it had been part of her experience. It had helped shape her spirituality and also gave expression to it.

Following a worship gathering, the worshipers sang the "farewell" hymn. The account does not give the title, leaving the researcher to only speculate that it may have been "Never Part Again." Jim Nix notes that this hymn has been used by Adventist

¹²⁴ Susan Elmer, "Brother Smith," *RH*, January 5, 1860, 55; This hymn was later published in *Hymns* (1861), 422.

congregations since the Millerite movement. He has found that it has been used at most General Conference sessions since 1922. The hymn was also a favorite of William Miller. The text was written by Isaac Watts in the early 1700s, though the tune and chorus have changed over time.¹²⁵ Regardless of the hymn and tune, the account makes clear the ritual function of congregational singing and its expression of their beliefs:

Monday forenoon we held another meeting and it was the best meeting of the whole; sweet union and love prevailed in the meeting. We then sang the farewell hymn and with sad yet joyful hearts parted—sad that we must part with those we love so well and had taken such sweet counsel with; but joyful that our hearts had been strengthened and comforted together, that the clear light of truth had shone upon us, and that we were soon to meet to part no more, where no discord or disunion reigns.¹²⁶

The farewell hymn ritualized the goodbye. The worshipers added meaning to the ritual, believing that when Christ returns, they would never part again. That a hymn was referred to as the farewell hymn implies that this hymn was commonly known in this way; it had often been used in this manner. The farewell hymn signified this hope; singing it deepened the impression.

While the hymnbook cultivated spirituality during divine worship, its influence extended into the Christian life, health, work, the family circle, and sanctification. Due to the pervasiveness of music, musical qualities were desired in an individual, musical achievements were desired in the life, and wholesome music was meaningful.¹²⁷ A letter was sent in to the *RH*, stressing the importance of music for one's health:

¹²⁵ Nix, *Early Advent Singing*, 44-45.

¹²⁶ Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Howland, November 12, 1851 (Letter 8, 1851).

¹²⁷ Uriah Smith, "A General History of the German Seventh-day Baptists," *RH*, February 19,

Music, like painting and statuary, refines, elevates, and ennobles. Song is the language of gladness, and it is the utterance of devotion. . . . Song is the outlet of mental and physical activity, and increases both by its exercise. No child has completed a religious education who has not been taught to sing the songs of Zion. No part of our religious worship is sweeter than this. In David's day it was a practice and a study.¹²⁸

Similarly, music makes work more pleasurable. "Many a pious housewife has made the hours seem short as to the merry music of her wheel her heart has sung."¹²⁹

What was her song? Her companion on the life journey, Jesus, was to be the song of her heart in all of life's duties. "The song that the glorified will sing above, is a song of praise to him who has redeemed them from all sin."¹³⁰

Writing to the *RH*, G. W. Holt built upon this concept from the verse in Colossians 3:16-17: "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord. And whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him." Holt taught that music was a means to prepare the heart for holiness. Music must be filled with the grace of the Lord in the heart.¹³¹

1857, 122.

¹²⁸ James S. White, "Extracts from Letters: Music Healthful," *RH*, July 29, 1862, 71.

¹²⁹ Theodore L. Cuyler, "Christ a Companion on the Life-Journey," *RH*, August 12, 1862, 83.

¹³⁰ Uriah Smith, "The Connection Between Holiness and Eternal Happiness," *RH*, October 16, 1860, 174.

¹³¹ G. W. Holt, "Holiness of Heart," *RH*, August 19, 1852, 59. See also John A. Laughhead, "Experience: From Brother Laughhead," *RH*, December 23, 1851, 67.

Ellen White wrote very little about music during the period. Due to prejudice against her visions, James avoided publishing his wife's writings from 1850–1855, later called the “silent years.”¹³² What she did write was important. She urged young believers to cultivate a song of praise in their hearts:

The young can find words enough to express their ardent affection for each other. . . . Why, at the mention of Jesus name whose love was so exalted, so devoted, so pure, do they hold their peace? Dear friends, have you no words to speak in Christ's favor? . . . Why! O, why! do we not hear your voices in the full gratitude of your soul speak forth his praises? Why are not the praises of God heard gushing from your affectionate hearts, warmed by a Saviour's love? *His love should call forth music from the soul and lips* [emphasis added]. What is the matter children? “Out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh.” . . . You must be devoted, yes, consecrated to God. He wants the whole heart. He is a jealous God, and he requires the whole heart, and the warmest affections. . . . Awake and love and adore thy Redeemer. Be a living example to others, and give full proof that you are Christ's disciples.¹³³

Love for God should be called forth as music from the soul. Giving of the whole heart should bring forth songs of praise. Music as a metaphor could indeed be the intent of White in this passage. As the Adventists demonstrated in their writing, the spiritual music of the heart most fully resembles the true music of heaven. But could not this passage be also taken literally? Love for God should be called forth as music from the soul *and lips*. White desired the young and old to respond to God's love with their hearts and mouths, thoughts and actions.

¹³² Jerry Moon and Denis Kaiser, “For Jesus and Scripture: The Life of Ellen G. White,” in *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, ed. Denis Fortin and Jerry Moon (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2013), 37.

¹³³ Ellen G. White, “Thankfulness, and the True Object of Our Affections,” *Youth's Instructor*, February 1, 1856, par. 6.

White expressed her love for Jesus in the context of music. Jesus' voice is "richer than any music that ever fell on mortal ear." Following this statement, White quoted the third stanza of the hymn, "Sweet Rest in Heaven," its first line beginning "O When Shall I See Jesus?"¹³⁴

Our eyes shall then, with rapture,
The Saviour's face behold,
Our feet, no more diverted,
Shall walk the streets of gold;
Our ears shall hear with transport
The hosts celestial sing,
Our tongues shall chant the glory
Of our Immortal King.¹³⁵

Her worship response to Christ's "musical" voice was through singing. God's "love should call forth music from the soul and lips."¹³⁶ Only the redeemed can sing the songs

¹³⁴ "Sweet Rest in Heaven," *Hymns* (1855), 91-92, no. 146.

¹³⁵ Ibid, par. 18. Ellen G. White to Harriet Hastings, August 11, 1851, (Letter 3, 1851). "I long to see the lovely Jesus whose countenance lights up the glorious city; Him whom angels adore, and as they bow, cast their glittering crowns before Him, and then touch their golden harps and fill Heaven with their rich music, of songs to the Lamb. The language of my soul is, 'Though dark are the waters, and rough is the wave, if Jesus permits the wild surges, I'll brave. For that heavenly music hath ravished me so, I'll join in the chorus, I'll go, let me go.' My soul is on wing for glory." White's quote is stanza three from the hymn, "What Heavenly Music," written by her husband, James. Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Dodge, December 21, 1851 (Letter 9, 1851).

¹³⁶ Ellen G. White, "Thankfulness, and the True Object of Our Affections," *Youth Instructor*, February 1, 1856, par. 6.

of experience.¹³⁷ The purpose of music is the expression of praise for the love of God in Christ for our redemption.¹³⁸ In this way, singing is a testimony.¹³⁹

In 1859, four years after James White published the 1855 hymnbook, Joseph Clarke wrote to the *RH*, lamenting the poor congregational singing he had witnessed. Apparently, the hymnbook and its supplements had not been well assimilated. Either believers were not reading the music correctly, were not listening to the song leader, or the hymns were being lined-out in poor fashion. Whatever the case, Clark pointed the *RH* readership to some principles and the purpose of singing in worship:

At such times, notice the voice and style of the one chosen to lead (and some judgment is necessary in this) and keep the ear open and alive to the harmony. Do not let zeal to be heard, overpower the zeal to hear; but rather let the ear control the voice. Always bear in mind, that whatever peculiar taste an individual or locality may have for slow or rapid execution of music, all must yield to one regular movement, when we all meet together for worship; and all must move in union, as to the time, pitch and force of sounds. Let us strive to sing as well as possible, with the spirit and understanding also.¹⁴⁰

On another occasion, Clarke wrote the *RH*, urging the importance of family worship in the homes. It was in the family worship that the children would learn “many

¹³⁷ Ellen G. White, “To the ‘Little Flock,’” *RH*, April 1, 1850.

¹³⁸ Ellen G. White, “Experience and Views,” *RH*, July 21, 1851, Art. A, Par. 17; idem., “Beauties of the New Earth,” *The Youth’s Instructor*, October 1, 1852, par. 5. “If you love God and keep his commandments, when Jesus takes his faithful children home, he will give you a crown that will never dim; and you may freely eat of the immortal fruit of the tree of life, and of its healing leaves, and never more know sickness or sorrow; but your happiness will be complete, as you sing redemption’s song.” Idem., “Exhortation to the Young,” *The Youth’s Instructor*, January 1, 1854.

¹³⁹ “Your song will be ‘Hear, what the Lord has done for me.’ Your hearts can beat with ardent affection and love for Jesus, who first loved you.” Ellen G. White, “Thankfulness, and the True Object of Our Affections,” *The Youth’s Instructor*, February 1, 1856.

¹⁴⁰ Joseph Clarke, “Music,” *RH*, November 10, 1859, 200.

musical lessons a year.” He told the parents, “If you neglect this important, pleasant and light duty, and your children should fail to learn to sing, who do you think will have to answer for the neglect, and consequent irreparable loss?¹⁴¹ Eternal interests were at stake for the children through worship and music shared at the family gathering. Parents were responsible for developing their children’s spiritual identity through music.

Sabbatarian Adventist Summary

The Sabbatarian Adventists continued their avid use of music to proclaim their unique faith. From 1844–1860, the Sabbatarian Adventists witnessed a significant expansion within their hymn repertoire. Within the timespan of sixteen years, this little flock utilized nine hymnbook publications. The number of pages of hymns grew from almost fifty pages to over 450, a factor of nine. These numbers of hymns give strong indicators to the value of music among these Adventists.

Sabbatarian Adventists desired their hymnody to serve as a unifier among their brothers and sisters, gathering all together under one faith, one present truth. These hymns were not only to be devotional poetic text, but they were intended to be sung. When difficulties arose among the flock pertaining to a lack of uniform melodies, numerous publications of hymns with tunes were put forth. It was believed that music was a valuable means for public and private devotion, even suitable for social gatherings.

In the latter half of the period, more tunes were published, both within hymnbooks and supplements, and even in the movement’s periodical. The tunes were provided, not only to promote liturgical unity among believers when they gathered for

¹⁴¹ Joseph Clarke, “Music for Children,” *RH*, July 24, 1860, 78.

corporate worship, but also to furnish a source of joy as they proclaimed their faith in song. It may be observed from the prolific publication of these songbooks that Sabbatarian Adventists held a high view of music. “All this production of hymnals by the White family reveals much of the worship practices of early Adventists in general.”¹⁴²

The formative role of music in discipleship created a circuit between the divine service and family worship. The purpose of congregational song was to acculturate to the heavenly music of above. Congregational singing in worship focused on Jesus, glorifying Him, and His soon return. Even without musical skill, all were invited to worship through the prayerful song of the heart. Music in worship took a prominent place in Sabbatarian Adventist liturgical expression.

Seventh-day Adventist Church (1860–1894)

Sabbatarian Adventists officially selected the name, Seventh-day Adventist, on Monday, October 1, 1860, at a conference in Battle Creek, Michigan.¹⁴³ The following year, 1861, the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association¹⁴⁴ and the Michigan Conference of Seventh-day Adventists were organized.¹⁴⁵ On May 20, 1863, the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists was officially organized, providing the growing

¹⁴² Wearer, “Worship in the Early Life of Ellen G. White,” 12.

¹⁴³ Uriah Smith, “Fifth Session,” *RH*, October 23, 1860, 179.

¹⁴⁴ Uriah Smith, “Second Session,” *RH*, April 30, 1861, 189. It was incorporated May 3, 1861. [Uriah Smith], “The Review and Herald,” *RH*, May 7, 1861, 200.

¹⁴⁵ It was voted on in the early hours of Sunday morning, October 6, 1861, apparently after deliberating all night. “The Conference convened for business purposes, evening after the Sabbath, Oct. 5, at 6:30 pm. [. . .] Adjourned to 8 o’clock in the morning.” Uriah Smith, “Doings of the Battle Creek Conference,” *RH*, October 8, 1861, 149.

body of Sabbatarian Adventists an organizational structure for global mission.¹⁴⁶ In this new period of organization, Adventists began to explore what a Seventh-day Adventist liturgy would look like. Because it was now an official Christian denomination, it would experience the growing pains of what this new identity would mean. Things would not be settled. However, it is in this period that we begin to see an abundance of musical expression, the first known record of a church bulletin, and more liturgical standardization. The concluding time period for this section of the chapter has been selected as 1894, for it was in 1894 that James Edson White (1849–1928),¹⁴⁷ son of James and Ellen White, pushed off from the shores of the Kalamazoo River, in Allegan, Michigan on the Morning Star steam boat to advance the ministry among Blacks in the American South. This adds a significant new component to the story of Adventist music history, warranting further consideration in Chapter 5.

Seventh-day Adventist Hymnody and Instruments

Hymnody

Adventist hymnody continued to flourish during this period. James White continued to actively publish new songbooks, though the growing church began to take a broader committee approach. White's second son, Edson, took up his father's mantle, and continued with numerous hymnals during the period. The following is a selected list of the most common hymnals of the period:

1861 *Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of*

¹⁴⁶ Uriah Smith, "Constitution of General Conference," *RH*, May 26, 1863, 205.

¹⁴⁷ Referred to hereafter as Edson White.

- Jesus*, 529 hymns on 464 pages.¹⁴⁸
- 1863 *The Sabbath Lute*, 42 hymns on 48 pages.¹⁴⁹
- 1869 *Hymns and Tunes for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus*, 424 pages, 536 hymns, and 125 tunes.¹⁵⁰
- 1872 *Hymns and Spiritual Songs for Camp Meetings and Other Religious Gatherings*.¹⁵¹
- 1876 *Hymns and Tunes for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus*, Rev. ed. of 1869, 1 more hymn and 19 more tunes.¹⁵²
Commonly known as *Spiritual Songs*.
- 1878 *Song Anchor: A Choice Collection of Favorites for Sabbath School and Praise Service*, 159 pages, 137 hymns, 133 tunes, 10 composed by J. E. White.¹⁵³
- 1880 *Temperance and Gospel Songs, for the Use of Temperance Clubs and Gospel Temperance Meetings*, 134 songs and hymns, 108 tunes.¹⁵⁴
- 1881 *Better Than Pearls*, 70 gospel songs, 50 tunes, and nearly 200 hymns.¹⁵⁵
- 1882 *Pearly Portals for the Sabbath School*, 160 pages, 147 items, mostly gospel songs.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁸ James S. White, *Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jesus* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1861).

¹⁴⁹ General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *The Sabbath Lute* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1863).

¹⁵⁰ General Conference Committee, *Hymns and Tunes: For Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1869). Hereafter, *Hymns and Tunes* (1869).

¹⁵¹ James S. White, ed. *Hymns and Spiritual Songs for Camp-Meetings and other Religious Gatherings* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1872).

¹⁵² General Conference Committee, *Hymns and Tunes for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1876).

¹⁵³ J. Edson White, *Song Anchor: A Choice Collection of Favorites for Sabbath School and Praise Service* (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing House, 1878).

¹⁵⁴ J. Edson White, *Temperance and Gospel Songs, for the Use of Temperance Clubs and Gospel Temperance Meetings* (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald, 1880).

¹⁵⁵ J. Edson White, *Better than Pearls* (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1881).

¹⁵⁶ D. S. Hakes, *Pearly Portals for the Sabbath School* (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1882).

- 1886 *The Seventh-day Adventist Hymn and Tune Book for Use in Divine Worship (HT)*, 1139 hymns and tunes, 51 miscellaneous old melodies.¹⁵⁷
 1891 *Songs of Freedom*, 100 songs on religious liberty.¹⁵⁸

The 1861 *Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jesus* was not a new hymnal, but rather a revision and unification of the 1855 hymnbook and its subsequent supplements. In his review of the hymnbook, preacher Joseph H. Waggoner alluded to this fact, while also giving the book strong accolades:

DEAR BRO. WHITE: I have received the new Hymn Book, and am very much pleased with it. The arrangement of the hymns, by paging the hymns retained as they are in the old book, is excellent. I think we have a book now that is suited to every want, both in hymns and music. It is to be hoped that more attention will be paid to the music, that there may be more uniformity in our congregational singing. The tunes in this book are sufficient in number and variety for every purpose. As a whole, I think it is as complete and perfect as may be attained unto, and feel confident that it will give general satisfaction.¹⁵⁹

It was not uncommon for the reader of the *RH* to find in many issues a piece of music with a hymn text. As hymnbooks were published including music, the editors found it possible to include music in their periodical as well.¹⁶⁰ Near the end of the period, three popular tunes were made available for individual purchase: “Sweet Hour of Prayer,” “Nearer My God to Thee,” and “Morning of Zion’s Glory.”¹⁶¹ Often these individual hymn printings in the *Review* would appear in later hymnals.

¹⁵⁷ General Conference Committee, *Hymns and Tunes*.

¹⁵⁸ Franklin E. Belden, *Songs of Freedom* (New York: National Religious Liberty Association, 1891).

¹⁵⁹ Joseph H. Waggoner, “Dear Bro. White,” *RH*, September 3, 1861, 112.

¹⁶⁰ James S. White, “New Music,” *RH*, October 7, 1862, 200.

¹⁶¹ White, “New Music,” 152.

In 1863, another “valuable little collection” of “Hymns and Tunes” was published under the title, *The Sabbath Lute*.¹⁶² This collection was made available alone, or bound together with the 1861 hymnbook.¹⁶³ Though small, this hymnal published many hymns and tunes heretofore not published among Adventists.

It wouldn't be for another six years, when, under the leadership of the newly formed General Conference, that the first official hymnal of the Seventh-day Adventist Church would be published. In 1869, *Hymns and Tunes for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus* was printed.¹⁶⁴ The church continued the small format of three and one-half inches by five inches.

Hymns and Tunes, as it was commonly called, was not a songbook for revival meetings. The hymnal was “designed to promote not only public worship, but also social and family devotions,” for “singing is an important part of the worship of God; and those who would worship him in spirit and in truth, should seek to express truthful sentiments in all their songs of praise.”¹⁶⁵ It appears that worship, namely public worship, was its primary purpose, as indicated by the volume's full title, *The Seventh-day Adventist Hymn and Tune Book for Use in Divine Worship*. While James White had edited previous Adventist hymnals, this hymnal was the work of a committee, including George Butler,

¹⁶² James S. White, *RH*, June 9, 1863, 120.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁶⁴ Hooper and White, *Companion*, 20.

¹⁶⁵ General Conference Committee, “Preface,” in *The Seventh-day Adventist Hymn and Tune Book for Use in Divine Worship* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1869), iii.

Uriah Smith, J. H. Waggoner, A. R. Henry, Edwin Barnes, and Franklin E. Belden as music editors. The editors credited neither hymnists nor tune composers.

The purpose of the hymnal was ecclesiological. The editors purposed to “select and prepare Hymns of worth and poetic merit, which express the faith and hope of the church as set forth in the Scriptures of truth, . . . and free from the prevailing errors of our time.”¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, they desired the inclusion of tunes to “greatly promote uniformity and correctness in singing.”¹⁶⁷ The need for the inclusion of music in the hymnal may have been motivated by the earlier reports of Joseph Clarke, indicating poor congregational singing among Adventists.¹⁶⁸ Linda Mack notes that this hymnal demonstrated a maturation of the church, including “hymns of worship, faith, Lord’s Supper, Christian experience, and family devotion.”¹⁶⁹

Other hymnals were published by the church during this period, seeking to address special purposes. Camp meetings continued among Adventists, leading James White to publish a work specifically for camp meetings in 1872, entitled, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs for Camp Meetings and Other Religious Gatherings*. This collection was not to take the place of the official church hymnal.¹⁷⁰ *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*’ title ought not be mistaken for the 1876 republication of *HT*, which was commonly referred to as *Spiritual Songs*. Figure 6 shows the very worn cover of *HT* (1876). The word “Songs”

¹⁶⁶ General Conference Committee, “Preface,” iii.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Mack, “Seventh-day Adventist Hymnody,” 3.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 3.

¹⁷⁰ “Compiler’s Note,” *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, i.



Figure 6. Cover of *HT* (1876) faintly shows the title, *Spiritual Songs*.

may be faintly read, with Sp-“iritual” just above it. The “Sp” have been worn off. It is this hymnal that Uriah Smith referenced in the *Review* as being the hymnal out of which they sang at the dedication of the Dime Tabernacle.

In 1878, Edson White published *Song Anchor: A Choice Collection of Favorites for Sabbath School and Praise Service*. The *Song Anchor* held several firsts. It was the first Adventist hymnal providing music for all the hymns; it provided the authorship of hymns and tunes, including copyright information; it introduced Christmas songs into Adventist hymnody; ten of Edson White’s own compositions were included, as well as the first work of Franklin E. Belden (1858–1945); and it was the first Adventist hymnal to include temperance hymns.

In 1886, the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists published the “largest and most comprehensive hymnbook ever published by the church,”¹⁷¹ entitled, *The Seventh-day Adventist Hymn and Tune Book for Use in Divine Worship*. The editorial committee comprised of George Butler, Uriah Smith, J. H. Waggoner, A. R. Henry, and Edwin Barnes. Barnes and Frank Belden edited and composed the music for the songbook.

As indicated in the title, the General Conference purposed this hymnal for Divine Worship on Sabbath mornings. This hymnal built upon the foundation long established by the Adventist tradition of hymnbook publishing.

The importance of sacred song, as a part of the worship of God, has been recognized from the very beginning of the denomination in whose behalf the present work is issued. Among their earliest publications was a small collection of hymns, expressive of their faith, and breathing a spirit of consecration and devotion to God and his work.¹⁷²

The editorial committee believed the hymns to be “strictly in harmony with the teachings of the Scriptures,” and therefore commended the hymnal to all “who are waiting for the coming and kingdom of CHRIST, humbly hoping that it may prove a means of increasing their love to God and his worship, and aid them in the preparation necessary to associate with the redeemed, and join in singing the new song on MOUNT ZION.”¹⁷³ The Committee understood hymnody to foster spirituality, believing it would not only root them in the Advent faith, but prepare them for Christ’s soon return and the blessed hope

¹⁷¹ Hooper and White, *Companion*, 27.

¹⁷² “Preface,” *Hymns and Tunes* (1886), iii.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, iv-v.

of joining the music in heaven. The 1886 *HT* would continue as the official Seventh-day Adventist hymnal for fifty-five years, when, in 1941, the church would publish the 1941 *Church Hymnal*. Other hymnals, such as the 1900/1908 *Christ in Song* challenged *HT* for primacy in liturgical use,¹⁷⁴ meaning that *HT* fell out of use as newer hymnals gained popularity.

The active music publishing of the White family and the denomination demonstrates the continued value the Seventh-day Adventist Church placed on congregational singing and its role in spiritual growth. Other important hymnological developments took place during the period, affecting the trajectory and spiritual praxis of Adventists.

Instruments in Worship

Throughout their history, Adventists have contended over the use of instruments in worship. While some, such as the White family, advocated a broad use of instruments in public worship, others appear to have discouraged their use, based on association. Millerites viewed the organ and other instrumental music as extravagances of the times.¹⁷⁵ During the Sabbatarian Adventist period, the *RH* published articles and poems criticizing the spirit of worship in the mainline Protestant churches, decrying as religious

¹⁷⁴ This issue will be addressed in Chapter 5.

¹⁷⁵ George W. Kinney, "Brother Himes," *ST*, April 10, 1844, 79. Emily C. Clemens, "Pilate and Herod Made Friends, Part 1," *ST*, April 17, 1844, 82.

mockery, a “monstrous organ,”¹⁷⁶ church bells, ornate architecture,¹⁷⁷ and a “fashionable” gallop or dance played on the organ.¹⁷⁸ Gary Land interpreted this data, concluding that for the first thirty years, Adventists sang a cappella, unaccompanied with instruments.¹⁷⁹ Land likely drew his conclusion from the negative language used by Adventists about instruments.

Throughout the nineteenth century, none of the data explicitly state that Adventists sang a cappella. As observed in Chapter 3, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists wrestled with the use of the organ in worship. These traditions viewed a cappella lining out as futile, leading the churches to finally incorporate the organ (c. 1850) to facilitate improved congregational singing. It stands to reason that the Millerites continued in the a cappella stream, due to their Restorationist beliefs. The Christian Connexion and Millerite exodus from the mainline churches likely contributed to the perpetuation of a cappella singing.

The sources heretofore cited, while mentioning the organ, do not prohibit the organ. The White family encouraged the use of instruments in their life and writings. In the 1850s and 60s, Edson and Henry White both played the melodeon for family worship

¹⁷⁶ James S. White, “Selections,” *RH*, June 26, 1855, 255; “Aristocratic Christianity,” *Lockport Telegraph*, in *RH*, March 27, 1856, 207.

¹⁷⁷ C. T. Catlin, “Reflections on Hearing a Church Bell,” *RH*, March 14, 1854, 62.

¹⁷⁸ Merritt E. Cornell, “Worship in New York,” in *The State of the Churches* (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, n.d.), 21-22.

¹⁷⁹ Gary Land, *Historical Dictionary of the Seventh-day Adventists* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 205.

in their home.¹⁸⁰ By the 1870s, resistance to instrumental music in worship continued, leading Ellen White to write: “Call to your aid, if practicable, instrumental music, and let the glorious harmony ascend to God, an acceptable offering.”¹⁸¹ In 1877, James White used a reed organ at a California camp meeting. John Loughborough argued from Psalm 150 that the Bible permits the use of the organ in worship. Many in the congregation noted the improvement in the congregational singing.¹⁸² The narrow perspective held by some in the church did not resonate with James White:

When S. D. Adventists were a humble people, in the earlier days of their brief history, most of the old hands, those who have been pillars in the church, were opposed to instrumental music. They even objected to the pure and solemn tones of the organ to accompany vocal music in the house of God. We respect conscientious men and women wherever they may be found, and while we may think that their consciences are unnecessarily tender upon the matter of introducing the organ into church worship, we would treat them with great respect, and would be very careful not to wound them unnecessarily.¹⁸³

How can it be that so many opposing views to the organ could have been published under James White’s editorial oversight, if he wasn’t opposed to it? The *RH* promoted a forum where Sabbatarian Adventists dialogued. They critiqued the spirit of self-worship, but not the use of instruments, per se. White agreed with his contemporaries’ critique of the churches, but he did not agree with the view of some to

¹⁸⁰ No evidence explicitly states they did not play for public worship as well. In the section below, Music and the Second Coming, the musicianship of Edson and Henry is noted.

¹⁸¹ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 4 (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1881), 71.

¹⁸² C. Warren Becker, “‘Such as Handle the Harp and Organ’: Organs and Their Masters in the Seventh-day Adventist Church,” *Adventist Heritage* 14, no. 1 (1991): 6.

¹⁸³ James S. White, “Leadership,” *RH*, June 17, 1880, 392.

abandon all instruments and styles of music associated with the other churches. He compiled hymns for his numerous hymnbook publications, with most of the text and tunes coming from other Christian churches, indicating he did not close his mind to the music of other denominations.

Adventists believed the other churches had fallen, and their extravagant music posed as a façade, covering up their erroneous doctrines and moral emptiness. The advocacy for musical instruments by the White family must be noted, for it contributed to an increasing openness toward instruments in worship. From the known extant evidence, some Adventists sang accompanied by the organ by the 1870s.

The Battle Creek Dime Tabernacle had a reed organ since its dedication in 1879, (see Figure 7). The Tabernacle's congregation long sought for a pipe organ for liturgical use, but Ellen White counseled the congregation to advance the ministry of the church, rather than further the extravagance of their liturgy and pride of their hearts. They did, however, purchase a two-manual pipe organ, installing it at Battle Creek College in 1881 (see Figure 8). Upon closer examination, the music on the key desk appears to be Johann Sebastian Bach's, "Tocatta and Fugue in D Minor," *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach: Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis* (BWV) 565 (Figure 9). This evidence suggests that Barnes taught significant organ literature at the college, though this repertoire could not be played at the Dime Tabernacle due to the lack of a pedal board. Barnes could have played some of the organ literature, but not much, because of the Dime Tabernacle's organ's deficiencies.



Figure 7. The reed organ of the Battle Creek Dime Tabernacle.



Figure 8. The organ at Battle Creek College.



Figure 9. Music on the key desk, “Toccatina and Fugue in D Minor,” BWV 565.

Edson White also advanced the use of diverse instruments in worship through his hymnal production. He published *Temperance and Gospel Songs, for the Use of Temperance Clubs and Gospel Temperance Meetings* in 1880. This hymnal provides evidence for the use of instruments in worship. In some copies of *Temperance and Gospel Songs* (1880), Edson White placed an advertisement: “Orchestra Score for music in this book can be obtained by addressing J. E. White, Battle Creek, Mich.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ Wayne Hooper and Linda Mack discovered this advertisement. Hooper and White, *Companion*, 25; Mack, “Seventh-day Adventist Hymnody,” 4. The James White Library at Andrews University holds

The White family heritage of music making continued in Edson. He sought to push the church ahead in its use of instruments in worship, as shown through his advertisements of orchestral scores and the sales of keyboard instruments. His advertisement suggests an Adventist market for the use of orchestral instruments in worship, at least in temperance gatherings. If Adventists were not using orchestral instruments in worship, then in the least we can infer that Edson promoted the use of instruments.

Similarly, Ellet Waggoner published a notice in the *ST* in 1887, noting that the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston, Massachusetts, proposed free instruction for aspiring missionaries. Instruction included:

Vocal and instrumental music, the art of teaching vocal music to children; a general knowledge of piano and reed-organ tuning and adjusting, such as will make it possible for them to meet the practical wants of isolated fields; and a knowledge of the fundamental principles of harmony, sufficient to enable them to arrange native music and write the accompanying parts.¹⁸⁵

Waggoner felt this generous offer would be met with “hearty response,” suggesting that many Adventists would eagerly take up learning music, including various instruments. In a similar vein, an 1893 notice in the *Daily Bulletin* indicates that Adventist’s own schools valued instruments. Union College in Lincoln, Nebraska

ten copies of this hymnal. One copy resides in the stacks of the main library. The Center for Adventist Research holds the nine others. Three of these are bound together with the *Song Anchor*. Only one copy has this advertisement in the back leaf of the hymnal. Perhaps of significance, this specific hymnal is about ¼ inch shorter than the other copies. This evidence suggests there were more than one printing of the hymnal. On this same rare page, Edson also advertised pianos and organs for sale, as well as “any piece of sheet music ever published.” M2131 .S3 W422 c.1 at the Center for Adventist Research.

¹⁸⁵ Ellet J. Waggoner, “Back Page,” *ST*, January 6, 1887, 16.

“purchased eight musical instruments, six organs and two pianos, at a cost of twelve hundred dollars.”¹⁸⁶

In the 1890s, Adventists were cautious toward some types of instrumentation, particularly toward the Salvation Army bands. Waggoner reported in the *American Sentinel*, that in Ashland, Wisconsin, Salvation Army officers “were committed to jail for one week for marching on Sunday to the music of a cornet and flute.”¹⁸⁷ A report given at the General Conference indicated that those in the Salvation Army had similarly been treated in Switzerland. “In Basel, they were confined to one small section of the city, and were not allowed to use any kind of musical instrument.”¹⁸⁸

At the Muncie, Indiana camp meeting of 1900, Adventists worshiped with these Salvation Army Band instruments, including a bass drum, a cymbal, two tambourines, string bass, two or three violins, two flutes, two trumpets, and an organ.¹⁸⁹ By all descriptions, worshipers demonstrated exceedingly great enthusiasm at the liturgies. Ellen White referred to the music of the Muncie camp meeting as a “bedlam of noise.”¹⁹⁰ The “bedlam of noise” counsel challenges the Adventist church even to this day.

¹⁸⁶ Archibald R. Henry, “Report on Union College,” *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, February 26, 1893, 396.

¹⁸⁷ Ellet J. Waggoner, “Back Page,” *American Sentinel*, March 6, 1890, 80.

¹⁸⁸ [No author], “Article VI,” *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, March 10, 1891, 53.

¹⁸⁹ Hattie H. Haskell to Sara McEnterfer, September 17, 1900.

¹⁹⁰ White, *Selected Messages*, 2:36.

Both André Reis and Katrina Blue carefully document how the holy flesh theology drove the excitement of the Muncie camp meeting.¹⁹¹ Reis argues the innovation of using Salvation Army Band instruments for the first time in worship contributed to the excitement of the Muncie camp meeting. He cites the *Muncie Morning Star*, saying this was the “first time that musical instruments were used in an Adventist [camp meeting], except the organ.”¹⁹² The Indiana Conference President “calmed the participants,” saying the Bible permitted these instruments.¹⁹³ Blue argues the musicians played in total disorder, as a possible interpretation of the bedlam of noise.

What seems most likely, in my opinion, is that worshipers came to the camp meeting with certain theological expectations as to what was to take place at the worship, namely, the purification of the flesh through the enthusiastic liturgy. Adventists came to the worship event unaccustomed to the style of a Salvation Army Band. The novelty and the loudness of the music *did* psychophysically affect the worshipers, stirring them to excitement. Based on the methodology established in Chapter 2, it stands to reason that loud rhythmic music, even in the style of a Salvation Army Band, can stir up excitement. Remember from the methodology, that the worshiper brings *a priori* beliefs to each experience. If the worshiper expected to be purified in the liturgy, and believed a demonstrative worship facilitated such a theology, the worshiper would open oneself to

¹⁹¹ Reis, “Elena G. de White y la música.”; Blue, “Threads from an Old Fabric.”

¹⁹² Reis, “Elena G. de White y la música,” 39-40, (English translation, unpublished, 6).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

the music, and enter into an excited, even ecstatic, state of mind. The music would contribute to this overall effect.

This type of music in a large Adventist gathering was likely new. But we cannot say with absolute certainty that Adventists had not used instruments other than the organ before this time. The *Muncie Morning Star* report does not harmonize with the abundance of evidence of instrumental use, documented at least twenty-three years prior. This much is certain. Adventists continued to struggle with the use of instruments in worship. Even by the twentieth century, some took issue with the use of instruments. On the other hand, and stemming from the beginning of the movement, others, such as the White family, consistently advocated the use of instruments in worship.

I propose a moderate conclusion from the history of instruments in Adventism in the nineteenth century. Theological *a priori* contribute to the effect of music upon the worshiper. Musicians may abuse instruments in worship, but when used rightly, instruments add unity and beauty to the worship of God.

Seventh-day Adventist Liturgical Order

Seventh-day Adventists shared a common liturgical order with the American free church and mainstream evangelical traditions. The *Review* often republished writings by Theodore L. Cuyler, a leading Presbyterian minister and religious writer. In critiquing the state of prayer meetings, he gave a common order of worship. Understandably, prayer meetings are not the same as a church service, though Cuyler's description is quite similar.

The meetings are usually formal and stereotyped; they begin with "Mear" and "Ortonville," or "Old Hundred," then a chapter lazily read, then a deacon, then an

“opportunity for remarks,” then a silent pause, then a hymn or a deacon, and the closing prayer dismisses the handful to their homes.¹⁹⁴

The common order is as follows: Opening hymn or doxology, scripture reading, a read message by the deacon, a sharing time (remarks), a time of meditation and prayer, a closing hymn, closing prayer, and dismissal. By now Adventist hymnody held an indispensable presence in the liturgy. Services almost always began with a hymn.¹⁹⁵ Some even closed the Sabbath day with the singing of a hymn.¹⁹⁶

Conference gatherings continued to be an invaluable source for liturgical records. The conferences were not just for church business, but were for gathering and worship.¹⁹⁷ Because this practice was so common for conferences, the trustees held running ads in 1863 and 1865 in the *Review*, noting that meetings of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association were “for the transaction of business. There will be no conference held in connection with it, and no especial religious exercises.”¹⁹⁸ However, in 1864, the Association noted that it would hold religious exercises on both Saturday and Sunday at its annual meeting. While they would meet for business, the weekend meetings would be “devoted exclusively to religious exercises.”¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Theodore L. Cuyler, “A Word about Prayer-Meetings,” *RH*, August 8, 1865, 75.

¹⁹⁵ Uriah Smith, “Fourth Session,” *RH*, October 23, 1860, 178; James S. White, “Report of Conference of Seventh-day Adventists,” *RH*, May 26, 1863, 204, 206.

¹⁹⁶ D. Hildreth, “Closing the Sabbath,” *RH*, November 27, 1860, 14.

¹⁹⁷ John N. Loughborough and Moses Hull, “Report from Brethren Loughborough and Hull,” *RH*, July 7, 1863, 45.

¹⁹⁸ James S. White, “Appointments,” *RH*, September 8, 1863, 120.

¹⁹⁹ “General Conference Committee, “Annual Meeting of the S. D. A. Publishing Association,” *RH*, April 12, 1864, 160. The same practice was also used at the Vermont State Conference of the same

On extended conferences, Adventists held services not only on Sabbath, but also on Sunday, even having baptism and the Lord's Supper (the ordinances).²⁰⁰ To begin a Michigan annual conference, religious exercises marked the beginning of the session. James White preached an appropriate message for a worship gathering, choosing the text, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them" (Matt 18:20).²⁰¹ White's text suggests a development of theological thought toward worship, though quite implicit. The conference was a corporate gathering in which worshipers believed God to be present.

A Need for Reform

By the early 1860s, order in the service demanded attention. Some held services as long as three hours. Merritt Cornell recommended that services be kept two hours or even one hour for testimony meetings. Some sang entire hymns between testimonies, a practice which he recommended should be discontinued. He advocated singing a verse of a hymn that spoke to the spirit of the testimony and then moving on to the next speaker. He expressed concern that Adventist services should contain life. If these reforms did not work, he recommended closing the meetings, or getting down and crying "mightily to God to break the spell and arouse the people," so that the people may be "strengthened," "encouraged," and "blessed."²⁰²

year. Stephen Pierce, "Vermont State Conference," *RH*, May 3, 1864, 184.

²⁰⁰ Joseph Bates, "Meetings in Michigan," *RH*, July 8, 1862, 45.

²⁰¹ Uriah Smith, "Michigan Annual Conference," *RH*, October 14, 1862, 156.

²⁰² Merritt E. Cornell, "Are Ye Unworthy to Judge the Smallest Matters?" *RH*, January 28, 1862, 68.

In Chapter 1, I established that worship is attitude and liturgy is action. This means that one can “go through the motions” of liturgy, without actually worshipping; one’s praise may be “lip service.” In similar language, the *RH* published an article entitled, “None other Name,” that alluded to Acts 4:12 that states that in Jesus, “There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.” “Religious exercises, good resolutions, altered habits” are “ineffectual” in finding the “peace of mind” that only Jesus can bring.²⁰³

In this vein, Hannah More cautioned against heartless worship, which led to formalism. One needed a willingness of heart and mind to rightly engage in religious exercises:

The heartless homage of formal worship, where the living power does not give life to the form, the cold compliment of ceremonial attendance, without the animating principle, as it will not bring peace to our own mind, so neither will it satisfy a jealous God. [. . .] These well-intentioned persons seem to spend no inconsiderable portion of time in religious exercises, and yet complain that they make little progress.²⁰⁴

She also instructed that “If some things which are apparently innocent,” and yet “awaken thoughts which ought not to be excited,” they may “abate our love for religious exercises.”²⁰⁵

This religious contemplation and worship included the spiritual practice of congregational singing. Uriah Smith published the following quotation in the *Review*:

²⁰³ “None Other Name,” *RH*, December 1, 1863, 7.

²⁰⁴ Hannah More, “Mistakes in Religion,” *RH*, December 18, 1860, 34. As Fernando Canale states, “Liturgy is meaningless without worship.” Canale, “Principles of Worship and Liturgy,” 110.

²⁰⁵ Hannah More, “Cultivation of a Devotional Spirit,” *RH*, January 8, 1861, 57.

It is the duty and privilege of the church to sing; a duty which she can no more perform by proxy, than she can pray, or repent, or believe, or hope, by proxy. No body of Christians so long as they feel they have any thing to say to God in the house of prayer, will consent to stand or sit silent, and employ a few thoughtless and giddy persons to perform in their name,—or rather in their stead,—a part of the devotions so near akin to the worship of the celestial host. I have not doubted for many years that the exclusive performance of sacred music in the church by a few select, professional singers, is at once to defraud the church of her privilege, and to offer an insult to the Almighty.²⁰⁶

Smith valued congregational singing. These convictions stem from the Christian tradition discussed in Chapter 3, in which the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist churches sought to uplift the priesthood of all believers. Worship in singing was not to be done by proxy.

Counseling on congregational singing, William Gage wrote the *Review*, stating that those who “love this branch of the worship of God,” understand the formative—and even normative—nature of singing in worship. He cautioned fellow believers that, just because a song is sung in worship, or written by Dr. Watts, does not make it biblical truth. Hymnists may contradict the truth in God’s Word. God’s blessing in music often is perverted by Satan.²⁰⁷ Therefore, worship leaders and congregations alike should pay close attention to the hymn texts. If one were careless, Satan might lead the singer away through unbiblical theology. Though the music might be beautiful, it would not make the erroneous texts right. Music, poetry, and art, “so beautiful in their places as the

²⁰⁶ He did not give a source for the material, but included quotes around the paragraph, indicating the thought originated elsewhere. “Congregational Singing,” *RH*, August 30, 1864, 107.

²⁰⁷ William C. Gage, “Music,” *RH*, February 7, 1865, 85. This view was later advocated in the 1880s and 90s: Ellet J. Waggoner, Bible Study. Letter to the Romans. No. 14,” *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, March 23, 1891, 213; Idem., “In Christ We Have All Things,” *ST*, April 6, 1891, 107.

handmaids of religion,” often “demand for themselves the worship which is due to God alone.”²⁰⁸

Joseph Clarke continued his contribution to the Advent movement regarding the importance of congregational singing. He discussed the continuing difficulties that plagued the Advent believers in their congregational singing. Clarke expressed his theology of music more explicitly. “How glorious, how elevating, to hear the full melody of hundreds of voices, all tuned aright, all consecrated, ascending to heaven!”²⁰⁹ Clarke desired the Advent believers to sing in unity, sing in and with the Holy Spirit, sing with understanding, and sing for the glory of God.

In a similar vein, not all Adventists knew many tunes for congregational worship. The *Church Record* of Wright, Michigan made two important decisions at its church board meeting in 1861: 1) “Resolved to send for Bro. Russell of Monterey forthwith to assist us in becoming familiar with enough tunes in our hymn book in order that the singing part of worship be improved,” and 2) “Realized that Bro. Russell be paid for his assistance in singing from the Church fund.”²¹⁰ These resolutions are significant. First, they indicate that not many were familiar with the tunes that had been published in the 1855 hymnbook. They desired more variety in their worship services. This would improve the singing part of the worship. They also understood that singing was a *part* of worship. We can infer from this that they understood Scripture, prayer, and preaching

²⁰⁸ [Uriah Smith], “Amusements,” *RH*, February 7, 1865, 87.

²⁰⁹ Joseph Clarke, “Congregational Singing,” *RH*, June 24, 1862, 29.

²¹⁰ Wright, Michigan Church Records, 1861, 14. A scan of this document was given to me by Stan Hickerson.

were also part of the worship. Additionally, before Adventists formally organized as a denomination in 1861, they recognized the importance of paying a musician in order to foster a more spiritual worship.

During this period, Adventists sought to select music appropriate to the liturgical order and type of liturgical service. On one occasion, a “hymn of praise” was sung, and it was “appropriate for the Sabbath morning.”²¹¹ It seems that the service began with this hymn of praise. The second comment suggests the hymn of praise contained content making it appropriate for a Sabbath morning service, as opposed to a social meeting or other kind of service. Its appropriateness may have also extended appropriately to the sermon, delivered by James White, on the subject of the seventh-day Sabbath.

Dedication of the Dime Tabernacle

A much deeper illustration of the intentional musical-liturgical theology appropriated by Seventh-day Adventist leaders may be observed in the dedication of the Battle Creek, Michigan, Dime Tabernacle in 1879. Much data remains on this important liturgical history, including the actual service bulletin, and *Review* and newspaper articles. These sources reveal a rich historical theology through the use of music. While others have considered various aspects of this history,²¹² none have examined the musical-liturgical-theological history. In order to better analyze this event, we must first consider the history of the Adventist church in Battle Creek.

²¹¹ Uriah Smith, “Celebration at Battle Creek,” *RH*, May 2, 1865, 172.

²¹² See the following notes.

The earliest Sabbatarian Adventists arrived in Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1852.²¹³ In 1855, Sabbatarian Adventists transferred the *RH* office from Rochester, New York, to Battle Creek, Michigan.²¹⁴ The earliest Battle Creek Adventists gathered in the Hewitt home at 338 West Van Buren.²¹⁵

Adventists established three meetinghouses in Battle Creek. The first meetinghouse was erected in 1855 in Battle Creek, on Cass Street and the corner of Van Buren Street.²¹⁶ Two years later, the burgeoning congregation sought a larger worship space, erecting their second meetinghouse in 1857, also on Van Buren Street, just west of Cass Street.²¹⁷ John Loughborough claimed it was at this meeting house “that most of the points of order as now established among us were formulated.”²¹⁸ Order does not mean liturgical order, but church order, or organization. At this meetinghouse, the movement established the tithing system and established formal organization: they took the name Seventh-day Adventist (1860), and organized the Michigan Conference (1861) and the General Conference (1863).²¹⁹ This meetinghouse served well the Battle Creek

²¹³ Washington Gardner, *History of Calhoun County Michigan: A Narrative Account of its Historical Progress, its People, and its Principal Interests*, vol. 1 (New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1913), 403.

²¹⁴ James White, “The Office,” *RH*, September 4, 1855, 36; A. A. Dodge, “Meeting at Battle Creek,” *RH*, October 2, 1855, 56.

²¹⁵ Noel A. Brathwaite, “West End Settlement 1852–1863, a Reconstruction,” 2. DF 453, CAR.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 207.

²¹⁷ John N. Loughborough, “Second Seventh-day Adventist Meeting-House,” *Missionary Magazine* 13, no. 6 (June, 1901): 266, History of first four churches in Battle Creek, DF 453, CAR.

²¹⁸ Loughborough, “Second Seventh-day Adventist Meeting-House,” 267.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 267-68.

Adventists for nine years. This house of worship was sold to the AME church in 1866, allowing the Adventists to raise their third meetinghouse in 1866.²²⁰ Even though this meetinghouse seated 500, it proved too small for the rapid growth of the congregation.²²¹

In 1879, Adventism erected one of its greatest houses for worship, the “Dime” Tabernacle. It was called the Dime Tabernacle, for James White had called on each Seventh-day Adventist to give one dime, or ten cents, every month for a year, totaling \$1.20.²²² White later called upon the Battle Creek citizens to support the Dime Tabernacle project as the pledges and funds from Adventists were not coming in as hoped.²²³

Stephen Haskell presented to the General Conference session in March 1878 that “a larger house of worship in Battle Creek has become absolutely necessary.” Haskell based his argument on the increasing numbers of worshipers due to the College, Sanitarium, Publishing Office, and general meetings. The General Conference Committee carried a motion in support of Haskell’s appeal, supporting a collaborative effort between the General Conference Committee, the presidents of the different State Conferences, and

²²⁰ Gardner, *History of Calhoun County Michigan: A Narrative Account of its Historical Progress, its People, and its Principal Interests*, 403-404. Loughborough supplied the year. John N. Loughborough, “The Third Meetinghouse in Battle Creek, Mich.,” *Missionary Magazine* 13, no. 7 (July 1901): 319, History of first four churches in Battle Creek, DF 453, CAR.

²²¹ James S. White, “The Dime Tabernacle,” *RH*, July 11, 1878, 20. Some records indicated the third meetinghouse held 600 worshipers, as Smoot later described in his history of the Dime Tabernacle and its predecessors. Joseph G. Smoot, “Building the ‘Dime’ Tabernacle,” *Lake Union Herald* 71, no. 14 (April 10, 1979): 8.

²²² White, “Dime Tabernacle,” 20.

²²³ James S. White, “A Circular to the Citizens of Battle Creek, Relative to the Dime Tabernacle,” History of first four churches in Battle Creek, DF 453, CAR.

the Battle Creek building committee, to undertake “the erection of such a building as is now demanded.”²²⁴ Similarly, after the Tabernacle had been built and dedicated, Ellen White affirmed the Dime, casting her commentary in the context of worship. “In order to accommodate the students at the College, the patients at the Sanitarium, the laborers at the Office, and the large number of worshipers constantly coming in from abroad, the erection of this spacious house of worship was a positive necessity.”²²⁵ The Tabernacle seated 3000 worshipers.

On March 6, 1879, James White published a special notice in the *Review* advertising that the General Conference would run from March 27–31, with a dedication of the Tabernacle on Sabbath, March 29.²²⁶ Two weeks later, the General Conference Committee postponed the session until April 17–21, “because Bro. and Sister White cannot well be present before that time.”²²⁷ Just above that notice, James White gave his own reason: “We like the climate in winter [in Texas].”²²⁸ James White was in Texas on a “cattle-drive.”²²⁹ To be precise, White was busy buying and selling buffalo, wildcat

²²⁴ “Business Proceedings of the Third Special Session of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, March 1, 1878, Fifth Session, Meeting-house in Battle Creek,” in *General Conference Session Minutes from 1863 to 1888*, 122, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://documents.adventistarchives.org/Periodicals/GCSessionBulletins/GCB1863-88.pdf>.

²²⁵ Ellen G. White, “The Holidays,” *RH*, December 11, 1879, 189.

²²⁶ James S. White, “Special Notice,” *RH*, March 6, 1879, 80.

²²⁷ General Conference Committee, “Special Session of General Conference,” *RH*, March 20, 1879, 96.

²²⁸ James S. White, “Return from Texas,” *RH*, March 20, 1879, 96.

²²⁹ As Jim Nix is oft to say at the Seminary Heritage Sabbath at Battle Creek each September.

skins, other livestock, and specialty foods, seeking to earn enough money to pay for the pledges he had made toward the Tabernacle.²³⁰

On March 20, the General Conference Committee announced the completion of the Tabernacle, inviting all the delegates to see for themselves. “It is a building plain, substantial, commodious, convenient, and every way worthy of the cause it represents. Come and see it, and judge for yourselves.”²³¹ The next three issues of the *Review* announced that a general invitation had been extended to all in the community.²³²

James White’s “Circular to the Citizens of Battle Creek” not only solicited funds to support the project, it invited them to attend the worship. In his “Circular,” he indicated that a book would be made, containing the dedicatory address and Prayer, the hymns and pieces of music sung on the occasion, and a complete record of the enterprise from the first. It appears this book was never made, or no copies have survived.

It was felt that the Seventh-day Adventists had “added something to the tax-paying population of the city” with its college, sanitarium, and publishing office.²³³ By appealing to the city to attend and invest in the project, the general invitation served as an extension of goodwill to interested readers. It likely disposed those visitors with an

²³⁰ Joseph G. Smoot, “Dedicating the ‘Dime Tabernacle,’” *Lake Union Herald* 71, no. 15 (April 17, 1979): 6. Gerald Wheeler notes that Ellen White did not approve of her husband’s entrepreneurial efforts. Wheeler, *James White*, 204.

²³¹ General Conference Committee, “Special Session of General Conference,” *RH*, March 20, 1879, 96.

²³² *Ibid.*, 96; March 27, 104; April 3, 112; April 20, 120.

²³³ James S. White, “A Circular to the Citizens of Battle Creek, Relative to the Dime Tabernacle,” DF 453, CAR, 2.

openness to the proceedings of the dedication service. The general audience in attendance and the shift from Sabbath to Sunday, allowed the service to be “evangelistic in nature, with John N. Andrews preaching the central doctrines of the church.”²³⁴ “Evangelistic” is a designation used by Joseph Smoot in 1979. The emphasis was appropriate, not only for the type of message given by J. N. Andrews, but, as we will see, in the selection of the music as well. For Adventists, holding the service on a Sunday naturally shifted the emphasis from a gathering of fellow believers in their corporate worship to the evangelistic focus on Sundays. Sabbaths were for worship; Sundays for evangelism.

The night before the dedication, the evening following Sabbath, April 19, a meeting was held with the delegates of the General Conference session. Impressed with the new meetinghouse, they gave over \$6000 toward paying off the building fund. Following the meeting, a praise service was held with testimonies; “the singing was excellent.”²³⁵

The dedication of the Tabernacle occurred on Sunday, April 20, 1879, at 2:30 pm.²³⁶ John N. Andrews reported at the General Conference session that White did not make the trip, for he had become ill, and was therefore unable to physically make the journey back to Michigan.²³⁷ Though White was not present at the dedication, his name

²³⁴ Smoot, “Dedicating the ‘Dime Tabernacle,’” 6.

²³⁵ Uriah Smith, “The Dedication,” *RH*, April 24, 1879, 132.

²³⁶ “Order of Exercises at the Dedication of the Tabernacle of the Seventh-day Adventists,” CAR.

²³⁷ “Business Proceedings of the Fourth Special Session of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Sixth Meeting, April 21, 1879,” in *General Conference Session Minutes from 1863 to 1888*, 144, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://documents.adventistarchives.org/Minutes/GCSM/GCB1863-88.pdf>.

was listed on the bulletin as pastor. He was also the current General Conference president (1874–1880).

Uriah Smith reported on the dedication. The house was packed. “Long before the hour of service the people were pouring in from every direction. They soon filled the entire floor below, filled the gallery, filled all the extra seats which were brought in and put into every available space, filled the aisles, filled the porches, perched all along the stairs which ascend from the pulpit to the gallery, and ran over into the basement.”²³⁸

Church leaders recorded 3649 people in attendance at the dedication; hundreds were turned away; others estimated 5000 were present inside or on the church’s grounds.²³⁹

This “Order of Exercises” is the only known church bulletin from Adventists during the period.²⁴⁰ Though it was not a Sabbath Divine Service and was rather oriented toward a public audience, it does offer a glimpse into liturgical practices, preferences, and a rich liturgical theology. The following is the order:

Anthem: “Hear Our Prayer,” Choir

Invocation: Alfred S. Hutchins, of Vermont

Hymn: “Waiting and Watching,” *Song Anchor*, 68

Scripture Reading, 1 Kings 8:22-61

Sidney Brownsberger, professor at Battle Creek College

Brief History: Uriah Smith, church elder

Report of Building Committee: Henry W. Kellogg, building committee chairman

Hymn: “To the Giver of all blessing” (AUTUMN)

Dedicatory Sermon: John N. Andrews, missionary to Europe

²³⁸ Uriah Smith, “The Dedication,” 132.

²³⁹ Smoot, “Dedicating the ‘Dime Tabernacle,’” 7.

²⁴⁰ The Center for Adventist Research possesses a bulletin for a Christmas Eve program held at the Dime Tabernacle on Thursday, December 24, 1885, at 7:00 pm. It was an evening of Christmas carols, hymns on Christ, readings, stories, prayers, and short message. “A Merry Christmas at the Tabernacle,” (CAR 006297). The extant copy of the “Order of Exercises” from the dedication of the Dime Tabernacle is folded in quarters. I speculate this could have been to fit it into a small pocket hymnal.

Renewal of Church Covenant: Uriah Smith
Hymn: “All things are thine” (DUKE STREET)
Dedicatory Prayer: George Butler, of Iowa
Anthem: “The Earth is the Lord’s”
Benediction: Dudley Canright, of Iowa

The dedication drew in the best musicians from Battle Creek. Sunday churches were without their choirs that afternoon. Fred Gage, a local organist, played the pump organ. C. W. Stone, a local high school teacher of business, served as chorister or song leader.²⁴¹ Holding the service on a Sabbath would have put less strain on non-Adventist musicians. The Adventist leadership likely saw this as a goodwill gesture toward the other Christian musicians in the community, for by inviting them, the leadership communicated that they valued their musicianship. The leadership also showed the value of offering the best music to God on such an occasion.

Adventist leadership embraced choirs and organs, though once decried in the earlier period. The pipe organ was placed in the center of the congregation, nine pews away from the pulpit, almost toward the back of the congregation.²⁴² This allowed the organ to sound in closest proximity to the entire congregation, holding all together in one voice.

²⁴¹ The Beginnings of Adventism in Battle Creek: Compiled from Articles Published in The Enquirer and News during the 1932 Fall Council, 14, DF 453, CAR.

²⁴² Copies of photos of the organ in the Dime Tabernacle were given to me by the late Stan Hickerson, annotations editor for the Center for Adventist Research. Stan and I speculated as to when the organ may have arrived in the Dime. The photos he gave me are not dated. Because the Battle Creek *Enquirer* mentioned Fred Gage playing the organ for the dedication, we can assume the pump organ had been with the Tabernacle from near the beginning. It possibly could have been used in one of the earlier meetinghouses as well.

The bulletin details evidence how it was an evangelistic service, beyond the details of Andrews' sermon. No hymn numbers are listed, but where possible, hymn tunes are given. Brief descriptions are given for each of the speakers. These details would not have been necessary for most Adventists present. This information was essential for the visitors, for it communicated the significance of having each of these church leaders take a role on the platform. Particularly valuable was listing Andrews as being a missionary to Europe. It communicated to the audience the far-reaching influence of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The tune names, particularly the well-known tune DUKE STREET, would have been known by all in attendance, facilitating active participation.

The two anthems, "Hear Our Prayer," and "The Earth is the Lord's," contribute a meaningful liturgical theology for the service. The first anthem opened the service with a sung invocation. This could appear redundant with the Invocation that followed, offered by Hutchins. The anthem provided an artistic and emotional experience for the congregation, helping them prepare their hearts for the worship in the liturgy. From the very beginning of the liturgy, the service is filled with ritual significance. The liturgical placement of "Hear our Prayer" indicates that the entire service was a prayer of dedication. It also points toward the liminal moment of a dedication service, the dedicatory prayer. As aforementioned, no book of the event was produced, or if it was, none have survived. What more likely happened is that Uriah Smith wrote a detailed description of the service in the *Review*, published on May 8. This likely replaced the publishing of the book.²⁴³

²⁴³ Uriah Smith, "Dedication of the Tabernacle," *RH*, May 8, 1879, 145-47, 151.

The first hymn, “Waiting and Watching,” is a text written by Sarepta M. I. Henry (1839–1900). The tune was composed by Will H. Pontius. The tune and text have always been published together.²⁴⁴ According to hymnary.org, it was first published in *Songs of Gratitude* (1877).²⁴⁵ It is included in Edson White’s *Song Anchor* (1878).²⁴⁶ The 1876 *HT*, also known as *Spiritual Songs*,²⁴⁷ would not have contained the tune. This hymn is in a 6/8 meter, in a typical lilting gospel hymn style. It is in E-flat, beginning on the fifth scale degree, and the melody contains the common gospel hymn trait of a raised fourth, a half-step neighbor-tone in the melody. The other hymns in the bulletin were given a tune name. One could not be given for this one, for no tune name is associated with it. It was also a very new composition. The worship planners likely trusted that the visitors at the dedication would hear the simple tune and be able to follow the leadership of the choir and organist. The text captures the heart of Advent message, stanza three and chorus:

O Jesus, my loving Redeemer,
Thou knowest I cherish as dear,
The hope that mine eyes shall behold thee,
That I shall thine own welcome hear.
If to some as a Judge thou appearest,
Who forth from thy presence would flee,
A Friend most beloved I’ll greet thee,

²⁴⁴ Sarepta M. I. Henry, “We Know Not the Time When He Cometh,” Hymnary.org, accessed December 14, 2017, https://www.hymnary.org/text/we_know_not_the_time_when_he_cometh.

²⁴⁵ James H. Fillmore, ed. *Songs of Gratitude: A Collection of New Songs for Sunday Schools and Worshiping Assemblies* (Cincinnati, OH: Fillmore Brothers, 1877), 88.

²⁴⁶ “Waiting and Watching,” *Song Anchor*, 68.

²⁴⁷ Hooper and White, *Companion*, 22. In 1872, James White published *Hymns and Spiritual Songs for Camp Meetings and Other Religious Gatherings*. However, in popular usage, the denominational hymnal, *Hymns and Tunes* (1876) became known as *Spiritual Songs*. In order to avoid confusion, I will include the date when discussing *Spiritual Songs* (1876), also known as *Hymns and Tunes* (1876).

I'm waiting and watching for thee.

Waiting and watching, waiting and watching,
Waiting and watching, still waiting and watching for thee.

The other two hymns were given tune names in the bulletin. The second congregational hymn, "To the Giver of All Blessing," was set to the tune, AUTUMN. *Spiritual Songs* (1876) provides the tune with the text, "Blessed Jesus, Meek and Lowly," though the hymnal provides neither hymnist nor composer.²⁴⁸ *Hymns and Tunes* later listed the tune as "SPANISH, from Marechio."²⁴⁹ In contrast, Hymnary.org lists François Barthélemon as the composer in 1785, though it notes that other hymnal editors have noted it as being adapted from Psalm 42 in the *Genevan Psalter* (1551), due to similarities in the melody.²⁵⁰ It appears that the tune, AUTUMN, may have been a known, singable tune, given its similarities to the Genevan psalm and possible date of composition. The text was original, though it bears striking similarities to William Bathurst's "To the Source of Every Blessing," from *Psalms & Hymns*, 1831.²⁵¹ The dedication hymn is as follows:

To the Giver of all blessing,
in whose strength this house we raise,
Thankfully his cause confessing,

²⁴⁸ "Blessed Jesus, Meek and Lowly," *Spiritual Songs* (1876), 462.

²⁴⁹ "Blessed Jesus, Meek and Lowly," *HT*, 501.

²⁵⁰ François H. Barthélemon, "AUTUMN," Hymnary.org, accessed, December 14, 2017, https://www.hymnary.org/tune/autumn_barthelemon. Psalm 42 in the *Genevan Psalter* is identical to FREU DICH SEHR, and likely provided the source for the later German tune. See Robin A. Leaver, *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

²⁵¹ William H. Bathurst, "To the Source of Every Blessing," Hymnary.org, accessed December 14, 2017, https://www.hymnary.org/text/to_the_source_of_every_blessing; "To the Source of Every Blessing," *Dictionary of Hymnology*, (London, 1907), 1180.

Now we lift the voice of praise;
May that eye that knows no sleeping,
Have it ever in his keeping,
Making it a beacon light,
Guiding safe to truth and right.

Hitherward, then, footsteps turning,
Long may happy Christians throng,
Here increase in sacred learning,
Here the mind and heart grow strong;
Here no withered leaves, but rather
Richest fruitage may they gather,
Guided by true wisdom's light,
In the way of truth and right.

Free alike to high and humble,
May its doors be open wide;
Never till its walls shall crumble,
Shall the poorest be denied.
Here their common blessings sharing,
While their common burden bearing,
May warm zeal their hearts unite,
In the love of truth and right.

This hymn directly followed the report of the building committee, adding liturgical significance to the phrase, “In whose strength this house we raise.” In contrast fashion, the text added significance to the liturgy, casting the dedication in the light of praise. The dedication of the Dime testified in song that the mission of the church be a “beacon of light, guiding safe to truth and right,” even as the Tabernacle’s “doors be open wide” that very moment to the various faith traditions present.

Uriah Smith retold in the *Review* several details that were not included in the “Order of Exercises.” Following the dedicatory sermon given by J. N. Andrews, Smith led the congregation in a “Renewal of the Church Covenant.” Smith appealed to “all S.

D. Adventists present” to dedicate themselves to this covenant, to “manifest it by rising.”²⁵²

Curiously, Smith omitted a description of the singing of “All Things are Thine” in his description in the *Review*. The hymn, we can be sure, was sung that day. The transcription of Butler’s dedicatory prayer that follows reveals a liturgical dissonance without the hymn. Butler began his prayer, “O Lord God of hosts, we bow down before Thee as worshipers on this occasion.”²⁵³ Would he have said “we bow down” when they were still standing at Smith’s appeal? No.

A more likely series of liturgical events occurred. Smith appealed to the Adventists to stand as a sign of their renewal of the church covenant. Upon their rising, the organist and choir led the congregation in singing the rousing hymn, “All Things are Thine,” set to DUKE STREET.²⁵⁴ The tune was composed by John Hatton in 1793, most often accompanying “Jesus Shall Reign Where E’er the Sun” in American hymnals.²⁵⁵ Millar Patrick wrote regarding the tune, “What vigour you have in it!—what magnificent movement, what superb curves, every line soaring, subsiding, like the flight of a bird!”²⁵⁶ The soaring tune matched the rising hearts of the congregation as they recommitted

²⁵² Uriah Smith, “The Dedication of the Tabernacle,” 151.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ It was the first page of music, coupled with the second hymn in the current hymnal. “Before Jehovah’s Awful Throne,” *Spiritual Songs*, 6.

²⁵⁵ John R. Watson, “John Hatton,” *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.hymnology.co.uk/j/john-hatton>.

²⁵⁶ Millar Patrick, “Music in Hymnody,” *Hymn Society Occasional Paper*, First Series, no. 3, July 1945, 7.

themselves to the Lord. Following the hymn and congregation still standing, it is likely that Butler took the rostrum and invited the congregation to now kneel for the dedication prayer. He concluded with a plea for consecration:

O God, help us to really consecrate ourselves to Thee and to Thy work. Help us to be humble, and may none of the means of grace which we have in this house ever cause us to be puffed up in pride, but make us humble, and give us grateful hearts to Thee. May those who worship here ever welcome all who may come to worship with them. Help us to be an humble, godly people, to be a sacrificing people, to be a pure and holy people; help us to do Thy work here, and at last accept us all in the kingdom of God, for Christ's sake. Amen.

Smith did not mention the closing choral anthem, "The Earth is the Lord's," in his description in the *Review*. As a response to Butler's stirring prayer of thanksgiving and consecration, the words of Psalm 24 would have struck a chord. Having been named the "tabernacle," the allusions of the psalm heighten the meaning of the prayer. In 24:3, the psalmist writes, "Who may ascend into the hill of the Lord? And who may stand in His holy place?" The verse alludes to the doctrine of the sanctuary, a theme Adventists knew intimately. The following verses brought great assurance that God had blessed this tabernacle as a house of worship. "He who has clean hands and a pure heart. . . . He shall receive a blessing from the Lord" (vs. 4-5). Their prayer had been heard, and the congregation could leave in peace and full confidence that God would bless their new house of worship. The choral anthem provided assurance and worshipful response to Butler's prayer.

The dedication of the Dime Tabernacle offers a glimpse into the liturgical thinking of the denomination's leaders. Music played an integral role in the liturgy of dedication, bringing emotional and theological expression for the congregation. The music guided the liturgical theology, beginning with the choral introit to the choral

response after the dedicatory prayer. Music offered verbal expression to the implicit meanings of the various ritual acts. Thus, music played an integral role in the spiritual identity at the Dime Tabernacle and the worshipers therein.

Following the dedication of the Dime Tabernacle, the flagship meetinghouse continued to further establish Adventist liturgical time. According to the *Membership* record book of the Dime, the Sabbath liturgy was held at 10:45 am. The ordinances of the Lord's Supper and footwashing were held four times a year, at the close of every quarter.²⁵⁷ The meeting time for the divine service and the frequency of the ordinances thus became established in the tradition of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. However, unlike present-day liturgical practice, late nineteenth century Adventists held footwashing and the Lord's Supper on Saturday evening and not during the 10:45 divine service.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church Manual, 1883

The 1880s and 90s reveal a period of liturgical refinement in which the church leadership began to seek clarity on its liturgical practices. Even the liturgical order for Sabbath Schools began to be evaluated.²⁵⁸ In particular, the why and how of the divine service developed as well. In this period, the first attempt for a book of church discipline

²⁵⁷ *Membership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church of Battle Creek, Michigan* (Battle Creek, MI, 1890), 90. The quarterly frequency for the Lord's Supper stems from Ulrich Zwingli's (1484–1531) reforms in the early sixteenth century. "The Lord's Supper was to be celebrated only on the great Christian festivals—Christmas, Easter, Pentecost—and on the patronal festival of Zurich, Sts. Felix and Regula (September 11—days on which the people normally communed." White, *Protestant Worship*, 62.

²⁵⁸ President Olsen put forth a proposal for a presentation on the mission work of the church at Sabbath School to follow the reading of the minutes. Ole A. Olsen, "President's Address," *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, October 21, 1889, 22.

among Seventh-day Adventists emerged, though it was never published. It was first drafted by Dudley M. Canright (1840–1919).²⁵⁹ Such a book of church order became known among Adventists as *The Church Manual*. According to Wolcott H. Littlejohn (1834–1916), the General Conference had requested Canright to prepare a church manual. However, his manuscript covered more ground than was desired, resulting in a later conference committee asking Littlejohn to publish an extensive revision. His revision appeared in the *Review* for eighteen consecutive weeks in advance of a General Conference session.²⁶⁰

Littlejohn began with a definition of the church that included the purpose of worship. “A Christian church is an assembly of persons who believe in the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ, and who have voluntarily associated themselves together for the purpose of maintaining his worship.”²⁶¹ Littlejohn stressed the importance of assembling together frequently and regularly for worship on Sabbath, and as often as possible if one lives a great distance away. Worshiping together brought unity. He also spoke of “benefits of worship” and gathering together in order to “participate regularly in the ordinances of the Lord’s house,” suggesting the Lord’s Supper.²⁶²

²⁵⁹ I am indebted to my friend and classmate, Kevin Burton, for his insights into the early efforts of Adventists for a church manual. Kevin M. Burton, “Wolcott Hackley Littlejohn: Defender of the Faith,” *Andrews University Seminary Student Journal* 1, no. 1 (2015): 98.

²⁶⁰ Wolcott H. Littlejohn, “Explanation,” *RH*, June 5, 1883, 368.

²⁶¹ [Wolcott H. Littlejohn], “The S. D. A. Church Manual,” *RH*, June 5, 1883, 361.

²⁶² Wolcott H. Littlejohn, “The Church Manual,” *RH*, June 12, 1883, 378. Ordination was required for the administration of these ordinances. The General Conference voted on November 24, 1879, at the Twelfth Meeting of the Eighteenth Annual Session of the General Conference that only those ordained could administer the ordinances: “None but those who are Scripturally ordained are properly qualified to administer baptism and other ordinances.” “Ordination,” *General Conference Bulletin, General Conference Session Minutes (GCB), 1863–88*, 162, <http://docs.adventistarchives.org/docs/GCB/GCB1863->

Littlejohn articulated a common Sabbath liturgy when the Lord's Supper would be observed, proceeding thusly: Morning worship with sermon, social meeting at 4 pm; another meeting in the evening with sermon, followed by the ordinances of the Lord's Supper.²⁶³ Just as Christ needed to sing a song following the upper room communion, so do we. "The human heart is relieved in song."²⁶⁴ Singing a hymn following communion tended to be common practice, then the worshipers would go out from the meeting house.²⁶⁵

Littlejohn recommended a detailed liturgy for various church meetings, though curiously, never for the divine service. For our purposes, it is significant that his first admonition is to, "Let the meeting be opened with singing and prayer."²⁶⁶ Services were often ended with singing as well.

88.pdf#view=fit. Two years later, on December 5, 1881, at the Fifth Meeting of the General Conference Annual Session, the leadership "RESOLVED, That females possessing the necessary qualifications to fill that position, may, with perfect propriety, be set apart by ordination to the work of the Christian ministry." "Fifth Meeting," *GCB, 1863–88*, 197.

²⁶³ Charles G. Satterlee, "From Bro. Satterlee," *RH*, March 29, 1864, 143.

²⁶⁴ Frank Peabody, "That Hymn," *RH*, July 24, 1883, 467.

²⁶⁵ Mary F. Maxson, "From Sister Maxson," *RH*, February 1864, 95.

²⁶⁶ Wolcott H. Littlejohn, "The Church Manual," *RH*, June 19, 1883, 393. He concludes the service, admonishing the members to "bow down and unite with the minister in offering an earnest prayer to God that his blessing may rest upon [the organizing church], and that his Spirit may guide its members in patterns of usefulness and holiness." He further asserts that members who are not baptized, should be tended to, and notes that it is "very desirable" to celebrate the Lord's Supper and foot washing before the minister departs from that place. Littlejohn instructed to begin an election meeting, ordination service, church trials, and baptisms the same, with singing and prayer. "The Church Manual," *RH*, July 10, 1883, 442; "The Church Manual," *RH*, July 17, 1883, 458; "Church Manual," *RH*, August 14, 1883, 521. For baptisms, he instructed: "Upon reaching the water, the singers should be gathered together in one place. They should sing a hymn at the commencement, and another at the close, of the exercises, and occasionally an appropriate verse while the minister is leading the candidates into and out of the water." "Church Manual," *RH*, August 21, 1883, 538. Littlejohn applied the same liturgy for church quarterly meetings. "The Church Manual," *RH*, August 28, 1883, 553-54. Amidst church business, he called for the celebration of the ordinances at these quarterly meetings. Again, he called for singing hymns at funerals, but curiously does not give the instruction for weddings. "The Church Manual," *RH*, September 4, 1883, 570. Also of

Littlejohn instructed that the Sabbath should be for “more than mere rest. . . . The mind should be exercised in religious contemplation and worship.”²⁶⁷ In a similar vein, J. P. Henderson used *Webster’s Dictionary* to define worship as “Reverence with supreme respect; performing acts of adoration or religious service.” He included in these acts, which we would call liturgy, the following: “Prayer is a service indiscriminately rendered by all worshipers. . . . Baptism shows our special faith in Christ, so also the communion services. . . . [But] our ‘worship’ largely consists in keeping a rest day”—the seventh-day Sabbath.²⁶⁸

The 1880s brought a period of reflection upon liturgical practices and their meaning for the worshiper. Canright and Littlejohn’s attempts to bring uniformity to Adventist liturgical theology demonstrate active thinking in the realm of liturgy and liturgical theology. Twenty years removed from formal establishment as a church, leaders continued their trepidation toward an institutionalized order of service. While these recommendations seem to be more descriptive of current practices, rather than prescriptive, these patterns continued into the future.²⁶⁹ These developments suggest an early shift toward fundamentalism, for legislating an order of service would naturally

note, but beyond our scope here, Littlejohn recommended that the elder should “preside at all . . . religious meetings of the church.” Wolcott H. Littlejohn, “The Church Manual,” *RH*, June 26, 1883, 409.

²⁶⁷ Wolcott H. Littlejohn, “Sleeping on the Sabbath,” *RH*, August 21, 1883, 538.

²⁶⁸ J. P. Henderson, “Worship God,” *RH*, June 19, 1883, 387.

²⁶⁹ “The meeting of the Conference on the afternoon of November 21 was opened at 3 o’clock by singing a hymn. Prayer was offered by Elder Henry Nicola.” “Afternoon,” *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, November 20, 1887, 19; “Afternoon,” *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, November 25, 1887, 36. Music and singing concluded a Friday evening meeting. H. P. Holser, “The Work in Russia,” *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, March 11, 1891, 73.

forbid those practices that did not follow the set pattern, as well as become normative for the church at large.

Seventh-day Adventist Music in Worship

In this section, we will consider five categories for how Seventh-day Adventists utilized music in their cultivation of spirituality. First, we examine how Adventists connected music to their spiritual discipleship. Second, the development of gospel music and its varied reception by Adventists is considered. Third, we look at the musical expression and liturgical theology manifest by Black Adventists, as well as the White descriptions of Black worship. The fourth section brings rich expressions of the Sabbath, Scripture, comfort, and a love for Jesus. Finally, the last section brings the chapter full-circle, revealing an enduring commitment to the pillar doctrine of the second coming. This advent hope buoyed spirits through everyday life until life's end.

Music and Spiritual Discipleship

Adventists occasionally sent in hymns to the *Review*, when they were “happy in singing it,” and when it may “cheer the hearts of other lone pilgrims.”²⁷⁰ Hymnody tied together distant believers. Hymnody was also a tool in discipleship and evangelism, where no other method would reach the heart.²⁷¹

Horace Hastings endeavored to publish tracts with the latest and best spiritual content to support Adventists and non-sectarians. He was reported to have “multitudes”

²⁷⁰ [Uriah Smith], “This Week’s Review,” *RH*, February 1866, 80; [Uriah Smith], “Redemption,” *RH*, November 14, 1865, 185.

²⁷¹ Cora Osborne, “Remarks,” *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, March 23, 1891, 211.

of sermons, hymns, and tunes that would foster victorious Christian living and herald the “glad tidings of the grace of God.” He included hymns and music with the sermons, exhortations, and expositions of Scripture. The poetry and music, some of which he himself composed, promoted and established the faith just as importantly as would the other media.²⁷²

The church valued congregational singing over that of professionals and singing by proxy.²⁷³ Singing was on par with praying, repenting, believing, and hoping. To worship God corporately demands that the individual actively sing. Furthermore, the common tendency of the nineteenth century was to bring in professionals to take the place of the congregation in their privilege of song. In contrast, Ellet J. Waggoner decried the musical practice at the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City, Utah: “The organ in the tabernacle is said to be the second largest in the world, and the music and singing were really fine. The singing was done by a large choir of trained singers, and the congregation did not join.”²⁷⁴ Singing was to be done by the entire priesthood of all believers.

Alonzo T. Jones understood the significance of hymnody and congregational song. He proposed a Bible training course for 1888, to “drill” pastors in “reading . . . hymns.” He believed this practical training would equip them to be “efficient in the

²⁷² Horace L. Hastings, “A New Enterprise,” *RH*, February 20, 1866, 95.

²⁷³ At a revival in Cleveland, Ohio, it was reported, “‘The effect of this congregational singing has been marked. No solo singing could compare with it for moving power.’ This will be found always to be the case. Solo singing has no rightful place in the worship of God. We love to hear a vocal artist, merely as an artist, but praise is a part of worship that cannot be done by proxy. ‘Praise Him, all ye people.’” Ellet J. Waggoner, “Back Page,” *ST*, Mary 12, 1887, 286.

²⁷⁴ Ellet J. Waggoner, “At the Seat of Mormondom,” *ST*, November 18, 1886, 694.

work.”²⁷⁵ Adventists valued singers with beautiful, high-quality voices, who belonged in “God’s great multitudinous choir.” A beautiful voice must be shared, otherwise the person did not “deserve a seat in church, or the feast of a good sermon.” Put even more strongly, such persons would be “ashamed to sing in heaven if they were too indolent, or too fastidious to sing in the earthly temples of God’s praise.”²⁷⁶

Seventh-day Adventists intimately linked music to their spiritual identity. Music promoted discipleship by creating joy in the Christian experience, creating unity, and aiding evangelism. Adventists viewed music on par with other spiritual media such as Scripture and sermons. Cultivating singing in worship was an indispensable expression of the priesthood of all believers.

Opposing Views on Gospel Music

George Colcord, first president of the Upper Columbia Conference (1880–1884), attributed his interest in the Advent message to the attraction of “good music” at the lectures given by John Loughborough.²⁷⁷ Unfortunately, Colcord did not expound on what “good music” meant. Good could mean quality, beauty, or morality. In his *Defense of Elder James White and Wife: Vindication of Their Moral and Christian Character*, Uriah Smith defended the music used at the Battle Creek church and the counsel of Ellen White. “No songs of a kind deemed immoral have ever been used [at Battle Creek], but

²⁷⁵ The course covered church history, public speaking, writing sermons, note taking, writing articles, and study of the Scriptures. Alonzo T. Jones, “Plan of Biblical Course for 1888,” *ST*, December 15, 1887, 760.

²⁷⁶ Theodore L. Cuyler, “A Christian’s Right Place,” *RH*, August 25, 1863, 98.

²⁷⁷ George W. Colcord, “Dear Brethren and Sisters,” *RH*, February 21, 1865, 103.

simply those of a chaffy, frivolous character. These are what Sr. White so sharply censures, and which are now, we believe, laid aside by all our people.”²⁷⁸ In this context, good music means that which is not of a frivolous character and explicitly immoral. Positively stated, good music would be that which is composed of solemn or serious nature, with morally enriching content. Even so, such an understanding does not address all the issues relating to terming some music good, though these contexts illuminate the usage.

E. J. Waggoner republished an article from the *Congregationalist*, October 20, 1887, by Professor Pratt of Harford Theological Seminary. Waggoner viewed this as an “excellent article” on “The Selection of Hymn Tunes.” Pratt’s article compares the differences between “sacred music” and music of a “frivolous or rollicking mood.” Such music did not belong in the church. Pratt’s philosophy centers on association, as he labels those kind of songs as the “devil’s tunes.” He saw the churches adopting these tunes in their Sunday and Sabbath schools and in their worship services.

Now we don’t believe a word of the statement that “the devil has the best tunes.” He has the best tunes for his purpose, but not for the Lord’s work. Satan could not use the tunes which are charged full of reverent devotion, such as Old Hundred, Rock of Ages, Coronation, Ortonville, Ames, Dundee, Day, Boylston, Dennis, and scores of similar ones. These wouldn’t serve the devil’s purpose at all. They don’t have the jingle that he wants; there is worship in them.²⁷⁹

Below are the hymn tunes listed by Pratt, the composer, date, and common hymn text associated with the tune:

²⁷⁸ Uriah Smith, *The Defense of Elder James White and Wife: Vindication of Their Moral and Christian Character* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1870), 84-85.

²⁷⁹ Ellet J. Waggoner, “Back Page,” *ST*, November 3, 1887, 663.

OLD HUNDREDTH, Louis Bourgeois, 1551; “Doxology”; *HT*: 1, 256
TOPLADY, Thomas Hastings, 1830; “Rock of Ages”; *HT*: 1114
CORONATION, Oliver Holden, 1793; “All Hail the Power”; *HT*: 111
ORTONVILLE, Hastings, 1837; (Various hymns); *HT*: 120, 179
AMES, Sigismund Neukomm, b. 1778, d. 1858; (Various hymns); *HT*: 47
DUNDEE, Thomas Ravenscroft, 1621; (Various hymns); *HT*: 74, 755
DAY, no information available on hymnary.org; *HT*: 191, 732
BOYLSTON, Lowell Mason, 1832; (Various hymns); *HT*: 151, 558
DENNIS, Johann G. Nægeli, b. 1773, d. 1836; “Blest Be the Tie”; *HT*: 688, 1086

Most of these tunes demonstrate restraint in their rhythm and melodic movement. Only TOPLADY has dotted rhythms. These tunes come from the Protestant tradition and the older generation of American hymnody. All the tunes could be found in the 1886 *HT*.

Pratt explained more clearly as to what kind of frivolous music was creeping into the churches:

It is true that the hand-organ tunes that have become so popular as “Gospel” hymns, take with the people, and awaken a great deal of enthusiasm. But the enthusiasm is of the same nature as that inspired by a lively waltz, and is not real religious fervor. It is that sort of good feeling that characterizes the members of the Salvation Army, and which the devil would fain have men believe is religious.²⁸⁰

The gospel music which Pratt decried was the music of Ira Sankey. It was also the same kind of music that was being composed and promulgated by Frank Belden, and which would become so popular in Adventism with Belden’s 1908 *Christ in Song*. We examine this issue much further in Chapter 5. Nonetheless, we can see that Pratt and Waggoner understood that music affected the listener. They did not understand that the listener’s culture also influenced the psychophysiological effect. Culture and experience shape musical tastes, resulting in strong cultural associations with certain music.

²⁸⁰ Quoted by Ellet J. Waggoner, “Back Page,” *ST*, November 3, 1887, 663.

Each of these tunes developed out of a cultural milieu. These tunes had become normative for Waggoner, Pratt, and countless others. The new tunes appeared to derive from the worldly style and were termed the devil's tunes. Over time, however, most Adventists would come to associate these devilish tunes with the sacred, resisting the return to the older restrained style sought in the 1941 *Church Hymnal*. Again, this will be developed more in Chapter 5. We can see already in the 1880s musical-cultural-theological ideas sprouting that come to fruition in the twentieth century.

During this period, due to the lack of local church bulletins, the *General Conference Daily Bulletin* provides the best glimpse of musical spirituality among the Adventist leadership. As was already the case in Littlejohn's *Church Manual*, hymn singing and prayer most often comprised a liturgical unit to begin services.

A rather unusual liturgical pattern appears at a business session in 1888, in which two hymns are sung, with a prayer in between. A sermon and "remarks" serve as bookends to the meeting. Those who gathered "listened with interest and profit" to a sermon about missionary efforts. Then they sang "Life's Harvest,"²⁸¹ prayed, and sang a second song, *HT*, 1317, entitled, "Are You Doers of the Word?" Stephen N. Haskell (1833–1922) followed the singing with principled "remarks" for successful ministry.²⁸² Of note, "Life's Harvest" may have been common among Adventists, due to the casual

²⁸¹ This could be a tune name: LIFE'S HARVEST. Hymnary.org commonly lists the tune with the text, "Ho! Reapers of Life's Harvest." Isaac B. Woodbury, "Ho! Reapers of Life's harvest," Hymnary.org, accessed December 14, 2017, https://hymnary.org/text/ho_reapers_of_lifes_harvest_why_stand_wi. A possible Adventist text used may have been the one submitted by Angeline M. A. Cornell, "Time is Fleeting," *RH*, June 20, 1865, 22.

²⁸² "The International Tract and Missionary Society," *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, October 22, 1888, 9.

reference given in the *Daily Bulletin*. The spoken word began and ended the service, with singing in the middle.

A more typical pattern may be observed in three conferences, spanning from 1889 to 1893. The *General Conference Daily Bulletin* provides hymn numbers corresponding to the hymns in the newly published *HT*. These selections reveal details of style preferences, revealing trends in worship behaviors and liturgical theology. See Appendix A for a spreadsheet of all the hymns, hymn numbers, hymnists, tune names, composers, year composed, date sung, and any other special notes. At the General Conference session, from October 18 to November 5, 1889, twelve hymns are recorded as having been sung.²⁸³ Five of these hymns are in the gospel style, two English, two fusing tunes, one French reformed, one Scottish or Shaker, and one by Lowell Mason following the European tradition. The International Tract Society met on March 6–25, 1891, recording eight hymns in the proceedings.²⁸⁴ Of these eight hymns, six are in the gospel style, one is English, and the other in the style of Mason. At the International Sabbath-School Association, held from February 18 to March 6, 1893, three hymns are recorded.²⁸⁵ Two are gospel hymns; one is a spiritual.

Adventists held varying views toward “good” music during the period. Some felt that only the music of the American and European tradition was of such quality as worthy

²⁸³ “General Conference Proceedings,” *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, October 18–November 6, 1889, 2, 9, 15, 31, 107, 122, 132, 133, 139, 151, 155. Two hymns are listed on pages 132 and 139.

²⁸⁴ “International Tract Society Proceedings,” *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, March 6–25, 1891, 10, 27, 54, 118, 132, 207, 248, 249.

²⁸⁵ “International Sabbath-School Association Proceedings,” *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, February 20–March 7, 1893, 302, 424, 492.

of praise to God. As such, the contemporary expression of gospel music was frowned upon. Some labeled this “the devil’s music” for it was associated with the frivolous. While some Adventists decried popular gospel hymnody, at the major church gatherings, leaders selected the most common style of congregational song, gospel hymns. Adventist leaders, however, actively embraced all musical styles, spanning White and Black spirituals, European and American heritage, and the contemporary forms of both high Protestantism (such as Lowell Mason) and gospel hymnody.

Praising in Black and White

Protestant hymnody was used not only among Whites, but also Blacks. Black American use of music in their liturgy speaks to their profound understanding of worship amidst oppression.

Blacks and Whites worshiped together in the North. Believers in other denominations took note when the wall of partition had been crossed at the Dime Tabernacle:

In a visit to the Tabernacle Sabbath school, a short time since, we were pleased to see among the happy, smiling faces of the little ones, a class of colored children, who had been gathered in by their teacher, E. W. Darling. We are glad to see now and then persons who are not afraid to step over the wall or partition which seems to exist between the colored people and the whites, and place both where they should be, on an equal footing, with the same rights and privileges.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁶ “West End Notes,” *The Sunday Morning Call*, April 12, 1885, 1 [CAR 006297].

James White published an account of an evening religious service of “contrabands,” former slaves who had escaped their Southern owners. Their invocation was sung, using the hymn, “Come Thou Fount of Every Blessing.”²⁸⁷ The account read:

Some one of the crowd, with a clear sweet voice, led off, with,
“Come dou fount ob ebery bressin,
Tune my heart to sing dy praise.”
Soon the dear old tune and its hallowed associations touched the heart, and then the words,
“Teach me some melodious sonnet
Sung by flaming tongues above,”
were carried by a volume of melody—on the night air, with too much soul and fervor to allow a thought about negro pronunciation.

At the end of the singing, Old Jack, presumably the preacher, gave a Word on the text, “Whar de chillum of Izzul was tryin to leab delan of Egyp, when de hole tan [town] was dark, so dark dat you could take hold ob it, an feel um like de black clof on de coffin, but de chillum of Izzal had light in dardwellin.”²⁸⁸

These worshipers understood liturgy to begin with invocation, the calling of God to be present among them. They accomplished this prayer by singing “Come Thou Fount.” As they tuned their voices in music, they sought that God would “tune” the melody of their hearts to not be mere liturgy, but praise. The last quoted phrase also alludes to an appeal for the Holy Spirit to direct their worship, “sung to flaming tongues above.” This prayer song prepared the hearts for the relevant message by Old Jack. His

²⁸⁷ “Come, Thou Fount of Every Blessing,” *Sabbath Lute*, 22.

²⁸⁸ “A Negro Preacher’s View,” *RH*, May 10, 1864, 191. The next year, another article was published on the topic of Black worship centered on gratitude to God for deliverance from bondage. By now, the Civil War had ended (May 9, 1865). This service followed the same order: opening of worship with a hymn, sermon, and a closing prayer in the style of a song of praise. “The Contraband’s Gratitude,” *RH*, October 3, 1865, 139.

message resonated with the worshipers, for as the Israelites left the land of Egypt, so too had they left the American South. To be fearful as contraband would be understandable. The Scripture admonished them to take hope, for they too could have the light of God.

The singing of “Come Thou Fount” not only functioned as a preliminary to the liminal preaching of the Word, it also promoted their spirituality. Though in exodus from the Egypt of the South, the hymn admonished them to praise God amidst their oppression. Like Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, no matter the circumstances of racism—whether kneeling for prayer, or “the great moral of the awful [Civil] war [. . . and . . .] the sin of oppression”—having right attitude and relationship with God came first. Jones had said, “Wait until prayer is over.” The contrabands valued praise over oppression.

From the viewpoint of the present day, the “negro speech” appears prejudiced and derogatory, as published from a White perspective of those writing in the accounts, and the White editors of the *Review*. These White Christians no doubt loved the Blacks in the accounts. However, they also approached the “contrabands” from the vantage point of White privilege. Presenting the language of Blacks in such a stylized manner, nearing a foreign language, casts Blacks squarely in the camp of the Other.

It is interesting to note that this account did not mention Black worshipers singing spirituals. In this account, they sang from the White tradition. One can be certain the oral tradition of the spirituals continued to this point. However, by the 1890s, some White churches sang the “plantation melodies.”²⁸⁹ However, one record reveals strong prejudice

²⁸⁹ Alonzo T. Jones, “Back Page,” *American Sentinel*, August 3, 1893, 248.

against such tunes. At a Campbellite camp meeting, one noted, “Between the sessions of the convention, and late in the evening, the cooks and waiters entertain themselves and other lovers of the banjo and plantation songs with mirth and music.” Waggoner gave comment to this music. “Is not this a . . . ‘strange mixture of religion and pleasure’? For the cooks, waiters, and ‘other lovers of the banjo and plantation songs,’ ‘mirth and music;’ for the devout, hymns, purse, and sermons! Surely such sandwiches are well-pleasing to the enemy of all righteousness.”²⁹⁰ Not all Adventists demonstrated an openness to the Black spirituals. The White Adventist leadership reflected their cultural milieu of White privilege.

Experience of Music in Worship

Believers wrote to the *Review* with words of encouragement for others, ending their letters by quoting a hymn.²⁹¹ Hymnody provided the beauty of lyric expression of the heart, where prose failed to communicate. Sarah Doud wrote to the *Review* sharing a report of many choosing to keep all the commandments of God, including the seventh-day Sabbath. As she wrote, she tried to express her faith in the Sabbath. In the end she states, “I cannot express my mind better than by referring to the hymn found on p. 437 of our book, especially the last four lines which read:

²⁹⁰ Ellet J. Waggoner, “Back Page,” *ST*, October 5, 1888, 608.

²⁹¹ L. E. Millne, “Precious Jesus,” *RH*, April 17, 1866, 155; Ellet J. Waggoner, “A Present Salvation,” *The Present Truth* [UK], May 18, 1893, 143; Idem., “Back Page,” *The Present Truth* [UK], August 17, 1893, 320; Idem., “Front Page,” *The Present Truth* [UK], November 9, 1893, 497. In the last citation, Waggoner discusses the biblical allusions to Martin Luther’s hymn, “Ein feste Burg ist Unser Gott” (A Mighty Fortress is Our God). The hymn is not in *HT* but does appear in the 1908 *Christ in Song*, no. 681. Given that this periodical was for the United Kingdom, Adventists in that region likely knew of this common Protestant hymn.

Then give me my Bible and let me obey it,
Instead of the statutes and doctrines of men;
Aside for a moment, forbid I should lay it,
To listen and argue for dogmas again.”²⁹²

Elvira Nutting urged others not to be discouraged if prayers are not answered immediately. “Our heavenly Father knows what is best for us. I love to read and think of the good hymn which says,

Prayer is appointed to convey,
The blessings God designs to give;
Long as they live should Christians pray,
They learn to pray when first they live.”²⁹³

On one occasion, after celebrating the Lord’s Supper, the worshipers sang a hymn, as was common to do. However, instead of going out from the worship place, the worshipers remained, “while the stillness of [Christ’s] death rested upon us.” This quietness was finally broken when they began singing a “song of Zion.” Mary Maxson felt that “the language of every heart seemed to be,

Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee;
E’en though it be a cross
That raiseth me.”²⁹⁴

²⁹² Sarah A. Doud, “From Sister Doud,” *RH*, May 15, 1866, 191. “The Family Bible,” *Hymns* (1861), 437.

²⁹³ Elvira A. Nutting, “From Sister Nutting,” *RH*, January 1864, 54; “Prayer is Appointed to Convey,” *Hymns* (1855), 253; *Hymns* (1861), 160.

²⁹⁴ Mary F. Maxson, “From Sister Maxson,” *RH*, February 16, 1864, 95; “Nearer, My God, to Thee,” *Sabbath Lute*, 6.

It is unclear whether they sang this hymn or a different song of Zion. Maxson's word choice suggests this hymn text captured the "language of every heart." This season of worship and fellowship left all with the "feeling that the chain of love had been drawn around us more closely than ever before, binding our hearts together in the holy bonds of Christian fellowship."²⁹⁵ Corroborating the evidence from H. L. Doty's letter to the *Review*, "Nearer My God to Thee" espoused the common spirituality of Adventists in the 1860s. "The general feeling of the little church here is expressed in the hymn 'Nearer My God to Thee.'"²⁹⁶

The *Review* published a story about two "mothers in Israel" conversing with a pastor. One gave fluent testimony of her religious experience. The other could not find the words to express her faith. With tears in her eyes she replied,

"I cannot tell how I feel, the words don't come, but here is a hymn which will speak for me, and from out the faded and worn leaves of her pocket-book she took a bit of paper bearing the marks of constant use; her friend opened it, and not without emotion, read:

Just as I am, without one plea,
But that Thy blood was shed for me,
And that Thou bid'st me come to Thee,
O Lamb of God, I come, I come.²⁹⁷

"Yes, that's it," she said, smiling through her tears, "Just as I am."²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Maxson, "From Sister Maxson," 95.

²⁹⁶ H. L. Doty, "The Cause in Michigan," *RH*, May 31, 1864, 3.

²⁹⁷ The hymn had not yet been published in Adventist hymnals.

²⁹⁸ "Just as I Am," *RH*, October 4, 1864, 152. See also Ellet J. Waggoner, "Back Page," *ST*, September 29, 1890, 504.

The piece of paper on which the hymn was written reveals it bore constant use. The elderly woman had sung this hymn countless times, carrying this hymn with her wherever she went, using it whenever she needed it. The hymn brought her much comfort and communion with her Savior. The experience of singing the hymn rooted her spirituality.

Music and the Second Coming

Readers of the *Review* continued to write in, seeking to encourage other fellow believers not to waste their time and lives on earthly things, but to live for the future. Alfred Hutchins wrote the *Review*, encouraging believers to draw their hearts “upward to God, his dear Son and holy angels, to heaven and heavenly things.” He sought to lift their spirits, that if they believed the blessed hope, then they could “talk of the exceeding great and precious promises,” and playing music and joining the “songs of the Redeemed.”²⁹⁹ After speaking of heaven, Hutchins cites a hymn, declaring,

Beautiful rest, all wanderings cease,
Beautiful home of perfect peace.

The text comes from the hymn “Beautiful Zion, Built Above.”³⁰⁰ Soon thereafter, he quoted another hymn, saying:

Thro’ all eternity to thee,
A joyful song I’ll raise;
But O, eternity’s too short
To utter all Thy praise.

²⁹⁹ Alfred S. Hutchins, “Something to Talk About,” *RH*, June 17, 1862, 21.

³⁰⁰ “Beautiful Zion, Built Above,” *Hymns* (1861), 382.

This text is stanza five from the hymn, “When All Thy Mercies, O My God!”³⁰¹ These allusions suggest a strong connection between Hutchin’s faith and spirituality as expressed through music. Music helped shape and intensify Hutchin’s hope in the second coming, especially heaven.

Julia Dayton found expression for her admonition in the second and third stanzas of the hymn, “O Where Shall Rest Be Found”:

This world can never give
The bliss for which we sigh.
Its fairest glories shortest live,
And all its pleasures die.

Beyond this vale of tears
There is a life above,
Unmeasured by the flight of years,
And all that life is love.³⁰²

Church members took note when worship services blessed them. Jotham Aldrich wrote to the *Review*, to testify “that the religious exercises of all the meetings during the Conference [at Adams’ Center, New York] were of a highly interesting character.”³⁰³ Aldrich gave commentary on the preaching, noting that Sabbath evening (Friday night) Brother Fuller preached, Brother White preached twice “on the Sabbath” and “with good freedom.” Brother Andrews preached twice “on first-day.” And Sister White “had good liberty in bearing her testimony,” as a result of which, “prejudice had to yield; and some

³⁰¹ Hutchins borrowed the hymn from outside the Adventist hymnals.

³⁰² Julia A. Dayton, “Wasted Lives,” *RH*, August 16, 1864, 91; “Where Shall Rest be Found,” *Hymns* (1861), 410.

³⁰³ Jotham M. Aldrich, “New York Conference Report,” *RH*, December 1, 1863, 3.

at least, and I doubt not, many, saw things pertaining to our faith in much more favorable light than before.”

The next year, Mary Maxson attended the Adam’s Center conference as well. She gave similar commentary in the *Review* about the powerful sermons preached. Her passionate spirituality came to light when she began quoting hymns in an effort to express her hope.

While listening to the prayers and exhortations of our dear brethren and sisters, we felt to praise God that the time was so near at hand, when

“Hope shall change to glad fruition,
Faith to sight, and prayer to praise!”³⁰⁴

This text comes from the hymn, “Jesus, I My Cross Have Taken.”³⁰⁵ The first and last stanzas give context:

1. Jesus, I my cross have taken,
All to leave and follow Thee;
All things else I have forsaken;
Thou from hence my all shall be.
Perish ev’ry fond ambition,
all I’ve sought or hoped or known;
Yet how rich is my condition!
While I prove the Lord my own.

4. Haste then on from grace to glory,
Armed by faith, and winged by prayer,
Heav’n’s eternal days before thee,
God’s own hand shall guide thee there.
Soon shall close thy earthly mission,
Soon shall pass thy pilgrim days;
Hope shall change to glad fruition,

³⁰⁴ Mary F. Maxson, “The N. Y. Conference,” *RH*, October 25, 1864, 173.

³⁰⁵ “Jesus, I My Cross Have Taken,” *Hymns* (1855), 267.

faith to sight, and prayer to praise!

Later in her article, she again cites hymnody to give expression to her faith.

We enjoyed the Conference more than words can express. But when the hour of parting with our dear brethren and sisters arrived, our hearts were filled with sadness; yet our sorrow was mitigated with the thought that:

“Beyond the parting and the meeting,
We shall be soon;
Beyond the farewell and the greeting,
We shall be soon.”³⁰⁶

Following this declaration, Maxson’s expression became more ecstatic and worshipful, giving praise to God for the blessed hope of Jesus soon return:

Praise God for this blessed hope! As we gathered at the depot too early for the cars, we joined in singing that grand, and soul-thrilling hymn,

“On Jordan’s stormy banks I stand,
And cast a wishful eye
To Canaan’s fair and happy land,
Where my possessions lie.”

And as we sung the chorus,

“We’ll join the pilgrim band,
And then to glory go.
We’re traveling to a better land,
My home is not below,”

we felt like shouting praises to God that we had ever been permitted to join the despised band that are seek-a [*sic*] home “beyond the withering blast of time.” And, glory to God, that beautiful home will soon be ours. We are almost there.

³⁰⁶ This hymn is not in the Adventist hymnals. Maxson’s text derived from Horatius Bonar’s 1857 text, “Beyond the Smiling and the Weeping,” *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 140.

The high point of Maxson's article comes at her quotation of the hymn, "On Jordan's Stormy Banks," a second-coming hymn,³⁰⁷ and also known as "Pilgrim's Band." Most certainly, the sermons she mentioned impacted her faith. She, like other Advent believers, rooted their hope in the testimony of Scripture. However, from her own words, hymnody heightened her expression, revealing her passion for Christ's soon return. Sermons and even Scripture could not leave such an enduring impression. Remember Richard Crawford's point about congregational singing in Chapter 2: "A piece of music . . . accumulates impact over time not because it changes itself, but because it stores more and deeper cultural meanings for those who sing and hear it."³⁰⁸ Advent hymnody expressed, established, and promoted Maxson's spirituality. The hymns actually established the faith in an ongoing manner that sermons could not. Though sermons influenced her faith, the hymns impressed the messages deep into her heart. As Paul admonished the Colossians: "Let the Word of Christ richly dwell within you [. . .] with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" (Col 3:16, NASB).

Mary Howard wrote to the *Review*, telling of her continued hope in the second coming. She admonished the Adventist believers to continue to wait patiently for the return of Christ, though He tarried. The old words of Isaac Watts continued to resonate among Adventists, for she concluded her letter, quoting from his hymn, "In Thine Own Ways, O God of Love":

Hark! the Redeemer rends the sky!
A mighty voice before him goes -

³⁰⁷ "On Jordan's Story Banks I Stand," *Hymns* (1852), 49, no. 59.

³⁰⁸ Crawford, "Early American Psalmody," ix.

A voice of music to his friends,
But threatening thunder to his foes.³⁰⁹

The hymn provided artful expression in poetry to the prose of her letter. Singing the hymn anticipated the music at Christ's soon return. Hearing Jesus' voice will be as music to the ears of His friends, the Adventists.

Music often provided the last expression of spirituality for many deathbed worshipers. In the obituary notice for Brother Claflin, it notes his family sang the hymn of Watts, "Alas! and Did My Saviour Bleed."³¹⁰ Claflin only murmured the tune while the others sang, until they came to the last two lines of the verse, and "his voice broke in clear and distinct":

Here Lord, I give myself away,
'Tis all that I can do.³¹¹

Claflin participated in the music by murmuring the tune. Yet, his spirituality was caught up in the closing lines of the hymn. Similarly, two days before Mary Hadden passed away due to dysentery, she "broke the silence" by singing a hymn.³¹²

³⁰⁹ This hymn does not appear in Adventist hymnody; Mary W. Howard, "To-day, If Ye Will Hear His Voice," *RH*, June 16, 1863, 22. Watts' original words began the stanza with "Hark! The Eternal rends the sky." Howard may have changed the words of this stanza to better harmonize with the views of Anti-Trinitarianism, for early Adventists "weren't initially convinced that Jesus was without beginning." Woodrow Whidden, Jerry Moon, and John W. Reeve, *The Trinity: Understanding God's Love, His Plan of Salvation, and Christian Relationships* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2002), 192. It is also possible Howard copied the hymn from another denomination, though Hymnary.org does not have a scan of such a version of the text. That the text was by Watts suggests that many Adventists even knew the song and sang it, knowing to change the words. Unfortunately, no Adventist hymnal possesses any variation of this hymn.

³¹⁰ Isaac Watts' hymn, "Alas! And Did My Saviour Bleed," was not published in the Adventist hymnody at this time. Claflin must have taken it from another denomination's hymnal.

³¹¹ [Uriah Smith], "Obituary Notices," *RH*, January 17, 1865, 63.

³¹² Joseph Bates, "Obituary Notices," *RH*, November 7, 1865, 183.

Henry Nichols White (1847–1863), son of James and Ellen White, died at the young age of 16 from pneumonia.³¹³ Henry was a talented young man, and provided his family with rich musical expressions of worship. “He possessed an uncommon love for music, and during the last few years of his life, he applied himself very closely to its study and practice.”³¹⁴ Family and friends remembered his voice to be a “clear, full, tenor voice,”³¹⁵ and was known to accompany himself singing while playing the melodeon.³¹⁶

On his deathbed, Henry’s hope in the second coming remained firm. He sought to encourage his family, admonishing them to look to heaven. He desired God to comfort his mother’s aching heart. To his father, he stated, “Father, you are losing your son. You will miss me, but don’t mourn. It is better for me. I shall escape being drafted, and shall not witness the seven last plagues. To die so happy is a privilege.” Then he requested his younger brother, Edson, to play for him “Mount Vernon” on the same melodeon that Henry had played so many times before. When Edson returned to Henry’s side, Henry said, “Music in heaven will be sweeter than that.”³¹⁷ He promised his mother, “I shall meet you in heaven in the morning of the resurrection, for I know you will be there.”³¹⁸

³¹³ The previous winter, 1862-3, he committed his life to the Lord in baptism at a revival in the Battle Creek church. Uriah Smith, *An Appeal to the Youth: Funeral Address of Henry N. White, At Battle Creek, Mich., Dec. 21, 1863, Who Died at Topsham, Maine, Dec. 8th; Also a Brief Narrative of His Life, Experience and Last Sickness* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1864), 20.

³¹⁴ Smith, *Appeal to the Youth*, 20.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 30.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 31. Elijah and Mary Gaskill reminisced that Henry often sang of the resurrection, singing no. 240, “When Shall We Meet Again?” *Hymns* (1855), when Henry and the Whites visited the Gaskills in

Uriah Smith included two hymns, “Pilgrim Band”³¹⁹ and “Evergreen Shore,”³²⁰ arranged by Henry, in *Appeal to the Youth*. “Pilgrim Band” reveals very little harmonic progression and counterpoint among the four-part harmony on four staves. The tenor holds the tune, while the alto and soprano show very little creativity in part writing. Henry’s young compositional hand reveals an eagerness and potential cut short. At best, Henry provided a simple harmonic accompaniment in which the sweet melody and message could sound forth.³²¹

His setting for “Evergreen Shore” is not unique to him; the harmonization is original to the composer, William Bradbury. Henry combined the four-part harmonization into three staves, with the tenor and alto sharing a staff. As in Bradbury’s arrangement, the soprano holds the melody.³²² Henry particularly liked this song. The first verse and chorus follow:

We are joyously voyaging over the main,
Bound for the evergreen shore,
Whose inhabitants never of sickness complain,
And never see death any more.

Chorus:
Then let the hurricane roar,

their home. Elijah and Mary Gaskill, “Dear Brother and Sister White,” in *Appeal to the Youth*, 87.

³¹⁹ “Pilgrim Band” is “On Jordan’s Stormy Banks,” *Hymns* (1852), 49, no. 59.

³²⁰ The text and tune do not appear in official Adventist hymnody until *HT*, 1365. This raises the question: Where did Henry get the music? It is a present mystery. Hymnary.org gives a publication date of 1889. Certainly, this date is incorrect, as *HT* had it in 1886.

³²¹ Smith, *Appeal to the Youth*, 34-35. Edwin Stiles wrote in to the *Review* noting that Henry arranged “Pilgrim Band” himself, “and used to sing [it] so sweetly.” Edwin C. Stiles, “From Bro. Stiles,” *RH*, March 1, 1864, 111.

³²² Smith, *Appeal to the Youth*, 37-38.

It will the sooner be o'er;
We will weather the blast,
And will land at last,
Safe on the evergreen shore.³²³

Henry's love of music demonstrates powerfully the role music played in the spiritual life of Advent believers. The hope of the second coming was experienced and expressed through music, finding words for worship in hymns. The hope of the resurrection and Christ's soon return had not been lost sight of among Adventists through the passing of time since the Great Disappointment. When Adventists were laid to rest, they trusted in the core of their Adventism, a spirituality fostered through music.

At the funeral of her husband, Ellen White spoke of her hope of seeing him, "upon whose large affections [she had] leaned, with whom [she had] labored," her "beloved treasure," on the morning of the resurrection.³²⁴ She concluded her message, just as James would have wanted, pointing her listeners to heaven and its music.

The morning of the resurrection is too bright. And then I look to that morning when the broken family links shall be re-united, and we shall see the king in his beauty, and behold his matchless charms, and cast our glittering crowns at his feet, and touch the golden harp and fill all Heaven with the strains of our music and songs to the Lamb. We will sing together there. We will triumph together around the great white throne.³²⁵

Following her message, "an appropriate hymn was impressively rendered." The record does not indicate which hymn was sung. However, we know James White went to rest

³²³ Smith, *Appeal to the Youth*, 39.

³²⁴ Uriah Smith, *In Memoriam: A Sketch of the Last Sickness and Death of Elder James White, Who Died at Battle Creek, Michigan, August 6, 1881, Together with the Discourse Preached at His Funeral* (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Press, 1881), 41-42.

³²⁵ Smith, *In Memoriam*, 43.

looking forward to seeing his Lord a-coming, hearing the band of music sounding through the air.

Seventh-day Adventist Summary

The establishment of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the early 1860s brought with it attempts at reforms in music and liturgy. Music continued to play an indispensable role in regular worship gatherings, though local congregations struggled with quality. The dedication of the Dime Tabernacle revealed a rich liturgical theology, using music to promote and intensify the ritual significance of the event. The joint effort of Dudley Canright and Wolcott Littlejohn to create a unified Adventist liturgical theology through the formation of a church manual was not received by the church at large. This left the state of Adventist liturgical practice without clear guidance. It also left local churches free to worship as they chose. Nonetheless, Littlejohn's church manual tended toward description more than prescription, for his liturgical framework differed little from the prevailing liturgical practice heretofore observed among preceding Adventists.

Music continued to strengthen and express the Advent message through songs about the Sabbath, Scripture, relationship with Jesus, and His soon return. Numerous accounts in the *Review* reveal a fervent faith rooted in hymnody. Throughout the period, Adventists embraced many traditions of musical expression, though they tended to favor the dominant genre of gospel hymnody. Black worship utilized music to drive liturgy forward and embody liturgical theology. Hymnody provided words for worship, and the only means of testimony for some. At the end of life, Adventists held firm to the nearness of Christ's return, expressing their hope in song.

Chapter Four Summary

The Adventist movement and message should not be separated from its music. Music has been evidenced to have been a driving factor in all three stages of Adventist development, among Millerites, Sabbatarian Adventists, and Seventh-day Adventists. Joshua Himes mobilized the Millerite movement through frequent editions of Millerite hymnbooks. These books contained songs of the message, but inherited a shared influence by Whites and Blacks. James White continued the legacy of Himes among Sabbatarian and Seventh-day Adventists, urging Adventists to sing only from the movement's songbooks. White believed music would establish the faith, fostering a distinctive Adventist spiritual identity. Hymnody continued to flourish after White's death, as his son, Edson and others published many hymnals in the late nineteenth century. From the beginning, Adventists borrowed from the broader Christian tradition of hymnody, though in each period, they have shown a preference for the prevailing styles of the day, regardless of concern expressed by some.

Adventist liturgy did not follow the tradition of a specific denomination, but rather continued in the heritage of American revivalism. Any attempt to view Adventist liturgical heritage more narrowly does a disservice to the historical context. Throughout the nineteenth century, liturgical practices continued to be quite diverse, with liturgical appropriateness and local preferences fostering variety. Amidst the variety and spontaneity, a gradual shape began to take place, featuring singing, prayer, Scripture, sermon, and still more singing. Sources are abundant for Adventist liturgical and musical practice in all periods, though the shape of Adventist liturgy, as seen through the well of

time, appears murky at best. We cannot fully articulate with absolute certainty what Adventist liturgy always looked like.

Adventists borrowed from tradition, though their distinctive beliefs brought something new to the liturgical-theological marriage. The Adventist pillars of faith reshaped the experience of liturgy, and these landmark doctrines were especially cultivated through singing. Any discussion on the development of Adventist doctrine should include the development of Adventist hymnody, for the hymnody instilled the faith experientially. Such a conclusion comes, not only from the liturgical practices, but from the words of the pioneers themselves. Both clergy and laity, men and women, testified to the significant role music played in their spirituality.

Adventist hymnbooks featured hymns on all the major Adventist doctrines. However, the second coming always came to the forefront in the majority of testimonies. Adventists loved to sing about the second coming, and hearing the voice of their Savior brought music to their ears. The ear of faith caught the distant music of the retinue of angels and Christ sounding the trumpet of the archangel. Their hearts longed to join the redeemed around the throne of God in heaven as they sing His praises for all eternity.

The love of God and hope of His Son's return blessed many hearts, though these teachings tended toward being other-worldly. Adventists viewed the second coming as the solution for societal woes, leading White Adventists to lessen their emphasis on social justice, namely, real political freedom for Blacks. However, Blacks and Whites tended to worship together, especially in the northern free states. Whites held sympathy for southern Blacks, though their sympathy did not propel them to social action.

In this chapter, I have sought to tell the story of the development of Adventist spirituality through music. This is a shared history between Blacks and Whites. The self-same music fostered a shared spiritual identity among both Black and White Adventists. The second coming and its promise of heaven stood central to this spiritual identity. Moreover, Adventists expressed this hope and participation in the music of heaven by the actual singing of hymns. Hymnody therefore rooted and established this shared spirituality among Black and White Seventh-day Adventists.

CHAPTER 5

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADVENTIST MUSIC AND RACE RELATIONS FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE REGIONAL CONFERENCES

Introduction

This chapter examines the historical development of Black and White Adventist music and race relations in the United States, beginning with the Civil War (1861–1865) until the establishment of the regional conferences in 1944.¹ This chapter expands upon the historical development explored in Chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 3 examined the historical and theological context for Black and White Christians in the United States before the emergence of Adventism in the 1840s. Chapter 4 focused on the development and expression of music in liturgy by Adventists during the nineteenth century. That chapter, however, did not address the sociological developments between Blacks and Whites in the United States. Therefore, this chapter seeks to further establish some of that context, as it relates to the development of Black and White Adventist music.

¹ As a White American male, I recognize my own shortcomings and inherent biases in worship, music, and race. I make no claims as to being an expert or knowing Black worship from the Black American experience. As such, I rely on the experience and expressions of those I interviewed to inform both my investigation and conclusions. I am also indebted to my former graduate assistant of two years, Dorhel Davis. As a female African American who attended Oakwood University and is my same age, she afforded me countless candid conversations about race, music, and worship.

Section one of this chapter traces how the Civil War affected the Black experience in the United States, surveying how Black folk expressed their faith through music. A progression is shown from the spirituals to the blues, both of which gave voice to an oppressed people seeking to overcome. The blues paved the way for the gospel music which would develop later in the twentieth century. This section traces cultural and historical developments from the Civil War to the establishment of the Black work in the South. The history herein contextualizes the statements by Ellen White regarding Blacks and Whites in worship. Continued racial discrimination, and the need for the advancement of the Adventist message among Blacks, compelled many voices to call for a distinct cultural ministry among Blacks, ultimately establishing the Regional Conferences in 1944.

As section one leads into the chapter demonstrating how Black Americans expressed their cultural ethos musically, section two situates the shared musical development among both Black and White Adventists in the denomination's hymnal publications. It surveys the publication of the popular songbook compiled by Frank Belden in 1908, *Christ in Song*. It posits that gospel hymnody became the prevailing mode of musical expression in Adventist worship during the first half of the twentieth century. However, other philosophies of congregational song led to the publication of the 1941 *Church Hymnal*, in which both Black and White spirituals, as well as many gospel hymns were excised from the Adventist corpus. These developments highlighted the racial discrimination during the period and contributed to the ever-growing complexity of music preference and spiritual identities fostered through music among Seventh-day Adventists.

Black Christian Expression in Music Following the Civil War

Nobody knows de trouble I've seen
Nobody knows but Jesus
Nobody knows de trouble I've seen
Glory hallelujah!

Civil War, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and Music

The contentious issues of race and slavery continued to foment until they erupted in the American Civil War (1861–65). Many factors contributed to the war, including political, economic, and social pressures. Underlying all these, slavery was the primary force. “Slavery was America’s greatest object of worship.”² The Protestant value of the right of private judgment contributed to the various interpretations of the Bible, either in favor of or against slavery.³ While many biblical debates are contentious, this hermeneutical issue was a bloodbath. The Civil War claimed about three-quarters of a million American soldiers. However, Abraham Lincoln delivered his executive order, the Emancipation Proclamation, on January 1, 1863, granting freedom for over three million Black men and women in the South.⁴ On December 18, 1865, the states ratified the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, abolishing all slavery in the nation.

² Trevor O’Reggio, “Slavery, Prophecy, and the American Nation as Seen by the Adventist Pioneers, 1854-1865,” *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 17, no. 2 (Autumn 2006): 148. O’Reggio paraphrases the language of the following: “The blood of the Redeemer, the influences of the Holy Spirit, the love of the great Father of spirits, are held sacred; but not so sacred as slavery. . . . The family altar, the nursery, the Sabbath School, the house of prayer, the Christian ministry, the church, the assembly of the saints are held sacred, but not so sacred as slavery.” “The Sacredness of Slavery,” *The Principia*, in *RH*, June 11, 1861, 17.

³ Mark A. Noll, *America’s God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 386-400.

⁴ “To Ellen White, the Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves ranked in significance with

Immediately following the Civil War, many sought to tell the story of the Black American experience. No more suitable medium existed than the spirituals. The earliest collection of Black spirituals was published in 1867, entitled *Slave Songs of the United States*. It contained 126 spiritual texts and tunes.⁵ Eileen Southern calls attention to the use of the term *spiritual* or *sperichil* found in the introduction to this collection.⁶ These terms, she argues, go undefined in the Foreword to the collection, indicating common usage by the 1860s. For some Black Americans of the nineteenth century, the spiritual was apparently spelled and pronounced “sperichil.”⁷

Following the Civil War, Black spirituals developed into two veins. One vein was the “grass roots spiritual,” the music of the common folk, as an expression of one’s experience in bondage, and one’s hope in God for deliverance. The spirituals received influence from African folk songs, White camp meeting songs, and the hymnody of Dr. Watts through the practice of lining out.⁸ Nevertheless, they are their own creation, stamped with originality. The second vein belonged to a “‘correct’ European style” popularized by the traveling minstrels, the Fisk Jubilee Singers (1871–1878).⁹

the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage.” Jones, *Humphrey*, 98.

⁵ Williams F. Allen, Charles P. Ware, and Lucy M. Garrison, eds., *Slave Songs of the United States* (1867; reprint, New York, 1971).

⁶ Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 181. “When visitors from the North were on the islands, there was nothing that seemed better worth their while than to see a ‘shout’ or hear the ‘people’ sing their ‘sperichils.’” Allen, Ware, and Garrison, eds., *Slave Songs of the United States*, i.

⁷ Such (mis-)spellings are common in the text of spirituals, such as, “I’m gwine to Alabamy” or “Dere’s no rain to wet you,” from *Slave Songs of the United States*.

⁸ Dargan, *Lining Out the Word*.

⁹ Eskew and McElrath, *Sing with Understanding*, 187; J. B. T. Marsh, *The Story of the Jubilee*

Harry Eskew and Hugh McElrath, writing from a White perspective, state that “African American spirituals were not published in collections designed for congregational singing until the early to mid-20th century.”¹⁰ Whether or not spirituals were published did not determine the suitability of spirituals for congregational use. Through the oral tradition, Black congregations regularly sang the spirituals at worship gatherings, in the form of vocal solos, through call-and-response between a leader and the congregation, and singing congregationally, as is common with a hymn. Indeed, even White congregations sang the White spirituals via an oral tradition or from memory. I question for whom Eskew and McElrath believe the Black spirituals were published? For Black congregations or White? The Black spirituals did not begin to be accepted among predominantly White denominations until the twentieth century.

More importantly, it appears that Eskew and McElrath simply did not review the available collections. Upon my examination, the 1867 *Slave Songs* volume featured texts and clearly noted melodies for a congregation to follow. Musical publication of the Black spirituals developed further, when, in 1882, Marshall W. Taylor, a Black Methodist minister, published *Plantation Melodies*, the short title for *A Collection of Revival Hymns and Plantation Melodies*. This volume added four-part accompaniment for the hymn texts. Several factors make this collection noteworthy. The collection not only included Black spirituals, but also White and Black gospel hymns, totaling 150 songs.¹¹ In

Singers, with Their Songs (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1877).

¹⁰ Eskew and McElrath, *Sing with Understanding*, 187.

¹¹ “These [revival songs] were sung in the white congregations of the South, and were found in old religious books. . . . The ‘Plantation Melodies,’ originated with the colored people themselves, and are the outgrowth of their peculiar experiences, reflections, and fancies.” Marshall W. Taylor, *A Collection of*

addition, Taylor ministered in the Lexington, Kentucky, Conference of the White Methodist Episcopal Church.¹² Taylor purposed for his congregation to use this hymnal in public worship. He believed this work benefited the greater society:

My work is to rescue [the slave songs], lest after all these good fruits they themselves perish from the minds of men. Their influence is not done. The race is free, an era of light and culture has dawned, but ere all the fruits of freedom be gathered these melodies have many a mighty task to perform, in lifting up bowed hearts to Jesus and overturning the prejudices against color, which are so ruinously wide-spread. Whoever will learn and sing these melodies, drinking from the same spring whence they flow, will of necessity grow warmer in feeling for those whose fathers sang them first.¹³

Beyond congregational use, Taylor's collection promoted the spiritual among the greater society. He believed that the singing of these plantation melodies would bring reconciliation to the races and also foster spiritual growth. Therefore, even as early as the 1880s, collections of Black spirituals were being designed for White and Black congregational use.

Not only were collections being designed for congregational use, but also traveling choruses, such as the Fisk Jubilee Singers, greatly aided the promotion of spirituals. The influence of the Fisk Jubilee Singers must not be underestimated. This singing chorus not only promulgated the spiritual in the United States, but also Europe. Through the efforts of this group, a "large part of the Western world was introduced to

Revival Hymns and Plantation Melodies (Cincinnati, OH: Marshall W. Taylor and W. C. Echols, 1882), ii-iii.

¹² Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 263. Taylor, *Hymns and Plantation Melodies*, i.

¹³ Taylor, *Hymns and Plantation Melodies*, 4-5.

the folksongs of black America.”¹⁴ This evidence is only one contributing factor to the promulgation of the Black spiritual. Many other instrumental factors added to this genre’s popularity and recognition, but these are beyond the scope of this study.¹⁵

The significance of the Black spiritual had reached the ears of influential European composers. Such was the case of Bohemian composer, Antonin Dvořák. He believed that this repertoire ought to play a vital role in America’s musical future.

I am now satisfied that the future music of this country must be founded upon what are called the negro melodies. . . . These are the folk-songs of America, and your composers must turn to them. All of the great musicians have borrowed from the songs of the common people. . . . In the negro melodies of America I discover all that is needed for a great and noble school of music. They are pathetic, tender, passionate, melancholy, solemn, religious, bold, merry, gay, or what you will.¹⁶

Black spirituals received significant notoriety, demonstrating a broad dissemination of the genre. The spirituals rapidly gained recognition throughout society, becoming a source of pride among Black Americans. These songs told the experience of what Blacks, as a people, had gone through. From generation to generation, the spirituals became a unique source for cultivating Black spiritual identity, the “soul of Black folk,”

¹⁴ Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 230-31.

¹⁵ Other factors included the concert stage set for vocalists, instrumentalists, orchestra, band, and also festivals and composers. See Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 227-64.

¹⁶ Antonín Dvořák, “Negro Melodies,” *The Musical Record* (Boston), July 1893, 13. Dvořák influenced many Black Americans, many even traveled to Europe to study with the composer, including Harry Burleigh, the first Black composer and concert artist to achieve national distinction. Later that year, Dvořák completed and conducted his Symphony No. 9 in E Minor, “From the New World,” Op. 95, B. 178, incorporating motifs from the music of First Nations and African Americans. Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 267-71.

“the most beautiful expression of human experience born this side the seas,” and “the singular spiritual heritage of the nation and the greatest gift of the Negro people.”¹⁷

Following the Civil War, the musical expression of the Black experience in American proliferated, not only by means of the spiritual, but by other musical means. These other musical genres of blues, jazz, and other similar genres reflected the shifting American cultural landscape. These have often been misunderstood as secular music. Rather, these song forms reflect an ethos ensconced in the American racial climate, demonstrating a religiosity just as potent as the Black-spirituals-legacy that formed them. The “most important” of the “cultural products originating or emerging from the African American religious experience” is “music.” Historically, it has been

a primary form by which African Americans have expressed their deepest longings, hopes, and concerns. The field hollers, from which blues music originated, the spirituals of slaves, the rise of black gospel music in the early twentieth century, the “freedom songs” of the civil rights movement, and the bitter skepticism of some contemporary rap all speak to the deepest issues of African American religious culture. In African American history, music and religion cannot be separated, for religion fundamentally has been *defined* through musical expression. Even more important, it is vital to understand the origins of African American religious culture, for it has been the basis for much of broader American culture, particularly popular music.¹⁸

These musical-spiritual expressions emerged from the ashes of the Civil War.

Over fifteen decades have followed since General Robert E. Lee surrendered, ending the Civil War on April 9, 1865. The real civil war did not cease, however, for to

¹⁷ Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 156.

¹⁸ Paul Harvey, *Through the Storm, Through the Night: A History of African American Christianity* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2011), 3.

this day, countless Black Americans have suffered and died at the hands of White violence. “The violence generated by white racism is one of the obvious realities of American society.”¹⁹ Emancipation thus offered only proclamation—lip-service.²⁰ The decade following the war is known as the era of Reconstruction, 1865–1877.²¹ The Union attempted to mend the effects of the war, by rebuilding of the nation, and promising more equity between Blacks and Whites, through the passage of the Reconstruction Act of 1867. Blacks were promised jobs, land,²² citizenship,²³ and the right to vote.²⁴ However, White supremacists did not relinquish control so easily. “Slavery by another name” emerged, with Whites re-enslaving many Blacks through indentured servitude, victimizing Blacks through the unjust practice of sharecropping as Whites benefitted from Black labor, selling Blacks into labor camps, and compelling others to labor on the railroad,²⁵ leading many to sing:

Captain, go side-track yo’ train
Captain, go side-track yo’ train,

¹⁹ Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response* (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), xi.

²⁰ I do not imply Lincoln was disingenuous. The ensuing decades revealed the difficulty in changing an entire society.

²¹ Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Hugh Davis, “*We Will Be Satisfied With Nothing Less*”: *The African American Struggle for Equal Rights in the North during Reconstruction* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011).

²² The Southern Homestead Act (1866).

²³ Fourteenth Amendment (1866).

²⁴ Fifteenth Amendment (1870).

²⁵ Douglas A. Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-enslavement of Black People in America from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Doubleday, 2008).

Number three in line, a-coming in on time,
Captain, go side-track yo' train.²⁶

The failure of Reconstruction led to the period of Jim Crow, in which federal and state governments enforced racial segregation in the United States. By the 1890s, governments enforced *de jure* racial segregation, mandating the “separate but equal” status for Blacks. In 1896, the Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, had established the “separate but equal” principle, undergirding segregation in “social structures across the South.”²⁷ While Blacks enjoyed enfranchisement through the abolition of the Three-Fifths Compromise,²⁸ the separate status perpetuated discrimination: *de jure* discrimination in the South and *de facto* discrimination in the North.²⁹ As a result, the US government perpetuated the conception that Blacks were inferior to Whites. The experiential ontology for Blacks and Whites continued to be different due to law and practice. This began the period of Jim Crow that lasted until the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s.

Jim Crow originated with the minstrel show performed by Thomas Dartmouth Rice, or “Daddy Rice, a Father of American Minstrelsy.”³⁰ Rice was a White American

²⁶ Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 224.

²⁷ In 1954, the Supreme Court reversed the “separate but equal” principle in *Brown vs. Board of Education*, marking “the starting point for a generation of civil rights activity.” “A Chronology of African American Religion,” lxix, lxxii.

²⁸ Enfranchisement granted Black Americans the right to vote.

²⁹ *De jure* means “by law”; *de facto* means “by practice.” The South enacted laws enforcing segregation. The North did not have official laws on segregation. However, because racist ontology perpetuated in the North, Whites continued segregation in practice.

³⁰ Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 90.

who performed with his face painted black, speaking with an African American vernacular. His show stereotyped Black Americans for having poor speech and comical characteristics. He popularized the genre, particularly through his singing of his “Jim Crow Song”:

First on the heel tap, den on de toe
Ebery time I wheel about I jump Jim Crow.³¹

Due to the blackface minstrelsy,³² an origination from musical performance, Jim Crow became a derogatory association for Blacks. These shameful practices capture the tenor of segregation legislation in the late nineteenth century, leading to the slang coinage of the phrase, Jim Crow laws.

In the context of Jim Crow, Blacks in the North and the South continued to experience systemic racism. This ensuing period has been known as the “nadir of American race relations,”³³ for, from 1877 until the early twentieth century, Black Americans experienced systemic racism, losing many civil rights, experiencing segregation and legal discrimination based on skin color, and severe intimidation and

³¹ Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 91.

³² Southern indicates that with the new freedom, Black performers could now perform the minstrelsy, instead of blackface White performers. The public enjoyed genuine Black faces. Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 232.

³³ Rayford W. Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir 1877–1901* (New York: The Dial Press, 1954); Timothy E. Fulop, “‘The Future Golden Day of the Race’: Millennialism and Black Americans in the Nadir, 1877–1901,” in *African-American Religion: Interpretive Essays in History and Culture*, ed. Timothy E. Fulop and Albert J. Raboteau (New York: Routledge, 1997), 230.

suffering at the hands of White supremacy, such as lynchings.³⁴ It was the darkest period, an all-time low. If slavery was the storm, Jim Crow was the night.³⁵

As a result of the continued systemic racism, Black musical expression evolved into new idioms. By the turn of the century, blues developed from these depths. “Blues reflects the personal response of its inventor to a specific occurrence or situation. By singing about their misery, blues singers achieve a kind of catharsis and life becomes bearable again.”³⁶ Drawing from Chapter 3, in which we observed the practical holism in the Black community—all of life is sacred—the blues gave religious expression for the musician, through themes such as: having no money, being left by a lover, and losing a job. Through singing the blues, musicians lamented their plight in society.

I laid in jail, back to the wall;
Brown skin gal cause of it all.
I’ve got the blues; I’m too damn mean to talk
A brown-skin woman make a bull-dog break his chain.³⁷

Look’d down de road jes’ as far as I could
Well, the band did play “Nearer, my God, to Thee.”
I got the blues, but too damn mean to cry,
I got the blues, but too damn mean to cry.³⁸

³⁴ James H. Cone writes vivid, lucid, and heartbreaking accounts of the history and significance of lynching, in *The Cross and the Lynching Tree* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2011), 3-12.

³⁵ An allusion to “Precious Lord, take my hand . . . through the storm, through the night, lead me on,” by Thomas Dorsey, 1932.

³⁶ Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 334.

³⁷ Eber C. Perrow, “Songs and Rhymes from the South,” *Journal of American Folklore* 28, no. 108 (1915): 190.

³⁸ Howard W. Odum, “Folk-Song and Folk-Poetry as Found in the Secular Songs of the Southern Negroes,” *Journal of American Folklore* 24, no. 93 (1911): 272.

The first text expresses the blue feeling of being in jail, allegedly due to a Black woman. This context appears secular and earthy. However, as the text appears to go on,³⁹ the poet expresses the tension of feeling too hurt to cry, and the promise that God is with him, through the allusion to the hymn, “Nearer, my God, to Thee.” In the context of suffering, the blues blended the secular and the sacred, balancing “despair with hope. . . . As long as African Americans could sing and play the blues, they had some hope that one day their humanity would be acknowledged.”⁴⁰ Blues melodies depicted these sentiments, deriving the genre’s name from the “blue notes” caused by altering the melodic scale, in which the third, fifth, seventh, and occasionally the sixth scale degree are lowered or sung at pitch. This means that the third and sixth scale degrees, normally a major interval when in a major key, could be lowered a half step. Likewise, the fifth and seventh of a chord could be lowered a half step. Musicians decided how they wanted to render these intervals, meaning that they could keep the interval in its major position, or lower it a semitone.⁴¹ These alterations suggested lament, despair, or hope, depending on the musician’s rendering of the music. The text at the opening of this section expresses the sentiment best:

³⁹ Southern combines the two texts into eight lines of poetry. Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 335.

⁴⁰ Cone, *The Cross and the Lynching Tree*, 21.

⁴¹ Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 336.

Nobody knows de trouble I've seen
Nobody knows but Jesus
Nobody knows de trouble I've seen
Glory hallelujah!⁴²

Beginnings of the Gospel Ministry among Black Adventists

Adventism developed within the societal milieu of American racism.

Accommodation to White prejudice demanded that Black Adventist ministers employ culturally contextual ministry practices. During the late nineteenth century, Adventist ministers began to segregate worship and ministry between Blacks and Whites.

Black Millerites skillfully preached to both Black and White audiences, devoting energies to Blacks in particular.⁴³ Eri L. Barr may have been the first Black Adventist minister,⁴⁴ though no available records indicate whether or not he was ordained. By all accounts, Charles M. Kinny was the first African American ordained by the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1889,⁴⁵ and has been called the “Father of Black Adventism.”⁴⁶ Kinny’s family moved from Richmond, Virginia to Reno, Nevada in pursuit of the

⁴² Cone, *The Cross and the Lynching Tree*, 20-21.

⁴³ Baker, “Ellen White’s Relationship to Black People,” 43-44.

⁴⁴ Stanley D. Hickerson, “Was Eri L. Barr the First Black Adventist Minister?” *RH*, April 6, 2015.

⁴⁵ “A Chronology of African American Religion,” lxxviii. Trevor O’Reggio discusses the spelling of Kinny’s last name, whether it should be Kinney or Kinny. He notes that all extant records of his letters show a signage of “Kinny.” I choose to follow O’Reggio’s practice. Trevor O’Reggio, “The Father of Black Adventism: Charles M. Kinny,” *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 25, no. 1 (2014): 116.

⁴⁶ Ronald D. Graybill, “Charles M. Kinny: Founder of Black Adventism,” *RH*, January 13, 1977, 6-8; O’Reggio, “Father of Black Adventism,” 117.

opportunity offered during the period of Reconstruction.⁴⁷ He converted to Adventism after hearing the evangelistic sermons of John Loughborough and Ellen White.⁴⁸ Kinny ministered at the first Black Adventist church in Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, established in 1883 by the efforts of local member, Harry Lowe.⁴⁹ He established several Black Adventist churches: the third Black Adventist church, in Bowling Green, Kentucky, 1891; the fourth Black Adventist church, in New Orleans, in 1892; and the fifth Black Adventist church, in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1894.⁵⁰

Beyond establishing several Black Adventist congregations, Kinny rightfully deserves the title of Father of Black Adventism for he recognized the racial prejudice in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. During a time when Whites prevented Blacks from leadership, Kinny was the first to call for separate judicatory branches of the denomination for ministry targeting Black folk. Racially charged liturgical events in Kinny's experience paralleled those among earlier African Americans, as discussed in Chapter 3 of this study. In particular, the circumstances regarding Richard Allen, the AME, and the negro pew provided a historical precedent for the proposal made by Kinny in 1891.

⁴⁷ O'Reggio, "Father of Black Adventism," 118.

⁴⁸ Charles M. Kinney, "Early Days of Our Colored Work in America," *RH*, February 6, 1930, 23.

⁴⁹ Graybill, "Charles M. Kinny," 7.

⁵⁰ O'Reggio, "Father of Black Adventism," 127.

In 1889, Kinny and his fellow Black Adventists experienced racial segregation at his ordination service.⁵¹ This event, and apparently, others, led Kinny to speak out in general terms about the injustices toward Blacks in divine worship.

On March 11, 1891, Kinny spoke before the General Conference, appealing for more work to be done on behalf of “the colored race,” for “there has not been much done for them; but the way is opening,” and he “hoped to see much more done to reach and benefit that people.” Kinny claimed there were between eight and nine million people needing to hear the Third Angel’s Message.⁵²

At the 1891 General Conference, Kinny addressed the convention, giving his conception of regional conferences. He wrote a significant document outlining twelve propositions. Before outlining his proposal and grievances, Kinny stated that he and other Black folk desired to worship together, for it was a blessing. “In the first place, a separation of the colored people from the white people is a great sacrifice upon our part; we lose the blessing of learning the truth—I have reference especially to general meetings.”⁵³ While Kinny emphasized the “learning of truth” and information at the

⁵¹ Baker, “Events Leading to the Establishment of Regional Conferences,” 7. Neither Baker nor other scholars indicate the source for the racial segregation at Kinny’s ordination service. Clifford Jones writes, “On the day of his ordination, church officials tried to segregate Kinney and his members at the camp meeting where the solemn service was to be held, only backing down when Kinney and his congregation threatened to bolt.” Jones, *Humphrey*, 91. Jones cites the following for his source: Nathine Washington, “Charles M. Kinney: The Man” (Unpublished term paper, Andrews University, 1975). However, Washington does not discuss the event. The only subtle reference I can find is in Kinny’s “Statement on the Concept of Regional Conferences,” as cited below in the discussion of this section. I believe the event has taken on a sense of legend in the Black Adventist community. I, no doubt, believe segregation took place at his ordination, just as Jones has described. However, I have not been able to discover the primary source supporting this historiography.

⁵² “Seventh Meeting,” *General Conference Bulletin*, March 11, 1891, 70-71.

⁵³ “C. M. Kinney’s Statement on the Concept of Regional Conferences,” in *Telling the Story*, 2:8.

general meetings, we must not miss the fact that these general meetings historically had been neither for business, nor solely for preaching, but for worship. Kinny proposed for a racial separation, not segregation, entailing entirely separate worship services at camp meetings for the general meetings. Such a proposal struck deep to Kinny's heart, causing "great embarrassment and humiliation, and not only to me, but to my people also."⁵⁴ Kinny and his people were neither embarrassed nor humiliated to propose this. Rather, they had experienced these feelings in divine worship when they had been relegated to the "negro pew" of the back seats in the general meetings.⁵⁵ Thus, Blacks felt it better to be completely separated in worship, than to experience the humiliation of sitting on the back pew. As a people, they had experienced this too long. Kinny was clear; separation for worship and for ministry was not because Blacks desired to be separate from Whites, but due to the racial discrimination practiced by Whites. Kinny "saw these spiritual convocations as essential venues to help solidify [Blacks in their] faith."⁵⁶

As mentioned in Chapter 4, Black and White Adventists worshiped together in the northern United States. However, in the deeply segregated South, racial tensions soared, creating an environment in which it was unsafe for Blacks and Whites to worship together. Kinny personified an Adventist that did not discriminate based upon skin color, but practiced wisdom regarding the systemic racism of the wider society. He urged: "That Christian feeling between the two races be zealously inculcated everywhere, so that the

⁵⁴ "C. M. Kinney's Statement," in *Telling the Story*, 2:8.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:9.

⁵⁶ O'Reggio, "Father of Black Adventism," 125.

cause of separation may not be because of the existence of prejudice within, but because of those on the outside whom you hope to reach.”⁵⁷

Adventist ministers were failing to make inroads among Blacks in the South, save for a few bold ministers. Few Black Americans converted to the Adventist message. In his appeal to the brethren at the 1891 General Conference session, Kinny kindly expressed “his gratitude that the way is opening for the truth to go to his people (the colored race) [*sic*].”⁵⁸ Beyond writing his proposal, Kinny pleaded with the brethren, hoping at least one heart would soften toward the “between eight and nine millions [*sic*] of his people in the United States, waiting to hear the third angel’s message.” Kinny reported that there were only two organized churches among Blacks, and some unorganized companies.⁵⁹ He “earnestly appealed for at least one white laborer of experience to devote his entire time to the work among” Blacks in the South.⁶⁰

Kinny’s graciousness and humble spirit, requesting even just “one white laborer” bespeak of the man’s immense wisdom and sensitivity to the prevailing White Adventist culture. I imagine that during the ten days following his appeal, Charles Kinny agonized to know whether or not anyone had heard his fervent appeals for the South. Not only were his words heard, but they gained prophetic priority as the Messenger of the Lord added her voice to his anthem’s strain.

⁵⁷ “C. M. Kinney’s Statement,” in *Telling the Story*, 2:9.

⁵⁸ “Seventh Meeting,” *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, March 11, 1891, 70.

⁵⁹ In the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, a “company” is a small congregation not yet officially “organized” into a “church.”

⁶⁰ “Seventh Meeting,” *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, 71.

Ellen White's Appeals for the South

Ellen White felt burdened for the “colored people” of the South. On Sabbath, March 21, 1891, she brought her concerns to thirty leaders of the church, gathered at the Dime Tabernacle as part of the General Conference session. She delivered her historic message, entitled, “Our Duty to the Colored People,” recognizing a lack of concern by the White brethren toward the colored people of the South. She addressed the issue, head-on:

There has been much perplexity as to how our laborers in the South shall deal with the “color line.” It has been a question to some, how far to concede to the prevailing prejudice against the colored people. . . . The Lord Jesus came to our world to save men and women of all nationalities. He died just as much for the colored people as for the white race.⁶¹

Previously, while at worship in St. Louis, Missouri,⁶² the Lord had spoken vividly to her: “All ye are brethren,” was presented to her “as if written with a pen of fire.” Discrimination did not make some more or less the children of God. To despise someone based on race was to despise Jesus Christ, demonstrating a need for heart transformation. “The color of the skin does not determine character in the heavenly courts.”⁶³

She became more pointed in her commentary, indicating that Whites were responsible for the conditions of Blacks:

Who is it that held these people in servitude? Who kept them in ignorance, and pursued a course to debase and brutalize them . . . ? If the race is degraded, if they are

⁶¹ Ellen G. White, “Our Duty to the Colored People,” in *The Southern Work*, 1898, Reprint ed. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1966), 9.

⁶² Ellen White visited St. Louis shortly after Kinny had experienced firsthand the racial prejudice there. Graybill, “Charles M. Kinny,” 7.

⁶³ Graybill, “Charles M. Kinny,” 11, 13.

repulsive in habits and manners, who made them so? Is there not much due to them from the white people? After so great a wrong has been done them, should not an earnest effort be made to lift them up? The truth must be carried to them. They have souls to save as well as we.⁶⁴

It is important to read White's comments in historical context.

Notwithstanding her pointed statements condemning slavery and racism, Ellen White was a product of her times, whose social theories and practices conspired to produce in her a pragmatism that continues to confuse Blacks to this day, and that *begs for explanation and understanding*. To the uninformed Ellen White comes across as contradictory and confusing, and detractors have not relented in questioning and castigating her for comments she made that seem to compromise the biblical principles she espoused.⁶⁵

Some have the tendency to read these statements, thinking that Ellen White is saying that today, Black people are degraded and repulsive in habits and manners, even ignorant.

Ellen White was addressing the condition of Blacks in the South who had only recently been emancipated from slavery, only to be exploited through sharecropping, indentured servanthood, violence by White supremacist groups, lynchings, and Jim Crow segregation. Black folk paid the price for White privilege. Ellen White spoke within this historical context.

Later, in 1895, White explained that a spiritual darkness enshrouded many in the Black race, *at that time*. "But there are many among the colored people whose intellect has been too long darkened to be speedily fitted for fruitfulness in good works. . . . Many are slaves to debasing passions, and their character is of such an order as will not enable them to be a blessing. Sin and depravity have locked up their senses." She insisted,

⁶⁴ Graybill, "Charles M. Kinny," 14-15.

⁶⁵ Jones, *Humphrey*, 99.

Christ died for the colored people as verily as He died for the white people. Through faith in Christ the colored people may attain unto eternal life as verily as may the white people. Those whom the Lord sees neglected by *us* have been entrusted with reasoning powers, and yet they have been treated as though they had no souls. They have been wounded by a so-called Christian nation. They have been left by the wayside, and decided efforts will have to be made to counteract the wrong that has been done them.⁶⁶

Had Whites sought to alleviate Black folk immediately following the War, Blacks would not have been in the situation they were now in. The darkness and ignorance of Black Americans was due to White neglect and White racist ontology. How insightful are Ellen White's words! Her words resonate with her contemporary, Frederick Douglass (1818–1895), who, as we saw in Chapter 3, questioned the “Christianity” of America: The gospel had not been for all people; there was a White savior and a Black. Most insidious, the Three-Fifths Compromise had indeed created separate ontologies, continuing even in 1895, for Blacks had been “treated as though they had no souls.”

Stronger still, Ellen White stated that the church had sinned in not making greater efforts for Black folk of the South. Due to racial prejudice by Whites, missionary work on behalf of Blacks would always be difficult. Nonetheless, she urged Whites and Blacks to worship *together*. Worshiping together was the normative counsel from Ellen White. “You have no license from God to exclude the colored people from your places of worship. Treat them as Christ's property, which they are, just as much as yourselves. They should hold membership in the church with the white brethren.”⁶⁷ Ideally, Ellen

⁶⁶ *Italics* added. Ellen G. White, “An Appeal for the Southern Field,” *RH*, November 26, 1895, in *Southern Work*, 28. “Wounded” and “left by the wayside” are allusions to Christ's parable of the good Samaritan.

⁶⁷ “Our Duty,” *Southern Work*, 15. She continued, however, with conditional counsel. “Some would think it right to throw down every partition wall and intermarry with the colored people, but this is

White desired for Blacks and Whites to worship together, though she also understood that Black ministers would have greater success ministering to fellow Blacks due to cultural similarities and in light of White prejudice.

Four years later, Ellen White continued her argument for integrative worship, saying that Whites had been devising plans that appeased the “prejudice of white people,” and now, “a wall of separation in religious worship ha[d] been built up between the colored people and the white people.”⁶⁸ Whites were willing for Blacks to be converted, “yet they were not willing to sit by the side of their colored brethren and sing and pray and bear witness to the truth which they had in common.”⁶⁹

However, Ellen White gave additional liturgical counsel that I assume is difficult for contemporary Black Adventists to read. “Among most of the colored people we find unseemly practices in their worship of God. They become much excited, and put forth physical exertions that are uncalled for in the solemn worship of God. Their superstitious ideas and uncomely practices cannot at once be dispelled.”⁷⁰ I caution the reader not to

not the right thing to teach or to practice.” The text indicates how her prohibition to intermarry is contextualized for that time. Her first phrase, “throw down every partition wall,” indicates that the common practice of not intermarrying was indeed a partition. In my assessment of the passage, she recognized how sensitive some may be to the intermarrying between Whites and Blacks, and therefore discouraged the practice, *at that time*.

⁶⁸ Ellen G. White, “Work Among the Colored People,” *RH*, April 2, 1895, in *Southern Work*, 19. The Ellen White Trustees give the following note: “In the mid-1890’s Ellen G. White prepared ten articles for the *RH* devoted especially to the work in the Southern field. The first was published on April 2, 1895. The other nine appeared in the issues of November 26 to December 24, 1895, and January 14 to February 4, 1896. All except the first one (April 2, 1895), which apparently was overlooked by Edson White, were chosen for publication in *The Southern Work*. The ten articles are reproduced here in their entirety.” “Note,” *Southern Work*, 19.

⁶⁹ White, *Southern Work*, 20.

⁷⁰ Ellen G. White, “An Appeal for the South-2,” *RH*, December 3, 1895, in *Southern Work*, 33.

interpret White's commentary as a criticism of today's contemporary Black liturgical practice. Doing so ignores the history detailed in this chapter, as well as dismisses the later historical developments of the twentieth century, particularly that of the Praise and Worship movement. The twentieth century must be addressed and nuanced before White's comments should be considered to be applied to our contemporary practice today. This study only begins to address the issue.

Instead, it is best to read White's counsel in the context of her own writings, and the liturgical context of both Adventism and historical Black American worship. In Chapter 4, in the section, "Demonstrative Worship," we considered the expressive nature of early Sabbatarian Adventist liturgy. By 1850, Adventists discontinued many of the enthusiastic and supernatural practices, due to White's counsel not to trust in exercises, but in the Word of the Lord. The anthropology and cosmology developed early in the movement curbed some of the theological perspectives that espoused enthusiastic worship. Specifically, the developing Bridegroom liturgical theology contrasted with that of the spiritualizing Adventists. Those worshipers believed that Christ had come spiritually to the heart, that is, ontologically into one's being, and thus the enthusiastic physical manifestations enabled the worshiper to free one's self and engage with the spiritual Christ in one's heart. The progressive illumination through Bible study, and the progressive revelation given to Ellen White, guided church leaders in their theology of liturgy. Christ had moved from His heavenly throne into his High Priestly ministry, beginning on October 22, 1844, the antitypical Day of Atonement. Heaven is a real place, and therefore, Christ could not be ontologically in the worshipers' hearts, spurring them in physical manifestations.

The shift in 1850 was a marked one. By the 1890s, Adventists manifested their liturgical theology differently, all due to that theological shift forty years earlier. Liturgical practice of the nineteenth century must be considered in its historical and theological context. Ellen White's counsel shaped Adventist liturgical practice, curbing many enthusiastic practices. Adventist worship became more subdued. This reverential approach to the liturgy reflected their experience and the development of Adventist liturgical theology. Those earlier historical developments contributed to the spiritual identity of Adventism in the late 1890s. Ellen White's comments regarding Black worship must be considered in the context of these broader historical and theological developments.

I am not against demonstrative worship. Because early Sabbatarian Adventists worshiped with great enthusiasm does not provide a unilateral justification for Black and White demonstrative worship today. Picking and choosing which Adventist period one wants to emulate—whether “enthusiastic” or “staid” worship—does not adequately take into account these developments. Better arguments must be made—and can be made—beyond the notion, “Early Adventists did it, so we should do it too.”

Furthermore, Black Christian liturgical theology absolutely must be brought to bear upon these statements by White. In Chapter 3 of this study, we examined the ontology of African and African American spirituality. This ontology held that the soul is both timeless and spaceless, and the body is temporal and spatial, and that through the timeless soul, the African descendent was thought to participate in the community of the living and the dead. In slave religion, the actions of the body provided a means for participation with the cosmos and God's presence to the soul. Some ritual actions, such as

the ring shout, demonstrate this liturgical theology. Worshipers made contact with God through the shouting and ecstatic liturgical behaviors.

These particular theological conceptions stood in contrast with the five pillars of Adventism, especially the ontological clarity developed through the doctrines of the heavenly sanctuary and conditional immortality. It is in this theological milieu that Ellen White wrote her counsel regarding some of the worship practices of some Blacks in the South.⁷¹ From White's Adventist theological perspective—not racial discrimination—she spoke of unseemly practices in worship, calling the liturgical theology superstitious. From an Adventist ontological perspective, some of the Black Christian liturgical practices, as part of slave religion, were superstitious and unseemly, for they did not harmonize with the Adventist worldview of reality. Such an evaluation ought not to necessarily relate to Black Adventist liturgical practice today. This was the theological and liturgical context at the time of Ellen White's counsel in 1895.

In keeping in harmony with White's tender counsel toward Blacks in the South, the immediate context of her statement merits consideration. Just prior to her counsel on the "unseemly practices" of Southern Blacks, White outlined the gospel message and how it should translate into liturgical practice:

Are there not those who can go from house to house, from family to family, and who can repeat the A B C of true Christian experience? Let Christ be your text. In all your

⁷¹ Jones notes that Ellen White's son, in his ministry to Blacks in the South aboard *The Morning Star* steamboat, "encountered Blacks who seemed bent on preserving whatever vestiges of their ancestral past still remained among them." Jones, *Humphrey*, 102. Adventism in general, and the White family in particular, found difficulty harmonizing some aspects of slave religion with their faith.

labor let it be apparent that you know Jesus. Present His purity and saving grace, that by beholding, these people may become changed into the divine image.⁷²

The tenor of White's 1850 counsel resonated clearly. By beholding Christ in his Word, one would become changed into the divine image—not through ecstatic liturgical behavior. Cory Wetterlin poignantly articulates Ellen White's historical theology, that the indwelling of Christ is relational in God's Word, not ontological:

Indwelling is devotional in the sense of abiding surrender to Christ, which requires a devoted dwelling on Christ's character so that the believer's character can be transformed. The transformed character is the clearest understanding of indwelling. By devotedly beholding the person of Christ and his character the believer's character has been so transformed that the word and character of Christ are literally being lived out in the believer. He or she has the character of Christ living in him or her.⁷³

This theology applied to the liturgy. In 1908, Ellen White addressed Ralph and Mary Mackin, White-skinned Adventists from Ohio, whose spiritual experiences included “prophetic messages, speaking in tongues, ‘extemporaneous’ singing, and casting out demons.”⁷⁴ In an interview with the couple White stated,

We must go to the people with the solid Word of God; and when they receive that Word, the Holy Spirit may come, but it always comes, as I have stated before, in a way that commends itself to the judgment of the people. In our speaking, our singing, and in all our spiritual exercises, we are to reveal that calmness and dignity and godly fear that actuates every true child of God. . . . It is through the *Word*—not feeling, not excitement—that we want to influence the people to obey the truth.⁷⁵

⁷² White, “An Appeal for the South–2,” 33.

⁷³ Cory Wetterlin, “Ellen G. White's Understanding of Indwelling of the Holy Spirit: A Chronological Study,” *Andrews University Seminary Student Journal* 1, no. 2 (2015): 51-52.

⁷⁴ Burt, “Religious Enthusiasm,” 932.

⁷⁵ Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1958), 373, 375.

Ellen White's theology of liturgy knew no skin color. She believed Christ died for the White just as for the Black. She admonished all of God's children to worship Him, rooted in the Word. Demonstrative worship may result, but as a result of the workings of the Holy Spirit through the Word.

It is in this context we must read the rest of her counsel regarding Blacks and Whites in worship:

We must not combat their ideas and treat them with contempt. But let the worker give them an example of what constitutes true heart-service in religious worship. Let not the colored people be excluded from the religious assemblies of the white people. They have no chance to exchange their superstitious exercises for a worship that is more sacred and elevating if they are shut out from association with intelligent white people who should give them an example of what they should be and do. Let the white people practice the self-denial necessary, and let them remember that nothing is to be regarded as unimportant which affects the religious life of so vast a number of people as that which composes the colored race. They conduct their worship according to the instruction they have received, and they think that a religion which has no excitement, no noise, no bodily exercises, is not worth the name of religion. These ignorant worshipers need instruction and guidance. They can be won by kindness, and can be confirmed in well-doing. Both old and young will need to be instructed as one would instruct a family of children.⁷⁶

In the following decades, Black Americans who converted to Adventism heeded Ellen White's counsel. Her counsel guided both Blacks and Whites toward the Word of God, dampening what Adventists at the time believed to be excessive excitement. Her theology challenged the prevailing Black American *lex orandi lex credendi*. Through her pen, she shifted the Adventist church toward a different principle: *Sola scriptura statuat lex orandi*, only the Bible establishes the rule of worship. Contemporary worshipers are

⁷⁶ White, "An Appeal for the South," 33.

free to disagree with the Adventists of the past, but they should not overlook the historical development of liturgical theology and the prophetic voice that guided it.

Ellen White influenced the church in its liturgical theology. Her appeal at the 1891 General Conference also marked a turning point for people of color in the Adventist church.

Ellen White can rightfully be called the initiator of the Black work. No person had a greater impact on the inclusion and status of Black people in the Adventist Church; it is impossible to talk about Black Adventist history without constantly referring to her contributions. All significant workers in the early Black work, either directly or indirectly, pointed to either Ellen White or her writings as the source of their inspiration and guidance. There would have been little hope of the Black work had Ellen White not championed the cause.⁷⁷

The significance of White and her contribution to the Black work would have sounded like wishful thinking—well-nigh impossible—in 1891. As she called upon many ministers to answer Kinny’s call to the South, those appeals fell on deaf ears—all except for Ellen’s son, James Edson White.

Establishing the Southern Work, 1894

James Edson White rightly deserves credit for leading, in earnest, the Seventh-day Adventist message to Blacks in the South.⁷⁸ After correspondence and soul-searching, Edson White responded to the call of the Holy Spirit through the promptings of his mother. In 1893, in an office being renovated, he found a copy of his mother’s appeal for

⁷⁷ Delbert W. Baker, “In Search of Roots: Adventist African-Americans Part 1, Exploring the History,” *RH*, February 4, 1993, 14.

⁷⁸ Other Adventists had already been ministering in the South, though Edson’s efforts brought the needed energy and effort. Jones, *Humphrey*, 90-91, 101.

Blacks in the South, *Our Duty to the Colored People* (1891), and, after reading it, felt convicted to heed the call to serve the Black folk of the South.⁷⁹ He devised a two-pronged strategy of education and evangelism, which he conducted upon his steamboat, *The Morning Star*. In July 1894, Edson and his close colleague, Will Otis Palmer, pushed off from the banks of the Kalamazoo River in Allegan, Michigan, charting a course out to Lake Michigan, through Chicago, connecting major waterways to the Mississippi River, and onward to the southern United States, arriving in Vicksburg, Mississippi, on January 10, 1895.⁸⁰ For about the next decade, *The Morning Star* traveled up and down the River. The team ministered to folks along the river, holding evangelistic meetings and worship services aboard the boat.

In the worship services in the chapel of the boat, Blacks and Whites worshiped together, however segregated, with Whites on one side of the chapel, and Blacks on the other.⁸¹ Over 100 worshipers gathered in the chapel, singing out of Edson's 1881 songbook, *Better Than Pearls*,⁸² a collection of "the best Gospel Songs, Hymns, and Tunes for use in Tent and Camp-meetings, as well as in Revival, Social, and Praise Service. . . . [containing] 112 pages, the first 70 of which are devoted to gospel songs. . . .

⁷⁹ Edwards, "Origin and Development," 27.

⁸⁰ J. Edson White, "The 'Morning Star,'" *The Gospel Herald*, May 1898, 1; Ronald D. Graybill, *Mission to Black America: The True Story of Edson White and the Riverboat Morning Star* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1971).

⁸¹ Edson applied his mother's counsel, accommodating to the structural racism of the region. Jones, *Humphrey*, 103-104; Bennett, "Resistance and Accommodation to Racism among Early Seventh-day Adventist Missionaries in the American South: A Case Study on Relating to Oppressive Cultural Practices in Missions."

⁸² J. Edson White, "'Morning Star' Chapel," *The Gospel Herald*, December 1898, 37.

The remainder . . . contains over 50 tunes and nearly 200 standard hymns for church service.”⁸³ White sold the hymnal to the *Review* in May 1882. This transaction enabled the *Review* to make the “excellent” volume readily available, at an affordable price, as *HT* cost too much for ministers in “new fields.”⁸⁴ This purchase also afforded the *Review* the ability to donate 300 copies to *The Morning Star*, allowing White the freedom to lead worship and ensure that all had a copy to use.⁸⁵ The chapel housed a “wonderfully sweet and powerful organ to lead in the singing.”⁸⁶

The small hymnal afforded Edson White the opportunity to share the prevailing liturgical practice of Adventism with both Black and White worshippers in the South. This collection was especially suited for public worship, because it featured a broad list of topics appropriate for the majority of theological and liturgical themes: Public Worship, Social Worship, Closing Hymns, Dedication Hymns, Sabbath, Funeral Hymns, The Judgment, Lord’s Supper, Coming of Christ, Holy Scriptures, Revival Hymns, Miscellaneous, Baptism, Faith, Holy Spirit, Repentance, Ordination, Law of God, Family Devotion, and Kingdom of God.⁸⁷ The many churches and companies established in the wake of *The Morning Star* likely used this hymnal, or were in the least, shaped by it. The

⁸³ “Music Books,” *RH*, November 29, 1881, 351.

⁸⁴ George I. Butler, “Better Than Pearls,” *RH*, May 9, 1882, 304.

⁸⁵ J. Edson White, “‘Morning Star’ Chapel,” 37.

⁸⁶ J. Edson White, “‘Morning Star’ Chapel,” 37.

⁸⁷ “Index of Subjects,” *Better Than Pearls*, 110-111.

liturgical themes of dedication, baptism, and ordination, necessitated such appropriate hymns.

God blessed the ministry of Edson White in the South. In 1896, the *Morning Star* team organized the Southern Missionary Society to “consider plans for work and methods of labor, and to seek aid and council from God” for the southern work.⁸⁸ In 1901, the denomination restructured this organization, forming the Southern Union Conference, as a sisterhood of churches and schools in nine states.⁸⁹ In 1890, the Black membership in the Seventh-day Adventist church was about fifty persons. By 1900, the membership reached 300 Black Adventists in seven organized churches. By 1908, the Black members numbered over a thousand.

Arguably the most significant development of the 1890s was the institution of the Oakwood Industrial School, in 1896, in Huntsville, Alabama. Charles Kinny ministered in Huntsville, and likely recommended the site—a former plantation with 360 acres and sixty-five oak trees—to the church leadership in 1894.⁹⁰ The industrial school curriculum was patterned after the practical philosophy put forth by Booker T. Washington, and the fine example of the Tuskegee Institute, also in Alabama. Edson White’s ministry along the Mississippi River provided students to the new school.⁹¹ However, it was the word of

⁸⁸ R. S. Owen, “Southern Missionary Society,” *The Gospel Herald*, May 1898, 7.

⁸⁹ Delbert W. Baker, “Adventism Among African Americans,” in *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, ed. Denis Fortin and Jerry Moon (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2013), 587.

⁹⁰ Mervyn A. Warren, *Oakwood! A Vision Splendid Continues, 1896–2010* (Collegedale, TN: College Press, 2010), 10.

⁹¹ Mervyn A. Warren, “Oakwood Industrial School,” in *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, ed.

Ellen White that delivered prophetic encouragement for the school. “In the night season I was taken from place to place, from city to city, in the Southern field. I saw the great work to be done—the work that ought to have been done years ago. We seemed to be looking at many places. . . . One of the places that I saw was . . . Huntsville. The Lord led in the establishment of [this school].⁹² Over time, the school adapted its curriculum, its name reflecting the changes in its status: Oakwood Manual Training School (1904–1917), Oakwood Junior College (1917–1943), Oakwood College (1943–2008), and Oakwood University (2008–present). Today, Oakwood University is a four-year liberal arts school, with about 2,000 students in undergraduate and graduate degree programs, more than 100 faculty, and 1,200 acres.⁹³ Though it is a historically Black college, today it enjoys a diverse student body, faculty and staff, of White, Hispanic, Afro-Caribbean, Afro-Latino, and African students.

The Dividing of Adventism

By 1908, racial tension had increased significantly in the American south. Since the 1890s, the US Federal and State governments enacted laws that hindered the economic mobility of Blacks in the South. James Cone points out several important social factors that contributed to the dire plight of Blacks: the formation of the Ku Klux Klan in 1866; the novels, *The Leopard’s Spots* (1902) and *The Clansman* (1905), which portrayed

Denis Fortin and Jerry Moon (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2013), 1007.

⁹² Ellen G. White to Leaders in the Southern Field, February 2, 1902, Letter 25, 1902, in *Manuscript Releases*, vol. 2 [Nos. 97-161], 64; Idem., “Words of Counsel to Teachers and Students,” *The Huntsville School* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1909), 9.

⁹³ Warren, “Oakwood Industrial School,” 1007.

the Klan as “redeemers of the South.”⁹⁴ By the 1890s, “lynching fever gripped the South, spreading like cholera, as white communities made blacks their primary target, and torture their focus.”⁹⁵ A reign of White terror gripped the South.

In this context, Ellen White delivered challenging counsel. Over the past one hundred years, Adventists leaders have wrestled to understand and how to appropriate this counsel to the various contexts of ethnic ministry. In an October 19, 1908 appeal, entitled, “Proclaiming the Truth Where There is Race Antagonism,” she shared her burden:

I am burdened, heavily burdened, for the work among the colored people. The gospel is to be presented to the downtrodden Negro race. But great caution will have to be shown in the efforts put forth for the uplifting of this people. Among the white people in many places there exists a strong prejudice against the Negro race. We may desire to ignore this prejudice, but we cannot do it. If we were to act as if this prejudice did not exist we could not get the light before the white people. We must meet the situation as it is and deal with it wisely and intelligently.⁹⁶

Besides bringing glory to God, Ellen White’s highest value appears to be that of saving souls in God’s kingdom. She felt burdened for Black folk that they hear and receive the gospel. Similarly, she did not want White Americans to lose out on the light of truth.

Following the principle of careful prudence, she called for mono-cultural ministry among Blacks and Whites, extending to the area of worship.

⁹⁴ Cone, *The Cross and the Lynching Tree*, 4-5.

⁹⁵ Cone, *The Cross and the Lynching Tree*, 9. Before his conversion to Adventism, Lewis W. Sheafe (1859–1938), Adventism’s “first apostle to African-Americans in the nation’s cities,” led protest against the lynchings through prayer meeting. He issued a call for a day of fasting and prayer so that “God will so work upon the hearts of the American nation that the murderous lynchings to which we are subjected may cease.” Douglas Morgan, *Lewis C. Sheafe: Apostle to Black America* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2010), 62.

⁹⁶ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9:204.

In regard to white and colored people worshiping in the same building, this cannot be followed as a general custom with profit to either party—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 hindrance.

Let the colored believers be provided with neat, tasteful houses of worship. Let them be shown that this is done not to exclude them from worshiping 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 us a better way.⁹⁷

Herein, her counsel is a complete reversal of the direction she had given almost twenty years prior, that Blacks and Whites worship *together*. Now, in the face of violent, legalized racism, it behooved the Adventist church to gather for worship along racial lines. She concluded this appeal on race, stating even more explicitly, “Let white and colored people be labored for in *separate, distinct lines*, and let the Lord take care of the rest.”⁹⁸

Clifford Jones emphasizes that White’s counsel was conditional, viewing segregation as pragmatic, not the ideal.⁹⁹ In contrast, Bull and Lockhart see White’s counsel as indicative of Adventism as “a white, Anglophone faith,” and as such, the denomination has found it very difficult to lay aside its prejudices and adequately

⁹⁷ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9:206-207.

⁹⁸ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9:210. This continues to be the sentiment held by even some young White Adventists. I had a White male student in one of my classes speak with me about the issue of Regional Conferences. He quoted “separate, distinct lines,” arguing that this continues to be why Blacks and Whites should not worship together. Perhaps he believed the Lord has not yet shown a better way. Or, more likely, Ellen White’s quote allowed him to hide his prejudice behind a “Word from the Lord.”

⁹⁹ Jones, *Humphrey*, 100.

minister to Blacks and foster a spirit of inclusivity.¹⁰⁰ However, Roy Branson defended Ellen White. He understood Ellen White to be adamantly opposed to racism—“blacks and whites are equal”—based upon a common ontology through creation and an equal value placed upon humanity through redemption in Christ’s sacrifice for all. Furthermore, according to Adventism’s view of Bible prophecy, Christ was coming soon and would abolish sin and slavery.¹⁰¹ Branson argued that White did not change her theology, but made “concession to a specific problem that she hoped would be temporary.”¹⁰² Graybill astutely noted:

Ellen White believed, basically, in the essential equality of the Negro and the Caucasian. Her counsels regarding separate church services were given, not on the basis of any belief in a “natural law” forbidding such contact or on the basis of a belief in the supposed inherent inferiority of the Negro, but because of conditions in a country mired in the depths of its deepest pit of racism.

The apparent inconsistency between her early statements, that white people had no license to exclude Negroes from their places of worship, and her 1908 statements that separate provision be made can be explained then only by the rise of racial tensions and segregation during the intervening years, and by Ellen White’s conviction that extreme caution must be exercised in order to prevent the closing of the Negro work entirely in the South. She hoped that it would be only a matter of time until the Lord “shows us a better way.”

Ideally, Adventist segregation in worship was to be for *only a matter of time*.

Though meant to be a formative statement, “separate, distinct lines” became the *lex*

¹⁰⁰ Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007), 273-74, 278-89.

¹⁰¹ Roy Branson, “Slavery and Prophecy,” *RH*, April 16, 1970, 7-9.

¹⁰² Roy Branson, “The Crisis of the Nineties,” *RH*, April 23, 1970, 5.

orandi lex credendi of Adventism. Racial segregation between Blacks and White became normative.

The church applied White's counsel systemically, in all of its organization, from education, denominational judicatory structures, and liturgically. According to Mylas Martin, the scandal of it all, is that, following the death of Ellen White in 1915, *The Southern Work* went out of print. This volume contained all the normative statements by White regarding the equality of the races and the need to worship together.¹⁰³ By the early 1960s, church members could only access volume nine of the *Testimonies*, in which White directed the work to be done in "separate, distinct lines."¹⁰⁴

Though himself Black, Martin had not heard of *The Southern Work* until February 8, 1961, when he received a copy from Frank W. Hale, Jr. and stayed up all night, reading it three times. He endeavored to see that the book be reprinted. He declared,

'If I can't get *The Southern Work* reprinted, at the General Conference Meeting in Detroit in 1966 I will have Martin Luther King, Jr. standing up in public reading from *The Southern Work* verbatim, word for word.' And they knew I could do it at that time. . . . That's how we got *The Southern Work* back. . . . I worked very hard to get that back."¹⁰⁵

The Southern Work provided the normative counsel of Ellen White. By allowing this compilation to go out of print, the church was complicit in making volume nine of

¹⁰³ Douglas Morgan also notes that "volume 9" does not give the requisite "time and place" principle in reading Ellen White's writings. "No guidance helps the reader reconcile or balance apparent clashes between the counsel given in volume 9 and that given in earlier publications, such as volume 7 of the *Testimonies* and *The Southern Work*." Morgan, *Lewis Sheafe*, 389.

¹⁰⁴ Mylas Martin, Oral History interview by Merlin Burt, April 23, 1997, at the James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI (Berrien Springs, MI: Center for Adventist Research), 20.

¹⁰⁵ Martin, Oral History, 21-22.

the *Testimonies* the new norm, neglecting the requisite literary context of the earlier writings. Martin and Frank W. Hale, Jr. (1927–2011), among other laymen, formed the Laymen’s Leadership Conference to confront the racial discrimination in the “predominantly white Adventist Church,”¹⁰⁶ also speaking against the “black church leaders who took unwarranted and oppressive positions against black subordinates and others with whom they might differ.”¹⁰⁷ Their publishing efforts leading up to the 1962 General Conference in San Francisco resulted in the reprint edition (1966) of *The Southern Work*.

The misappropriation of Ellen White’s counsel regarding the worship of Blacks and Whites resulted in a fracturing of Adventism across racial lines. Martin noted that once the word went out that Adventists were to separate, many Black Adventists left their multi-racial congregations to form Black ones. Some left the Adventist faith altogether.¹⁰⁸ Though segregated into separate houses of worship, Blacks and Whites continued to worship similarly. In the North, Blacks and Whites had always worshiped together, establishing a shared theology, liturgy, and spiritual identity. Following Ellen White’s statement, “separate, distinct lines,” their worship became segregated. When Blacks left their former White churches, they brought with them the only Adventist liturgy and hymnody they knew. In the South, Black and White Adventists worshiped separately, though they worshiped similarly, cultivating a shared Seventh-day Adventist spiritual

¹⁰⁶ Warren, *Oakwood!*, 204.

¹⁰⁷ Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow*, 277.

¹⁰⁸ Martin, Oral History, 22.

identity. One contributing factor was Black accommodation to White rule. However, these Blacks had also been converted to the Adventist message, which also espoused a particular mode of worship. *Lex credendi lex orandi*. The way Adventists believed directed how they ought to worship, so it was believed. Therefore, similarities in worship perpetuated, not solely due to White supremacy and Black accommodation, but because of theology, the pervasive and normative function of liturgy, and a shared spiritual identity fostered through music.¹⁰⁹ Significant differences remained, but these do not negate the great similarities in liturgical and musical practice.

Nonetheless, it is precisely these cultural differences, expressed liturgically, musically, and politically, that contributed to a further division among Blacks and Whites. The year following the 1908 directive, “separate, distinct lines,” Lewis Sheafe appealed to the White brethren for parity in the administrative leadership of the denomination. Thus, at the 1909 General Conference session, the church established the Negro Department, though it was not until 1918 that an African American, William H. Green, led the work.¹¹⁰ That Whites controlled the Negro Department for a decade grants credence to the notion the Adventist church reflected society at large.¹¹¹ The Adventist church was following White American society’s rule of “separate but equal.” “By institutionalizing separate development, the leadership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church was accepting the dictum of white prejudice which did not want the

¹⁰⁹ Chapter 6 explores these issues in-depth.

¹¹⁰ Jones, *Humphrey*, 106.

¹¹¹ Jones, *Humphrey*, 21-22.

denomination to be integrated.”¹¹² In the 1920s and 30s, outstanding Black Adventist ministers, such as James K. Humphrey, John W. Mann, and M. G. Nunez, left the denomination, primarily because of the Church’s treatment of Blacks. In 1943, the most unfortunate of circumstances took place. Lucy Byard, a light-skinned African American died because she was denied treatment at the Adventist Washington Sanitarium and Hospital, once the healthcare providers learned she was Black.

A 1944 open letter addressed to McElhany from a group of Black Adventist leaders entitled “Shall the Four Freedoms Function among Seventh-day Adventists?” signaled a concern with worship practice. One of this letter’s requests petitioned for the segregation in Adventist worship to cease.¹¹³ The letter’s title alluded to the “Four Freedoms” put forth by United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1941.¹¹⁴ Roosevelt’s second freedom called for the freedom of every person to worship God in his or her own way. While the letter to McElhany requested desegregation, issues in worship could arguably be inferred from the document’s primary premise—the four freedoms, including the freedom of worship—and should be upheld.

I conclude from this, that not all wanted the same thing. Some desired desegregation, Blacks and Whites worshipping together. Others simply wanted to worship in their own way, in their own culture, and without discrimination given to their manner

¹¹² Alven Makapela, *The Problem with Africanity in the Seventh-day Adventist Church*, African Studies (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), 220.

¹¹³ Joseph T. Dodson, *Shall the Four Freedoms Function among Seventh-day Adventists?* (General Conference Archives: Committee for the Advancement of World-Wide Work Among Colored Seventh-day Adventists, 1944).

¹¹⁴ 1) Freedom of speech and expression, 2) Freedom of worship, 3) Freedom from want, and 4) Freedom from fear.

of worship. Still others sought organizational and leadership parity with the White leadership, leading to the establishment of the regional conferences.

These diverse worship issues appear to have been compounded later in 1944, as the church began instituting regional conferences as a means to allow more freedom of leadership for the gospel ministry among African American Adventists. In order to understand these regional conferences, a word must be given regarding the general organization of the Adventist church. The highest judicatory level of the worldwide Seventh-day Adventist Church is the General Conference. The General Conference is divided into Divisions, which administrate church governance in large continental regions of the world. The smallest level of organization is the local church. In the United States, the sisterhood of churches is governed by a conference. Conferences generally claim the territory of one or two states, though large states or areas with significant population are divided into two or even three conferences. These conferences are further grouped into Union Conferences, which comprise large geographic regions, such as the Midwest United States (or the US South). In 1944, the regional conferences were formed to function as part of the administration for Black churches. The order of institution of these regional conferences is as follows: Lake Region 1944, Allegheny 1945, Northeastern 1945, South Atlantic 1945, South Central 1945, Southwest Region 1946, Central States 1947, Allegheny West 1967, Southeastern 1981. Constituents of these regional conferences have been predominantly Black, though there have been other ethnicities as well. These conferences generally overlay the other conferences within a Union. E. E. Cleveland pointed out, however, that regional conferences are not segregated and are open to all races. Even so, these regions have been primarily Black in

demographic, and thus have been administrated by Black leadership.¹¹⁵ These regional conferences developed out of a number of factors that have been well documented, including: racial tensions, leadership challenges, and evangelistic necessity.¹¹⁶

The racial-liturgical developments of the first half of twentieth century contributed to the long-term spiritual identity of Black and White Adventists. Before 1908, Black and White Adventists worshiped together, though often segregated within the liturgical space. However, after Ellen White's counsel in 1908 to work in "separate, distinct lines," Blacks and Whites worshiped in completely separate liturgical spaces. This separation came as a result of the church's misappropriating Ellen White's counsel. When the North American Division voted to establish regional conferences to advance ministry among Black Americans, this liturgical separation was no longer based upon Ellen White's guidance alone. It became official organizational structure. Many of the research participants I interviewed, as detailed in Chapter 6, grew up in this organizational context. White racism drove Black leadership to seek hegemony, establishing a separate gospel ministry for Black Americans. It also perpetuated racism,

¹¹⁵ Cleveland, *Let the Church Roll On*, 63.

¹¹⁶ Baker, "Events Leading to the Establishment of Regional Conferences," 7; Baker, "In Search of Roots: Adventist African-Americans, Part 1: Exploring the History," 1/2-4; Baker, "In Search of Roots: Adventist African-Americans, Part 2: The Crucial Year," 1/5-7; Baker, "In Search of Roots: Adventist African-Americans, Part 3: A Providential Story," 1/8-10; Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil*, 145-151; Edwards, "Origin and Development"; Bradford, "Black Seventh-day Adventists and Church Loyalty," 18; Penno, "An Investigation of the Perceptions of Clergy and Laity on Race-Based Organizational Segregation in the Southern Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists," 17-26; Greene, "[Black] Regional Conferences in the Seventh-day Adventist Church (SDA) Compared with United Methodist [Black] Central Jurisdiction/Annual Conferences with White S.D.A. Conferences, from 1940–2001"; Rock, "Institutional Loyalty versus Racial Freedom: The Dilemma of Black Seventh-day Adventist Leadership."

in that the organizational structure practically prevented Black and White Adventists from worshipping together.¹¹⁷

Hymnody and Race

The twentieth century hymnal publications, and controversies that surround them, highlight the trends in Adventist race relations between Blacks and Whites. In Chapter 4, we considered the abundant evidence from nineteenth-century Adventist worship practice that music contributed to a core, Adventist spiritual identity. This Adventist spiritual identity cherished a love for Jesus Christ and expectantly awaited his soon return. In the twentieth century, Adventists continued this spiritual expression in music, but began to expand and broaden that identity. As seen in this chapter, the work among Black Americans had swiftly expanded, necessitating that the Adventist corpus of hymnody include musical styles that spoke their cultural language. However, some Adventists also desired a refinement of musical style, taste, and aesthetics, embracing more of the Lutheran and Anglican traditions of the Protestant Reformation. These cultural perspectives did not need to be mutually exclusive. As we have seen, the transmission of Protestant hymnody, American hymnody, and both Black and White spirituals share a common heritage, and for some genres, even influenced each other. In Chapter 6, we will see from the living testimony of people who lived during the period, that both Blacks and Whites embraced both the popular and the artistically refined music from America and

¹¹⁷ Today, this is not the case. Blacks hold membership in historically White congregations. Some Whites may also be found in Black congregations. The great American melting pot is swiftly changing the racial landscape of Adventism. Furthermore, as noted above, the regional conferences do not exclusively minister to Black Americans alone, but rather, spread the good news to many people groups.

Europe. However, following the larger societal norms, White power and privilege eclipsed Black expressions of worship to a great degree, as demonstrated in the hymnal publications.

In 1941, the Seventh-day Adventist church published *The Church Hymnal*. At the beginning of 1942, local churches immediately began implementing the hymnal into congregational use. Liturgically, the hymnal became the new standard, though worshipers continued to cherish *Christ in Song*. *The Church Hymnal* became the standard liturgical book across the North American Division until the latest hymnal, *The Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal* (1985). This hymnal also became the basis for many hymnals outside the United States and Canada, as other ethnicities translated the English text into their own vernacular, continuing to sing the same tunes. The influence *The Church Hymnal* would exert for at least forty-four years would be significant. As we have seen thus far in this study, congregational song is a strong indicator for spiritual identity. Thus, what the 1941 hymnal established, excised, or introduced would have implications on the spirituality of the denomination for almost half a century to come. It reflected the racial discrimination apparent in Adventism in the twentieth century. It also perpetuated musical and liturgical tension between Black and White ethnicities, due to the cultural languages espoused and excised in its publication.

Alma Montgomery Blackmon (1921–2009)¹¹⁸ spoke critically of the 1941 hymnal, because it had omitted the Black spirituals altogether:

¹¹⁸ Blackmon was professor of English at Oakwood College from 1973 to 1985, and she conducted the school's world renowned vocal ensemble, The Aeolians, from 1973–1985. The ensemble was formed by Eva B. Dykes in 1946. Lucile C. Lacy and Eurydice V. Osterman, "Music at Oakwood," *Adventist Heritage: Special Oakwood Edition*, no. 17.1 (March 1996): 40; Dan Schultz, "Alma Montgomery

The 1941 *Church Hymnal* contained music of various nations of the world, and even hymns sourced from other denominations, but there were no inclusions of the Negro spiritual. In fact, at certain Adventist institutions of higher learning White elitist professors of music were commenting on the inferiority of the Negro spiritual as a musical form.¹¹⁹

Her words suggest a painful and discordant history regarding not only the publication of the 1941 *Church Hymnal*, but even of the Seventh-day Adventist church during that period. Her claim of the absence of Black spirituals in the hymnal is accurate. The argument regarding “White elitists” and the inferiority of Black spirituals suggests feelings of discrimination. Was the committee responsible for compiling this hymnal elitist and discriminatory? If Black spirituals could have been included in the 1941 *Church Hymnal*, why weren’t they? Collections of Black spirituals had been published decades before the 1941 hymnal. While Blackmon’s critique of the 1941 *Church Hymnal* was correct, in that it did not contain any Black spirituals, another class of spirituals was largely missing as well—the White spirituals.

Twentieth Century Precursors to the *Church Hymnal*

Before the 1941 *Church Hymnal*, the previous official church hymnal was *The Seventh-day Adventist Hymn and Tune Book for Use in Divine Worship* (1886), commonly known as *HT*. This large volume soon fell out of use, being superseded by

Blackmon, 1921–2009,” *International Adventist Musicians Association*, accessed December 14, 2017, http://www.blacksdahistory.org/Alma_Blackmon.html.

¹¹⁹ Blackmon, “Black Seventh-day Adventists and Church Music,” 183.

Christ in Song (1900/1908) and *Gospel in Song* (1926). These songbooks were not official hymnals and had not been intended for divine worship.¹²⁰

Christ in Song is arguably the most popular of all Seventh-day Adventist hymnals throughout the denomination's history. One may still purchase a "souvenir edition" from the local Adventist Book Center. Franklin E. Belden (1858–1945) was the son of Ellen Harmon White's sister, Sarah Harmon Belden. He was one of the most prolific Adventist composers in denominational history, composing hundreds of songs between 1880 and 1900. He first published *Christ in Song Hymnal* in 1900, partnering with the *RH* for sale and distribution.¹²¹ It was a collection of hymns and gospel songs, with 742 hymns and 692 tunes on 414 pages. In 1905, Belden had a falling out with the publishers of his songs and song books over the issue of royalties and his salary at the *RH*. These conflicts culminated in being "expelled" from the denomination in 1907.¹²² In 1908, Belden revised and enlarged the songbook, entitling it *Christ in Song: For All Religious Services*.¹²³ He expanded the volume to 576 pages. He purposed the book as a church hymnal, Sabbath school hymnal, and for use in the young people's society meetings.

¹²⁰ Hooper and White, *Companion*, 34. *The Church Hymnal: The Official Hymnal of the Seventh-day Adventist Church*, (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1941), 5. Harold Hannum, "The Hymnal: A Revised Hymnal to be Used as a Basis for Study in Preparing a New Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal" (Master's thesis, Northwestern University, 1935), 1.

¹²¹ Franklin E. Belden, ed. *Christ in Song Hymnal: Containing over 700 Best Hymns and Sacred Songs New and Old* (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald, 1900).

¹²² Dan Schultz, "Franklin Edson Belden," *International Adventist Musicians Association*, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.iamaonline.com>.

¹²³ Franklin E. Belden, ed. *Christ in Song for All Religious Service: Nearly One Thousand Best Gospel Hymns, New and Old with Responsive Scripture Readings*, rev. ed. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1908).

Christ in Song contained the major gospel writers: Mason, Sankey, Lowry, Kirkpatrick, Doan, Bliss, and Root.

Christ in Song immediately took root in the liturgical worship expression of both Black and White Adventists throughout the United States. Perhaps in an attempt to censure Belden's profits, in 1914 the General Conference committee decreed that the 1886 *HT* must be the only hymnal used in divine worship. *Christ in Song* was permitted to be used for Sabbath school and gospel meetings.¹²⁴ Further examination in Chapter 6 of this study reveals that of the congregations examined, only the denominational headquarters church, Takoma Park, in Takoma Park, Maryland, followed this ruling. From all available evidence, it appears that the other churches continued using *Christ in Song*.

Christ in Song contained four general divisions:

Part:	Hymn:
I. Invitation and Repentance	1–187
II. Consecration and Praise	188–472
III. Service and Dependence	473–847
IV. The Eternal Home	848–950

This division is significant. Its organization emphasizes the gospel of Christ through song. The sinner recognizes one's need for repentance, consecrating oneself to Christ, leading to praise. Worship then turns from the corporate gathering to the ethical dimensions of the gospel. Section four strikes a chord with Adventist spirituality, with over one hundred hymns on heaven and the second coming.

¹²⁴ "Denominational Hymn Books," *RH*, November 19, 1914, 9.

Christ in Song retained its hold on Adventist spirituality for over fifty years, serving as the backbone of Adventist hymnody, functioning as the unofficial church hymnal. Also, in Chapter 6 of this study, many elderly Adventists, both Black and White, testify to the significance of *Christ in Song* in their spiritual experience.

The popularity of *Christ in Song* indicates the continued significance of the gospel hymn, for it provided a core aspect of Adventist musical expression in corporate worship. The prevalence of gospel hymnody in the nineteenth century continued into the twentieth century and was taken up in earnest through the proliferation of *Christ in Song*. Thus, the core of Adventist spirituality expressed in music continued in the gospel hymn.

In 1931, the denomination published a small songbook intended for youth, the *Junior Song Book*. Significantly, this volume included four Black spirituals: “Steal Away,” “Swing Low, Sweet Chariot,” “Lord, I Want to Be a Christian,” and “Deep River.”¹²⁵ This small inclusion demonstrated that some in the denomination’s leadership recognized the cultural importance of Black spirituals, and the spiritual good they would foster in the worship of the church’s young people. The Black spirituals were now in use among Seventh-day Adventists, and for good reason. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the spirituals had been published in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, already being used formally in songbooks for congregational singing. This songbook

¹²⁵ *The Junior Song Book: For Junior Missionary Volunteer Societies, Church Schools, Junior Division of Sabbath Schools, Summer Training Camps for Juniors, Other Gatherings of Young People, and the Home*, (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1931), 86-89.

continued to be used in youth meetings for number of years, under a new publication name, *Missionary Volunteer Songs*.¹²⁶

George Pullen Jackson, contemporary with the publishers of the 1941 Seventh-day Adventist *Church Hymnal*, indicated thirteen different collections available to his research on White and Black spirituals, including the aforementioned *Slave Songs*, *Jubilee Songs*, *Plantation Melodies*, and *American Negro Songs*, to name a few.¹²⁷ At the time of writing *White and Negro Spirituals* in 1943, George Jackson seemed unaware of the Adventist church's latest hymnal of 1941. He praised the Adventist denomination for its retention of spirituals in its hymnody corpus:

The Seventh-day Adventists stand alone among the well organized and wide-spreading denominations who have held true to the old-time songs they were brought up on a hundred years ago. There seems to have been little weakening of their loyalty to the old home stock from the time of the Boston *Millennial Harp* (1843) up to the present. Their *Hymn and Tune Book* of 1886, still in wide use, contains no less than 53 of the old songs. The immensely popular 'Old Churchyard' of William Miller's end-of-the-world days is still there.¹²⁸

Jackson seems to have been unaware both that the denomination had recently published the 1941 *Church Hymnal* as well as the fact that *HT* had generally fallen out of use. The fifty-three "old songs" to which Jackson most likely referred was the section of the hymnal entitled, "Old Melodies," hymn numbers 1140-1190, or fifty-one hymns. Thus, a discrepancy exists between Jackson's count of fifty-three and the actual fifty-one hymns of this section. In this section is the early Advent hymn, a favorite White spiritual,

¹²⁶ *Missionary Volunteer Songs (Formerly "Junior Song Book")*, (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, n.d.).

¹²⁷ Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals*, 141-42.

¹²⁸ Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals*, 134.

“You Will See Your Lord A-Coming,” known by the tune name, “Old Churchyard” (though with modified text in *HT*). Jackson indicated that *HT* contained “no less” than fifty-three. The section following “Old Melodies” was a section entitled “Bible Songs,” which contained 223 songs, including many more revival songs and White spirituals.

The editors of the 1941 *Church Hymnal* omitted most of the White spirituals found in the section “Old Melodies.” The songs retained include: “How Far from Home?” “I’m a Pilgrim,” “Lo, What a Glorious Sight Appears,” “Awake, My Soul, in Joyful Lays,” “How Sweet are the Tidings,” “Must Jesus Bear the Cross Alone?” “Home Sweet Home,” and “Father, I Stretch My Hands to Thee.” Strangely missing from the *Church Hymnal* are popular songs: “Old Churchyards,” “Heavenly Music,” and “Angels Hovering Round.” Thus, out of the section that contained the most spirituals, “Old Melodies,” only eight of the fifty-one songs remain.¹²⁹

In 1994, James Nix compiled a collection of fifty-two early Adventist hymns, entitled *Early Advent Singing*.¹³⁰ His study profits this present research by offering perspective regarding spirituals not within the “Old Melodies” section of *HT*, yet

¹²⁹ The text for “O for a Faith” was included, though the tune was changed from the fusing tune, HALLOWELL, to the tune NORTHFIELD. Originally, NORTHFIELD was a fusing (fuguing) tune as well, however in the 1941 *Church Hymnal*, the fuge (fugue) was removed, rendering a single statement of the fuge subject as the melody for part of the hymn text. The lower three voices simply sound in homophony with this single statement of the old fuge subject. Typically, a fusing tune is “an Anglo-American psalm tune or hymn tune, designed for strophic repetition, which contains one or more groups of contrapuntal entries involving textual overlap. . . . The most widely accepted fusing-tunes in America during the late 18th and early 19th centuries were bipartite, with the second section repeated (*ABB*).” Richard Crawford. “Fuguing-tune,” In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2256601>. The *A* section corresponds with a homophonic section, followed by a repeated imitative or fugal section (*BB*). The final phrase of the tune is usually in homophony. Eskew and McElrath, *Sing with Understanding*, 179.

¹³⁰ Nix, *Early Advent Singing*.

nevertheless included elsewhere in the 1886 hymnal. Significant spirituals missing from Nix's list in the *Church Hymnal*, in addition to some listed above, are: "Here is No Rest," "I Long to be There," "My Bible Leads to Glory," "My Brother, I Wish You Well," "Revive Us Again," "Resting By and By," "When I Can Read My Title Clear," and "'Tis Love That Makes Us Happy."

Of the songs here mentioned not included in the 1941 *Church Hymnal*, all could be classified as White spirituals,¹³¹ folk songs, or revival camp-meeting songs. These songs played an important part of the religious fervor in the early days of the Advent movement. Each of these songs contributes to the primary message of the movement, both the preparation for and the nearness of Christ's second coming. Most were excluded, and only a few remained.

Dominant Hymns of the 1941 *Church Hymnal*

The 1941 hymnal contributed toward expanding Adventism's liturgical and musical palette, embracing elements of the so-called "high church" traditions. It removed many of the earlier American spirituals and gospel songs, incorporating more music from Western Europe. It also included service music and readings.

The corpus of hymnody in the 1941 *Church Hymnal* demonstrates a de-emphasis of White spirituals. Most of its hymns came either from periods before or after 1800–1850. As such, the primary hymn text writers represented before the Advent movement were Isaac Watts with thirty-one texts and Charles Wesley with twenty-seven. Later hymnists were Franklin Belden with twenty-four, Horatius Bonar twelve, and Fanny

¹³¹ See Chapter 4.

Crosby twenty-three. Regarding hymn tunes, a strong emphasis was placed on Lowell Mason and the nineteenth-century singing school tradition. Mason had forty-five, William Bradbury seventeen, William Kirkpatrick twelve. In addition, John B. Dykes contributed twenty, Joseph Barnby eleven, and Edwin Barnes eleven.¹³² But other important composers in sacred music history were also included, such as Joseph and Michael Haydn, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Orlando Gibbons, Gottschalk, Handel, Hassler, Mozart, Praetorius, Schumann, Stainer, Sullivan, Tallis, Vulpius, Weber, and Bach with his first entrance into Adventist hymnody with three tunes.¹³³

Wayne Hooper noted that the hymnal was met with mixed reviews. Some grumbled that the church had too many “high church” hymns, while similarly others said, “They are trying to educate us with a bunch of material we don’t like.” But others criticized it from the other side, saying that it included too many “cheap” gospel songs with “sentimental lyrics, and trite, three-chord harmonies with dotted rhythms.”¹³⁴ These comments appear to come as a result of the inclusions of composers *new to Adventism*, though composers such as Hassler or Bach were certainly not new to music history in general, but rather predated Millerite Adventism by at least a century.

As the 1941 *Church Hymnal* editorial committee selected hymns, they did not include any Black spirituals, reducing the White spirituals from the volume. The largest corpus of hymnody comes from hymnists and composers before and after the Millerite

¹³² The prolific revivalist, Ira Sankey, was only represented with four tunes in the 1941 hymnal.

¹³³ Hooper and White, *Companion*, 36.

¹³⁴ Hooper and White, *Companion*, 36.

revival period, or from those from the singing school tradition. Therefore, the hymnal committee neglected both Black and White spirituals, emphasizing texts and tunes outside of that tradition.

Philosophy for the 1941 *Church Hymnal*

The philosophy guiding the 1941 hymnal committee deserves further examination. Multiple factors influenced the selection process, introducing to Adventism a new emphasis in the high church tradition of Protestant Christianity.

History of the 1941 *Church Hymnal*

In the 1930s, appeals began to be heard calling for a new church hymnal to replace the outdated and unused *HT*. Carlyle Haynes,¹³⁵ Oliver Beltz,¹³⁶ and Harold Hannum were leading voices in this movement.¹³⁷ Recommendation was made at the 1936 General Conference session in San Francisco that a committee be formed to study the issue.¹³⁸ The Fall Council spoke favorably regarding the need for a new hymnal to supersede the old songbooks, suggesting a book of about 700 hymns. A committee of seventeen was selected, mostly men from the General Conference Committee. A subcommittee, which included some musicians, was also set up to examine the hymns.

¹³⁵ Pastor of the Battle Creek Tabernacle, 1931–1936.

¹³⁶ Beltz served as professor and administrator of music at Northwestern University, Chicago, from 1923–1946. He chaired the Department of Church and Choral Music, beginning in 1931. Hellen Foreman Little, “Oliver Seth Beltz,” *Adventist Heritage* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 36. Undoubtedly, Beltz held influence over Hannum, as Hannum completed his master’s thesis in 1935.

¹³⁷ Hooper and White, *Companion*, 34.

¹³⁸ See Chapter 4 for a history and purpose of the General Conference sessions and their relationship to the Seventh-day Adventist denomination.

In the fall of 1937, the General Conference Committee was divided as to what types of hymns should be included in the hymnal:

Quite a number expressed themselves as in favor of the old majestic hymns that breathe a spirit of reverence and worship, that were used by the church in earlier years, before the introduction of the more modern evangelistic songs. Others felt that some of the modern songs have their use also, especially in connection with evangelistic efforts, and that they should not be discarded altogether. The suggestion was made that it might be difficult to hold to the idea of one hymnal for use on all occasions, —the church service, Sabbath school, young people’s meetings and evangelistic efforts.¹³⁹

For two years, these committees attempted their work with little success. In 1939, the committee employed J. W. Osborn and Harold Hannum, both music professors at Emmanuel Missionary College, Berrien Springs, Michigan. It is likely that Blackmon’s comments about “White elitist professors of music” referred to these men. Hannum demonstrated great value to the team, as his master’s thesis at Northwestern University, Chicago, dealt specifically with creating a new hymnal for the Adventist church.¹⁴⁰

Hannum’s Philosophy for Hymnody

Hannum’s views regarding the number of hymns for the denomination’s hymnal differed. In his master’s thesis, he advocated for a hymnal to contain between 250–350 hymns.¹⁴¹ His project put forth 301 selections. Of the final 703 hymns in the 1941 hymnal, 249 of Hannum’s 301 were chosen.¹⁴² Kenneth Blanton has pointed out, “Not

¹³⁹ Autumn Council, “Church Hymnal,” (Washington, DC: Minutes of Meetings of the General Conference Committee, October 25, 1937), 538.

¹⁴⁰ Hooper and White, *Companion*, 35.

¹⁴¹ Hannum, “The Hymnal,” 1.

¹⁴² Kenneth Blanton, “History of the Church Hymnal of 1941” (Term paper, Andrews University,

only was the hymnal committee guided in their choice of hymns, but they were also guided to a large extent by the philosophy set forth by . . . Hannum.”¹⁴³

Harold Hannum committed his early educational goals towards contributing to the Adventist church’s hymnody. He recognized a need for a new hymnal, and thus, as he and his colleagues (Osborn and Beltz) called for a new church hymnal, he committed his master’s thesis towards that end. In his Foreword, he explained the purpose and motive for his project. “It is not the desire of the editor of this project to dictate the contents of a new hymnal for the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, but he hopes sincerely that the study necessary for such a project may be found useful in this form as a step forward toward a higher standard of hymnody.”¹⁴⁴ His purpose was to make a hymnbook, not an anthology of sacred poetry. He sought to make a hymnal that would not be “too foreign” and at the “level of appreciation” of the church members. This would account for the “inclusion of many hymns of doubtful musical or literary merit. On the other hand, an attempt [was] made to include many of the best hymns and tunes of Christendom, material that [would] always be of worth to the church.”¹⁴⁵ Therefore, Hannum believed that hymns of “doubtful musical or literary merit” were not ideal for the Adventist hymnal, though some concessions had to be made in order for church members to appreciate the new hymnal. Hannum does not indicate what criteria he used in

1962), 9, History of SDA Hymns and hymn books, White Estate Document File (WDF) 245-d, CAR.

¹⁴³ Blanton, “History of the Church Hymnal of 1941,” 9.

¹⁴⁴ Hannum, “The Hymnal,” Foreword.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

determining the songs that met these standards. It appears he selected songs according to his own values for church music.

Influences on Hannum's Philosophy

For his master's thesis, Hannum relied on three contemporary hymnals: *Songs of Praise*, *Christian Song*, and the *Episcopal Hymnal*. The first two of these hymnals will be examined here. The Oxford hymnal, *Songs of Praise*, was arguably the most influential hymnal during the period. Before the publication of *Songs of Praise* in 1931, *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861) had held a "monopoly" on hymnody in England with its spread of styles of texts and tunes.¹⁴⁶ The editors of *Songs of Praise*, Percy Dearmer, an Anglican priest, his organist, Martin Shaw, and Ralph Vaughan Williams, all believed that the legacy of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* had caused English hymnody to be stale and in desperate need of reform. In the preface to *Songs of Praise*, the editors indicate that England had a rich heritage in its hymnic poetry, though they believed most tunes sung were the result of the Victorian era, an era completely unworthy of the English Bible and *Book of Common Prayer*. "The bulk of the tunes to which they were sung illustrated a period of British music which the musicians of to-day are anxious to forget."¹⁴⁷ The context of this statement reveals a prejudice against a particular style of English composition. However, it also denotes an attitude of musical elitism. The editors' primary objective was to publish a hymnal that improved the quality of British

¹⁴⁶ Erik Routley, *Christian Hymns Observed: When in Our Music God is Glorified* (Princeton, NJ: Prestige Publications, 1982), 72-3.

¹⁴⁷ Percy Dearmer, Ralph Vaughan Williams, and Martin Shaw, eds., *Songs of Praise*, Enlarged ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), v.

congregational singing. They hoped this hymnal would be carried to the United States to have similar effects there as well. Collecting hymns or composing new ones, they “endavoured to find . . . tunes of exceptional vigour and beauty.”¹⁴⁸ The criteria with which they deemed a hymn to possess such “vigour and beauty” went undefined in the preface.

However, in 1933 Dearmer published *Songs of Praise Discussed: A Handbook to the Best-Known Hymns and to Others Recently Introduced*. Dearmer believed that poor poetry promoting certain doctrines, rather than the essence of religion, had bypassed and neglected the vast output by Isaac Watts (600 hymn texts) and Charles Wesley (6,500). He further stated his point, “The overwhelming effect of this tendency is shown by the enormous number of bad hymns produced during the output of the 19th century; book after book appeared which made no contribution whatever.”¹⁴⁹ He also added that this was generally the case regarding music for the hymn texts. The great music was “outside the Church.”¹⁵⁰

The result of singing poor texts and tunes, Dearmer believed, was poor singing and worse, poor religion. While some viewed the nineteenth century as “an age of recovery and revival,” he viewed it as a “loss of the old secure influence of religion on the nation.” He asked, “Is it true that during the last eighty years the Churches have been

¹⁴⁸ Dearmer, Williams, and Shaw, eds., *Songs of Praise*, v-vi.

¹⁴⁹ Percy Dearmer, *Songs of Praise Discussed: A Handbook to the Best-Known Hymns and to Others Recently Introduced* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), xx.

¹⁵⁰ Dearmer, *Songs of Praise Discussed*, xx.

gently singing themselves downhill?”¹⁵¹ Thus for Dearmer, the splintering of Christianity as a result of the nineteenth-century revival movements had led to poor congregational singing and threatened the unity of the universal Christian church. His goal for the recently published *Songs of Praise* was for it to be for “all the Church—not, indeed, for Lot’s wife, but for the forward-looking people of every communion.”¹⁵² Ironically, though it seems Dearmer viewed with disapproval those churches that looked back, as did Lot’s wife, to the revival music of the nineteenth century, wasn’t Dearmer also looking back to history and tradition? It appears that the revivalist churches were simply not looking back far enough in Dearmer’s opinion.

The hymnal, *Songs of Praise*, was to be a book of ecumenism, promoting a further unity of the Spirit. He said:

We are reaching the time when denominational hymn-books will be recognized as an anachronism and a hindrance to the unity of the Spirit. Why should we thus emphasize and perpetuate our peculiarities? The hymns themselves show how catholic we have already become in spite of ourselves. They represent the whole of Christendom, without sectarian limitations; and the ideal for all the Churches is to use the same books, so that the distinction will not be between one denomination and another, but merely the still natural as inevitable one between those who are lingering behind and those who go forward.¹⁵³

This nostalgia for the rich Christian tradition set the context for much of the ruling philosophy ruling hymnody in the first half of the twentieth century.

¹⁵¹ Dearmer, *Songs of Praise Discussed*, xxii.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, xxiv.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, xxv. This hymnal was not only designed to be a unifying force in Christian worship, but it also influenced the state schools, and was even used for services broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Routley, *Christian Hymns Observed: When in Our Music God is Glorified*, 74.

As aforementioned, Hannum was also influenced by *Christian Song*, edited by Presbyterian minister, Louis Benson. In the preface, Benson articulated his opposition to the songs of the “Evangelical Revival.” He claimed that it was his “aim” and “obsession” to “rid our hymnody of the burden of sorrow and disillusionment and the pervading shadow of death, which are an inheritance from the particular type of experience developed” in the nineteenth-century revivals. It seems he believed the themes on the second coming, the resurrection, and yearning for heaven “bred morbid views of life and craved death.”¹⁵⁴ Clearly the General Conference Church Hymnal Committee would not have agreed with Benson that our evangelical hope of the resurrection is morbid. The fact that the 1941 *Church Hymnal* contains over fifty hymns dealing with this subject confirms this. However, Benson’s attitudes towards revival hymnody are similar to his contemporaries, holding a negative view towards revival songs.

It appears that Hannum had adopted some of these high views of church music, though his ideals in the 1930s and 40s were vague. He did not begin to publish on aesthetics and church music until the 1950s, focusing his publishing energies in the 1970s and 80s. Some of these developments are discussed in the next section, though these later views extend beyond the delimitation of this study.

In the preface to his thesis, Hannum stated:

It is unlikely that all will approve of the particular collection of hymns adopted. Some favorites may be missing. However, it has been the sincere desire and aim of the editor to incorporate in these pages the best hymns of the church, those which are of good literary quality and of a good standard of musical value. During the years church music has been tinged more and more with secular elements characteristic of the dance and worldly pleasures. True church music will be free from objectionable

¹⁵⁴ Louis F. Benson, ed. *Christian Song* (New York: The Century Co., 1926), iv.

secular elements characteristic of the dance and worldly pleasures. While the editor does not claim to have reached the ideal in this respect, he feels that this standard has made it necessary to exclude many hymns and tunes which have appeared before in our denominational books.

We bring no condemnation upon anyone for using such material. There is probably a time and place for anything that will minister to a soul to be saved. But we do not feel that it rightly represents the attitude of the denomination toward church music to include such songs in the church hymnal.¹⁵⁵

From these statements, it is not entirely clear what music in the older hymnals would have qualified as characteristic of “such elements.” Nevertheless, it is important to note that he purposely excluded many hymns and tunes that had appeared before in the older Adventist hymnals.

Blanton points out that the musicians who contributed to the publication of the 1941 *Church Hymnal* were not satisfied with the results. In writing his paper, he obtained personal letters from Osborn and Hannum. Osborn replied:

You ask for a comment on the book. I would say it was a far step beyond what was in current use in our churches. But for some of us who would have liked to create a book wherein all the mediocre and trivial had been eliminated it did not go far enough. It would be heartening if someday we might hear of a trained group undertaking the revision of the Hymnal to bring it nearer to these ideals.¹⁵⁶

Osborn’s words strongly resonate with the contemporary philosophy during the day. Bringing the hymnal to “these ideals” conceivably alludes to the ideals of Dearmer, Vaughan Williams, Shaw, or Benson. Yet Osborn’s precise meaning is unclear.

¹⁵⁵ Hannum, “The Hymnal,” 1-2.

¹⁵⁶ J. W. Osborn, letter to Kenneth Blanton, January 8, 1964. Cited in Blanton, “History of the Church Hymnal of 1941,” 15.

Blanton also received a letter from Hannum, stating his opinion on the hymnal:

The book is by no means perfect, nor is it the kind of book I would like to see published as our denominational hymnal. It is a compromise book, containing material which I believe should not be in a modern hymnal. It also omits much valuable material which we ought to have in our hymnal. A book of this kind should be the product of a number of years of concentrated study on the part of trained musicians and ministers who know the field of hymnody.¹⁵⁷

Hannum's contemporary context, and the hymnals he chose as his example for his thesis, suggest that he desired to have left out more revival music of the nineteenth century. Clearly, both Osborn and Hannum were not satisfied with the results. All of this supports Blackmon's claim, that "White elitist professors of music" held great influence on the hymnal. Their influence is undeniable. This does not prove they explicitly sought to prevent Black spirituals and omit White spirituals and gospel hymns. However, it does offer evidence toward that conclusion.

Evolution of Hannum's Philosophy

In time, Hannum's philosophy of music broadened. As a student of music, he studied many genres of music, though he was not without his preferences. In his courses on church music, Hannum hardly addressed the musical contributions of Black Americans. The extant syllabi at the La Sierra University Archives, in Arlington, California, demonstrate a growing recognition—to a small degree—of the Black spirituals in Hannum's thinking. In his 1946 "Church Music and Hymnology" course, module ten surveyed the American hymn tune and religious song. He referenced

¹⁵⁷ Harold Hannum, letter to Kenneth Blanton, December 27, 1963. Cited in Blanton, "History of the Church Hymnal of 1941," 15.

Jackson's *White and Negro Spirituals*, however, there is no indication that he lectured on the genre. Instead, he focused on American composers, such as Mason and Hastings, and the importance of the White spirituals.¹⁵⁸ By 1952 and 1959, his syllabi significantly expanded from seventeen pages (1946) to forty-seven (1952) and sixty-four (1959), for courses in "Church Music." There, he continued his emphasis on White spirituals, though he situated these in the context of Black spirituals.¹⁵⁹

By at least 1960, Hannum held a low view of the Adventist revival tradition. In both of the courses in church music (1952, 1959), he cited Archibald Davison, in *Church Music, Illusion and Reality* (1952), saying, "Gospel hymns represent, as I have said, connubial misfits, and this is undoubtedly one of the reasons why time has to a great extent expunged them. They still hold a nostalgic place in the affections of a vanishing generation, but in the services of *enlightened churches* they are never heard."¹⁶⁰ He further supported his argument against much of gospel hymnody, by quoting Ellen White:

Popular revivals are too often carried by appeals to the imagination, by exciting the emotions, by gratifying the love for what is new and startling. Converts thus gained have little desire to listen to Bible truth, little interest in the testimony of prophets and apostles. Unless a religious service has something of a sensational character, it has no attractions for them. A message which appeals to unimpassioned reason awakens no

¹⁵⁸ Harold B. Hannum, "Church Music and Hymnology" (course syllabus, La Sierra College, 1946), 13, La Sierra University Archives.

¹⁵⁹ His outline contextualized the module on American tunes: "(1) Variety of styles. (2) Influence of folk songs. (3) Negro spirituals. (4) White spirituals. (5) Lowell Mason, Thomas Hastings, etc. (6) Horatio Parker, Peter Lutkin, etc. (7) Recent composers of tunes." Harold B. Hannum, "History of Church Music" (Course syllabus, La Sierra College, 1952), 39, La Sierra University Archives; Harold B. Hannum, "Church Music" (Course syllabus, La Sierra College, 1959), La Sierra University Archives.

¹⁶⁰ Italics mine. Hannum, "History of Church Music," 42; Hannum, "Church Music," 59.

response. The plain warnings of God's word, relating directly to their eternal interests, are unheeded.¹⁶¹

In an undated essay (1969?) on the early Adventist hymnals, Hannum argues that some hymns had merit, while others did not. "Undoubtedly there were poor tunes in these books, but there were also a large number of tunes with real intrinsic merit which were beloved by the people."¹⁶² He supported his argument, quoting Irving Lowens, writer of *Music and Musicians in Early America* (1964):

Our Folk-hymnody is, of course, significant as a written record of the exact state of the American Singing tradition in the first half of the 19th century, but completely aside from its historical interest, it is a body of music of great individuality, genuine merit, and melodic charm. It is possibly the most valuable musical heritage that has come down to us from early American times.¹⁶³

Hannum understood folk song to include spirituals. "When we speak of folk song we must remember that there is secular folk song, and there is religious folk song, sometimes called 'spirituals.'"¹⁶⁴ Such high praise of the spirituals of the nineteenth century suggests that either Hannum personally valued the music, or was trying to present a balanced essay, or perhaps he had modified his view from decades earlier when he worked on his master's thesis, collaborating on the 1941 *Church Hymnal*, and lecturing in his courses on church music.

¹⁶¹ White, *The Great Controversy*, 463.

¹⁶² Harold Hannum, "The Music of the Early Adventist Hymnals" ([1969?]), 5, History of SDA Hymns and hymn books, WDF 245-d, CAR. Hannum wrote this paper no earlier than 1969, for his latest source is from 1969.

¹⁶³ Hannum, "Early Adventist Hymnals," 6.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

In his paper, Hannum indicated that the nineteenth-century music reform movement, led by Lowell Mason and Thomas Hastings, espoused the philosophy that certain music followed the laws of musical science, whereas other music was incorrect and of poor quality. Hannum believed that the Christian church viewed things differently than did Mason and Hastings; not all music held equal value. “While all folk music is not of equal merit, musicians today recognize that there is much of value in this music. Possibly our negative reaction is due to a revulsion against the excess emotionalism of some evangelistic and revival music which has been popular.”¹⁶⁵ Hannum explicitly stated that some of the music in revivalism, which included the Millerite movement, was inferior due to the strong sense of emotionalism. He appears to be seeking to eliminate the “excess emotionalism” that accompanied the music.

He suggested that the church’s taste regarding this music had changed. “Styles and moods change through the years. These tunes reflect the tastes of the church in that period. The tastes of worshippers [*sic*] today may not be served by these same tunes. This is no reflection on the musical value of the tunes, necessarily.”¹⁶⁶ His comments suggest that though he viewed spirituals, folk, and revival songs as valuable for historical merit or even personal means, they might not serve modern worshipers. In 1981, Hannum indicated that church hymnals were beginning to publish Black spirituals. In *Let the*

¹⁶⁵ Hannum, “Early Adventist Hymnals,” 6.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 8. Today, the common American practice for spelling “worshippers” is “worshipers.”

People Sing, he even included “Were You There When They Crucified My Lord?” as an illustration of the kind of recent additions to modern hymnody.¹⁶⁷

Hannum sought to bring a perceived elevation of quality to Adventist worship and music. He viewed God as a lover of beauty, and therefore Christians ought to bring their very best and most beautiful to God in worship. However, nothing of human hands supersedes the beauty of a surrendered heart in worship.¹⁶⁸ High quality music contributes to the evangelistic mission of the church.¹⁶⁹ I had a personal conversation with Jo Ann Davidson, a college student of Hannum. She related that she did not remember Hannum ever conveying a sense of elitism or superiority of one musical culture over another. Rather, he impressed his students with a strong conviction that God values beauty, and it is an integral part of Christian devotion, worship, and even spirituality.¹⁷⁰

From these sources, it appears that an ideology existed in the first half of the twentieth century, which influenced the publication of the 1941 *Church Hymnal*. External influences, such as the British and Presbyterian hymnists, held elitist views of church music. Through Harold Hannum’s work on his master’s thesis, this philosophy appears to have carried over into the work done by the General Conference Committee on the

¹⁶⁷ Hannum, *Let the People Sing*, 75-78.

¹⁶⁸ Harold B. Hannum, *Music and Worship* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1969), 21, 25-29. See also Harold B. Hannum, *Christian Search for Beauty* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1975).

¹⁶⁹ Hannum, *Music and Worship*, 34-35.

¹⁷⁰ Davidson later wrote her doctoral thesis on aesthetics, influenced, in part, by Hannum’s course. Jo Ann Davidson, *Toward a Theology of Beauty: A Biblical Perspective* (New York: University Press of America, 2008).

church hymnal. Hannum was a liturgical reformer, seeking to help the Adventist church expand its liturgical expression beyond its tradition, embracing elements of the so-called “high church” traditions. Furthermore, Hannum’s views on hymnody appear to have become more open through the decades, tolerating more diverse styles.

Chapter Five Summary

This chapter examined the historical development of Black and White Adventist music and race relations in the United States, beginning with the Civil War (1861–1865) until the establishment of the regional conferences in 1944. The first section of this chapter traced how the aftermath of the Civil War affected the Black experience in the United States. The Black spirituals gave way to the blues, a sacred-secular Black genre of lament, giving voice to a people still oppressed through Jim Crow laws.

Racism in the United States also influenced the ministry and worship of the Adventist church. Beginning with Charles Kinny, the father of Black Adventism, to the counsel of Ellen White regarding Blacks and Whites in worship, societal issues impacted the denomination. Due to severe racial prejudice and violence, in 1908 White counseled the church to work among Blacks and Whites in “separate, distinct lines.” Following this counsel, Blacks and Whites no longer worshiped together. Systemic racism continued in the Adventist organization structure. In 1944, the Adventist leadership established regional conferences for the advancement of the gospel ministry among Black Americans.

We may not know the exact reason why the Black spirituals were not included in the 1941 *Church Hymnal*. Evidence suggests that it was possible to have included these

songs in the hymnal. However, not only Black spirituals but also White spirituals were left out or generally omitted from the hymnal.

The historical evidence does not explicitly demonstrate that Hannum, Osborn, or the rest of the church hymnal committee intentionally omitted or reduced the number of revival songs and spirituals in the publication of the 1941 *Church Hymnal*. Hannum did influence the selection of hymns, for almost half of the hymns came from selections indicated in his master's thesis. As a result, Hannum's philosophy of church music can be observed in the final selections made in the 1941 hymnal. Further, if Hannum based his own project on one of the most significant hymnal publications of his day, *Songs of Praise*, it seems reasonable to deduce that Hannum was influenced by the philosophy of Dearmer, Vaughan Williams, and Martin Shaw. Benson and the publication of *Christian Song* also likely influenced him. Though not addressed in this study, research could be made into the philosophy of the Episcopal *Hymnal* that Hannum studied. Additionally, more study could be made into Hannum's broader philosophy of aesthetics.

The primary source commentaries indicate a certain level of musical elitism, and a movement in the early twentieth century to cleanse hymnody of its excesses from the nineteenth century. Hannum and Osborn appear to espouse these views. Nevertheless, at least in later years, Hannum considered spirituals to be of merit, though he may not have advocated their inclusion in modern worship. On the other hand, it is conceivable that Hannum never opposed spirituals, and his attempts at removing the mediocre were directed at another type of hymnody altogether. What seems most likely, however, is that Hannum's views on church music evolved, just as much of the rest of Christianity did through the decades. In the early twentieth century, White hymnals excluded Black

spirituals. It wasn't until the 1980s that mainline White Christian denominations began publishing the Black spirituals in their hymnody. The 1985 *Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal* incorporated many Black spirituals and also brought back many White spirituals. Recognizing that this reflected the tenor of the times does not dismiss the fact that the hymnal committee practiced racism by omitting these songs.

I believe that it was unfortunate that the philosophy of the early twentieth century prevented the inclusion of both Black and White spirituals in the *Church Hymnal*. Much of Adventist heritage can be traced through the White spirituals. As a result of leaving these songs out of the hymnal, whole generations lost touch with the songs of the past. These songs encapsulate the early Advent experience and contribute to fervor and zeal for Christ's second coming.

Denying publication to Black spirituals could understandably be taken as a blow to the African American community, especially when so much evidence exists for its publication to have been possible. Based upon the evidence examined here, Alma Blackmon's claims appear to have been validated. At a time when Jim Crow laws and extreme racism abounded, the inclusion of these songs could have contributed to solidarity rather than further segregation. The Adventist church had an opportunity to demonstrate to Christianity that its worship was different, that it was a place where people of all cultures were understood, welcomed, and loved. May the church today learn from this hard lesson of history and seek reconciliation. "If you would know the colored people, learn their songs."¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Taylor, *Hymns and Plantation Melodies*, 3.

CHAPTER 6

WORSHIP MUSIC AND SPIRITUAL IDENTITY AMONG BLACK AND WHITE ADVENTIST AMERICANS FROM 1879 TO 1944

Introduction

Previously, this study demonstrated how music contributed to the development of a shared Seventh-day Adventist spiritual identity among both Blacks and Whites.¹ Hymns, especially those on the second coming and the gospel, contributed to the spirituality of the Adventist people. This did not, however, exclude the possibility of unique spiritual identities held by these racial groups, even while they shared so many liturgical and musical similarities. In this chapter, we build upon this shared history, seeking to understand not only the shared identity, but also the uniqueness of Black and White Adventist spiritual identity fostered through music.

This history shows the interconnectedness between some of the leading Adventist churches, ranging from Battle Creek to Oakwood, and Takoma Park to Ephesus. The development of liturgical practice is detailed, revealing patterns for worship, the

¹ As a White American male, I recognize my own shortcomings and inherent biases in worship, music, and race. I make no claims as to being an expert or knowing Black worship from the Black American experience. As such, I rely on the experience and expressions of those I interviewed to inform both my investigation and conclusions. I am also indebted to my former graduate assistant of two years, Dorhel Davis. As a female African American who attended Oakwood University and is my same age, she afforded me countless candid conversations about race, music, and worship.

demonstration of power from church leadership, and the normative nature of music in the liturgy. This study culminates with an exposition of the spiritual identity of Seventh-day Adventists, as revealed in the research data from participants' experiences of music in the liturgy.² The shared spiritual identity of Blacks and Whites is explored. Then, the next two sections explore the unique characteristics of Black and White Adventist worship and music.

Liturgical Developments between 1879 and 1919

Liturgical Precursor: Battle Creek, 1879

This section of the chapter describes the liturgical developments among Adventists in the United States from about 1879 to 1919. In Chapter 4, we analyzed the dedication of the Dime Tabernacle in 1879. The 1879 bulletin is the only known Adventist order of service from the nineteenth century. The latest surviving bulletin from the Dime Tabernacle before its fire in 1922, comes from 1919. This bulletin is also the earliest twentieth-century bulletin. Between these two dates, we can examine the development of Adventist liturgy.

The 1879 dedication of the Dime Tabernacle showed the skeletal backbone for the denomination's liturgical structure. It became normative for the denomination, going

² This chapter cites numerous references to the interviews and oral histories. These interviews and oral histories are found in Appendix C. Sometimes I quote an interviewee, other times I summarize. Quotations indicate the exact words of the interviewee, or important words from the interview that support my argumentation. I seek to summarize as often as I can, in order to prevent this document from having too many quotation marks. Because the interviews and oral histories also represent my own thoughts, as I influenced the data due to my questionings, it is not always essential that I quote, as the source often becomes blurred between me and the interviewee. I intend for the footnote citations to indicate the thoughts of the sentence derived from the comments of the interviewee. If there are no footnotes, it is my own assessment of the data.

forward. This only makes sense, as Battle Creek was the seat of the General Conference at the time, from which church leaders could travel and disperse the Adventist liturgy.

Below is the dedication on the left, with a distillation of the service on the right:

Dime Tabernacle Dedication, 1879:	Distillation:
Anthem	Introit
Invocation	Invocation
Hymn	Hymn
Scripture Reading	Scripture Reading
Brief History	
Report of Building Committee	
Hymn	Hymn
Dedicatory Sermon	Sermon
Renewal of Church Covenant	
Hymn	Hymn
Dedicatory Prayer	
Anthem	
Benediction	Benediction

This service contained the basic elements of Adventist liturgy, often suggested through the numerous accounts of worship examined in Chapter 4. This order includes five explicitly musical elements, and an equal number of spoken parts. The skeletal structure of the liturgy gives a good indication of what may have been practiced among other Adventists outside of Battle Creek at that time. When the later liturgical orders are considered, three conclusions may be inferred. First, the bare-bone order of service was descriptive of larger Adventist liturgical practice. Second, this order became normative throughout the denomination going forward. When the General Conference moved to Takoma Park, it brought its normative liturgical influence with it, but not without first bringing with it the Battle Creek liturgy. Third, music featured prominently throughout the entire liturgy. It reveals a liturgical theology that utilized music as a vehicle for propelling the service, establishing the mood, and promoting spirituality.

H. M. J. Richards' Liturgy

The Seventh-day Adventist leadership elected not to endorse and publish Wolcott Littlejohn's *Church Manual* in 1883. A formal legislation on liturgical order appeared too restrictive. However, by the turn of the century, another liturgical reformer was at work. Halbert Marshall Jenkins (H. M. J.) Richards converted to Adventism in about 1880, and subsequently became an active preacher since about 1885. By 1906, Richards "felt a deep conviction that the Spirit of God was leading him in the endeavor to prepare" a book on "Gospel Order," or "Church Order," as "practiced in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and the teachings of the Bible and the Testimonies concerning it."³ Richards attempted to give a description of prevailing practices among Adventists, while also seeking to be prescriptive from Scripture and the writings of Ellen White. The majority of Richards' work addresses broader issues regarding church order, such as fundamental principles, authority, ordination, and church offices. Richards' work is significant, for it is the first published book dealing with the liturgical life of the church, including the ordinances of baptism and communion, and the order of service.

Richards declared that the church had "no ritual," implying that Adventist liturgy did not have the same stereotyped and ceremonial actions as the mainstream liturgical traditions, such as Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Episcopalian. Rather, the Seventh-day Adventist services were "conducted with simplicity." Richards described the "usual order" of Adventist Sabbath morning worship:

The minister enters the pulpit, kneels for a few moments in silent prayer
Congregation bows heads, joins minister's prayer for Divine blessing of the service

³ Halbert M. J. Richards, *Church Order and Its Divine Origin and Importance* (Denver, CO: The Colorado Tract Society, 1906), Preface.

Minister announces opening hymn, all stand and sing
 Minister and people kneel in prayer
 Prayer: extemporaneous, moderate length, appropriate to needs and sermon subject
 Second hymn
 Sermon
 Hymn
 Benediction⁴

This order of service could be further distilled to the following, compared with the Dime

Tabernacle service:

Richards' <i>Church Order</i> (1906):	Dime Tabernacle (1879):
Minister's entrance	Introit
	Invocation
Opening Hymn	Hymn
	Scripture Reading
Prayer	
Second Hymn	Hymn
Sermon	Sermon
Hymn	Hymn
Benediction	Benediction

Richards' order of service paralleled that of the 1879 Dime Tabernacle service almost precisely. One discrepancy remains in which the services exchange Prayer and Scripture Reading. Richards made room for these variations. A "short" Scripture reading may also be given "sometime" before the sermon. A short prayer may follow the sermon, as the "Spirit so directs." He did not indicate at which point these various elements may occur. He emphatically stated, "however, the silent prayer before the service and the benediction at the close, are never omitted when an ordained minister conducts the service. . . . The benediction is pronounced by ministers only." Music featured

⁴ Richards, *Church Order*, 64-65.

prominently in Richards' descriptive service. Music accompanied the entrance of the minister to the rostrum, the raised platform which included his chair and the pulpit. The liturgical moments of entrance, prayer, sermon, and benediction each alternated with a hymn. Richards noted that at times, the order may be varied through additional special music in the form of "sacred solos, duets, quartets, or [choral] anthems."⁵

Richards gave no higher authority, such as Scripture or Ellen White, as the basis for his liturgical descriptions and directives. Richards claimed the liturgical order to be the "usual" practice among Adventists. He inserted his own theological convictions, however, when he directed the congregation to pray for Divine blessing for the service. This instruction signified the meaning of the liturgical action of bowing heads and joining the kneeling minister in prayer. Thus, contrary to Richards' claim, this action was ritual, an activity conveying meaning.

In Adventist history, this is the first recorded description and directive for ministers entering Divine worship. It was not the first instance mentioning the sacred solemnity of prayer and its theological significance. While in Australia, Ellen White mentored Herbert Lacey in liturgical prayer.

Brother L, a young man, stood up before the people to pray; that act so pained my heart I said, "Brother _____, get down upon your knees," which he did. I knew if any human being knew whom he was addressing—the great and holy God who dwelleth in light unapproachable, before whom angels veil their faces and cry, Holy, Holy, Holy—he would not stand erect before his students and present his petitions to God.⁶

⁵ Announcements were permitted, though Richards opined that they should be made before the opening prayer. "This is of great importance. Nothing should be allowed to turn the minds of the people from the solemn impression which has been made upon their hearts by the Spirit of God during the sermon." Richards, *Church Order*, 64-66.

⁶ Ellen G. White, Diary entries for July 10 and 15, 1897 (Manuscript 174, 1897); "The Attitude in

White believed that liturgical actions should reflect theological beliefs. Humanity manifests reverence toward God by kneeling, signifying God's holiness. Kneeling also embodies *prokuneo*, the Greek term for worship in the New Testament, meaning, "submission, adoration, and devotion to God."⁷

Richards liturgical guidance harmonizes with White's theology. During the introit of the minister upon the rostrum, a worshiper could have conceptualized the significance of prayer according to White's teaching: earthly worshipers should worship in reverence to God by faith in Christ, who mediates humanity's worship before the Father in heaven. However, as we will see in the oral history descriptions, the conception of God's presence shifted over the following fifty years. This liturgical practice, the concept of sacred space, and the ritual's accompanying music would significantly impact the spiritual identity of Black and White Adventists. We will return to this later in the chapter.

Memories of Ellen White, Liturgy, and Music

In the 1950s, Horace John Shaw conducted doctoral research, analyzing Ellen White's preaching rhetoric. Shaw gathered data for his study by mailing surveys to living Seventh-day Adventists who had memories of White's preaching. Their responses included not only homiletical data, but also descriptions of liturgy and music. His data aids this present study, as it illuminates the various liturgical orders by giving first-hand accounts of the worship practices. Five of his sources give direct mention of liturgy

Prayer" (Manuscript 84b, 1897).

⁷ For more, please see my definitions in Chapter 1.

and/or music. His study also generally fills the historical gap between 1900 and 1920, at which point church bulletins become available.

The account of Mrs. Leon W. Smith (Respondent 294), from El Cajon, California, corroborates the liturgical order described by Richards, that the sermon followed the second hymn. “After the second song was sung, [Ellen White] quietly rose and without help stood and preached for over an hour.”⁸

W. C. Moffatt (Respondent 202), from Hagerstown, Maryland, heard Ellen White preach at a General Conference, possibly in Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1901, but more likely in Washington, DC, in 1909, due to the proximity to Moffatt’s home. The service featured a reading from the closing scenes of Christ’s life. Then an English quartet, which included singers J. S. Washburn and Harry Armstrong, “thrilled the audience” with a song from the “old hymnal,” “The Dream of Pilate’s Wife.” Following this special music, Ellen White preached.⁹ As the later church bulletins reveal, quartets, duets, and solos were a common feature in the liturgy, especially at the larger churches such as Battle Creek and Takoma Park. In those later liturgies, the special music took the place of the second hymn. The “old hymnal” to which Moffatt referred, is undoubtedly *HT*. Frank Belden first published *Christ in Song* in 1900 and revised the volume in 1908. In either case, *Christ in Song* does not contain the hymn, while *HT* included both the words and a

⁸ Smith heard White on two occasions, once in Washington, DC, and also in Healdsburg, California, dates unknown. Horace John Shaw, “A Rhetorical Analysis of the Speaking of Mrs. Ellen G. White, a Pioneer Leader and Spokeswoman of the Seventh-day Adventist Church” (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 1959), 595, 640-41, 601.

⁹ Shaw, “Rhetorical Analysis,” 593, 599, 617.

musical arrangement suitable for solo or quartet use.¹⁰ It appears that *Christ in Song* already held a sizable influence in the churches, leading Moffatt to declare *HT*, the “old hymnal.”

Not only did music precede Ellen White’s preaching, she also sang in her sermons. Arthur C. Stebbins (Respondent 303), from Takoma Park, Maryland, heard her preach in Battle Creek on an unspecified date. She “quoted freely from the Bible. Her theme was ‘The Love of God.’ Once, overcome by emotion, she broke out singing, ‘Jesus, Lover of My Soul.’”¹¹ Similarly, in a recollection of family worship at White’s home in Elmshaven, Ernest Lloyd recalled the prophet singing. Lloyd, however, lamented that singing, as a part of family worship, was not a widespread practice. He desired singing in family worship to be cultivated by all.¹²

Music provided the necessary liturgical and experiential response to White’s preaching. James William McComas (Respondent 185), of Inglewood, California, heard White preach in Nevada, Iowa.¹³ Near the end of the sermon, the atmosphere among the congregation was “very solemn. Hundreds were weeping, and before she was through speaking that entire congregation was on their knees at the altar. The aisles were filled

¹⁰ *HT*, 1394.

¹¹ Shaw, “Rhetorical Analysis,” 595, 602, 622. I have written elsewhere on Ellen White’s experiences and testimonies of her favorite hymn, David A. Williams, “An Historical Theology of Ellen G. White’s Experiences and Teachings on Music During the Writing of the *Desire of Ages* While in Australia, 1892–1898,” *Ellen White Issues Symposium* 10 (2014). See also Ellen G. White to Sister Sisley, October 23, 1906 (Letter 324, 1906); Ellen G. White, “The Work in Oakland and San Francisco, No. 3,” *RH*, December 13, 1906, 10.

¹² Ernest Lloyd to Robert Wearner, February 17, 1967 (DF 2119, 6, CAR).

¹³ About forty miles north of Des Moines.

and rostrum was also packed. Many were weeping, some aloud, but quiet. Parents brought their children. Children went for their parents. It was a day of rejoicing. We all sang, ‘Blessed Assurance, Jesus is Mine.’”¹⁴

Sadie R. Young (Respondent 363), from Graysville, Tennessee, witnessed Ellen White preaching at the General Conference in Battle Creek, in 1901, and also in Elmshaven, California, at an unknown date. “The one supreme impression from what I have heard has always been a deeper sense of the preciousness of our Savior. As the hymn expresses, ‘Love so amazing, so divine demands my life, my soul, my all.’”¹⁵ The hymn to which Young alluded is Isaac Watts’ famous long meter text, “When I survey the wondrous cross.”¹⁶ It is unclear if this was sung in a liturgy at which White preached or only reflects Young’s testimony. Nonetheless, the hymn gave expression to the respondent’s spirituality, encapsulating the gospel message proclaimed by White in her sermons. Young’s testimony is significant, for it demonstrates the lasting impression music makes upon the spiritual identity of the worshiper, beyond a recollection of the words of a sermon.

Musical-Liturgical Practices of Four Leading Adventist Churches until 1944

This section examines the musical-liturgical practices of four leading Adventist churches, two Black and two White, in the United States, until 1944. The two White

¹⁴ Shaw, “Rhetorical Analysis,” 593, 600, 634.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 596, 599, 601, 644.

¹⁶ Set to the tune McCABE in both *Hymns and Tunes* (1886), 315; *Christ in Song*, 172. The *Church Hymnal* (1941), uses ROCKINGHAM OLD and McCABE, 118-120. The *Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal* (1985), uses HAMBURG (now the most popular), and ROCKINGHAM OLD, 154-55.

Adventist congregations are Takoma Park, Maryland, and Battle Creek, Michigan. The two Black Adventist congregations are Oakwood College in Huntsville, Alabama, and Ephesus in New York City. Following the subsections on the two White congregations, an exposition is given on the broader White Adventist liturgical and musical practices, following the same procedure for the Black churches.

I experienced difficulty finding bulletins for each of the churches. The Battle Creek Dime Tabernacle fell to fire in 1922. A single bulletin survived the fire, dating to 1919. The Oakwood congregation met in the school gymnasium for years, until its present-day structure was completed in 1977. No bulletins exist for this church, or if they do, none were available for this study.¹⁷ Takoma Park has its earliest bulletin dating to 1921. Ephesus, like Battle Creek, suffered a devastating fire in 1969. No bulletins survived.¹⁸ The oral histories and interviews conducted for this study complement the bulletins, providing liturgical and hymnological details in the absence of bulletins, while also adding more information to those churches that still possess their bulletins from the period.¹⁹ Some people interviewed stated that they remembered there were bulletins at Ephesus and Oakwood during the 1930s and 40s, but these documents have been lost or misplaced. Often in this chapter, I discuss the 1930s and 40s, as this is the time period with the earliest memories for most of the interview participants. The period continues

¹⁷ I searched the archives at Oakwood University, Andrews University, and the General Conference. No church members with whom I spoke had bulletins.

¹⁸ Likewise, at Oakwood the archives and older church members did not have any bulletins.

¹⁹ I conducted twenty interviews, seventeen of which became oral histories. Twenty-nine persons participated in the interviews. Sixteen individuals are White, and thirteen are Black. All the respondents associated with Takoma Park and Battle Creek are White. All the respondents associated with Oakwood and Ephesus are Black.

until 1944, when the denomination voted to establish the regional conferences in order to advance the gospel ministry among Black Americans.

Takoma Park

The Takoma Park church carefully kept record of its bulletins, retaining almost all the orders of service for the fifty-two Sabbaths a year, for the twenty-four-year period—over 1,200 bulletins!²⁰ This church and its bulletins are significant. The Takoma Park church—or “Park church,” as members often speak of it—was the flagship house of worship for the denomination, because its membership comprised primarily of General Conference and *RH* employees.

In 1903, the General Conference offices and the Review and Herald Publishing Association moved to Washington, DC. At the 1901 and 1903 General Conference sessions, the Seventh-day Adventist church embarked on reorganization of the structure of its administrative branches. Among the major changes, the church decentralized its power structures, forming union conferences as the constituent bodies of the General Conference.²¹ Part of this decentralization included geography. On December 30, 1902, fire destroyed the Review and Herald Publishing house, located in Battle Creek,

²⁰ The sheer number of bulletins prevented this present study from thoroughly examining this material. Instead, the author studied the bulletins for trends, which are equally important for liturgical history. Future research should actively engage this rich resource. Takoma Park Seventh-day Adventist Church worship service bulletins (1921–1956), CAR.

²¹ Barry D. Oliver, “General Conference Sessions of 1901 and 1903,” in *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, ed. Denis Fortin and Jerry Moon (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2013), 839.

Michigan.²² Ellen White had feared this would happen,²³ and afterward stated, “the Lord has permitted this, because His people would not hear His warnings and repent, and be converted.”²⁴ As a result, the Review and Herald board decided to move the publishing house to Takoma Park, Maryland, just outside of Washington, DC. In August 1903, the Review and Herald and the General Conference moved to Washington, eventually being located on the District side of Eastern Avenue, though many of the other Adventist buildings occupied space in Takoma Park, Maryland.²⁵

The Takoma Park congregation was organized on August 20, 1904, with forty-one members, twenty-three of whom worked for the church. Then, in 1907, the church moved into its own building, a combined church and school, located at 8 Columbia Avenue, Takoma Park, Maryland. In four years, the congregation had grown to 250 members, holding two services each Sabbath.

This building became overcrowded, leading the church to erect a stand-alone sanctuary, dedicating the building on Sunday, October 26, 1913. Long-time members of the Park church refer to this building as the Old Takoma Park Church. This building stood on the corner of Carroll and Willow Avenues, Washington, DC. The congregation

²² Gerald Wheeler, “Review and Herald Publishing Association,” in *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, ed. Denis Fortin and Jerry Moon (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2013), 1105.

²³ “I have been almost afraid to open the *Review*, fearing to see that God has cleansed the publishing house by fire.” Ellen G. White, “A Solemn Warning to the Managers of the Review and Herald,” November 1901, in *Testimonies for the Church*, 8:91.

²⁴ Ellen G. White to J. Edson White, February 12, 1902, (Letter 214, 1902), in 5Bio 225.

²⁵ Lenard Jaecks, “Cherishing the Past: One Hundred Years in History,” in *Takoma Park Seventh-day Adventist Church: Centennial Anniversary Celebration, October 7, 8, & 9, 2004*, ed. Marjorie E. V. Kingston (Takoma Park, MD: Takoma Park Seventh-day Adventist Church, 2004), 15.

remained in this building from 1913 to 1953, at which time, it moved into its present building.²⁶ The church featured the ten commandments in the front of the church, though it was not used liturgically.²⁷

The earliest printed liturgy from the Park church is June 18, 1921. It follows, compared with H. M. J. Richards' order of service:

<u>Takoma Park (1921):</u>	<u>Richards' Church Order (1906):</u>
Organ Prelude	Ministers' entrance
Doxology ²⁸	
Invocation	
Missionary Reports	
Scripture Reading ²⁹	
Hymn ³⁰	Opening Hymn
Prayer (Followed by Lord's Prayer in Concert) ³¹	Prayer
Offertory ³²	
Hymn ³³	Second Hymn

²⁶ Trevor Delafield, "Memories," in *Takoma Park Seventh-day Adventist Church: 90th Anniversary, 1904-1994*, ed. Donna R. Bateman (Takoma Park, MD: Takoma Park Seventh-day Adventist Church, 1994), 18-20. The congregation moved into the present building on October 17, 1953.

²⁷ TP8714, Oral History with author, Silver Spring, MD, August 7, 2014, Appendix C, 17.24, 27-28.

²⁸ Isorhythmic version of OLD HUNDREDTH. The congregation stood for the Doxology and Invocation. Bernice and Bill Albright, Oral History with author, Adamstown, MD, November 21, 2013, Appendix C, 15.15-19.

²⁹ Congregation seated. Albright, Oral History, 15.21-23; TP10914, Oral History with author, Takoma Park, MD, October 9, 2014, Appendix C, 16.18. This was the case in Minnesota and California as well. Melvin West, Oral History with author, Portland, OR, September 18, 2014, Appendix C, 18.1-2.

³⁰ Congregation standing. TP8714, Oral History, 10.29; West, Oral History, 17.40-42.

³¹ Most in the congregation kneeled. They did not go up for an "altar" or "garden" of prayer. Albright, Oral History, 12.34-40.

³² In time, the offertory and hymn became opportunity to have two special numbers. Albright, Oral History, 13.31.

³³ Baptisms took place prior to the Hymn, Choral Anthem, or solo, with the pastor introducing the

Sermon³⁴
Hymn³⁵
Benediction
Organ Postlude³⁶

Sermon
Hymn
Benediction

These orders of service reveal great similarities in the larger order of service. Over a decade and a half, the Takoma Park church appears to have developed its liturgical pattern in greater detail. It is the only church, among all available bulletins from the period, that lists a weekly Missionary Report. This may have corresponded with the Announcements found in other churches bulletins in the 1920s–40s. The other details will be examined and compared with the Battle Creek church.

Services generally lasted from 10:45 until 12:00 pm, just over an hour.³⁷ The order of service remained relatively static,³⁸ though it often added more music to the service in the form of choral anthems, solos, duets, and quartets. Special music often took place between the organ offertory and the hymn of meditation before the sermon, or it substituted the hymn altogether. In the least, the organist provided music for the organ prelude, doxology, offertory, the hymns, and organ postlude, totaling a minimum of 6-7

baptismal candidates. Albright, Oral History, 17.17-23.

³⁴ By 1951, when Bill Albright joined the church, sermons were at least forty to forty-five minutes.

³⁵ Congregation standing. TP8714, Oral History, 10.29.

³⁶ Takoma Park Church Bulletin, "Order of Morning Worship," June 18, 1921.

³⁷ TP8714, Oral History, 3.2-4.

³⁸ Beginning in 1943, Announcements followed the Missionary Reports every week.

musical works. The organ³⁹ and a Steinway piano were used to accompany the singing.⁴⁰ The choir sang for the service music, including the doxology, prayer, hymns, and the frequent anthems. Usually the bulletin gave the title and composer of the special music or anthem; it often included the title and composer of the organ prelude and postlude as well.⁴¹ The congregation sang vigorously, and all joined in.⁴² The worship service was a “time to give praise to God for all of His blessings.”⁴³

The General Conference church carefully followed its liturgical legislation in 1914: Only *HT* may be used for divine worship.⁴⁴ Until January 1942, the Takoma Park bulletins always listed the hymn titles and number, always corresponding with *HT*. At the start of 1942, the hymn numbers correspond to the *Church Hymnal* (1941). Before that time, the congregation never sang out of any other hymnal in divine worship than *HT*.

Down the street from the Takoma Park church was the Sanitarium church, or San, for short. The worship service was the same at the San as at the Park church, espousing a

³⁹ It is unclear what kind of organ was used at the old Takoma Park church. It was some kind of electrotone, possibly a Hammond. See also, Becker, “Organs and Their Masters,” 11. Melvin West’s earliest memories of the organ include the Hammond organ. West, Oral History, 1.18-19, 30-31.

⁴⁰ TP8714, Oral History, 1.27-28. Smaller White Adventist churches only used the piano. At the Washington Sanitarium church, one member often played the saxophone. TP10914, Oral History, 15.27; West, Oral History, 3.35.

⁴¹ The subjects of TP8714 only remember the organists playing hymns. The organists did not play only hymns. The bulletins often indicate various organ repertoire, not hymns. I think the subjects of TP8714 aimed their comment against the contemporary music of today, such as, “The music we always had in worship was hymns, none of this contemporary stuff.” TP8714, Oral History, 1.21. Later in the interview, it was noted that the organists were not paid (18.6).

⁴² TP8714, Oral History, 10.30.

⁴³ TP10914, Oral History, 18.26.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 5.

“quiet” atmosphere with quality artistic music, of “good taste,” and “conservative”—in contrast with the music of today.⁴⁵ There, they sang out of *Christ in Song*, and its many gospel hymns.⁴⁶

One of the most amazing revelations to come out of the oral history interviews is when I asked research subjects TP8714 (Subject 1 and Subject 2) whether they sang out of *HT* or *Christ in Song*. I had already been to the Takoma Park Heritage Room and examined the bulletins from the period. Knowing all the bulletins explicitly listed the hymns from *HT*, I posed the question. “Did you sing out of *Hymns and Tunes* or *Christ in Song*? Subject 1 immediately responded, “*Christ in Song*.” I pressed the issue, saying, “I think in Takoma, it was *Hymns and Tunes*.” She responded: “Yes, *Hymns and Tunes*. No, that’s not right. It was *Christ in Song*. . . . I couldn’t bear to let it go. It’s kinda like a Bible.”⁴⁷

What can we make of this? Several reasons could be given. First, it could have been a lapse in memory, a mistake. Second, the subjects of TP8714 had also worshiped at the Washington Sanitarium church, or San. This church was located just up Carroll Avenue from the Park church. The San church used *Christ in Song* during the divine service. Memory may be gravitating toward those experiences. Or third, this interchange reveals the dominance of *Christ in Song* in the Adventist worship experience. The

⁴⁵ TP8714, Oral History, 4.39-5.15

⁴⁶ Such gospel hymns included: “Christ or Barabbas,” “Shall You, Shall I,” “Drifting Away from the Savior,” “Nailed to the Cross,” “Whosoever Will,” “Whosoever Heareth,” “Shout About the Sounds,” “Send a Blessed Tidings All the World Around,” “Whiter than Snow,” and “Dare to do Right.” TP10914, Oral History, 13.29-30, 14.5-10, 18, 20.

⁴⁷ TP8714, Oral History, 8.12-21, 9.25.

denomination's widespread endearment to this hymnal was so strong, that even when they, without a doubt, used *HT* at the GC church, memory recalled the beloved book, *Christ in Song*.

Being the headquarters church for the GC brought respect. People traveled from all over the country to see this church.⁴⁸ The GC leaders and workers influenced the worship at Takoma Park in terms of speakers, sermon style, attendance, and form of worship.⁴⁹ "There were times when you would have fifteen to twenty ordained pastors from the GC, that if you had one man become sick and couldn't preach that Sabbath, you had a sea of men that could step up on the platform and give the 11 o'clock service right at the snap of your fingers."⁵⁰ On the other hand, the presence of the GC also cast a shadow upon the worship dynamic. Subject 1 of TP8714 witnessed some elitism among Conference workers. They were considered the "brethren," while those who worked at the Review and Herald office were "workers." Additionally, the GC leadership had a tendency to control worship, for "they were the hierarchy."⁵¹ Nonetheless, surpassing the Battle Creek Tabernacle, and having become the flagship church for the denomination, "people thought [the Takoma Park church] was special."⁵²

⁴⁸ TP8714, Oral History, 7.4-8.

⁴⁹ Albright, 19.27-35, 20.3-8.

⁵⁰ TP8714, Oral History, 7.28-31.

⁵¹ TP8714, Oral History, 7.33-8.1.

⁵² TP8714, Oral History, 8.4.

Perceived negatively, however, any elitism Takoma Park possessed, it was also not ethnically diverse. Subject 1 of TP8714 does not “remember any black people in the Takoma Park church.”⁵³ Black Adventists attended the Dupont Park Seventh-day Adventist church on Massachusetts Avenue, in Washington, DC.

In the 1940s, in the midst of the second World War, and situated in the nation’s capital, the Park church served as spiritual home for many military personnel. Church members brought these servicemen home with them every Sabbath for dinner.⁵⁴ Subject 1 of TP10914, a conscientious objector, served as a medic in the army in both the Pacific theater and the European.⁵⁵ The war years, besides being violent, were also lonely. He was thankful to God and appreciated having an English-speaking Seventh-day Adventist home for worship.⁵⁶ The war naturally affected the corporate worship, leading to the singing of hymns of comfort, and praying for servicemen, the US president, and even for food stamps. “Those years were hard!”⁵⁷ One such hymn of comfort was “Abide with me.”⁵⁸ On June 6, 1944, Subject 1 of TP8714 vividly remembers doing a rotation at the Children’s Hospital in Washington, DC. That day the United States invaded Normandy. General Eisenhower came on the radio, announcing, “The War has started.” She and her

⁵³ TP8714, Oral History, 15.26.

⁵⁴ TP8714, Oral History, 1.4-8.

⁵⁵ TP10914, Oral History, 1.26-3.17.

⁵⁶ TP10914, Oral History, 12.2-9.

⁵⁷ TP8714, Oral History, 6.3-20.

⁵⁸ TP8714, Oral History, 5.18-19.

nursing colleagues stood in a circle, and “almost everybody burst into tears, because they either had a father, a brother, an uncle, or a boyfriend. . . . Everybody was affected. And all day long, they played hymns on the radio. ‘O God Our Help in Ages Past.’”⁵⁹

Battle Creek

In Battle Creek, Adventists worshiped with zeal and solemnity. A Christian observer recalled a service at the Dime Tabernacle in the summer of 1897. Four to five “battalions of worshipers came from all directions and entered through those gates to worship.” The reverence to the Bible stood out to the visitors, noting that “all were provided with Bibles”:

It was grand to hear the tempered cyclone that swept through the house when the preacher of the morning named chapter and verse, by reference, appeal or proofs and the people found the place in the books. The scripture readings were heard at length and with rare solemnity.⁶⁰

The observers also noted the attitude with which the congregants sang and listened to their worship:

The singing was a very storming of Zion with heartfelt praise. Each person had a book and every voice sang, or tried to, which itself is sweet music in the good Lord’s indulgent ears. At the moment before the services began, 2,000 people were in a hush of expectancy and he who closed his eyes might believe that he was alone before the altar in the holy presence of an inviting God. . . . [After the powerful sermon,] as the silent assembly went out we retained our vantage seat, and saw the faces of the people as they left the divine presence, for all felt that verily God had been in his holy temple. Few uttered a word to a neighbor, but all went away with impressive faces, and it was clear that God had honored his word that day.⁶¹

⁵⁹ TP8714, Oral History, 5.26-33.

⁶⁰ “Spiritual Enduement for—’What?’” *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, February 9, 1898, 9-10.

⁶¹ “Spiritual Enduement,” 10. The Battle Creek 1901 Church Directory corroborated that about

The intense Adventist hymn-singing left a strong impression upon the observer. The spirited singing did not eclipse the reverence displayed toward hearing the Word of God. The observer interpreted the activity as ritual with an understanding that at the sermon, the worshipers would be “before the altar in the holy presence of an inviting God.” This theology espoused the biblical sanctuary doctrine—central to Adventism, but not uncommon among evangelicals—that Christ is in the heavenly sanctuary ministering on humanity’s behalf. From this statement, it may be inferred that the observer understood that the worshipers went to the Father’s presence by faith, through the intercession of the High Priest at the altar of incense in the Holy Place. However, the following sentence becomes more unclear, for the visitor observed the people “as they left the divine presence” and “his holy temple.” Did the visitor understand the congregation to be leaving the divine presence in the heavenly sanctuary? Or did this refer to God’s presence through the Holy Spirit? Which was the temple, the heavenly sanctuary or the Dime *Tabernacle*? That “God had been in his holy temple” likely referred to the heavenly sanctuary, but also the local Dime Tabernacle. This teaching of the divine presence became a prominent theme in Adventist liturgical theology, a theme that continues to emerge throughout this chapter.

Unfortunately, for the next two decades, further sources describing Adventist worship have not been discovered. Worse yet, the Battle Creek Dime Tabernacle suffered a devastating fire on the evening of January 7, 1922, decimating the entire structure.⁶²

2,000 attended worship each Sabbath. “General Information,” *Directory of the Seventh-day Adventist Church of Battle Creek, Mich. with Sabbath-School and Societies*, (Battle Creek, MI: 1901), 5.

⁶² “Blaze that Started a Minor One Developed a Sudden Explosion that Enveloped Structure in

One elderly church member, Bette Anderson (1918–2017), remembered when the church burned.⁶³ Within a week, the congregation had secured the means to erect a new church.⁶⁴ The Sabbath following the fire, January 13, GC President Arthur G. Daniells (1858–1935), delivered the sermon. He invited the congregation to look to God, rather than material things, assuring them that their building would be replaced. The service concluded with the singing of hymn 490 in *Christ in Song*, “Faith is the Victory.”⁶⁵ The congregation met for worship in the local Congregational Church as they waited for their new building.⁶⁶ As the new Tabernacle was constructed, the congregation gathered for worship in the lower auditorium, which later was converted into Sabbath School rooms.⁶⁷ The new Tabernacle was completed in 1926, a “splendid fireproof structure, with modern appointments and conveniences for all the demands made upon it by the nearly 1,000 membership of the church.”⁶⁸ The new church building was dedicated on October 8, 1926.

Flames, and Defeated Heroic Efforts of Fire Department,” *Battle Creek Enquirer*, January 8, 1922 (DF 453, Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD). David Wrate (b. 1928), a current member of the congregation, says his parents left a baby carriage in the basement of the Dime Tabernacle, losing it in the fire. David Wrate, Oral History with author, Battle Creek, MI, March 25, 2017, Appendix C, 1.5-6.

⁶³ Bette Anderson, Oral History with author, Battle Creek, MI, March 22, 2017, Appendix C, 1.22.

⁶⁴ “Ashes to Funds for New Edifice but Week Apart,” *Battle Creek Enquirer*, June 15, 1922 (Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD).

⁶⁵ Arthur G. Daniells, “First Sermon after the Fire,” January 13, 1922 (CAR), 5.

⁶⁶ “Historical Items: S. D. A. Church, Battle Creek, Mich.,” n. d. (Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD), 7.

⁶⁷ Anderson, Oral History, 1.22-24. After the church burned, there wasn’t room for all the people. While the new Tabernacle was being built, the congregation sought to alleviate the issue of overcrowding by establishing new churches in nearby Urbandale and Bedford. Wrate, Oral History, 1.8-12, 3.1-18.

⁶⁸ “Historical Items,” 9.

Due to the fire, almost no church bulletins have survived from before 1922. Two physical copies of the same service bulletin, November 8, 1919, remain at both the Ellen G. White Estate and the Center for Adventist Research.⁶⁹ This church service is the earliest known bulletin recording Adventist worship in the twentieth century. Beginning in 1932, numerous bulletins were kept for the Battle Creek Tabernacle. The similarity of liturgical order between the Dime Tabernacle and the Takoma Park Church is striking. The following table compares the Dime Tabernacle service in 1919 to the earliest surviving Takoma Park liturgy of June 18, 1921, and the dedication of the new Battle Creek Tabernacle on October 8, 1926:

<u>Dime Tabernacle (1919):</u>	<u>Takoma Park (1921):</u>	<u>Battle Creek Tabernacle (1926):</u>
Prelude	Organ Prelude	Selection [prelude by orchestra] ⁷⁰
Gloria	Doxology	Doxology
Invocation	Invocation	Invocation
	Missionary Reports	
Hymn	Scripture Reading	Scripture Reading ⁷¹
Scripture Reading	Hymn	
Prayer	Prayer	[Prayer] ⁷²

⁶⁹ Both copies are original, not photocopies. “Weekly Bulletin of Tabernacle Services and Activities,” Seventh-day Adventist Tabernacle, Battle Creek, MI (DF 453a; Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD and CAR). Many bulletins survive following 1931. I combined all the Battle Creek Tabernacle bulletins from the Bulletin Collection, and CAR scanned them, creating a digital file. Battle Creek Tabernacle worship service bulletins (1931–1954), CAR.

⁷⁰ Anderson remembers the elders entering the platform during the prelude at the Battle Creek Tabernacle. Then they would kneel and get up for the doxology. Anderson, Oral History, 4.1, 8-9; Charles Foote, Oral History with author, Battle Creek, MI, March 14, 2017, Appendix C, 10.21, 30-32.

⁷¹ After the Tabernacle adopted the 1941 *Church Hymnal* in 1942, it incorporated responsive readings into the liturgy. Foote, Oral History, 6.27.

⁷² The dedication of the new Battle Creek Tabernacle was unusual. The Dedicatory Prayer that followed the Sermon replaced the typical morning prayer that followed the Scripture–Hymn–Prayer sequence. In a regular service, the congregation knelt for this prayer. Foote, Oral History, 11.20. The congregation also prayed the Lord’s Prayer together to conclude the prayer, a practice that continued for decades. June and Julie Simmons, Oral History with author, Battle Creek, MI, March 25, 2017, Appendix

Anthem	Offertory	Solo
Offertory	Hymn	
Sermon	Sermon	Sermon + 2 addresses
		Dedicatory Prayer
Baptism	Hymn	Closing Hymn ⁷³
Benediction	Benediction	Benediction
	Organ Postlude	Postlude

Each of the compared services begin with a prelude, followed by the Gloria or Doxology.

The Gloria is the *Gloria patri*:

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;
 As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be,
 World without end. Amen.⁷⁴

The Doxology, sung every week,⁷⁵ was always the traditional text sung to OLD

HUNDREDDTH:

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow;
 Praise Him, all creatures here below;
 Praise Him above, ye heav'nly host;
 Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.⁷⁶

All the services proceed next to the Invocation. At least until 1944, Adventist churches often followed the Invocation, with the set of hymn and Scripture reading, though some churches alternated these. A closing hymn followed the sermon, except in these two

C, 8.35-9.6.

⁷³ The congregation stood for the closing hymn, and remained standing for the Benediction. Foote, Oral History, 11.24.

⁷⁴ "Glory be to the Father," *Christ in Song*, 465–67. Three possible tunes are given: GREGORIAN, CHARLES MEINEKE, and GREATOREX.

⁷⁵ Simmons, Oral History, 2.23-24.

⁷⁶ In Battle Creek, it is always from *Christ in Song*, 470. In Takoma Park, the song is taken from *HT*, 256.

Battle Creek examples, featuring the extra-liturgical occasions of baptism and dedication. This order of service continued very similarly in Battle Creek throughout the twentieth century.⁷⁷

When the General Conference leadership moved to Washington in 1903, they brought with them the only liturgy they knew, the Battle Creek liturgy. Over the following three decades, the Takoma Park congregation refined its liturgy. Then, in 1932, when the denomination published its first official *Church Manual*, two orders of service were given, a Long Order and a Short Order:

<u>Church Manual, Long (1932):</u>	<u>Church Manual, Short (1932):</u>
Organ Prelude	
Doxology	
Invocation	
Announcements	Hymn
Scripture Reading	Scripture Reading
Prayer	Prayer
Offertory	Offering & Announcements
Hymn or Special Song	Hymn or Special Song
Sermon	Sermon
Hymn	Hymn
Benediction	Benediction
Congr. seated for silent prayer	Congr. seated for silent prayer
Organ Postlude	

The only major discrepancy between the two orders is the long form's opening rites: organ prelude, doxology, invocation, and announcements. Particularly important for Adventist musical and liturgical history are the prelude, doxology, and invocation, for these established the spirit of reverence, a dominant theme in both Black and White Adventist spirituality.

⁷⁷ Simmons, Oral History, 9.16.

The 1932 long order of worship is patterned after the Takoma Park liturgy, as evidenced by the church's bulletins. The bulletin for March 14, 1931, provides an example:

<u>Takoma Park, March 14, 1931:</u>	<u>Church Manual, Long (1932):</u>
Organ Prelude	Organ Prelude
Doxology	Doxology
Invocation	Invocation
Missionary Reports	Announcements
Scripture Reading	Scripture Reading
Hymn	Hymn
Prayer	Prayer
Offertory	Offertory
Anthem	Hymn or Special Song
Sermon	Sermon
Hymn	Hymn
Benediction	Benediction
	Cong. seated for silent prayer
Organ Postlude	Organ Postlude

The orders are identical, except for the Takoma Park's unique weekly Missionary Reports. This element makes sense, as the world-traveling GC brethren gained countless experiences of the advancement of the work, eagerly sharing them at the Sabbath service. The Park church liturgy also featured the weekly performances of the choir, whereas in the *Church Manual*, the denomination could not expect all the smaller churches to have such resources. Thus, the long order calls for a Hymn or Special Song before the sermon.

In its publication, the long order of worship was representative, or descriptive, of usual Adventist practice.⁷⁸ This is evidenced by the 1931 Park church liturgy, and the rest

⁷⁸ When I set out to do this research, I thought this was the intent. I spent days at the General Conference archives going through the letters and correspondence of GC president, James McElhaney. The amount of data was simply too much to glean anything of value. This does not mean there isn't anything there. I found a great amount of data, but after having spent about a week at the archive, having only been

of the development of Adventist liturgy detailed in this study. Though not introduced as prescriptive or legislative for all Adventist churches, and due to the fact that the denomination published a *Church Manual*, which included a liturgical order, the long form became prescriptive by default. Flowing from the pen of the vice-president of the church came a liturgical structure heretofore never circulated throughout the denomination. The purpose may have been descriptive, but in actuality, the printing of the forms of worship functioned prescriptively. The liturgical orders were formative, and ultimately normative, for other Adventist churches.

In some regards, the Battle Creek liturgy changed as a result of the publication of the *Church Manual*, bringing much of its liturgical practice in line with the new flagship church:

<u>BC Tab (Jul 11, 1931):</u>	<u>Long Order (1932):</u>	<u>BC Tab (Feb 27, 1932):</u>
Prelude	Organ Prelude	Prelude
Choir and Elders Enter		Choir and Elders Enter
Gloria	Doxology	Doxology
Invocation	Invocation	
Announcements	Announcements	
Offertory		
Anthem	Scripture Reading	
Scripture Reading	Hymn	Scripture Reading
Morning Prayer	Prayer	Morning Prayer
		Junior Hymn
		Junior Sermon ⁷⁹

through a couple years of data, and having many more years to sift through, I abandoned the endeavor. This important history of how McElhaney put together the *Church Manual* deserves scholarly attention. Confounding the research is the fact that the Archive has a file entitled, “Church Manual,” but it is empty. The file was likely used or misplaced. In my careful reading of hundreds of his letters, I can confidently state that I found no statements toward a crafting of Adventist liturgy. Rather, all of McElhaney’s letters describe the prevailing practices of various Adventist churches. However, as time progressed, I sensed a need among the denomination to set forth the typical Adventist pattern.

⁷⁹ The February 27, 1932 Tabernacle bulletin presented the first known order that included a

	Offertory	Offertory & Announcements
Solo	Hymn or Special	Anthem
Sermon	Sermon	Morning Sermon
Closing Hymn	Hymn	Closing Hymn
Benediction	Benediction	Benediction
Doxology	Cong. seated for silent prayer	Silent Prayer
Postlude	Organ Postlude	Postlude

The Battle Creek Tabernacle began to pattern its liturgy closer to the long form, though it also included a short form element, as well as its own local customs. The invocation disappeared from the bulletin, though it continued unprinted.⁸⁰ The offertory moved to fit the pattern of the long form in the manual. The Tabernacle church may have been the model for part of the short order of service, as it always had the opening hymn precede the scripture reading. Beginning on February 27, 1932, from all available evidence, some Adventist churches such as Battle Creek began implementing the Junior Sermon, a precursor for the present-day Children's Story. The rest of the Battle Creek liturgy, beginning with the music before the sermon, carefully followed the long form of worship.

The Battle Creek Tabernacle services featured an abundance of quality music, just like the Takoma Park Church. Music marked liturgical time for Battle Creek worshippers. The church bell rang on Friday and Saturday evenings, notifying the community that

Junior Hymn and Sermon that followed the Morning Prayer. This is the predecessor for the contemporary Children's Story. Anderson, Oral History, 4.15; Beverly and Ralph Benedict, Oral History with author, Battle Creek, MI, March 14, 2017, Appendix C, 10.11-11.3.

⁸⁰ Benedict, Oral History, 12.21; Foote, Oral History, 10.25, 31-32.

Sabbath was beginning and ending.⁸¹ The bulletins from both churches regularly published information regarding the music performed during the service, including the organ, piano, or orchestral preludes,⁸² offertories, and postludes; the special music performed by a soloist or ensemble; and the choral anthems. For example, the November 8, 1919 service had at least five musical moments during the service:

Prelude, “*Duett*”—*Mendelssohn*, Mrs. Winifred Eisenhood, pianist
Gloria
Hymn 664 [“How firm a foundation,” PORTUGUESE HYMN]
[Anthem] Chorus, “*Everlasting Father*”—*Gabriel*, Tabernacle Choir
Offertory, “*Love’s Old Refrain*”—*Kreisler*, Mrs. Mary Esther Hauck, [soloist]

There may have also been a choral response at the Invocation and the Prayer. This service had a baptism following the sermon, otherwise it would have had a closing hymn. Music may have accompanied the baptism.

Early on, the pump organ functioned as the primary liturgical instrument for Adventist churches.⁸³ In 1939, the Tabernacle congregation installed an electronic Hammond organ.⁸⁴ In the late 1920s or early 30s, Mrs. N. A. Fitzgerald purchased the

⁸¹ Benedict, Oral History, 3.3-5.

⁸² The string ensemble performed occasionally for divine worship, and also provided the music for the Sabbath evening vespers service. The congregation always sang “Day is Dying in the West” at the vespers program. Benedict, Oral History, 3.40-41, 17.35; Lloyd and Rosalee Kellum, Oral History with author, Battle Creek, MI, March 22, 2017, Appendix C, 23.31-39.

⁸³ Some churches “upgraded” their pump organs to theater organs, due to their very cheap price. Theater organs had provided background music for silent movies. In the 1930s, the invention of sound movies eclipsed the need for theater organs, making them readily available at a very cheap price. Indiscriminate congregations replaced their pump organs, only to be dissatisfied shortly thereafter. This led to an eventual boom in the latter half of the twentieth century, leading to pipe organ construction at the prominent Adventist churches. Becker, “Organs and Their Masters,” 7.

⁸⁴ “Fiftieth Anniversary Battle Creek Tabernacle Dedication, October 9, 1976,” Battle Creek, MI, 22; Benedict, Oral History, 5.2.

nine-foot grand piano from the Charles W. Post estate for use in the Tabernacle services.⁸⁵ It is a source of pride for the congregation.⁸⁶ Sometimes the piano and organ played together, though the organ was typically utilized for congregational singing.⁸⁷ The organists generally played what was written in the hymnal, but also put some of their “own style” on the music, but “it generally didn’t get overdone.”⁸⁸

From at least the 1920s on, the Tabernacle also had various string ensembles and orchestras that “added much to the atmosphere of worship.”⁸⁹ Music contributed to the social life of Battle Creek before 1950, as music ensembles, such as the choir and strings, did not have to compete with television programming in the evenings.⁹⁰ The string ensembles did not accompany the congregational singing, only providing special music for the various services.⁹¹

⁸⁵ The piano had been built according to the specifications of Charles Post. “Fiftieth Anniversary,” 22.

⁸⁶ Benedict, Oral History, 4.12-25.

⁸⁷ Benedict, Oral History, 8.24. Similarly, the organ accompanied the choir. Foote, Oral History, 4.4; Kellum, Oral History, 7.19, 8.20-21. Before the Hammond organ, the piano led the singing. Simmons, Oral History, 6.32, 7.7-8.

⁸⁸ Foote, Oral History, 5.5-6; Kellum, Oral History, 16.35-38, 17.13-15, 18.19-20. June Simmons played exactly what was written in the hymnal. Simmons, Oral History, 8.1, 4. When Melvin West was a child, pianists played “conservatively” from the hymnal. They did not play many “frilly notes.” They tended to drag the music. West, Oral History, 6.1-6. The music was “kind of rough” in the churches of Urbandale and Bedford, nearby Battle Creek. Wrate, Oral History, 3.27.

⁸⁹ “Fiftieth Anniversary,” 4, 17. In the 1940s, Pastor E. L. Pingenet played violin in the ensemble. Benedict, Oral History, 8.37-38; Simmons, Oral History, 2.31-3.2.

⁹⁰ Benedict, Oral History, 18.28.

⁹¹ Simmons, Oral History, 3.5-10. Pingenet’s ensemble played for Simmons’ wedding. *Ibid.*, 3.11.

After the publication of the *Church Hymnal* in 1941, the Battle Creek congregation continued to use old copies of *Christ in Song* for the Friday evening young people's meeting in the downstairs large meeting room.⁹² In general, these young people's meetings used songbooks designed for them, such as the 1931 *Junior Song Book*,⁹³ which was later published as *Missionary Volunteer Songs*.⁹⁴ They sang some of the young people's songs in divine worship, but many were "inappropriate."⁹⁵

One research participant, June Simmons, grew up worshipping at the Battle Creek Tabernacle, beginning in the 1930s. The first time she played piano for divine worship, she was five years old, accompanying her brother on the trumpet on a hymn.⁹⁶ She played by ear—she had perfect pitch—and sight-read music, playing the piano for Sabbath services and the Friday evening meetings.⁹⁷ The prevailing musical cultural valued the

⁹² Foote, Oral History, 4.21-31.

⁹³ The Junior Song Book: For Junior Missionary Volunteer Societies, Church Schools, Junior Division of Sabbath Schools, Summer Training Camps for Juniors, Other Gatherings of Young People, and the Home (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1931).

⁹⁴ *Missionary Volunteer Songs (Formerly "Junior Song Book")* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, n.d.). Kellum, Oral History, 22.32-34; Simmons, Oral History, 9.38.

⁹⁵ Frances Goodine, Oral History with author, Harlem, NY, October 4, 2014, Appendix C, 7.36; Elihu McMahon, Oral History with author, Harlem, NY, October 5, 2014, Appendix C, 7.31, 27.3-7; Lovey Verdun, Oral History with author, Huntsville, AL, September 25, 2014, Appendix C, 9.5-8; West, Oral History, 10.35. Subject EPH10614 also comments that not all spirituals were appropriate for a sacred service. EPH10614, Interview Notes with author, Harlem, NY, October 6, 2014, Appendix C, 1.12. James North, Jr. notes that appropriateness depended on the church. Ephesus would not allow some of the new gospel music that Brooklyn Temple would. North, Oral History with author, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI, September 29, 2014, Appendix C, 5.26-32. The broader issue of what is appropriate in worship, North argues, stemmed from Ellen White's counsel on worship. *Ibid.*, 18.36-41.

⁹⁶ Simmons, Oral History, 1.2-3, 12-16.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.1-3.

composition over improvisation.⁹⁸ Simmons claims no one improvised. The church did not welcome this type of music-making in the divine service.⁹⁹ In doing so, church musicians sought to give respect to the composer and the expertise that one put into the composition.¹⁰⁰

Charles Foote cherishes the memories of worship at the Battle Creek Tabernacle as multi-generational,¹⁰¹ giving young people the opportunity to participate in the worship leadership of the church.¹⁰² In the 1940s, Leslie Iles utilized the young people's meeting to encourage young musicians to be involved in church life and cultivate their musical craft.¹⁰³ This created a feeder system for the divine service, providing capable musicians when they grew older. This increased the impact music made upon the spiritual life of the Tabernacle congregation. The church has "always been very blessed with lots of people that were very good with music."¹⁰⁴ Lloyd Kellum found an outlet for his musical contribution especially in the young people's meetings. When he was very

⁹⁸ Kellum, Oral History, 2.29-35.

⁹⁹ Simmons, Oral History, 8.9-13.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 8.19-24. If the reader reads the oral history, one will find that Julie Simmons, June Simmons's daughter, noticed that I smiled when I made this sentence in the interview. Julie and June appreciated that smile, interpreting it as agreement with their position, that improvisation should not be promoted in divine worship. Their reaction is important, for it highlights how strong their position is on this. However, quite on the contrary, I greatly value improvisation in worship, particularly a studied improvisation, based upon musical forms. I smiled in the interview, so as to help the participants feel connected, safe, and that stating their position was welcome—even if I disagreed with it.

¹⁰¹ Foote, Oral History, 13.31-33.

¹⁰² Ibid., 16.24-26.

¹⁰³ Kellum, Oral History, 2.38-3.19.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 5.5.

young, he began playing the piano for the junior meeting on Friday evenings downstairs at the Tabernacle. The leaders appreciated his fresh style of playing more than the written page.¹⁰⁵ From a young age, Kellum sought to incorporate alternate harmonies and dissonances, including major and minor sevenths, ninths, elevenths, thirteenth, and diminished and augmented chords in his musical vocabulary.¹⁰⁶ He discovered these sounds relating to gospel, blues, jazz, and other styles, by listening to popular music on the radio.¹⁰⁷ Because he primarily played by ear and focused his energies on the piano, his talents were not included in the Sabbath liturgies as were the talents of the play-as-written organists. While Kellum's playing may have been threatening to organists who read music, or were trained in music, Kellum thinks there has been a "little" elitism among organists. But more than this, he has found organists wanting music in the liturgy to "sound good," "the best it can," "because it's for the King of the universe."¹⁰⁸

In the divine service, the organist and choir led the congregational singing; there was not a song leader.¹⁰⁹ The congregational singing was "wonderful."¹¹⁰ The choir sang in harmony from the hymnal during congregational singing.¹¹¹ Francis Foote served as

¹⁰⁵ Kellum, Oral History, 2.7-13, 36.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 12.31-33, 36, 13.23-34, 14.7-8,

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 12.30, 15.4-7.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 18.1, 4-6.

¹⁰⁹ Foote, Oral History, 8.24-28.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 8.36.

¹¹¹ Benedict, Oral History, 12.8-11.

music director from 1939 until the early 1970s.¹¹² Many in the congregation respected him for his excellence in musical leadership. Under his leadership, the thirty-five voice choir sang many of the standards of choral repertoire, including Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, Handel's *Messiah*, major works by Mozart, Bach, and other European composers, but also English-language anthems on a sacred theme or text.¹¹³ The anthems provided a "beautiful way to memorize Scripture," both for the choir and the congregation.¹¹⁴ The compositional style of the music supported the text, with an impressive "grand" style that did not "detract from the words and the message."¹¹⁵ The choir wore robes, and provided liturgical music year-round.¹¹⁶

The Battle Creek Tabernacle and the Takoma Park church were by-and-large White congregations. Bette Anderson remembered a couple lighter-skinned Black families who always attended the Battle Creek Tabernacle.¹¹⁷ She did not understand why the Adventist church was racially segregated, but understood "the Blacks want[ed] it that way."¹¹⁸ Sadly, her understanding was limited. Black Adventist leadership wanted a voice in the Adventist mission. White racism, which was originally initiated outside the Adventist church, now within the church prevented Black ministers from leading. As

¹¹² Foote, Oral History, 1.30-33.

¹¹³ Ibid., 2.15, 23-37.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 2.39, 3.6-7.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 3.30.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 15.19, 16.36-37.

¹¹⁷ Anderson, Oral History, 10.37-11.6.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 11.7-9.

discussed in Chapter 5, the historical record demonstrates that Black Adventists did not necessarily want to be segregated, but did so out of necessity to advance the gospel.¹¹⁹

Broader White Adventist Liturgical Practice

After the denomination published *The Church Hymnal* in 1941, all the churches adopted this hymnal swiftly.¹²⁰ The new *Church Hymnal* featured full-page music and text, making it easier for the congregation to read than the older *Christ in Song*.¹²¹ Many records indicate widespread use of *Christ in Song* throughout the denomination. In almost every interview, they remembered singing out of *Christ in Song* in divine worship or youth meetings.¹²² It was a “hit.”¹²³ People felt endeared to this songbook, “because it was part of their upbringing,”¹²⁴ and incorporated a wider selection of “favorite” hymns and gospel songs.

¹¹⁹ See Chapter 5, “The Dividing of Adventism.”

¹²⁰ Charles Foote, born in 1939, does not recall ever using *Christ in Song* during the service, as the congregation adopted in earnest *The Church Hymnal* in 1942. Foote, Oral History, 4.21. Beginning on January 3, 1942, and running for the entire month, the Battle Creek Tabernacle bulletins gave notices in the Announcements for “The new hymn for next Sabbath.” However, the following week’s bulletin reveals that these hymns were not sung during the Morning Worship.

¹²¹ Benedict, Oral History, 14.25-26.

¹²² Albright, Oral History, 3.15; Anderson, Oral History, 6.28-30, 7.12-13; Benedict, Oral History, 13.21-22; Charles and Ethel Bradford, Oral History with author, Huntsville, AL, September 26, 2014, Appendix C, 3.11, 7.16-16-23, 34; Everyl Chandler-Gibson, Phone Interview Notes with author, October 13, 2014, 8:00 pm, Appendix C, 1.8; Foote, Oral History, 4.20-26; Goodine, Oral History, 3.27-34; Kellum, Oral History, 22.23-24; McMahon, Oral History, 19.41; EPH10614, Interview Notes, 1.3; North, Oral History, 12.20-23; Annelle and Ernest Rogers, Oral History with author, Huntsville, AL, September 25, 2014, Appendix C, 8.34-35; Simmons, Oral History, 9.34; TP8714, Oral History, 8.14; Claude and Jocelyn Thomas, Oral History with author, Huntsville, AL, September 25, 2014, Appendix C, 7.7-9; TP10914, Oral History, 13.29-30; Verdun, Oral History, 2.25-28; West, Oral History, 6.12.

¹²³ Bradford, Oral History, 9.36.

¹²⁴ Simmons, Oral History, 10.9.

During this period, the wider Adventist community in the United States displayed nearly identical services, with a very similar liturgical order, the prominence of quality music, and the abundant use of music for fostering spirituality.¹²⁵ Beyond the four churches selected for this study, the church bulletins available at the Center for Adventist Research were also considered. These bulletins survive from nine churches. The bulletins show that Takoma Park is the only church delimited in this study to continue using *HT* before the publication of the *Church Hymnal* in 1941. The consistency and similarity of the bulletins indicate a prevalent and shared liturgical theology among Adventists at the time. This liturgical theology focused on the Word of God, with a functional and indispensable use of music toward fostering an Adventist spiritual identity. The following churches and dates include:

Sunnyside Church, Portland, Oregon; January 14, 1928
White Memorial Church, Los Angeles, California; November 2, 1935
First Church, St. Paul, Minnesota; March 23, 1935
Temple Church, Hatboro, Pennsylvania; March 8, 1941
Grand River Avenue Church, Detroit, Michigan; July 10, 1943
Saginaw Church, Michigan; October 21, 1944
Pioneer Memorial Church, Berrien Springs, Michigan; October 21, 1944
Sanitarium Church, Glendale, California; December 23, 1944¹²⁶

Though Battle Creek had been the birthplace of the denomination, Takoma Park took the seat of influence for liturgical order, following its establishment in 1903. Albeit, a general framework for the Adventist liturgy had already been set by the time of the

¹²⁵ This was also corroborated in the interviews. Benedict, Oral History, 8.13; TP10914, Oral History, 14.33, 15.14-15.

¹²⁶ Bulletin Collection, CAR. This is a collection of uncatalogued Adventist worship service bulletins. This assortment of bulletins from around the world spans the twentieth century to the present.

dedication of the Dime Tabernacle in 1879, Takoma Park's service, and subsequently, the *Church Manual* long order of worship became the dominant normative template for most of the churches for which bulletins exist. Only White Memorial in Los Angeles (1935), and the Sanitarium Church in Glendale, California (1944), followed the short form. The long form of the *Church Manual* took prominence, and not without good reason. The long order promoted a richer liturgical theology for God's presence, holiness, and reverence in the house of worship, of which music played an integral role in shaping the inherent theology.

In the first half of the twentieth century, Adventist corporate worship services regularly featured abundant, quality music. Quality, not because of the choice of music, but due to the apparent intentionality behind the musical selections. It took time for the musicians to practice, rehearse, and even communicate the bulletin information to the church office. Pastors and musicians selected the anthems, solos, and hymns with careful planning. Pastors held significant influence in the musical spirituality of the congregation.¹²⁷ All of this speaks to the high importance music played in the worship liturgies.

Oakwood Liturgy

At Oakwood, music has permeated "all aspects of campus life," has been "part of the very essence of the institution," and has been "at its spiritual core."¹²⁸ For many

¹²⁷ Kellum, Oral History, 21.31-22.2.

¹²⁸ Dan Schultz, "Music at Oakwood University: An Historical Overview," *International Adventist Musicians Association*, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.iamaonline.com>.

years, the students, faculty, and staff of the Oakwood Industrial School¹²⁹ worshiped in “small chapels” in various buildings, such as the “Old Mansion, the study hall, the old Chapel Building, Moran Administration Building Chapel, and the Ashby gymnasium.”¹³⁰ In 1902, students received organ and voice lessons, “not only to help students learn to read music readily and acquire a taste for that which is elevating and substantial, but to teach them to function in worship services as well.”¹³¹

In 1931, students organized a strike, protesting the White rule in the school. Among the many important issues addressed, was the need for Black leadership. Since the founding of the school, White men led the school. The students demanded Black representation at the highest level. They also called out the prejudice of some of the White teachers and racial segregation in worship.¹³² White faculty sat themselves separately from the Black student body. They also prohibited students from taking active leadership in worship. Ernest Rogers began attending the Oakwood church in 1933. He recalls that the faculty led the music in the liturgy, perhaps believing that one needed experience in order to lead congregational worship.¹³³ Students did not perceive it this

¹²⁹ The school was renamed Oakwood Manual Training School in 1904. In 1917, it again changed its name to Oakwood Junior College, becoming a senior college in 1943. In 2008, it became Oakwood University.

¹³⁰ On September 3, 1977, the congregation began worshiping in the present building, the Oakwood Church complex. Garland Millet, “Spiritual Life at Oakwood,” *Adventist Heritage: Special Oakwood Edition*, no. 17.1 (March 1996): 17.

¹³¹ Lacy and Osterman, “Music at Oakwood,” 38.

¹³² Schultz, “Music at Oakwood,” 2.

¹³³ Rogers, Oral History, 10.15-20.

way, instead seeing the White faculty as practicing racism. The strike was effective, for in the mid-1940s, “students started taking active rolls.”¹³⁴

In the 1930s and 40s, music blossomed at Oakwood. Music teachers formed the college choir and various quartets. Many other vocal ensembles and soloists flourished, adding to the rich musical environment of the school.¹³⁵ The school also encouraged instrumental ensembles, evidenced by a few remaining photographs: a brass band in 1912, bands and orchestras in 1916-17, and a 1917 thirteen-piece orchestra that included four string players.¹³⁶ In 1944, the school hired Eva B. Dykes to chair the English department and direct the College Choir. In 1946, she organized the world-famous Aeolians choir.¹³⁷

Since the 1930s, Rogers does not see that the Oakwood congregation has “deviated too much” from the *Church Manual*.¹³⁸ His second wife, Annelle, joined the Oakwood congregation in 1945. She remembers that the liturgy followed the pattern of song, prayer, Scripture, and offering.¹³⁹ A general order of service was as follows:

Introit, ministers entering
Opening Hymn
Scripture

¹³⁴ Rogers, Oral History, 10.20-21.

¹³⁵ Schultz, “Music at Oakwood,” 2-3.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

¹³⁸ Rogers, Oral History, 7.21-22. Rogers served as Oakwood’s first full-time professor of biblical languages.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.11-12. This order of worship was “pretty much the same” as the Black Berean Adventist church in St. Louis. Verdun, Oral History, 17.18.

Offering
Sermon
Closing Song¹⁴⁰
Benediction

This order of worship features a distillation of the long order of the *Church Manual*, including the reverent entrance of the ministers to start the service.

In the 1930s and 40s, everything that was done in the liturgy at Oakwood was with quietness, and intellectual purpose.¹⁴¹ Before the late 1940s, Oakwood demonstrated the same quiet, subdued, and calm spirit of worship as White Adventist churches.¹⁴²

“There wasn’t any difference, because we sang the same hymns, we worshiped the same God.”¹⁴³ The college church held a long-standing reputation for its “serenity of music.”¹⁴⁴

This did not mean, however, that Black worship at Oakwood was not emotional. On the contrary, emotion came out in the preaching and the singing. “Black preachers are naturally emotional, and they project that emotion, and the people expect that, and if they don’t get it, well you haven’t said anything. They haven’t worshiped, you see.”¹⁴⁵ Even though Black and White Adventists sang from the same hymnal, and although Blacks did

¹⁴⁰ Through the repeated ritual of liturgy and music, Adventists became conditioned to appreciate the closing song as a joyful response to the Word. Today, Lovey Verdun mourns the loss of the closing song at the Oakwood University church. It has been replaced by an appeal song, which does not function the same, liturgically and ritually, as the closing hymn. Verdun, Oral History, 23.7-10.

¹⁴¹ Rogers, Oral History, 11.32-34.

¹⁴² Ibid., 13.21-24, 30-31. Such was the case in St. Louis. Verdun, Oral History 24.5-6.

¹⁴³ Rogers, Oral History, 14.7-8.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 18.23.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 15.12-17.

not clap, raise their hands, or say “amen” as loudly as they do today, they expressed emotion through singing in visible expressions.¹⁴⁶ “Their voices are different. You can see in their demeanor, there’s an expression of joy and appreciation. You can see it. It manifests itself. They’re saying, ‘Oh thank the Lord for all [You’ve done].’”¹⁴⁷

The Oakwood community did not use *HT* in the 1930s and 40s. Ernest Rogers remembers only using *Christ in Song*, until the *Church Hymnal* came out, replacing Belden’s volume.¹⁴⁸ Charles Bradford remembers being a student at Oakwood College (1942–46), when the school adopted the *Church Hymnal*,¹⁴⁹ likely in 1942. Rogers recalls the congregation singing the spirituals “all the time,” though his wife, Annelle, holds that Oakwood did not “bother [with] too many spirituals,” because they were “very sophisticated at that time,” as some accused them of. “Some of the younger people accused them of coming out as a white organization acting white.”¹⁵⁰ Together, the Rogerses remember the congregation singing, “I got shoes. You got shoes. All a God’s chillins got shoes. When I get to heaven gonna put on my shoes.”¹⁵¹ They accompanied their praise and petition with piano and organ.¹⁵² The school possessed “a mix of

¹⁴⁶ Rogers, Oral History, 15.30-31. “If you were really moved, maybe hallelujah.” Thomas, Oral History, 14.25-34; Verdun, Oral History, 14-18.

¹⁴⁷ Rogers, Oral History, 15.22-25.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.35-9.14.

¹⁴⁹ Bradford, Oral History, 3.19.

¹⁵⁰ Rogers, Oral History, 17.21-24.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 17.26-28.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 9.20.

electronic and pipe organs on its campus,”¹⁵³ installing its first pipe organ when the school began worshipping in Moran Hall.¹⁵⁴

Music plays an essential role in the life of the institution. Countless great musicians have cultivated their talents at Oakwood. Much of this musical success has come following the 1940s, beyond the scope of this study. Oakwood has not enjoyed the same extensive historical record as our next church, the Ephesus church in New York City.

Ephesus Liturgy

The Ephesus Seventh-day Adventist church, located in the Harlem neighborhood of Manhattan, New York, holds high esteem among Black Adventists. Scholars have recognized its role in the storied history of race relations in the Adventist church.¹⁵⁵ Ephesus has been house of worship for many Black leaders in the denomination, especially cultivating young leaders through its youth worship services.¹⁵⁶ The congregation has been a bastion of traditional Adventist musical-liturgical practice.

¹⁵³ C. Warren Becker, “‘Such as Handle the Harp and Organ’: Organs and Their Masters in the SDA Church,” *International Adventist Musicians Association* Winter/Spring (2003): 7.

¹⁵⁴ Rogers, *Oral History*, 10.4.

¹⁵⁵ Jones, Humphrey; Sr. Charles E. Dudley, *Thou Who Hast Brought Us Thus Far On Our Way-II: The Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination among African Americans*, vol. 3 (Nashville: Dudley Publications, 2000), 146-159; London, *Seventh-day Adventists and the Civil Rights Movement*, 96-99.

¹⁵⁶ Neil Reid, “Target Youth: Toward a New Paradigm to Nurture Holistically Black Urban Youth Within the Ephesus Seventh-day Adventist Church” (DMin diss., United Theological Seminary, 1997). Reid’s study builds upon the legacy of ministry to youth at Ephesus, by revitalizing the church’s focus on urban young people in New York City, and addressing the particular challenges youth face in large cities.

Having begun in New England, Adventism was not new to New York. By 1905, seven churches advanced the Adventist message in New York City, attracting mostly White Americans.¹⁵⁷ In response to Ellen White's counsel of the mid-1890s, much of the Adventist work among Black Americans had been focused in the American South. In 1901, Stephen Haskell (1833–1922) established the first Black Adventist congregation in New York City of eleven members,¹⁵⁸ leaving the ministry to the capable hands of J. H. Carroll a year later. Carroll labored to increase the congregation to about fifty. His converts included James K. Humphrey (1877–1952).¹⁵⁹

Humphrey was a zealous ordained Baptist minister when he heard and accepted the Adventist message. After joining the movement, he turned his energies to spreading the Adventist faith in the great city. “Under his direction, the work spread rapidly. Humphrey worked in both Manhattan and Brooklyn and founded the First Harlem SDA [Seventh-day Adventist] Church. By 1920, its membership was about 600, and he had also started three other congregations.”¹⁶⁰ The First Harlem church grew so rapidly, the

¹⁵⁷ Jeryl Lee Cunningham-Fleming, “‘We Sang Alleluia, Praise the Lord!’: African-American Identity and the Use and Reception of Music within a Seventh-day Adventist Church in New York City, 1970–2010” (DMA diss., University of Kentucky, 2013), 58.

¹⁵⁸ “Stephen N. Haskell,” Northern California Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.nccsda.com/article/112/about-us/more/history/conference-presidents/stephen-n-haskell>.

¹⁵⁹ Jones, *Humphrey*, 4-5.

¹⁶⁰ Joe Mesar and Tom Dybdahl, “The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern Black Adventists,” *Adventist Heritage* 1, no. 1 (January 1, 1974): 35.

congregation could not find a facility large enough for their worship gatherings, leading to the establishment of the Second Harlem Adventist Church in 1924.¹⁶¹

However, Humphrey grew weary of the racist practices of the denomination, and began calling for separate conferences to advance the work among Blacks. He, along with the First Harlem congregation, were expelled from the denomination, leading Humphrey to found a separate denomination, the United Sabbath-day Adventist Church.¹⁶² The work in Harlem became delicate. After a short leadership stint by Matthew C. Strachan, George E. Peters came to “stabilize the congregation.”¹⁶³ Under his leadership, the Second Harlem church was renamed the Ephesus Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1930. In 1931, the congregation began renting the Low Dutch Reformed church building on the corner of West 123rd Street and Lenox Avenue (the present church building). Finally, in 1939, the congregation purchased the building.¹⁶⁴

The church building remained the same from the Dutch Reformed congregation who had previously owned it. Thus, the Adventist congregation inherited the architectural and aesthetic features implemented by the previous owners. One feature was a wooden carving of the angel Gabriel with a shield and sword, attached to the ceiling above the rostrum. Other beautifications of the space included mahogany woodwork on walls and ceiling beams, brass railings, large electric fans, and tasteful lighting, all making the

¹⁶¹ Jones, *Humphrey*, 7.

¹⁶² Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 282.

¹⁶³ Cunningham-Fleming, “African-American Identity,” 61.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 61, 63.

worship space a work of art.¹⁶⁵ More importantly, the architecture contributed to the spirit of worship, promoting beauty and richness, setting a warm tone for worship, and fostering reverence.¹⁶⁶

The Ephesus church always had bulletins for the order of worship each Sabbath, but they have been lost, or simply not retained.¹⁶⁷ None have been collected in an archive, though I speculate that some church members may still have some. If the church office had retained any, they were likely lost during the fire of 1969. Therefore, descriptions of the music in the liturgy come primarily from the oral histories and interviews.

The worship service at the Ephesus church was long, lasting about two and half hours (11:30 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.). On Sabbath in which the Lord's Supper was held, folks were in church until 4:00 or 4:30 p.m.¹⁶⁸ Adventists at the Ephesus church worshiped with a similar spirit and decorum as the other churches. "There was not a lot of pomp and circumstance. . . . They would dress very modestly. . . . When you came and worshiped, it was quiet. It was serene."¹⁶⁹ In the 1940s, the Ephesus liturgy followed similarly to the Long Order of the 1932 *Church Manual*:

Church Manual (Long Order), 1932:

Ephesus, 1940s:

¹⁶⁵ McMahon, Oral History, 12.25-38.

¹⁶⁶ EPH10614, Interview Notes, 2.11-15.

¹⁶⁷ Francis Goodine doesn't think people kept things like that during those days. Goodine, Oral History, 6.23; Cunningham-Fleming, "African-American Identity," 7-8.

¹⁶⁸ North, Oral History, 3.1-7.

¹⁶⁹ McMahon, Oral History, 4.7-11; Thomas, Oral History, 18.13-25.

Organ Prelude¹⁷⁰

Doxology

Invocation

Announcements

Scripture Reading

Hymn

Prayer

Offertory

Hymn or Special Song

Sermon

Processional¹⁷¹

Opening Hymn¹⁷²

Prayer¹⁷³

Announcements?¹⁷⁴

Pastoral Remarks

Offertory¹⁷⁵

Meditative anthem,

hymn or light gospel

Sermon¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰ James North recalls there also being organ preludes at Ephesus, likely preceding the Processional listed above. At Ephesus, the organist may have played organ repertoire, but more often played a hymn, hymn-based setting, or improvised on a hymn. He noted a striking contrast when he first attended Atlantic Union College, at which the organ voluntaries came from the classical tradition. North, *Oral History*, 24.37-25.6.

¹⁷¹ Congregation stood for the procession, opening hymn, and closing hymn. Goodine, *Oral History*, 5.38-6.1. The procession was also called an introit, sung by the Ephesus church choir. This was often, “The Lord is in His Holy Temple.” During the singing of this hymn, the ministers entered the rostrum. North, *Oral History*, 11.1-9. Everyone sang the introit. Verdun, *Oral History*, 10.22.

¹⁷² McMahan remembers Ephesian music leaders selecting opening hymns appropriate to the theme of the sermon. *Oral history*, 23.9-11. However, at the churches with bulletins—Battle Creek and Takoma Park—the opening hymn often spoke to the liturgical moment of the start of worship, rather than necessarily the theme for the day. It stands to reason that liturgical practice varied among the churches, but when possible, the opening hymn functioned as both a gathering song and thematically appropriate. At Brooklyn Temple, the congregation sang the Doxology here at the beginning of the service, like Takoma Park. North, *Oral History*, 10.34-37. If the Doxology was at the beginning, there was also an opening hymn. *Ibid.*, 11.17-18.

¹⁷³ A song accompanied the prayer time. McMahan, *Oral History*, 23.12; North, *Oral History*, 8.9-12. In St. Louis, they often sang, “Hear Our Prayer, O Lord.” Verdun, *Oral History*, 9.39-10.19.

¹⁷⁴ McMahan does not recall announcements coming in the middle of the service. McMahan, *Oral History*, 25.33.

¹⁷⁵ McMahan recalls the offering appeals given by Everyl Chandler-Gibson’s father, Elder Chandler. “It was always a very solemn kind of atmosphere. . . . He had it memorized. It was beautiful. He didn’t read anything. . . . It was simply directed towards service to the Lord.” *Ibid.*, 2.4-8. Ephesus often sang, “We Give Thee but Thine Own,” for the offertory, followed by the Doxology while the deacons brought the tithes and offerings to the front for prayer. This demonstrated thankfulness to God for his abundant blessings. North, *Oral History*, 10.2-15.

¹⁷⁶ Chandler-Gibson, Phone Interview Notes, 1.11-20. She does not give details of the liturgy beyond the sermon. McMahan does not remember the preaching being like Baptist Black preaching.

Hymn

Closing Hymn¹⁷⁷

Benediction

Congregation seated for silent prayer

Organ Postlude

Two important denomination leaders available for this study, Charles Bradford and James North, Jr., worshiped at the church when they were young. Bradford's father pastored the congregation in New Rochelle, northeast of the Bronx. Charles often attended the Ephesus Church, because his sister Eva Bradford-Rock attended there, while a teacher in the New York school system.¹⁷⁸ North has his earliest memories of corporate worship at the Ephesus church.¹⁷⁹ His mother, Ruth Blackburn North, was a Bible worker for the congregation.

Francis Goodine started attending the Ephesus church in 1937, worshiping in the youth chapel. She came into the church through the Bible study classes taught by Ruth Blackburn North. The church leadership carefully organized the youth chapel ministry to mirror the senior service. This included a parallel liturgy, elders, deaconate, and ushers. The older members mentored the young, so that when they were older, they could lead

McMahon, Oral History, 11.14-19. Ephesus did not do a children's story in the early days. McMahon, Oral History, 24.35. Black preaching has always been animated, even when the music was more staid. North, Oral History, 14.29-15.10. Pastor Peters involved the congregation in singing during his sermons. Cullen Phipps, Interview Notes with author, Harlem, NY, October 6, 2014, Appendix C, 1.35.

¹⁷⁷ Chandler-Gibson does not mention the closing hymn. However, Goodine give that detail. Goodine, Oral History, 5.41. Claude Thomas recalls the same order of service from the early 1950s. Thomas, Oral History, 3.34-4.3. North indicates that there was always an appeal hymn followed by a closing hymn at Ephesus. North, Oral History, 11.34-37. Appeal songs included "I Surrender All" and "Lord, I'm Coming Home." Ibid., 12.4. Opening and closing hymns were lively, such as "I Sing the Mighty Power of God," "Onward, Christian Soldiers," and "Blessed Assurance." Ibid., 12.9-10.

¹⁷⁸ Bradford, Oral History, 3.34-37.

¹⁷⁹ North, Oral History, 2.11-12.

the senior liturgy with skill and excellence.¹⁸⁰ In the beginning, the youth services were multi-generational, not only with leadership and the youth in attendance, but with the support and guidance of the youths' parents.¹⁸¹

The Great Migration impacted the ethnic diversity of the Ephesus church. Claude Thomas notes that many West Indians came to New York for its abundant opportunities: education, cuisine, and other cultural attractions. He thinks this pushed Ephesus toward a more “Caribbean style of worship than was done by African Americans, in the sense that it was very hymn and anthem oriented.”¹⁸² However, Caribbeans were not the only folk entering New York City. Thousands of Blacks from the South were also seeking the urban centers of the United States.¹⁸³ The congregation has always had a mix of African American and Afro-Caribbean Blacks.¹⁸⁴

Everyl Chandler-Gibson's family came to the Ephesus Church in 1939. The following year, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, she started playing the organ for Divine Worship. The Chandler family was among the many West Indian families in the Ephesus congregation. These immigrant families from the Caribbean brought with them a strong educational background in music training. The West Indian school curriculum had an arts

¹⁸⁰ Goodine, Oral History, 2.40-3.8.

¹⁸¹ McMahon, Oral History, 5.14-19.

¹⁸² Thomas, Oral History, 5.6-18.

¹⁸³ Later, in the 1970s, many African American Adventists left New York for Atlanta and other southern cities. North, Oral History, 25.26-34. North remembers Ephesus as being primarily African American. Claude Thomas says the church had “a lot of Caribbean influence,” “the Jamaica of America.” Thomas, Oral History, 5.4-5, 16.25-27.

¹⁸⁴ Phipps, Interview Notes, 1.39-40.

and music emphasis, resulting in all students studying music. The Chandler family first attended J. K. Humphrey's Harlem #1. At this church, the congregation used *HT* in the Divine Liturgy. However, at Harlem #2, Ephesus, the church used *Christ in Song* until the 1941 *Church Hymnal*.¹⁸⁵ Subject EPH10614 remembers the congregation also singing from the 1926 songbook, *The Gospel in Song*.¹⁸⁶ Frances Goodine adds that the church used both hymnals during worship, until the sanctuary no longer held enough copies of *Christ in Song*,¹⁸⁷ probably between 1945 and 1950.¹⁸⁸ She also recalls that special music would be performed by the choir, and as solos, duets, and trios, using *HT*.¹⁸⁹ The choir sang every Sabbath.¹⁹⁰ The pastor and music director selected songs appropriate to the theme for the day.¹⁹¹ Elihu McMahan thinks the congregation utilized the entire hymnal

¹⁸⁵ Everyl Chandler-Gibson, Phone Interview Notes, 1.1-9; Goodine, Oral History, 3.33-34; McMahan, Oral History, 19.41, 20.24; Thomas, Oral History, 7.9. Jocelyn Thomas' musical background was also influenced by the West Indian culture. Her father was West Indian, encouraging both her and her brother to take piano lessons and to sing in choirs and quartets. Thomas, Oral History, 1.16-17.

¹⁸⁶ EPH10614, Interview Notes with author, Ephesus Seventh-day Adventist Church, Harlem, NY, October 6, 2014; North, Oral History, 27.20-23. The compilers indicate that this collection was not "intended to take the place" of *HT* or *Christ in Song*. *The Gospel in Song*, (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1926), Foreword. By the time *Gospel Melodies* came out in 1944, the churches had adopted the *Church Hymnal*. They did not use *Gospel Melodies* liturgically as they had done with *The Gospel in Song*. This later songbook was limited to Missionary Volunteer meetings. Thomas, Oral History, 7.9-14.

¹⁸⁷ Goodine describes how people stole hymnals regularly from the Ephesus church. This was not a problem at other Adventist churches. Goodine, Oral History, 3.39-4.8. See also McMahan, Oral History, 9.5-6. McMahan remembers *Christ in Song* being used at Wednesday night prayer meeting. Oral history, 20.34-35. It was also used in family worship. North, Oral History, 12.21-23.

¹⁸⁸ James North was born in 1939. His early memories, from ages four to five, do not include *Christ in Song*, but only the *Church Hymnal*. North, Oral History, 1.1, 12.20-21.

¹⁸⁹ Goodine, Oral History, 4.9-17.

¹⁹⁰ EPH10614, Interview Notes, 1.7.

¹⁹¹ Goodine, Oral History, 5.11-35; McMahan, Oral History, 22.28, 36.

in corporate worship,¹⁹² though James North says that the congregation sang from a limited repertoire of hymns, “singing the same hymns quite frequently.”¹⁹³

The Harlem Renaissance, a musical renewal movement of the 1920s and 30s, impacted the musical liturgy of the Ephesus church. Many of the larger Black churches of New York City had serious music ministries,¹⁹⁴ taking part in the Renaissance. Goodine left the famous Abyssinian Baptist church in Harlem to join the Ephesus church. The Abyssinian Baptist church is noteworthy, for it contributed to Dietrich Bonhoeffer’s spirituality through the singing of the Black spirituals. Goodine viewed the music of Ephesus to be on par with that of the Abyssinian church. “I came from a church with good music, and went to a new church with good music.”¹⁹⁵

In this milieu, the “Ephesian”¹⁹⁶ choir performed major European works, such as Bach and Beethoven,¹⁹⁷ Handel’s *Messiah*, works of Mendelssohn,¹⁹⁸ Gioachino Rossini’s “Inflammatum et accensum,” from his *Stabat Mater*,¹⁹⁹ Giuseppe Verdi’s

¹⁹² McMahan, Oral History, 23.25.

¹⁹³ North, Oral History, 12.13-17.

¹⁹⁴ Claude Thomas recalls both the Ephesus and Bethel, Brooklyn churches having serious music ministries, including professional—though volunteer—musicians and directors. Thomas, Oral History, 4.7-11.

¹⁹⁵ Goodine, Oral History, 4.21-22.

¹⁹⁶ This is common terminology, used by the congregation. When I attended worship there, they referred to the congregation as Ephesians.

¹⁹⁷ McMahan, Oral History, 13.37.

¹⁹⁸ Thomas, Oral History, 5.27-30. The Thomases view Handel as inspired by the Lord. The *Messiah* was “a gift the Lord gave him about Himself,” “a worship experience for him.” To this statement, Jocelyn could only reply, “Oh my, my, my, my, my,” as an expression of praise. Ibid., 10.28-33.

¹⁹⁹ McMahan, Oral History, 8.5-8.

Requiem,²⁰⁰ major settings of the 150th Psalm, and other various church anthems.²⁰¹ The choral anthem text came from Scripture.²⁰² Only sacred music was used, promoting the church's doctrines and tenets of the faith.²⁰³ The anthems expressed and inspired "quite a lot of emotionality, but they weren't sensual."²⁰⁴

Chandler-Gibson refers to these major works as the "heavy anthem." In the Sabbath liturgy, the work or movement was typically about eight to ten pages in length. Light gospel songs included songs such as "Precious Lord" or a Black spiritual. These were short songs of about one to two pages.²⁰⁵ The congregation, soloists, small ensembles, quartets, trios, duets, and the choir sang the spirituals. Common spirituals included, "Let Us Break Bread Together," "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," and "Were You There."²⁰⁶ Everyone knew the spirituals, even though they were not printed in the hymnal.²⁰⁷ While the congregation sang spirituals, it was not a steady diet. Furthermore, they sang only limited number of them, instead emphasizing the great choral anthems.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁰ The church performed this work in 1972, in conjunction with the Oakwood Aeolians and the American Symphony Orchestra. McMahon, Oral History, 15.2.

²⁰¹ They often performed another favorite anthem, "The Seven Last Words." Phipps, Interview Notes, 1.20-25.

²⁰² EPH10614, Interview Notes, 1.6.

²⁰³ EPH10614, Interview Notes, 1.9-10.

²⁰⁴ Thomas, Oral History, 6.12-13.

²⁰⁵ Chandler-Gibson, Phone Interview Notes, 1.21-30.

²⁰⁶ North, Oral History, 13.1-5. The latter two hymns were included in the 1931 *Junior Song Book*.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.16.

²⁰⁸ Phipps, Interview Notes, 1.27-28.

However, the spirituals connected to the congregation's experience, and therefore received a greater response by the congregation than the choral anthems.²⁰⁹

At Ephesus, musicians played the gospel songs in "straight" manner, and not "jazzy."²¹⁰ Musicians did not add sevenths or sixths to their chords. If a musician played a blue note, it was "not appreciated."²¹¹ When James North was a small boy, about four to six years of age, he remembers Ephesus as "strictly classical" and singing hymns, not jazzy music.²¹² When Charlie Irvis, jazz trombonist and member of Duke Ellington's band,²¹³ played for church, he played the music in a reserved, reverent manner.²¹⁴ McMahon notes, "All the type of music that they sang in those days was never gospel or jumpy kind of music."²¹⁵ Most certainly, when McMahon speaks of gospel, he refers to contemporary Black gospel music,²¹⁶ as Chandler-Gibson, organist of the church, remembers playing the early gospel music of the 1920s to 40s.

²⁰⁹ Phipps, Interview Notes, 1.31-33.

²¹⁰ Goodine, Oral History, 7.17, 22-23.

²¹¹ North, Oral History, 5.4-15.

²¹² Ibid., 5.29-30. North's organ teacher, Melvin West, only remembers hymns in the worship. "I don't remember being in church and having music that wasn't attached to the hymns in the hymnal." West, Oral History, 3.16-17, 5.37-42.

²¹³ His mother, Jennie Irvis, was a prominent musician for the church in the early days. Cunningham-Fleming, "African-American Identity," 69.

²¹⁴ Goodine, Oral History, 7.19-21.

²¹⁵ McMahon, Oral History, 2.3-4. In contrast, North remembers a song leader at the Brooklyn Temple church always singing gospel, encouraging the congregation to emote strongly, cry, jump up, and shout. North, Oral History, 9.25-36.

²¹⁶ This music could not have been performed in the 1940s, because it hadn't been composed yet.

Chandler-Gibson, though only a young teen at the time, remembers very strong, vigorous congregational singing.²¹⁷ Piano and organ were used during the service.²¹⁸ The organist and choir led the singing.²¹⁹ She was cognizant of the type of music she played, and the manner in which she played. She always played religious music. She noted that whenever she played hymns, she added to what was notated on the page. Common to her style was to change 4/4 meter into 6/8 rhythm. This change is significant. Common to early Black gospel music was duple meter.²²⁰ Accompanying 4/4 in a compound meter, that is, giving each quarter note a triplet subdivision, creates a 12/8 meter. That Chandler-Gibson conceived the music as 6/8, suggests she followed the prevailing blues style of duple meter, and in this case, compound duple meter. Songs such as “Precious Lord,” are in compound meter, though this example is compound triple meter, or 9/8. North remembers Chandler-Gibson modifying the hymns, but in a conservative manner, not in a full gospel style like the pianists did at his father’s congregation at the Brooklyn Temple Adventist church. The music at Ephesus was slower, allowing for more time for figuration during each beat. “Slower than our white sisters and brothers did.”²²¹ He

²¹⁷ Chandler-Gibson, Phone Interview Notes, 1.10. People “sang their hearts out.” North, Oral History, 8.19-22. They sang “in full voice. They were singing forte, and on occasion a double forte.” Ibid., 9.6-8.

²¹⁸ This was not the case everywhere. In other Adventist churches, only the piano was used. EPH10614, Interview Notes, 1.7-8; Thomas, Oral History, 15.34. The church installed a pipe organ in 1945. Prior, the church likely used an electrotone organ, such as a Hammond. Cunningham-Fleming, “African-American Identity,” 64.

²¹⁹ North, Oral History, 9.20-21.

²²⁰ Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 457.

²²¹ North, Oral History, 6.19.

recalls a virtuosic pianist, Homer Webb, who improvised during the singing of the hymns, playing along with the organist. Webb improvised in a style closer to the classical tradition than the new gospel style. “He was doing arpeggios and just flowing all over the piano out of his head. . . . He was a tremendous musician. . . . The folk enjoyed what he was doing.”²²²

Chandler-Gibson sometimes changed the harmonies, likely modifying it toward the Dorsey style. Not all keyboardists modified the hymnody into this style.²²³ The congregation sang in harmony, even an improvised harmony, making their harmonies without listening to her harmonic changes. The result was dissonant. Sometimes she inserted a key change during a hymn. Chandler-Gibson heard the music in her mind, playing what she heard.²²⁴

The new Dorsey-gospel style was not unique to Black Adventists. The White pianist from the Battle Creek Tabernacle, Lloyd Kellum, “did a fair amount” of putting hymns into a compound meter. However, he tried to “keep it traditional,” because of

²²² North, Oral History, 7.12-21. “Where there were quarter notes, he’s playing eighth and sixteenth notes. Runs, and arpeggios, and all up and down the keyboard, and I have no idea how he did that, but I will never forget it. Even as young as I was, that sticks out in my mind. It was a contribution to the worship and everybody accepted it that way and enjoyed it.” Ibid., 7.31-35. Lovey Verdun remembers Mary Spencer Thompson as a virtuosic pianist at the Berean Church in St. Louis. “She definitely had the folks singing with the music.” Verdun, Oral History, 11.3-7, 16-20, 12.4.

²²³ Or some songs were modified, while others were not. McMahon, Oral History, 21.19-37. This may have been later than the 1940s, in light of North’s memory of Chandler-Gibson’s practice. North, Oral History, 5-6. Subject 1, a White Adventist, attended one Black Adventist church, noting that their “harmony was a little different.” TP8714, Oral History, 14.24.

²²⁴ Chandler-Gibson, Phone Interview Notes, 1.31-37; North, Oral History, 4.33-36. James North recalls some Black musicians being skilled in sight-reading, playing by ear, or both. Chandler-Gibson appears to have done both. Ibid., 3.20-38. The congregation either read the parts in the hymnal, or improvised a sung harmony, or both. Ibid., 8.23-9.4. Claude Thomas recalls musicians playing what was printed, or improvising, depending on the song. Thomas, Oral History, 15.35-16.2.

what the people wanted to hear. He often tried to give them a little bit of the gospel style, because it makes it “sound better.”²²⁵ “You see, I grew up in that church. That’s the only church I knew, and so consequently, I feel duty-bound to make sure I don’t make it uncomfortable for people who came there for a blessing because it’s easily done.”²²⁶

Though Ephesus historically has been a Black Adventist church, Elihu McMahan does not see its identity as Black. “It’s the church of God.”²²⁷ Therefore, he believes the congregation should carry out its liturgies in a winsome manner, attractive to all ethnicities.²²⁸

Broader Black Adventist Liturgical Practice

Black Adventist congregations followed a similar liturgical order and musical selection as Oakwood and Ephesus, most churches following the *Church Manual*’s long order of worship.²²⁹ Many musical similarities existed between Black and White Adventist churches. Piano and organ accompanied congregational singing and vocal ensembles, such as choirs, trios, and quartets. Many churches had choirs. Oakwood had a chamber orchestra with wind and string instruments.

²²⁵ Kellum, Oral History, 15.18-21.

²²⁶ Ibid., 15.27-29.

²²⁷ McMahan, Oral History, 11.5.

²²⁸ Ibid., 10.34-11.11. McMahan does not identify as Black or White, but comes from Dutch, Irish, and African heritage. He resists pressure to identify as only Black American. Ibid., 14.1-4.

²²⁹ North, Oral History, 24.30-32; McMahan, Oral History, 23.36-38; Thomas, Oral History, 3.22-26.

Ethel Bradford converted from the Baptist church to the Adventist church in 1936 in Jacksonville, Florida. This experience gives her a broader perspective from which to understand the development of music in liturgy among Black Adventists. She has played the piano for Adventist worship since the 1940s. She observes a gradual change take place in the music of the churches.²³⁰ She distinctly remembers that, at least in her experience, Black Adventists did not line-out the hymns, like the Baptists continued to do.²³¹ The music of the holiness churches, or “sanctified folks,” had a “different beat” than Adventist music.²³² In her Baptist experience as a child, Ethel remembers Baptists “moan . . . a little bit” when singing hymns.²³³ They sang the meters, and also had a difference in the meters of the hymns than the type of songs Adventists sang.²³⁴ Ernest Rogers also came out of the Baptist church. He recalls their worship being loud with “all kinds of contortions.” In contrast, Adventist worship was “calm . . . appealing to all classes of people.” In Baptist worship, “emotion took the place of reason,” giving “access to approach God.” In other words, being demonstrative in the worship would gain one better access to God. Their demonstrative worship, however, came as the result of their deliverance from difficult times by the Lord. This resulted in worship.²³⁵

²³⁰ Bradford, Oral History, 3.7-9; Rogers, Oral History, 12.15.

²³¹ Bradford, Oral History, 5.24-26.

²³² Ibid., 5.20-21.

²³³ Ibid., 5.43.

²³⁴ Ibid., 6.7-8, 11.

²³⁵ Rogers, Oral History, 4.27-5.8, 11.5.

Adventists didn't do these things. In those days, Adventists believed that they should approach God with calmness, just as God spoke to Elijah in the still, small voice.²³⁶ This spirit of worship left an indelible impression upon Black Adventists of that generation. For them, calmness and reverence became normative for Adventist liturgical practice. As he experiences the contemporary worship styles of today, Rogers thinks the new Adventist modes of worship are similar to that which he experienced in the Baptist church long ago.

In fact, I just [still] go [to the Oakwood University Church] because I have no other place to go. We had several members to leave Oakwood and go to the white church, because they could not stand the music that is being carried on now, you see. The spirit of calmness and worshipful music and quietness, it's all disappeared now, because that is the trend that is going on now. You have your guitars and your bass drums and all of this. It doesn't seem like worship now.²³⁷

Rogers believes that God is to be approached in quietness.

Ethel Bradford remembers the Baptist church singing many spirituals:

“Deep River”
“Down by the Riverside”
“Get on Board”
“Go Down, Moses”
“Hand Me Down the Silver Trumpets”
“Every Body Talkin' about Heb'n”
“Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray”
“I Know the Lord”²³⁸

²³⁶ Rogers, Oral History, 5.22-24.

²³⁷ Ibid., 11.13-19, 18.15-16.

²³⁸ Bradford, Oral History, 6.25-36. She does not say if these songs were sung in the Adventist church, or not.

When she joined the church in 1936, Adventists did not like songs like “Wings Over Jordan.” Vocal groups performed this on the radio a cappella, but Adventists thought it had too much rhythm.²³⁹ Nonetheless, all the Black Adventist churches sang Adventist hymnody, but also the spirituals,²⁴⁰ though perhaps in limited fashion.

When Ethel Bradford was about fifteen or sixteen years old, she played the piano for the senior choir at her home church. This role demanded that she not only learn the hymns for church, but also the anthems the choir sang. She notes that the anthems came in several forms. The genre included arrangements of hymns, and also compositions by the great European composers, such as Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1947), and others like him.²⁴¹

Similarly, Mylas Martin (1931–) remembers the first time he entered a Seventh-day Adventist church. It was in Cleveland, Ohio, on January 8, 1944. For the “song of the morning,” the choir sang Gioachino Rossini’s *Inflammatus* from the *Stabat Mater*, “just as though it were an everyday occurrence. I was stunned.” Martin goes on, giving a thorough description of the quality of the choirs in the Black Adventist church:

I went back the next Sabbath and the next Sabbath to hear that choir. It was the senior choir, and they sang a great repertory of the old Advent hymns, the great Negro spirituals, the modern anthems, and the great classical master works. They sang Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, all without knowing what they were doing, and they sang it magnificently. It has been my privilege to travel greatly. I have been throughout Europe. I have never heard an ensemble that was more thrilling. I’ve been to La Scala Opera House, but I have never heard a church choir like that one in Cleveland, Ohio.

²³⁹ Bradford, Oral History, 6.37-7.4.

²⁴⁰ Thomas, Oral History, 7.4-5; Verdun, Oral History, 13.4-5. “Down by the River,” “Walk Together Children,” “Don’t You Get Weary.” “We sang a lot of them.” Ibid., 14.5-9.

²⁴¹ Bradford, Oral History, 8.19-26; Verdun, Oral History, 12.26-27.

And that church choir was not singular because they sang the same music in Columbus, Ohio, in Philadelphia, in New York. There were two churches in New York, particularly in Manhattan. There was the Ephesus Church at 123rd and Lennox, and then there was City Tabernacle at 150th. Every church had its diva, if you will, great voices. Marguerite Daly was the reigning soprano in Ephesus, New York, and Doris Bailey was the name of the soprano at City Tab. In Cleveland, Ohio we had Myra Scales, whose son is the director of the North American Division Ministerial work. She was in her prime; I think she was about twenty-five. She was the one who sang the soprano obbligato that morning. It was great, great music, and again five separate kinds of music. The wonderful Negro spirituals, the great Advent hymns, the modern anthems, and the classics. As a matter of fact, in Cleveland they did the entire *Stabat Mater*, and that was to be expected. That was the music at that time. It was throughout Black Adventism.²⁴²

Composed along biblical lines, anthems such as, “Life Up Ye Heads All Ye Gates,” provided a valuable means for committing Scripture to memory during the worship service.²⁴³ The larger Black Adventist churches influenced the smaller churches toward the use of anthems and serious church music.²⁴⁴ “The people appreciated the anthems, too. They thought that was class. . . . Our people took to that music in that age . . . in that time.”²⁴⁵

²⁴² Martin introduced five kinds of music, but only listed four. Mylas Martin, Oral History with Merlin Burt, April 23, 1997, at the James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI (Berrien Springs, MI: Center for Adventist Research), 20. Ephesus was the first Black Adventist church in Manhattan. City Tabernacle followed in 1946. Phipps, Interview Notes, 1.8; Eleanor Foster-Johnson and Chee Daniel, “The City Tabernacle of Seventh-day Adventists: A History of the ‘Sharon Mission,’ the ‘Sharon SDA Church,’ the ‘Bronx SDA Church,’ to the ‘City Tabernacle of Seventh-day Adventists,’” accessed December 14, 2017, <https://citytabernacleny.adventistchurch.org/about/our-church-history>.

²⁴³ Bradford, Oral History, 8.33-35. Other favorite anthems included, “Fierce was the Wild Below” and “I Would Give Thanks to Thee,” 9.3, 7.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 9.11-12.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 8.39, 9.5.

James North has observed in Adventism, particularly in the Black Adventist churches, that very often women have served as the primary musicians, soloists, and choir directors. In a denomination that has historically not included women in the pastoral gospel ministry, music and worship leadership provided women an outlet for ministry.²⁴⁶ On the contrary, Claude Thomas remembers men directing the music ministry of the churches.²⁴⁷

North remembers Black Adventists favoring hymns about creation, the greatness of God, and the gospel message. These hymns spoke to the Black American experience, meeting their spiritual needs and expression of praise:

“Holy, Holy, Holy”
“Blessed Assurance”
“Jesus Paid It All”
“What a Friend We Have in Jesus”
“Jesus Saves”²⁴⁸
“Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me”
“While I Draw This Fleeting Breath”
“Rock of Ages”
“Throw Out the Lifeline”²⁴⁹

North observes that Black Adventism did not sing the early Adventist hymns.²⁵⁰ In Chapter 5, I detailed how the early Advent hymns had been largely omitted in

²⁴⁶ North, Oral History, 23.31-32, 24.2-11; West, Oral History, 12.33-35.

²⁴⁷ Women directed choirs, but were not in charge of the overall ministry. Thomas, Oral History, 4.12-19.

²⁴⁸ North, Oral History, 28.6-11.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 29.1-7.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 29.12-29.

Adventist hymnody. The 1886 *HT* that included many early Advent hymns had fallen out of use with the publication of the 1900/08 *Christ in Song*, emphasizing late nineteenth-century gospel hymnody. The 1941 *Church Hymnal* excised many of the White spirituals and introduced many new English and Lutheran hymns. North notes, however, that they did continue singing some of Frank Belden's hymns,²⁵¹ due to the prevalent use and fondness for *Christ in Song* by most Adventists during the first half of the twentieth century.

They also never sang hymns like, "Immortal, Invisible, God Only Wise," and "The God of Abraham Praise."²⁵² These hymns were too "staid."²⁵³ Eskew and McElrath describe ST. DENIO, the tune for "Immortal, Invisible," as a Welsh folk, or folk-like, tune, featuring "sturdy rhythms" and not "lilting."²⁵⁴ Leaders in the Oxford Movement introduced the hymn and tune into English hymnody in the nineteenth century. This "high church"²⁵⁵ movement sought to restore Anglicanism to its Roman Catholic roots.²⁵⁶ "The God of Abraham Praise," came from the pen of Thomas Olivers, a converted Welsh shoemaker, who later became a Methodist pastor and hymn-writer. Having a close connection with the London Jewish community, he penned a Christian version of the

²⁵¹ North, *Oral History*, 29.29-30. Such as, "Look for the Waymarks." *Ibid.*, 30.4.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 28.7-8.

²⁵³ Bradford, *Oral History*, 10.30-31.

²⁵⁴ Eskew and McElrath, *Sing with Understanding*, 44.

²⁵⁵ High church is a way of doing liturgy that conserves the Christian tradition, featuring formal prayers, readings, and solemnity.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 152-154.

Jewish Yigdal, a “creedal doxology,” using traditional Jewish melodies, and began with the text, “The God of Abraham Praise.”²⁵⁷ LEONI, the tune associated with this text, features the same sturdy rhythms of ST. DENIO. These two hymns were introduced into Adventist hymnody in the 1941 *Church Hymnal*. I infer from North’s comments here, that Black Adventists did not sing much English hymnody, or even more narrowly, Welsh hymnody. But rather, they preferred the lilting hymns of American gospel song.

They did sing hymns about the Second Coming and the Sabbath: “Watch Ye Saints,” “Lift Up the Trumpet,” “Hold Fast till I Come,” “Don’t Forget the Sabbath,” “Holy Day, Jehovah’s Rest,” “Day is Dying in the West,” “The Day Thou Gavest is Ended.” This last hymn was a favorite of West Indian Adventists, likely due to its English roots.²⁵⁸

Notably, Black Adventists rarely sang, “A Mighty Fortress,” though it had been included in the popular songbook, *Christ in Song*, no. 681. The Lutheran chorales did not “lend [themselves] to the black style of singing.”²⁵⁹ This claim is surprising, given the similarities of the chorales and the hymnody common to the Black American Christian tradition. The tradition incorporates the eighteenth-century hymnody of Dr. Watts,²⁶⁰ including the practice of lining out. It also contains the sixteenth-century Genevan Psalm, OLD HUNDREDTH. The Reformed tradition initiated the practice of lining out.²⁶¹

²⁵⁷ Eskew and McElrath, *Sing with Understanding*, 142.

²⁵⁸ North, *Oral History*, 28.6-29.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.32-36.

²⁶⁰ See Dargan, *Lining Out the Word*.

²⁶¹ Lining out is the practice of a cantor or song leader singing a line of melody at a time,

Furthermore, the Genevan tunes hold much in common and share a cross-pollination with the Lutheran chorales.²⁶² The remaining fact of the matter is simply this: the Lutheran chorales did not experience widespread adoption in the American traditions like English and Calvinist hymnody did. *Lex orandi lex credendi* is powerful. Even though the Lutheran tunes could be sung, lined out, or accompanied in a gospel style, Black American Christians have not had a tradition of singing the Lutheran chorales. More importantly, because they are not part of the Black tradition, the chorales neither speak to the Black experience in America, nor fulfill the existential need that their own tradition has come to meet.

Worship Music as Spiritual Identity

Shared Spiritual Identity

In this section, we consider the shared spiritual identity among Black and White Adventists who experienced Adventist music in liturgy from the 1920s until the 1940s. This section presents ground-based research, giving evidence for common themes found in the research data from the interview participants. This section does not attempt to give a comprehensive articulation of Adventist spiritual identity in the first half of the twentieth century, rather, it highlights how music contributed to this spirituality. We see that any kind of change or development in music, or any shift in liturgical expression, poses challenges to the normative liturgical theology, to the liturgical self, and the Adventist spiritual identity.

modeling the tune before the congregation joins in the singing. It is a form of call-and-response singing.

²⁶² See Leaver, *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes*.

Music and Ritual

The emphasis on music in this study must not displace the centrality of the Word in Adventist worship. Proclamation of the Word and a reverence for Scripture took first place. Music served the Word.²⁶³ Worship responds to the Word.²⁶⁴ As Henry Wright, present pastor of the Takoma Park church, is known to say, “Don’t make the singing and all that kind of stuff you’re doing take precedence over the message.”²⁶⁵

However, the sermon is not the only element in the worship service that “preaches.” As a mode of discipleship, music in the liturgy also teaches worshippers the Adventist message. Part of this discipleship process is the relationship between worship and evangelism. Bill Albright and James North both remember that the Sabbath morning worship service was an event for Christian believers, whereas evangelistic meetings were for non-believers.²⁶⁶ As a result, music in the divine service significantly contributed to the discipleship process. The decoded meaning of the stylistic language of music in the liturgy indicated perceptions of how to worship.²⁶⁷ Inversely, music in the liturgy, and people’s behavior during the music, reflected their beliefs of how they should come before God. The importance of congregational song in the lives of the interview

²⁶³ Albright, 21.35-22.1.

²⁶⁴ Bradford, Oral History, 1.28-2.3.

²⁶⁵ Thomas, Oral History, 19.29-30.

²⁶⁶ The church members actively pursued connecting with the community through active service and musical concerts. Albright, Oral History, 16.6-26, 18.6-11; North, Oral History, 30.9-19. Similarly, Charles D. Brooks (1930–2016) told me in an un-recorded interview (October 2014), that Sabbath was for worship and Sunday was for evangelism.

²⁶⁷ Rogers, Oral History, 12.29-40.

participants has continued to the present day. Having been sung during the divine service on Sabbath, a hymn remains “in our mind all week and it helps lift us up.”²⁶⁸ “We do that every week, we remember it. Always.”²⁶⁹ Music in the divine liturgy directly informs and cultivates spirituality.

Adventist liturgy could not influence theology if it did not function as ritual. Roy Gane indicates that rituals, or activity systems that signify meaning, must be formulaic and controlled. “Controllers of ritual are those who carry out or monitor ritual activities in accordance with authoritative formulaic rules.”²⁷⁰ The widespread, common, liturgical order, as described by the 1932 *Church Manual*, governed the ritual.²⁷¹ The entrance of the elders onto the platform was formulaic. This entrance rite conveyed the meaning that the worshipers are now in the presence of the Divine. Over time, the *Church Manual* became the normative voice for liturgical theology:

In a sense the form of the worship service, which was adhered to fairly strictly, became the substitute for an official ecclesiology. If Adventist worship could not be grounded in a coherent biblical thesis it could at least be safeguarded by a strong organizational formality, and this is exactly what came to pass. Uniformity of practice developed into a worship tradition that eventually became the established orthodoxy, and worshipers in the pews learned to identify a particular order of service as constituting authentic Adventist worship. In the more conservative congregations, deviation from this order came to be looked upon as heretical.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Simmons, Oral History, 5.25-28; TP10914, Oral History, 14.26-28.

²⁶⁹ Simmons, Oral History, 6.1.

²⁷⁰ Gane, *Ritual Dynamic Structure*, 69.

²⁷¹ General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Church Manual*, 150-52.

²⁷² Nixon, “Towards a Theology of Worship,” 20.

This “unofficial” ecclesiology was official, when viewed through the hermeneutical lens of ritual studies. *Lex orandi lex credendi*. The way Adventists worshiped became the way they believed.

In order to understand this development, we must first assume that Adventist liturgy saw little change from the 1930s to the 1980s,²⁷³ as compared with the changes experienced in the last thirty years. Until the 1990s, only small accretions were added to the Adventist service, demonstrating a strong consistency of liturgical practice.

The seemingly mundane left a lasting impression upon the worshipers. In 2013, Bill Albright still remembered the exact order of worship of Takoma Park in the 1950s, which was identical to the 1940s, according to the bulletins.²⁷⁴ The Park church followed a more stringent adherence to liturgical order than other churches in the denomination in the twentieth century, maintaining its long-standing tradition. This tradition continued much the same into the following decades. The long order of service, as established by the Takoma Park church and normalized by the *Church Manual*, has continued in Adventism until today.²⁷⁵

Due to this consistency, Bernie Albright’s memories of worship in the 1970s provide a valuable description of the tradition established in the 1930s and 40s. The prelude was followed by the introit, sung by the choir. During this time, the ministers

²⁷³ Bill Albright, Oral History, 12.6-9

²⁷⁴ Bill Albright, Oral History, 12.30-34, 13.7-13.

²⁷⁵ Very little has changed in the suggested long form of the Adventist order of worship. General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Seventh-day Adventist Church Manual* (Nampa, ID: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2016), 180.

would enter the platform and kneel. The ministers and deacons communicated and choreographed the ritual.²⁷⁶ Although Bernie Albright spoke of experiences from the 1970s to the 1990s, her experience highlighted the significance of the long form in fostering the spirituality of the divine service:

When the ministers walked on, we were already engaged, the audience was already engaged in singing. And then we would have prayer. It was like you could tell the difference between the service prior to the service that was the divine service. We would have the piano for the first stanza and then the organ would come in for the second stanza. And we were already in tune for the divine service. In other words, lifted up.²⁷⁷

The entrance rites of the Adventist liturgy contributed greatly to the shared Adventist spirituality during the period, perhaps more than any other musical-liturgical dynamic. Adventist liturgy functioned as ritual, for it was an activity system that conveyed meaning, carrying out a process of interaction with God. Music moved the service along as an indispensable element of a functional ritual,²⁷⁸ illuminating the theological significance of the various elements of the service,²⁷⁹ from the entrance rite, the prayer, offertory, and sermon.

As evidenced in this chapter, until the 1940s few differences existed between the liturgical practices of Black and White Adventist congregations. The liturgical order and music were mostly the same, except Black congregations sang the Black spirituals and

²⁷⁶ Albright, Oral History, 13.17-19, 25-28; 15.3-12.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 6.2-7.

²⁷⁸ Foote, Oral History, 14.17-20, 22.

²⁷⁹ Benedict, Oral History, 12.26-29.

the nascent Black gospel genre,²⁸⁰ though the latter was also adopted by White vocal ensembles. The music in the liturgy left an indelible impression upon the senior Adventists I interviewed, impressing them with a profound understanding of worship through their experience. In their corporate gatherings, they desired to worship God and make Him first in the service, focusing their worship heavenward.²⁸¹

Due to the ritual nature of liturgical music, worshipers experienced music in a context of high significance. As believers encountered God's presence in the holy places of worship, they listened to His Word proclaimed, surrendering their lives to his service. Music accompanied this ritual structure of the liturgy. As music was experienced in the ritual context, the music became endeared to the worshipers. In this section, we will consider the importance music held in the worship experience of the interview participants.

Many insights into the development of music and its contribution to spirituality come by way of the contrast between the way worship used to be and how it is now. The broad history of this study, coupled with the interviews with octo-, nona- and centenarian Adventists gives veracity to the maxim, *lex orandi lex credendi*. Most persons interviewed lamented the conditions of music in the church today. Their criticism of today must be read as a contrast to the perceived positive aspects of yesteryears, as typified by the words of Ralph Benedict, "Music was a real highlight of the church

²⁸⁰ McMahan, Oral History, 18.29-38.

²⁸¹ McMahan, Oral History, 26.11-16, 33, 27.3; West, Oral History, 13.13.

service back in those days.”²⁸² Today, for many of these older worshipers, music no longer functions as a highlight of the service.

The contrast between the music of today and the music of yesteryear carried over into a dialectic between “good” and “bad” music. The research participants viewed the music in the liturgy of the 1920s, 30s, and 40s to be “good” music. For example, Bette Anderson “would not have liked [big band music of the 1920s] in church.” Bernie Albright views good music to be “mostly classical and religious,” and mostly avoids music that has “any kind of beat” and “a lot of drums.” Instead, she “love[s] good quality things.”²⁸³ The Bradfords and James North believe that any musical presentation will be winsome to the listeners when it is well done.²⁸⁴

Difficulty arises in parsing the terminology of “good” and “bad,” due to the conflation of ethics and aesthetics. In aesthetic terms, good music is “artistic and well crafted,” while bad music is “simplistic and poorly crafted”; however, in terms of ethics, good and bad “refer to “ethical/unethical or moral/immoral actions or thoughts.”²⁸⁵ These terms are misleading, especially when music becomes linked with God: “Music was so highly valued because it kind of represented the divine.”²⁸⁶ Did this mean that good music provided a ritual structure through which the worshiper could encounter God? Did

²⁸² Benedict, Oral History, 12.34-35.

²⁸³ Bernice and Bill Albright, Oral History with author, Adamstown, MD, November 21, 2013, Appendix C, 2.22, 3.1-9.

²⁸⁴ Bradford, Oral History, 22.31; North, Oral History, 20.39-21.25.

²⁸⁵ Doukhan, *In Tune with God*, 54-55.

²⁸⁶ Thomas, Oral History, 5.36.

music function sacramentally? The interviews do not answer these important questions. As examined in the methodology of this study, Chapter 2, music does not have an interior beacon of meaning. Church members valued “good” music, and disliked “bad” music, due to enculturation through association and experience. Some styles of music that previously felt offensive, today may seem calm. One gets “adjusted to different styles.”²⁸⁷ Here we observe a principle: Music experienced in worship became associated with the “sacred” and “good.” Whereas, when other music became associated with secular realms of life, then that music began to represent the secular, forming barriers to its acceptance in corporate worship. New styles of music, especially those associated with arenas outside of the church, hold the potential to offend these older church members.

Many Adventist churches valued “good” choral music in the liturgy. Smaller churches, such as the Washington Sanitarium church, may not have had choir;²⁸⁸ larger churches tended to have the resources for these ensembles. In those churches, parishioners took pride in the choirs of their church.²⁸⁹ Church members enjoyed singing in the church choirs.²⁹⁰ Some interviewed, who did not sing in choirs, took part in smaller vocal ensembles, forming vocal trios and sextets.²⁹¹ Subject 1 of TP8714 states, perhaps

²⁸⁷ Bernice Albright, Oral History, 7.41.

²⁸⁸ TP10914, Oral History, 15.18-19, but compare with 15.38-16.1.

²⁸⁹ Anderson, Oral History, 3.25; Simmons, Oral History, 7.9; West, Oral History, 8.1-4, 10-11. Entrance into the Battle Creek choir was not by audition, but by invitation. Benedict, Oral History, 3.24, 4.2-6.

²⁹⁰ Beverly and Ralph Benedict, Oral History with author, Battle Creek, MI, Appendix C, 2.29; Thomas, Oral History, 2.3; Verdun, Oral History, 7.23-28.

²⁹¹ Anderson, Oral History, 3.26; Benedict, Oral History, 15.23-24; Simmons, Oral History, 2.6-8; Thomas, Oral History, 1.17, 2.3-4.

with some hyperbole, “When a choir is an integral part of the service, it’s as important as the sermon. I mean, a choir is important.”²⁹² “The Word says to sing unto the Lord. It’s a form of worship.”²⁹³

One need not be a skilled musician for music to be spiritually meaningful.²⁹⁴ Jocelyn Thomas speaks of the power of music: “When it’s done well, oh my, it puts you into another world. You can see God, you can see him on his throne. . . . It elevates you.”²⁹⁵ Bette Anderson saw more “spirituality in music” when she was young, though she did not know how to articulate it further.²⁹⁶ It is conceivable that she viewed the music and/or the words to be of higher quality, and therefore more spiritual.²⁹⁷ More likely, the music of one’s youth significantly shapes spiritual identity to the extent that other musical styles pale in comparison.

Melvin West remembers during the 1930s, visiting Burton Hall and hearing someone play, “Give of Your Best to the Master.” He was “struck” by the way the

²⁹² TP8714, Oral History, 3.30-32. It seems that subject 1 of TP8714 exaggerates her claim that the choir is “as important as” the sermon, when she apparently backtracks, saying, “I mean. . . .” Her point should not be overlooked, however, that she viewed choral music to be an integral part of the service.

²⁹³ TP8714, Oral History, 3.34.

²⁹⁴ “I love music.” Ralph Benedict, Oral History, 2.28. Similarly, Charles Foote came from a long line of music lovers. Foote, Oral History, 1.14-16. “I appreciate music.” Rosalee Kellum, Oral History, 29.28.

²⁹⁵ Thomas, Oral History, 6.2-7.

²⁹⁶ Anderson, Oral History, 12.18-20. “Some of the music now. . . . It’s too jazzy. It’s different.” Ibid., 12.27-28.

²⁹⁷ Musical styles and periods deserve more sensitivity when making comparisons about quality. Different musical styles represent different musical languages, requiring “different criteria” to be used in order to gauge the quality of a musical style. Harold M. Best, *Music through the Eyes of Faith* (New York: HarperOne, 1993), 93.

“harmonies flowed” and the “harmonic structure” of the piece. “That hymn just did a number on me as just a kid. That was just fabulous.” He sees that hymn as formative towards developing his sense of harmony.²⁹⁸

The music and text worked in tandem towards cultivating spirituality. The hymns “added to our spiritual growth.”²⁹⁹ “The music means a lot. The music meant a lot because I think it’s easy to remember music and the words to the music rather than just learning a verse from memory.”³⁰⁰ Ethel Bradford affirms the role of music in the life of the church:

Music is a very important part of our lives. Music is a very important part of our worship. I’d like to say to the young people to remember to revere the hymns of the church. We know that Christ, when He was finishing up the Last Supper, and He was going to His death, that they sang a hymn and went out. Music is a great influence in our lives. And I would emphasize to the young people, don’t forget the hymns of the church.³⁰¹

Understanding the musical-liturgical practices as ritual opens the door to interpreting the data for underlying themes in spiritual identity. As ritual, the music in the

²⁹⁸ West, Oral History, 4.10-20.

²⁹⁹ TP10914, Oral History, 14.14-15.

³⁰⁰ Verdun, Oral History, 4.15-17.

³⁰¹ Bradford, Oral History, 22.25-30. “The hymns tell stories. They follow a sequence. Each verse follows another and so the hymn is a story in a sense. There are repetitions but we don’t have any hymns that are just repetitions. The repetitions are in the chorus, and sometimes in a verse you’ll have a phrase that’s repeated in the—But a lot of the music that we sing today is straight repetition and it doesn’t do much for me. Some of it is pretty, but in terms of message, there’s no message and they’re not doctrinal. A lot of the hymns are doctrinal and we get to reinforce our doctrines. Some or a lot of music that we sing today is light music and it has no real doctrinal significance. Those are the things that really bother me.” North, Oral History, 31.27-36.

liturgy fostered this spirituality. One major component of Adventist spirituality during the period was reverence.

Reverence

Adventist worship in the 1930s and 40s was “vastly different” from what it is today.³⁰² By then, the conception of reverence had developed significantly. Reverence had become the central component of Adventist liturgical spirituality. In this section, we examine how liturgy and music interfaced in promoting this predominant element in Adventist spiritual identity. Architecture, dress, music, ritual, and preaching, combined to create a major development in Adventist liturgical theology. Prototypical hints at this spirituality appeared as early as 1879. However, the oral histories conducted for this study reveal numerous points of data, illuminating the historical liturgical record.

The architecture and artwork in the churches contributed to the concept of reverence. In St. Louis, a banner at the front of the church read, “The Lord is in His Holy Temple.”³⁰³ Charles Foote recalls that in the Battle Creek Tabernacle, before the installation of the mural of Christ and the rich young ruler, hung a painting of the Ten Commandments on the front wall of the room, suggesting the holiness of God in His tabernacle.³⁰⁴ The Decalogue encouraged reverence from the worshipers. Many research participants view Adventist worship of the 1930s and 40s as “very formal,” “quieter than

³⁰² Verdun, Oral History, 3.21.

³⁰³ Verdun, Oral History, 3.40-4.1.

³⁰⁴ Foote, Oral History, 12.12-15, 22; Kellum, Oral History, 6.20-22.

today,” and “reverent.”³⁰⁵ Lloyd Kellum views the old portrayal of the Ten Commandments at the Battle Creek Tabernacle as a reflection of “a very law-oriented denomination,”³⁰⁶ contributing to a perceived strictness of reverence. Bette Anderson attributed this strictness to the instruction of her parents, and by extension, other church leaders at that time.³⁰⁷ Ethel Bradford perceives the Adventist Church of that time to have been “strict” compared to the Baptist church from which she came out. This was the worship posture the church wanted, she believes.³⁰⁸ However, she has not felt constrained by the perceived “staid” worship of Adventism, because she left the “outlandish” worship in the Baptist church; she “embraced the staid worship.”³⁰⁹ One can have the Holy Spirit and be reverent—even silent—in worship, without being Pentecostal. “You don’t have to do all that stuff so that you have the Spirit. You could just be silent and it would be working.”³¹⁰

In the 1940s, Adventists were more formal in their liturgical decorum than they are today. The church cultivated that decorum through its value of reverence. In those days, the church was quieter.³¹¹ The demeanor of the worshipers was not “somber” but

³⁰⁵ Benedict, Oral History, 5.30-6.3; Simmons, Oral History, 2.17-20. Also at the Washington Sanitarium church, down the street from Takoma Park. TP10914, Oral History, 16.5.

³⁰⁶ Kellum, Oral History, 7.11.

³⁰⁷ Anderson, Oral History, 9.19-20.

³⁰⁸ Bradford, Oral History, 7.13.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 19.1-8.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 18.38-41.

³¹¹ Anderson, Oral History, 9.29.

“more worshipful” as they did not greet friends in the sanctuary, but visited outside on the steps, keeping the sanctuary set apart for worship.³¹² Lloyd Kellum thinks that today, when people run in and out of the sanctuary, it distracts from the spirit of worship, causing others to lose their focus on God, and listen to what is going on up front. It is “disrespectful to God.”³¹³ Quietness in worship recognized God’s holiness.³¹⁴

Among both Black and White Adventists, worshipers did not clap during the service, but would vocalize “amens.”³¹⁵ “The worship was directed to God so you didn’t clap. You said, ‘Amen.’ In a concert hall, it’s directed to the individual who performed, and so you would clap.”³¹⁶ Lovey Verdun does not recall anyone explicitly teaching the “no clapping” rule.³¹⁷ Who taught them? The “rule of prayer” taught them. *Lex orandi lex credendi*. Even though in the Adventist church today, clapping in church has been done for years, it is difficult for these older church members to get used to it.³¹⁸ Back in the 1930s and 40s, even at Oakwood, “it was a rare thing to hear one say “amen.”³¹⁹ Bette

³¹² Foote, Oral History, 11.33-37, 12.36-13.2.

³¹³ Kellum, Oral History, 19.3-13, 31-32.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 19.15-17; McMahan, Oral History, 7.17.

³¹⁵ Anderson, Oral History, 10.1-3; McMahan, Oral History, 9.17-19; TP10914, Oral History, 16.12-14. Verdun does not remember many amens in the church. One sister sometimes said, “Amen now.” Verdun, Oral History, 4.18-28, 5.19. At some Black churches, worshipers rattled the bulletin, waving it in the air, as a way to “clap.” North, Oral History, 17.5-6. Others waved handkerchiefs. Verdun, Oral History, 5.13-17, 21-24.

³¹⁶ North, Oral History, 17.10-12, 30-32.

³¹⁷ Verdun, Oral History, 5.28.

³¹⁸ North, Oral History, 17.20-22.

³¹⁹ Rogers, Oral History, 12.41-13.1, 16-18.

Anderson sang in a female chorus when she was a student at Battle Creek Academy in the 1930s.³²⁰ They toured to a Black church in Burlington, Michigan.³²¹ She remembered the Black worshipers voicing many “amens” and “hallelujahs.” In recent years, she observed on the televised service of Oakwood University Church, featuring the preaching of Carlton Byrd, that Black worshipers raise their hands more today, but do not say “amen” like they used to in her early experience.³²² However, some Whites believe that the “amens” of Black Adventists were louder than Whites’ “amens.”³²³

These conceptions of holiness, sacredness, and “set-apartness” influenced Adventist worshipers, not only in their liturgical decorum, but in their dress as well. Men, especially the elders and deacons, wore a tie and coat. At Battle Creek, Pastor Mills (1947–1953) wore tails, with “nothing out of place.”³²⁴ Likewise in Takoma Park, Pastor George Rapp (1946–1952) wore a tuxedo with tails as well.³²⁵ The elders stayed on the platform, even during the sermon. Worshiping without this formalism leaves one feeling that “in some way the reverence of the service is lost along with meaning.”³²⁶ Elders set

³²⁰ She graduated in 1937. Anderson, Oral History, 10.12.

³²¹ I assume this is Burlington, Michigan.

³²² Anderson, Oral History, 10.7-20.

³²³ “They said amen real loud. . . . We said amen, but it was quiet.” TP8714, Oral History. 14.10, 15; West, Oral History, 15.13.

³²⁴ Simmons, Oral History, 2.11-14. In the 1940s, Pastor Merle L. Mills (1947–1953) wore suit tails. Benedict, Oral History, 5.30-6.3.

³²⁵ TP8714, Oral History, 1.30-32.

³²⁶ Benedict, Oral History, 6.28-29.

the standard for liturgical decorum, not the laity, for elders led the worship service from the platform.³²⁷

In general, women did not take a role on the platform during the divine service, other than music.³²⁸ As the church pursued reverence for God, over time only men were allowed to govern the liturgy. In this way, the liturgy taught that only men held the prerogative to guide the church in reverential worship. If the men did not lead this fundamental part of the liturgy, then the church would not have approached God in the proper manner. This marked a shift from the Second Great Awakening and early Adventism, in which the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers guided the liturgy. In those times and in some circles, this doctrine necessitated that both men and women lead worship. By the mid-twentieth century, Adventist women were excluded from liturgical ministry, outside of music. The role of musician, however, should not be overlooked. Music provided an important outlet for women to shepherd the congregation, even when men controlled the rostrum and the proclamation of the Word. As musicians, women pastored parishioners with the gospel in song.

To some Adventists today, the worship of the 1940s may appear to be overly formal, though Charles Foote maintains that those Adventists would not have perceived their worship as such. Ellen White's counsel against "the evil of formal worship" was fresh in their thinking.³²⁹ Foote thinks Adventists of that time interpreted Ellen White's

³²⁷ Benedict, Oral History, 20.16-21.

³²⁸ Ibid., 21.4-7, 20.

³²⁹ Ellen G. White to [Evangelist] E. E. and Bro. and Sr. S. N. Haskell, November 10, 1902, Letter 170, 1902.

counsel as referring to the formalism of Episcopalian and Catholic churches, in which worshipers recite things “more by rote.”³³⁰ This may also be attributed to the tendency among Adventists during the twentieth century to base too much of their faith on what Ellen White said—or was attributed to say—than on Scripture.³³¹

Music for the divine service was set apart from other types of music, contributing to the sense that the divine service was set apart from other life experiences, adding to the sense of reverence in corporate worship.³³² The organ especially contributed to this feeling. Lloyd Kellum thinks there has been “a feeling in the mindset” of some Adventists, that the organ makes the service “a little more reverential.”³³³ For Bernice Albright, the pipe organ helped her feel she was “in the house of God.”³³⁴ For Rosalee Kellum, “the organ did that”:

Walking into the sanctuary and the organ was playing—maybe it’s because that’s what I was taught—but I thought, “Okay, I’m coming in here, and I’m hearing a reverence. And through the organ playing—even today—I come in, I sit down, and I’m quiet and respectful.” I think, for me, the organ played a part in that.³³⁵

Though her husband is a pianist, both find the piano to be not as conducive to reverence as the organ.³³⁶

³³⁰ Foote, Oral History, 13.8-21.

³³¹ McMahon, Oral History, 6.18-22.

³³² Anderson, Oral History, 9.24-27.

³³³ Kellum, Oral History, 7.27-29.

³³⁴ Albright, Oral History, 6.26-29.

³³⁵ Kellum, Oral History, 28.14-18.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.20-34.

Nonetheless, Lloyd Kellum believes the church needs to be “very obvious” about the “reverence aspect” of the worship service.³³⁷ In his experience, there was an ever-increasing desire for reverence in the divine service during the twentieth century:

It may have been a matter of perception but not totally, I don't think. The thing that happened was that as time went by, a need for reverence in the sanctuary was more paramount in my perception of it. As a result of that, the organ was more primary as far as the music that was provided.³³⁸

Ralph Benedict believes that the type of music sung during the divine service contributes to, or takes away from, the sense of reverence:

I don't agree with drums. It's not that I don't like drums, but I don't think the worship service has a place for drums as far as worship service. It gets too heavy and too demanding; you need silence and quietness and prepare your heart and hear what the Lord's message is for you at that particular time in service.³³⁹

Prayer, silence, and meditation helps the worshiper to “expand” one's “thinking,” and “be reverent and listen” to the message.³⁴⁰ The music in the liturgy espoused and cultivated a certain spirituality.³⁴¹

The meaning of reverence was cultivated through the singing of the introit when the elders and pastor entered the platform at the start of the divine service. Sometimes the congregation sang,

Be silent, be silent, a whisper is heard
Be silent, and listen, oh, treasure each word.

³³⁷ Kellum, Oral History, 30.8.

³³⁸ Ibid., 9.5-12.

³³⁹ Ibid., 7.6-10.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 7.13-15.

³⁴¹ Bradford, Oral History, 15.29-31.

Tread softly, tread softly, the Master is here;
Tread softly, tread softly, He bids us draw near.³⁴²

Or more commonly, the rite featured the Habakkuk 2:20 text as corporate song:

The Lord is in His holy temple,
Let all the earth keep silence before Him.³⁴³

Lloyd and Rosalee Kellum discussed in detail the views of reverence in the Tabernacle church during the 1940s. Reflecting on how pastors led the services during that time, Lloyd Kellum exclaims, “It’s amazing how much emphasis they put on reverence.”³⁴⁴ Just as Kellum connected the excellence sought by organists to theology, he sees the church’s high view of God’s magnificence as the driving factor for reverence in Adventist liturgy. “It needed to be [reverent], since He was the King of the universe, that reverence and awe were important. And we as mortal beings needed to be reverent. When you’re there to meet the King of the universe, that had great importance. That importance today is almost nonexistent.”³⁴⁵ Furthermore, Rosalee Kellum adds, “music set the mood. . . . When we came in, the music was kind of setting that mood of here you are now, you’re in church, and you’re meeting with God, and you are reverent. To me, that’s what the music played a part in that.” Lloyd follows immediately, saying, “That’s what happened when they sang, “The Lord Is in His Holy Temple.” . . . They came in,

³⁴² “Be Silent, Be Silent,” *Church Hymnal*, 601.

³⁴³ “The Lord is in His Holy Temple,” *Church Hymnal*, 690. The organist and choir led the singing. Kellum, *Oral History*, 26.6, 10-11.

³⁴⁴ Kellum, *Oral History*, 26.32.

³⁴⁵ Kellum, *Oral History*, 26.37-27.3.

they knelt, they got up, and there on, it was us and the Lord. For whatever the reason, I think that was the purpose.”³⁴⁶ For Lovey Verdun, this hymn became central to her beliefs about worship.³⁴⁷ All of this was “legislated by the service,” that is, the design of the interfacing of music, liturgy, and leadership.³⁴⁸ When “they sang, ‘let all the earth be silent before Him,’ . . . the tone was set.”³⁴⁹ This fostered order and delineated when to be quiet and reverent.³⁵⁰ When the ministers entered—“it was usually quite a parade”—a hush “fell over the church. Everybody kept quiet. . . . Everybody . . . bowed their head.”³⁵¹ Subject 1 of TP8714 remembers Pastor Charles S. Longacre (1918, 1936–1937) engendering order in the service, and “all had that measured step when they came on the platform. There was never any talking between the pastors who were sitting up there.”³⁵²

Elihu McMahon notes that the service music was appropriate to the liturgical moment. Music contributed to spirituality at the opening of the service, at prayer, and at the offertory. “They would open the service with a piece that made you feel as though

³⁴⁶ Kellum, Oral History, 27.18-26, 29.18-20, 30.1. Likewise, at the Ephesus church in 1939, when he was only five years old, Elihu McMahon remembers this point in the liturgy distinctly. “The Sabbath service was reverent. . . . When the call to worship was made and they would tell you that, ‘the Lord is in his holy temple. Let all the earth keep silence before him,’ from that point on, there was no joking or secularism that would take place.” McMahon, Oral History, 1.13-17; TP8714, Oral History, 3.26-28; Verdun, Oral History, 3.22-32.

³⁴⁷ Verdun, Oral History, 24.10-11.

³⁴⁸ Kellum, Oral History, 27.33-35.

³⁴⁹ Kellum, Oral History, 28.1-2; Verdun, Oral History, 3.38-4.1.

³⁵⁰ Kellum, Oral History, 28.11-13.

³⁵¹ TP8714, Oral History, 2.8-10, 17.

³⁵² TP8714, Oral History, 3.13-15; Verdun, Oral History, 3.33, 36.

you were going to heaven. . . . When they had the intercessory prayer, they would sing a particular song that made you feel as though you were like transcending this earth going to heaven.”³⁵³ At the offertory, “the music should put you in a mood of wanting to contribute what God has given you, and you’re returning it to the Lord. It should make your heart feel as though this is what you want to do.”³⁵⁴

These attitudes and practices interfaced with the belief that the rooms in which Adventists worshiped were perceived as “the sanctuary,” a “holy space.”³⁵⁵ The sanctuary was not only where Christ ministered in heaven, but was also here on earth. This was not unique to ethnicity, for much of the data from the interviews indicates that many Adventists, both Black and White, held this conception. While affirming that spirituality was fostered through the ritual and its music, Charles Bradford perceives this as “extreme reverence for things,” whether it is the rostrum, the pulpit, the communion table, or the ritual itself.³⁵⁶ He thinks that Black Adventists have conceived of the church building as “different” from other structures. It was the “Holy Place” and the “Most Holy Place.”³⁵⁷ As a minister, historian, and theologian, Bradford may hold a minority view

³⁵³ McMahon, Oral History, 9.8-12; Thomas, Oral History, 17.35-38.

³⁵⁴ McMahon, Oral History, 8.14-16, 29-31.

³⁵⁵ Foote, Oral History, 12.7-8.

³⁵⁶ Bradford, Oral History, 16.7, 12, 21-23.

³⁵⁷ Bradford, Oral History, 16.32-35. The Bradfords themselves do not hold this view. The Thomases hold a middle view. The furniture of the worship space is “set apart” from regular use, but the construction is not itself holy, that is, there is no “holiness in the wood or the table.” Thomas, Oral History, 8.28-31. Perhaps the subjects of TP8714 hold this middle view when they use “like” instead of “is”: “That was like a most holy place.” TP8714, Oral History, 4.5.

among his generation.³⁵⁸ EPH10614 supports the view that Bradford contends, advocating that the church ought to adhere to the concept of “sacredness.” The rostrum is a holy place, a sacred place where God speaks through the minister to the people.³⁵⁹ Likewise, Elihu McMahon describes the Ephesus church building interior as so beautiful, “you actually realized you were in some sort of sanctuary, almost like in biblical times where the ark of the covenant or something was at the end. You walked in and you felt as though you were in a sacred place. At least that’s the way I felt.”³⁶⁰

This reverence also related to the belief in the holiness of God’s Word. The pulpit and its immediate surrounding area, the rostrum, were for the proclamation of God’s Word, as interpreted by the pastor through illumination.³⁶¹ Some Adventists intensified this theology, viewing the preacher as prophet and mediator. The pulpit was where “the one who was standing between us and God, stood.”³⁶² The large wooden pulpit, sometimes separate from the rest of the platform, stood by itself, often in the center, contributing to this belief. “The podium was considered as sacred, because that was where the preacher was going to talk to you about God from the Bible.”³⁶³ By actively

³⁵⁸ I say, “may,” because I find it difficult, based on the interviews alone, to know precisely what these older octo-, nona-, and centenarians believe. More conversation and research is required.

³⁵⁹ EPH10614, Interview Notes, 2.32-37; Thomas, Oral History, 8.9-27. Even in store-front churches and auditoriums, Black Adventists viewed the worship space as sacred when they gathered for corporate worship. North, Oral History, 4.19-30. North, Oral History, 22.30-33, 23.1-3. This has been lost in Adventist churches. Thomas, Oral History, 19.15-16.

³⁶⁰ McMahon, Oral History, 13.7-10, 16-18; EPH10614, Interview Notes, 2.17-20.

³⁶¹ TP10914, Oral History, 17.17-18.

³⁶² Thomas, Oral History, 8.32.

³⁶³ Ibid., 9.10-11. Sometimes soloists sang at the pulpit for a solo. North, Oral History, 21.28-

listening to the Word, one revered God, showing obedience to Him.³⁶⁴ Put another way, quietness prepares the heart for reverence, a giving of first place to God's Word, to which the worshiper actively listens and heeds.³⁶⁵

Elihu McMahan laments the theological perspective of many in the denomination today, saying that God's presence in the sanctuary is not revered:

When I was growing up, if you were not ordained, you could not go on the rostrum. Now, anything goes, which to me is desecrating the temple. But there are some persons here who believe, and I was just told it's not, a couple of months ago, that the sanctuary is not sacred in itself. It's just a room, and it becomes sacred when we are there because the Lord is in our hearts. Well, if the Holy Spirit is not in your heart, then he's not in the temple. I truly believe that once you dedicated the sanctuary to God, whether you're in the room or not, the presence of God is there, and I think that you have to, when you come into the building, you have to honor that, but we don't do that anymore. As I said, when I was younger, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, there was never any secular kind of added action that went on in the church.³⁶⁶

For McMahan, reverence for God sprang from the Lord's love in sending his son to redeem us. Being reverent in the liturgy was how the worshiper surrendered oneself in order to become Christ-like.³⁶⁷ Subject EPH10614 believes genuine reverence stems from one's relationship with God. The more of a connection one has with God, the more

22.21.

³⁶⁴ TP10914, Oral History, 17.28-29.

³⁶⁵ Verdun, Oral History, 22.9.

³⁶⁶ McMahan, Oral History, 1.22-33.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 9.17-18.

reverence there will be in the sanctuary.³⁶⁸ Claude Thomas says, “It’s what you did there that made it sacred.”³⁶⁹

Adventist worship in the first half of the twentieth century, with its prevailing conception of music in liturgy and its accompanying spirituality, continues to influence church leaders and Adventist liturgy and music today. Some Black ministers, whose spirituality has been so shaped through music in the liturgy, will preach against their perceived excesses in music today. They preach on being silent in worship, even to the point of stopping the music of drummers and other instrumentalists.³⁷⁰ Bradford rightly notes that today, many younger Black and White folk view the issues of reverence and celebration differently than Adventists in the 1930s and 40s.³⁷¹ Modes of spirituality have shifted in the past seventy years, and as a result, these opposing spiritualities often create conflict in Adventist churches, both Black and White.

Gospel Music and Adventist Spiritual Identity

In this section, we first consider the new twentieth-century musicological development of gospel music and its relationship to Adventist spiritual identity. The recent last thirty years (1990s–) has not been the only time in Adventist history to witness changes to Adventist liturgy and music. The church’s worship has always evolved,

³⁶⁸ EPH10614, Interview Notes, 2.26-27.

³⁶⁹ Thomas, Oral History, 9.14.

³⁷⁰ Bradford, Oral History, 17.33-38.

³⁷¹ Bradford, Oral History, 18.23-24. He thinks that much of this view of reverence developed due to an interpretation of Ellen White’s writings relating to demonstrative worship. Bradford, Oral History, 19.29-31, 39-20.8; North, Oral History, 18.36-42; Thomas, Oral History, 8.1-8.

especially developing during the first half of the twentieth century. Apparently, this period has been overlooked by scholarship, likely due to the relative closeness of time. The musical developments of the late nineteenth century contributed to the evolution of music in the twentieth. In the late nineteenth century, denominational leaders gravitated toward the gospel style of Ira Sankey and Philip Bliss. Adventist composers such as Edwin Barnes and Frank Belden, followed in their footsteps, composing and publishing hymnals in the contemporary style. This new gospel music featured strophic texts, often coupled with simple refrains, drawing on popular song forms and styles, and expressing the “personal religious experiences of evangelical Protestants.” This music sprang up from the roots of revival singing of the late Second Great Awakening, flowering into the four major varieties of gospel music in the twentieth century: northern urban gospel, southern gospel, Black gospel, and country and bluegrass gospel.³⁷²

The gospel hymnody of the nineteenth century corresponds with the northern urban gospel, as revivalists, such as Dwight L. Moody, brought the gospel to the cities of Chicago, New York, and other major northern urban centers. These songs featured winsome melodies, simple harmonies, and typically, a marked march-like rhythm borrowed from secular song. The latter point must not be understated. The psychophysiological effect of rhythmic music comes to bear upon this study. The rhythmic nature of gospel hymnody made it at least as effective, if not more significant, than the gospel message of its lyrics. Adventism had abandoned much of its

³⁷² Stephen Shearon, Harry Eskew, James C. Downey, Robert Darden, “Gospel music,” In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed December 14, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2224388>.

demonstrative modes of liturgical expression in 1850. However, it continued its expressive musical practice by embracing gospel hymnody. Northern urban gospel hymnody became normative for the denomination. As the denomination grew more quiet, reverent, and solemn in its liturgical rites, the denomination continued to offer its expressive praise through gospel hymnody. The intense affection toward *Christ in Song* gives ample evidence for this thesis.

A broad sweep of Adventist musical-liturgical history follows: The Black and White spirituals of the Awakening gave expression to early Adventist worship. Adventists continued in this stream of hymnody later in the century as they incorporated the northern urban gospel styles. It should not be surprising, therefore, that Adventists in the twentieth century continued to utilize newer gospel streams.

However, I also here posit a thesis that the development of gospel music was not the only type of congregational music being introduced. Several musicians worked to improve what they perceived as a lack of quality of music in the church. Beyond composing gospel hymnody, and editing the 1886 *HT*, Edwin Barnes was interested in serious music. Edwin Barnes played the music of Bach on the Battle Creek Sanitarium organ. He could never have played this repertoire on the pump organ at the Dime Tabernacle. Additionally, Harold Hannum's Masters thesis served as the springboard for the 1941 *Church Hymnal*. More than elitist, Hannum sought to elevate the quality of Adventist worship and music, due to his deep convictions toward a theology of beauty.

Therefore, at least three streams of congregational song flowed through Adventism during the twentieth century. Northern urban gospel hymnody predominated Adventist song as the normative genre. High church elements began to be introduced into

the denomination through the *Church Hymnal* and the strong choral anthem tradition in the larger churches. Finally, Adventists gradually adopted Black gospel music into the movement.³⁷³ Both Black and White Adventists wrestled with these developments. Not only did they continue to embrace northern urban gospel hymnody, but they also incorporated Black gospel music into their liturgical practice.

Though a long-time member of the Oakwood University church, Lovey Verdun (b. 1928) has vivid memories of worship in St. Louis, Missouri. These recollections are important, broadly informing what Adventist hymn selection looked like in the 1930s and 40s. Verdun gives a list of forty-two hymns from the *Church Hymnal* she remembers singing in her early years. Most of these hymns are northern urban gospel hymns of the nineteenth century, including “Don’t Forget the Sabbath,” “Look for the Waymarks,” and “Watchman, Blow the Gospel Trumpet.” Others are rousing Protestant and Catholic hymns from that period as well, such as “Abide with Me,” “Holy, Holy, Holy,” and “Come Thou, Almighty King.” Some songs are service music, including the Doxology, *Gloria patri*, and “The Lord is in His Holy Temple.”³⁷⁴ While Adventist hymnody included a broad range of non-sectarian musical expression, gospel hymns were the predominant stream of congregational song. “It told a story. It helped us to remember

³⁷³ This is evidenced from the research interviews. Several participants discussed the entrance of southern gospel style music into the liturgy, but participants noted that these developments occurred after 1944. Therefore, I have not included these data in the study.

³⁷⁴ Space does not permit including all in the text of the study. The reader may consult the appendix. Verdun, Oral History, 25.

what the doctrines were without just sitting in a class going over the doctrines. We sang the gospel songs.”³⁷⁵

Ethel Bradford observes differences in musical style from *Christ in Song* to the *Church Hymnal*:

I think there’s a question about all of the hymnals, because after *Christ in Song*, what did we do? We got this 1941 book, which, we right here in Oakwood, we’re like, “Where did they get this staid music from?” It was different. The hymns chosen in that book were different like they took out the ones that had rhythm, basically.³⁷⁶

Critique of the hymnal did not only lay with Black Adventists. White Adventists also made judgments about the new hymnal. Charles Foote recalls that in the 1960s and 70s some members at the Battle Creek Tabernacle “felt that it maybe was a little boring to them.” Foote thinks that the popular musical styles found on television at the time contributed to this unease.³⁷⁷ In contrast, Foote recognizes that the church felt that *Christ in Song* was more rhythmic in its emphasis than *The Church Hymnal*. By the 60s and 70s, Adventists began to search for more rhythmic expression.³⁷⁸

The Bradfords mentioned songs, such as “Pillar of Fire,”³⁷⁹ as an example of gospel hymnody. Frank Belden composed this song, both the text and tune, in gospel

³⁷⁵ Verdun, Oral History, 4.10-12, 24.12-14.

³⁷⁶ Bradford, Oral History, 10.1-5. Francis Goodine remembers that some people didn’t like some of the things in the 1941 hymnal. Goodine, Oral History, 3.37-38.

³⁷⁷ Foote, Oral History, 5.24-26.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 5.37-6.12.

³⁷⁹ Frank E. Belden, “Pillars of Fire,” *Christ in Song*, 529.

style, with a few dotted-eighth and dotted-quarter notes.³⁸⁰ Adventists loved the hymn and lamented its omission, along with many other favorites, in the new hymnal.³⁸¹

In the oral history, Ethel Bradford attempts to show two types of musical shifts in Adventist expression. She has “watched the change” from “too rhythmical” to “too staid” in the 1941 hymnal. She views “The God of Abraham Praise,” as an example of the more “staid” musical expression.³⁸² She sees a move among one spectrum of Adventism toward a more formal and staid musical worship style. At the other end of the spectrum, Bradford sees a move toward the contemporary styles, such as Black gospel, represented in the work of Thomas Dorsey.

During the twentieth century, American music expanded considerably. In the nineteenth century, Black and White spirituals were sung a cappella. As denominations introduced instruments into worship, the accompanied religious song genre developed rapidly in the twentieth century. In Black churches, these songs were called spirituals, jubilees, “church songs,” but also “holy roller” songs, and “Dorseys,” after the prolific style of Thomas Dorsey.³⁸³ Eileen Southern carefully articulated how this genre developed:

Pentecostal churches expanded rapidly in the rural South. When black folk began pouring into the nation’s cities during the second decade of the twentieth century,

³⁸⁰ Beyond this minimal emphasis on rhythm, the bass line features a very steady marching counterpoint, with steady quarter notes, primarily on the first, fourth, and fifth scale degrees. I do not think the Bradfords gave the best example of a predominantly rhythmic song being taken out of the Adventist hymnody in 1941. Others examples could be given, such “Ninety and Nine,” or “Jesus Loves the Little Children.”

³⁸¹ Anderson, Oral History, 8.20-21.

³⁸² Bradford, Oral History, 10.28-31.

³⁸³ Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 456-57.

they took their joyful church songs with them into the urban ghettos, into the storefront churches, some of which developed into large temples within a few years. Very little documentation of this music in its early stages is extant. By the 1920s it had developed into a distinctive genre, displaying features of both the historical sacred black music and the secular. Observers perceived that this expressive church music was essentially the sacred counterpart of the blues, frequently the sacred text being the only distinguishing element. The call-and-response, rhythmic vitality, musical density, predilection for duple meters, syncopation, improvisation, and “bent note” scale were all present. The harmonic patterns of the music were chiefly diatonic—that is, based on tonic, dominant, and subdominant chords as in the blues—but the scalar “bent tones” changed some of the chords to secondary dominant and diminished seventh chords.³⁸⁴

Many denominations were slow to adopt the new gospel song, as represented by Dorsey’s gospel song, “Precious Lord,” published in 1932. Middle-class churches more slowly adopted the genre than did lower class congregations.³⁸⁵ Charles Bradford remembers the church explicitly not singing the music of Dorsey, particularly not “Precious Lord.” However, Bradford notes that Dorsey’s style nonetheless influenced Adventist worship.³⁸⁶ Ethel Bradford remembers when she first heard a Dorsey song sung in an Adventist church. Around the year 1942 or 43, she distinctly remembers hearing Frank Peterson, then President of Oakwood College, sing Dorsey’s “Amen”: “I’ll be honest, I’ll be true, Lord . . . it is your service, prayer, Amen.” This, she says, was the Dorsey style “creeping right on in.”³⁸⁷ Smaller congregations, such as James North’s father’s congregation, Brooklyn Temple, frequently sang gospel songs, such as “Precious

³⁸⁴ Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 457.

³⁸⁵ Southern indicated that class was a contributing factor. *Ibid.*, 458.

³⁸⁶ Bradford, *Oral History*, 4.35-36, 7.35-39.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.40-8.15.

Lord” and “Yes, God is Real.”³⁸⁸ Larger churches, such as Oakwood and Ephesus, had a “much more formal worship service,” and thus, tended toward conservation of the past and resistance toward the new. North reasons that larger Black churches followed a more formal service, due to being taught to worship and sing like the White churches.³⁸⁹ An important factor North misses, however, is Bradford’s contextualization of the Ephesus church within the Harlem Renaissance, an issue discussed later in this chapter.

Undoubtedly, the predominantly White Seventh-day Adventist denomination influenced the worship of Ephesus. At the same time, Black Adventists, like other Blacks in Harlem, embraced a more serious cultivation of music that included the Western classical tradition. This music was therefore not inherently White, for it was actively cultivated among Blacks as their own musical expression.

Both Black and White soloists and vocal groups embraced the Dorseys, contributing to the proliferation of the gospel style. In the late 1940s, Beverly Benedict, a White member of the Battle Creek congregation, belonged to a female vocal trio, which performed “Precious Lord” on television and during the worship service.³⁹⁰ These vocal groups would also perform southern gospel music, a musical cousin to the Dorsey style.³⁹¹ Thus, these musical styles began to be introduced into the liturgy and spirituality.

³⁸⁸ North, *Oral History*, 13.26-28.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.7-9.

³⁹⁰ Benedict, *Oral History*, 16.2, 33.

³⁹¹ An important component of Adventist musical development is the vocal trio and quartet, epitomized by the Adventist men’s group, The King’s Heralds. This entire genre deserves attention beyond this study.

By the 1940s, Adventists had been conditioned to the simple harmonies of nineteenth century hymnody. Their harmonic palette predisposed them against new harmonic progressions and accompaniments to congregational song and solo music. Blues and jazz harmonies were associated with secular music. Lloyd Kellum thinks many Adventists have resisted his rich harmonies and the gospel-style meters because of associations. “What you do with it is the name of the game.” “If you play a seventh, is it going to be a 16th note, or is it going to be a quarter note, or is it going to be whole note?”³⁹² This is a “just cause,” because “the adversary has done so much with music. . . . He got so little time” to deceive humanity through music, before Christ’s soon return.³⁹³

Speaking of Black gospel today, Elihu McMahan thinks that when the music is “very jumpy,” rhythmically, “and if you change the lyrics you’d swear you were in a night club.”³⁹⁴ Though current Black gospel sprang from the earlier Dorsey style, he believes that the new gospel styles are wrong. I attribute this to the normative nature of the liturgy. And yet, McMahan affirms that music in the liturgy affects theology and spirituality. “If you look at the commandment, you know, the stranger within your gates is now supposed to honor what you do with respect to honoring God, but you don’t let the stranger who has a different worship mode come in and bring his worship in and change

³⁹² Kellum, Oral History, 20.14-18.

³⁹³ Ibid., 21.5-. “We felt that all this loud music, this jazz music . . . not to be worshipful. . . . Now, you can’t tell the difference in the music here at Oakwood as you can in the churches in the world.” Rogers, Oral History, 12.4-6, 17-19.

³⁹⁴ McMahan, Oral History, 2.41-42.

your way of worshiping.”³⁹⁵ James North also sees a connection between music, worship, and spirituality:

Some of these hymns people sang at home, while they were washing the dishes, and washing clothes and cleaning the house, they were singing some of these hymns, so some of these hymns became part of people’s lives. A lot of them had family worship and they sang them for family worship, even if they didn’t have a piano. They just [sang] a cappella. The hymns were part of people’s lives.³⁹⁶

A common misconception lies within many minds that Blacks and Whites sing different hymns. Much of this perception derives from anecdotal experience, rather than reality. Today, it is true that many White Adventist churches and institutional churches sing different songs than many Black churches. The Thomases spoke at length about the difference between Black and White hymns, however, they compared Oakwood with Pioneer Memorial Church on the campus of Andrews University and Loma Linda University church. At times, institutional Adventist churches include a diversity of congregational song not reflective of the smaller churches. I shared with the Thomases that the “little White church down the street” is singing gospel hymns. Jocelyn Thomas responded, “See, we sang those types of songs. I think we sang the same the thing.”³⁹⁷

The difference lies, not necessarily with the corpus of hymnody, but with the meter of the selections, and the manner in which they are performed and sung. Black Adventists have a predilection for compound meter hymns, or to convert simple meter 4/4 hymns into compound meter (12/8), in the style of twentieth century gospel song,

³⁹⁵ McMahan, Oral History, 3.7-10.

³⁹⁶ North, Oral History, 30.23-28.

³⁹⁷ Thomas, Oral History, 11.21-23, 31, 12.1-2, 20-35.

represented by Dorsey.³⁹⁸ One should not be surprised or even alarmed that Black and White Adventists would embrace twentieth-century gospel music, because the new styles descended from the earlier revival traditions.

While Adventist liturgical music continued to develop, so too did Adventist spirituality. Shifts of music in the liturgy affected the liturgical theology and spiritual identity.

Adventist Spiritual Identity in the Experience of Music

Though addressing contemporary challenges, the attitudes of the research participants toward change in Adventist worship illuminate the indelible impression music in the liturgy made upon the worshipers in the 1930s and beyond. Major changes in music in the liturgy, over the course of a lifetime, are often exceedingly difficult. The early childhood experience of music in the liturgy became normative for many of the research participants, revealing the striking power of *lex orandi lex credendi*.

The perceived changes in liturgy, especially in the 1980s and 90s, are viewed as a change in beliefs. “The church started changing some of its viewpoints and some of its ways of having Sabbath services.”³⁹⁹ Theology and praxis go hand in hand. Rosalee Kellum understands that the liturgy has been formative for her spirituality, while also

³⁹⁸ Thomas, Oral History, 11.36, 37-39, 12.9-10.

³⁹⁹ Albright, Oral History, 12.8-9.

recognizing that the church is not going to be like it was in the 1940s. “We want it to be like what it used to be, and it’s never going to be like it used to be.”⁴⁰⁰

According to Charles Foote, “Music has a large part to play in the worship.” While recognizing that, we must also understand that musical preferences “do change with the times. It needs to be relevant to the participants and the congregation, but it should always, always be worshipful and point to God.”⁴⁰¹ Cullen Phipps adds that the Adventist church should stay away from extremes in music, and distinguish between church music and rock music.⁴⁰² Regarding the music today, Bernie Albright states, “there is no quality in about six words and saying the same thing over and over again.”⁴⁰³ In her view, the hymns in the hymnal have depth and quality. “I don’t enjoy going to worship and looking at a screen . . . because I didn’t grow up with it.”⁴⁰⁴

As I have surveyed Adventist liturgical and music history in this study, the core of Adventist spiritual identity has remained. The central focus of Adventist spiritual identity has always been a love for Jesus Christ, who is coming soon.⁴⁰⁵ Music bolstered the message.⁴⁰⁶ Second coming hymnody has continued to express Adventist spirituality in

⁴⁰⁰ Kellum, Oral History, 30.20-21; Rogers, Oral History, 23.23-26.

⁴⁰¹ Foote, Oral History, 17.6-9.

⁴⁰² Phipps, Interview Notes, 2.10-13.

⁴⁰³ Bernice Albright, Oral History, 5.1-3.

⁴⁰⁴ Bernice Albright, Oral History, 3.30-33. Benedict, Oral History, 7.42-43, 22.26-28.

⁴⁰⁵ Benedict, Oral History, 24.25-28, 30-31.

⁴⁰⁶ McMahon, Oral History, 23.4

the twentieth century. “Lift Up the Trumpet” was a favorite.⁴⁰⁷ “I want to see singing and music all say He’s coming again, get ready, He is coming.”⁴⁰⁸ Wayne Hooper’s hit, “We Have This Hope,” has struck a chord on the heart strings of Adventists since its illumined composition in 1962, becoming core to Adventist spiritual identity the past fifty years.⁴⁰⁹

In an un-recorded interview, Charles Bradford discussed with me the shared identity of Adventists, both Black and White. “Our worship was different from the other churches, because we are a called-out people.”⁴¹⁰ Elihu McMahan agrees, saying that the music in liturgy should reveal that Adventists are a “peculiar church.”⁴¹¹ A growing concern among older Adventists is for the church to be distinctive, that it should not become just like the world.⁴¹² James North believes the shared identity comes from the normative counsel of Ellen White, above and beyond a shared theology of worship.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁷ Benedict, Oral History, 23.31-33, 24.2; North, Oral History, 28.14; Rogers, Oral History, 22.16; Thomas, Oral History, 11.10.

⁴⁰⁸ Thomas, Oral History, 17.22-23. That Jocelyn Thomas says this indicates that today, Adventists do not reflect the second coming often in their congregational song.

⁴⁰⁹ Though “We Have This Hope” was introduced and performed for General Conference sessions in 1962, 1966, and 1975, the 1985 *Seventh-day Adventist Church Hymnal* contributed significantly to its rapid adoption into liturgical practice. Wayne Hooper, “We Have This Hope,” *Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal*, 214; Hooper and White, *Companion*, 214. Anderson, Oral History, 8.22, 31; 12.32-33; Benedict, Oral History, 23.21-22.

⁴¹⁰ I remember these to be his words. His words made such an impression upon me, that I immediately began using this phrase in the classes I teach, seeking to cultivate harmony and unity between ethnic groups in my courses. Thus, I think these words come very close to the actual words he said. The interview occurred in October, 2013, including Charles, Ethel, and myself. Unfortunately, the notes to this interview have been lost. The interview was so significant due to the content shared, that conducting the oral history in 2014 became critical for this study.

⁴¹¹ McMahan, Oral History, 3.4.

⁴¹² Albright, Oral History, 4.14-17.

⁴¹³ North, Oral History, 18.32-42.

When asked whether it was the Adventist message, or prevailing White culture, that contributed to the great similarity between Black and White worship, Ernest and Annelle Rogers gave contrasting answers. Ernest believes “it’s the message more than anything else.” While Annelle recognizes the message, she also gave insights into culture. One’s skin color does not determine one’s culture, but one’s environment.⁴¹⁴ The message itself creates culture. That Adventist culture competes with the predominant White American culture, as well as the Black American culture. Hearing Annelle’s comments, Ernest agreed, saying, “I think that the message that we have today is a message that brings people together. With one blood, he has created all nations of the world.”⁴¹⁵ In the conversation, Annelle expanded the Adventist message beyond the common conception of doctrine, to the “love of Jesus”:

You pray for that love, ‘cause you don’t automatically have it. . . . [Don’t] care what color you are, if you don’t love, and if you don’t love the white man because he did what he did for your fore parents, how you gonna make it into the Kingdom? You’re not gonna make it. . . . If he doesn’t love you, he isn’t gonna make it either. Love is the pivotal point. . . . Love your enemies. Bless those that curse you, good unto them that hate you and persecute you, that you may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven. Cause he sent his rain on the just and unjust. I think that’s the Adventist message.⁴¹⁶

Annelle’s words resonate from a heart that is being softened by Christ’s love. Her grandparents were slaves, and they themselves were children of slaves. The family did

⁴¹⁴ Rogers, Oral History, 19.23-32.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 19.38, 20.4-5.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 20.20-39.

not hand down the painful stories of slavery. Like them, she chose not to share with her children about Jim Crow segregation, so as to avoid cultivating hatred in their hearts.⁴¹⁷

Likewise, Ernest sees the Adventist message as a unifying force, stronger than the power of racism in the church:

Basically, the message does that for you if you really believe it, and that is the thing that has helped us in our relationship. I have no hard feeling toward anybody of any race, because, with one blood, God has made all people of the earth to dwell together. If you can look upon Jesus, and how he related to all the other nations of the world, this is the pattern that he set for us, and this is the thing that we follow in our thinking.⁴¹⁸

His favorite hymn reflects this spirituality: “There is power, power, wonder-working power, in the blood of the Lamb.”⁴¹⁹

Annelle’s two favorite hymns demonstrate the power of the Adventist message, synthesized with her Black experience of deliverance through God, resulting in praise. She likes, “Lift up the trumpet. . . . Jesus is coming again,” a quintessential Adventist hymn in the early twentieth century. And her second favorite, “Praise Him, Praise Him, God is Love,” brings together her need to praise God, because, “The Lord has been extremely good to me, and I can’t thank him enough. I praise him all the time, and my prayer is, with all this goodness he’s been to me, I want to be good to somebody else.”⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁷ Rogers, Oral History, 21.4-6, 15.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 21.19-24.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 22.5-11.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 22.12-20.

Her praise of God reveals her utter dependence upon God, something which Ernest describes as “the Black experience.”⁴²¹

Having laid down evidence for the historical practices of music in the liturgy, we can now articulate elements of derived spiritual identity. The Adventist message found center place in establishing Adventist identity. Music cultivated that message into the spirituality of the believers. Paramount in that spirituality was the belief in Christ’s soon return and the hope of heaven. Gospel music continued to be the liturgical music of choice, even as the genre continued to develop. However, the doctrine of the Word and the Law combined to foster a predominant spirituality of liturgical reverence. The accompanying liturgical theology of reverence implies that many Adventists believed in an ontological presence of God in the earthly sanctuary.

In light of this liturgical theology, we can also now describe the modes of ritual sensibility of the shared spiritual identity.⁴²² Both Black and White Adventists had abandoned their nineteenth-century demonstrative worship practices. No longer was the ritual psychosomatic, exclamatory, nor embodying.⁴²³ The basic activity was no longer physical demonstration. Decorum, ceremony, and liturgy now dominated the mode of ritual. Decorum was important, as the mood of worship was proper, or polite. This could be seen in the greeting and “up and down” nature of ministers at the rostrum. The ritual frame of reference, especially at Takoma Park, with the ministers functioning as

⁴²¹ Rogers, Oral History, 22.29-32.

⁴²² See Chapter 2 for Ronald Grimes’ taxonomy of the modes of ritualization.

⁴²³ This is not to say that their liturgical practices did not embody beliefs. All ritual embodies beliefs.

dignitaries on the platform, was like a political ceremony. The voice of the ritual was often imperative, “Do this, behave this way, don’t do that.” Descriptions of the ministers revealed that the ritual was enforced. During this period, churches began to institute the policy of prohibiting people from entering the sanctuary at certain times.

Due to the overwhelming evidence for reverence in the worship, the most common mode of ritual sensibility had become that of liturgy. The holiness of God became the ultimate frame of reference, cultivating a mood of reverence. The liturgy found voice in interrogative requests of the divine, and declarative doctrinal preaching. The basic activity was now ontological. God quite possibly took physical residence in the sanctuaries of the worship spaces. Liturgy became cosmically necessary to experience God’s presence. In this light, Adventist liturgy, once so radically reformed, had begun to adopt a sacramental nature to preaching, music, and the liturgy, becoming not so far removed from the Catholic and mainline Protestant denominations it had declared “fallen” one hundred years earlier.

White Adventist Spiritual Identity

Beyond the shared spiritual identity in music articulated above, little more can be said about White Adventists during the period. Sadly, many White Adventists continued the American doctrine of separate Black and White ontologies. These Whites perpetuated racism in organizational structure, ministry, and worship praxis. This created a culture of shame, denying Black Adventists acceptance into the White houses for worship.

This view of reality affected not only anthropology, but also cosmology. McMahan recalls a time before the regional conferences when a White minister preached at Ephesus. Following the singing of a spiritual, the minister stated, “When we get to

heaven, we're coming over to your side to listen to you guys." McMahon comments, "In the mind of the white ministers, there was going to be two heavens. There was going to be a black heaven and a white heaven, and they're coming over to our side to listen to gospel or spirituals."⁴²⁴ This ontology has continued until recent years, as one minister told McMahon that "when we are translated, we're all going to turn white."⁴²⁵ American racist ontology had usurped the beautiful conceptions of music and heaven that Adventists had held during the nineteenth century.

Black Adventists remember the hateful practices of Whites in the context of worship. After the establishment of the regional conferences, Whites prohibited Blacks from attending their services.⁴²⁶ Whites generally did not go to Black services and prohibited Blacks from attending White services. Comparing the worship of Blacks and Whites in the 1930s and 40s reveals challenges, when considering that few had a thorough experience among both ethnicities.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁴ McMahon, Oral History, 18.9-16; Verdun, Oral History, 16.9-30.

⁴²⁵ McMahon, Oral History, 18.20-21.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 18.6-7.

⁴²⁷ "I can't really compare [the Black service] to white service because I never really attended a white service." Ibid., 19.22-23. James North first attended a White service when he went to college at Atlantic Union College in Massachusetts in the 1950s. North, Oral History, 14.11-13. "We knew we weren't welcome in the white churches and we didn't bother to go." Ibid., 15.24-25. "I can't recall ever seeing any white people in any of the black churches that I went to." Ibid., 15.27-28. Verdun, Oral History, 15.37-39. TP8714, Oral History, 14.18; Thomas, Oral History, 12.3-6, 13.34-35; West, Oral History, 14.34. Though he did not go to any White services due to segregation, Claude Thomas compares Black and White worship in the 1940s, saying that one heard "little to nothing" in a White church, while in a Black church, one heard "distinct amens." Ibid., 15.18-20. This evidence is fraught with challenges. Most importantly, if Blacks were prohibited from White worship due to racism, how could a Black man know what was going on in a White church? Thomas' White experiences came in the 1970s. Is it anachronistic to read 1970s White liturgical practice back on to the 1940s? Or was liturgy so slow to change that such a comparison is valid? Thomas is probably right, but it certainly confounds logic to say White worship was a certain way when the person speaking was not even there.

Racial prejudice has been palpable, not only by Whites toward Blacks, but also by Blacks toward Whites. Today, some of the Ephesus community only identify with “spirituals and gospel,” not “white-ified music.”⁴²⁸ McMahon observes a shift in some of the anthem repertoire of the Ephesus church choir.

I think they’re getting away from singing anthems simply because they don’t want to do anything that’s considered white. That’s how prejudiced I think they are. You don’t realize it, but that’s how prejudiced these people are. You know, it’s not just white people not wanting black people in the congregation. It’s black people not wanting white people in the congregation.⁴²⁹

Many Black Adventists have expressed anger over the racial divide, the perpetual systemic racism in the denomination, and the necessity for separate conferences, historically based on race. This is understandable. Many Whites have grossly mistreated Blacks, as the history of this study has shown. Black Adventists acted on the underlying hurt in a number of ways. McMahon sees that this hurt has pushed some Black leaders to make claims about Whites that are untrue. He recalled a prominent Black Adventist preacher and leader stating that Whites “can’t preach.”

The fact that people that you consider white people are being converted to Adventism by white ministers, it’s obvious that the Lord speaks through white ministers just as well as he speaks through black ministers. . . . It seems to me that you represent hell and damnation to the Adventist movement if you’re preaching that kind of foolishness, because God does not know color. . . . Because you’re so angry for not getting jobs, what you’ve done is sort of made this divide, this chasm that can’t be breached.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ McMahon, Oral History, 13.39-42.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 14.5-10.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 19.9-20.

The sad reality is that many Whites also tend to reject anything that is Black. A perpetual cycle continues, as fellow believers continue to hurt one another. At the heart of the issue, however, is American racist ontology, which has created a culture and system of hate based on skin color. This worldview is cultivated by White Americans, both inside and outside of the Adventist church. This study ought to behoove White Adventists to befriend fellow Black Adventists, to listen to their stories, and appreciate their worship. Preferences will not likely go away, but prejudice may, as relationships and the power of the Holy Spirit work together to stem the tide of the sin of racism in America.

Black Adventist Spiritual Identity

The expressions of Black spirituality have been nuanced across countless denominations and local churches. Since the first independent Black denominations and congregations, there have continued to be great diversity of worship styles among Black American Christians, ranging from “emotional jubilation to solemn reverence.”⁴³¹ This reflects the capacity and regularity of “cultural innovation” in religious syncretism.⁴³² Each local group has determined its own limits or boundaries for ritual action, while still basing these mannerisms upon prior African rituals and existential needs.⁴³³ African heritage and American slave experience provided the lens through which African Americans have interpreted their circumstances and created beliefs and practices that spoke to those spiritual needs. Black Christians syncretized their own African and slave

⁴³¹ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 75.

⁴³² Baer and Singer, *African American Religion*, 275.

⁴³³ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 67.

experiences with White traditions, utilizing their own creativity towards their own synthesis of spirituality.

Not all Black worship communities developed the same. Black spirituality is broad-ranging, multi-faceted, and should not be stereotyped. The commonality of this historical development of African American spirituality resulted in a “black sacred cosmos.” This religious worldview perceives the whole universe as sacred and lies at the heart of the African American religious experience.⁴³⁴

Some congregations and denominations retained more of their African heritage than others, while some abandoned the African worldview and practices, approximating more closely with White worship practices. Nonetheless, all Black Christian Americans “claim heritage in the Invisible Institution,” regardless of denominational flavor:

Congregations that were part of a Euro-American denomination often attempted to follow the polity and procedures of the denomination, often discarding some of the traditional African American folkways. Where inherited orders of worship avoid references to songs other than hymns, psalms, and anthems, traditional Negro music (African American Spirituals) might be excluded. If the pastor is a seminary graduate, and a large number of members are college graduates, there might be a high frequency of the use of well-organized sermons, anthems, and anthem arrangements of Spirituals. If worshipers have been exposed to pipe organs, the membership is often willing to stretch its budget to purchase one.”⁴³⁵

Liberation in worship continues to define African American spirituality in worship and music. Black Christians have continued to praise God amidst the protest of the oppressive society built upon White racism. In order to transcend the unhealthy

⁴³⁴ Lincoln and Mamiya, *Black Church*, 2; Shelton and Emerson, *Blacks and Whites*, 6-7.

⁴³⁵ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 76.

societal structures, Black Christians respond with their own anti-structures of ritual that protest the prevailing conceptions of salvation as only cerebral. “The unique modes of responding—praying, preaching, singing, gathering, and greeting—foster and nurture the anti-structural dimension of social awareness.”⁴³⁶ Black Christians thus express liberation in worship and in society. “The common African heritage and the socialization process in a racist society provide the foundation for many aspects of worship that connect African Americans and transcend denominational labels.” Because Black worship is separate from the oppressive society, it provides the vehicle for ecstatic modes of ritual that allow the community to free their thoughts and restore hope in the gospel.⁴³⁷ Claude Thomas notes that smaller Black Adventist churches avoided the “ritualistic”—that is, the “rigid” and “prescribed” category of ritual—in favor of a more “communal” spirit.⁴³⁸ Demonstrative Black Adventist worship allowed the community to tap into their African roots, drawing the congregation together.

Not all aspects of Black spirituality relate to every Black denomination or local church. Black Adventism shares many commonalities with the broader Black Christian American community. However, conversion to Adventism necessarily demanded a shift in worldview and spirituality. The Adventist doctrines of the great controversy, the sanctuary, the Sabbath, the state of the dead, and the Bible as the supreme liturgical criterion eclipsed much of the African worldview among Black Adventists. Because of

⁴³⁶ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 67.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁴³⁸ His use of ritualistic probably means repetitive action. See Chapter 2. Thomas, *Oral History*, 17.2-3.

the ontological and liturgical implications of these beliefs, as evidenced throughout this study, both Blacks and Whites discontinued most of their demonstrative worship practices. As evidenced in Chapters 4 and 5, Ellen White's counsel for both Blacks and Whites on the issue of demonstrative worship was similar. Excitement in worship must result as the movement of the Holy Spirit upon the heart, as a response to the Word of God. Biblical beliefs must govern liturgical practice. *Lex credendi lex orandi*.

Similarities in worship were based upon doctrine, not race or White supremacy. It is erroneous to interpret the history of Black Adventists as having retained their African beliefs, simply accommodating to White liturgical practices. This view denies the harmony required by liturgical theology. Instead, they fully converted their beliefs. Charles Bradford notes that in his ministry, Adventists "felt it was a sin to follow the Baptists too much. We had something different in our own minds—superior to those others." Adventist worship was different, viewing some denominations as overly enthusiastic.⁴³⁹ If Whites were staid in their worship in the 1930s and 40s, and if Blacks were more demonstrative in their worship, the differences are by a small degree. In those days, Black worship "approximated in some respects the white worship,"⁴⁴⁰ due to a shared liturgical theology.

In addition to doctrine and a unified liturgical theology, other historical factors contributed to the similarities between Black and White worship. The Great Migration, beginning in 1916, of thousands of Southern and Caribbean Blacks to the northern urban

⁴³⁹ Bradford, Oral History, 4.23-25, 29-30.

⁴⁴⁰ North, Oral History, 16.27-30.

centers greatly impacted Black American culture, leading to the Harlem Renaissance. This movement was the concerted effort of Black Americans, endeavoring to create the very best and most artistic music, which included hymns and the choral tradition.⁴⁴¹ This renaissance was therefore an early precursor to the Civil Rights movement, in that it empowered Black Americans to embrace their heritage and uplift the race in the eyes of society.⁴⁴²

As a result of the influx of Caribbeans in the urban centers, some Black Adventists have attributed the singing of hymns and the great choral anthems as a dominance of Caribbean influence. The influx of Anglican hymnody via the 1941 *Church Hymnal* came by way of Harold Hannum and the hymnal committee's desires to elevate church standards, not Caribbeans. This was also not a direct English influence,⁴⁴³ but an embracing of the high church tradition, that included English hymnody. Afro-Caribbean Adventists do "have a leaning towards the English hymns."⁴⁴⁴ However, the English influence in the Caribbean does not come solely by way of the hymnal, but more likely through the well-known history of English colonialism in the Caribbean.⁴⁴⁵ Afro-Caribbeans learned the Adventist liturgy and music through their English leaders.

⁴⁴¹ Thomas, Oral History, 5.34-35.

⁴⁴² London, *Seventh-day Adventists and the Civil Rights Movement*, 97-98.

⁴⁴³ Bradford, Oral History, 10.38-43.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 11.2-8.

⁴⁴⁵ Thomas, Oral History, 2.23-30.

Another aspect to consider is the hymnody and choral anthems themselves. As seen in this study, most of Adventist hymnody stemmed from the American tradition of Protestant congregational singing. Though European musicians and culture influenced American composers, revivalistic music of the nineteenth century—which includes Black and White spirituals, and gospel hymnody—developed out of the unique American religious landscape. The choral anthems by the Adventist church included both American and European compositions.⁴⁴⁶ In the United States, these hymns and anthems were not indicators of Caribbean culture, though musically trained West Indians joined Americans in making music. The hymns and anthems reveal a strong American tradition of congregational singing and choral music. All the large churches in this study, and even smaller churches, utilized hymns and anthems, giving no suggestion that ethnicity informed the practice. As we have seen in this chapter, the Harlem Renaissance influenced not only the Black churches in New York, but had also reached the Midwest. The music of Ephesus was more similar than different to the wider Adventist musical culture.

In the aforementioned private interview with Charles Bradford, he related to me that the Harlem Renaissance empowered Black Americans. Black Adventist musicians and ministers leveraged great music as a major evangelistic tool, declaring to the denomination and ruling White society, “We are just as good or better musicians. We are legitimate musicians. Our worship is legitimate, and we can do the very best.”⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁶ Thomas, Oral History, 5.31-32.

⁴⁴⁷ See also McMahan, Oral History, 14.33-37.

Some Black and White Adventists sought to elevate the standard of Adventist liturgy and music. Among Blacks, influence came from the Harlem Renaissance. White influence derived from a shift in aesthetics and the appeal of the high church tradition. Both ethnicities embraced renewal. For Blacks, singing the best anthems in the best manner showed that Blacks were just as good or even better than their White counterparts.

As time progressed, and influenced by the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and the developments leading to the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s,⁴⁴⁸ Black Adventists much more approximated to the wider Black American culture, embracing ontological blackness.⁴⁴⁹ “Ontological blackness is a philosophy of racial consciousness. It is governed by dialectical matrices that existentially structure African Americans’ self-conscious perceptions of black life.”⁴⁵⁰ Thus, “Blacks came to be proud of their blackness, and it became a theme that you threw into the white people’s faces. ‘Black is beautiful, and so I’m going to do black. Whatever black is I’m going to do black.’ And our black churches picked that up. A lot of them did. If it was black it was great. If it wasn’t black it wasn’t good.”⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁸ London, *Seventh-day Adventists and the Civil Rights Movement*, 152-153.

⁴⁴⁹ See the positive correction to Adventist historiography and doctrine made by Peterson and Cleveland. They followed many of the traditional Adventist themes, but included Black Adventists in the story, including a diversity of ethnic photographs. Frank L. Peterson, *The Hope of the Race* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1946); Edward E. Cleveland, *Free at Last* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1970).

⁴⁵⁰ Anderson, *Beyond Ontological Blackness*, 14.

⁴⁵¹ North, *Oral History*, 19.3-7.

Alma Blackmon (1921–2009), among others of her generation, viewed herself as a Seventh-day Adventist, and her Christianity as more important than her ethnicity. It used to be stated among African Americans, “We are Seventh-day Adventists who are Black.” Over time it has become, “I am a Black Seventh-day Adventist,” placing one’s ethnic heritage before one’s faith.⁴⁵² James North also observed this shift, for when it comes to “expressing oneself”—“music, clapping, dancing, shouting”—“those are expressions of that black Seventh-day Adventist.”⁴⁵³

James North thinks the changes in Black Adventist worship music developed due to these factors; because Blacks emote differently than Whites, the music began to change among Black Adventists.⁴⁵⁴ Ernest Rogers observed the change in music, beginning in the mid-1940s and into the 1950s:

Some of us, by nature, we are rhythmic. We like music that we can tap our feet to, and sooner or later we could stand up. Sooner or later we could start moving around, and now, . . . to some, that’s worship. . . . But to me, I think it’s more or less, . . . they just want to be seen. They want to show off. Then I thought later, well, that’s the way they worship God.⁴⁵⁵

Rogers connects Black worship practices to life experience, showing how Black worship is a response to what God has done in their lives. Black and White Adventists shared

⁴⁵² Blackmon, “Black Seventh-day Adventists and Church Music,” 185. Dedrick Blue, interview by Jeryl Lee Cunningham-Fleming, New York, NY, September 27, 2011, in Cunningham-Fleming, “African-American Identity,” 54.

⁴⁵³ North, Oral History, 19.13-15.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 14.9-10.

⁴⁵⁵ Rogers, Oral History, 13.33-40.

similarities in worship, because the Adventist message has “transformed our whole lives.”

Though Black worship shared many similarities to White worship, Black worship is different due to the Black experience. Subject EPH10614 discusses the significance of the Black spirituals, relating how these songs tell the story of the Black experience. Singing the spirituals shared this history. “Music has been the medium through which this experience has been passed on from generation to generation.”⁴⁵⁶ In the 1930s and 40s, Black Adventists continued to interpret the spirituals with a double entendre. These old songs spoke to the contemporary context of Jim Crow.⁴⁵⁷ Through singing the spirituals, Black Adventists embraced their common African American past, while appropriating the gospel message to their present context.⁴⁵⁸ For Ernest Rogers, music helped him express his experience:

As I said, I came from the slums. . . . For others who came up in that environment, that’s all they know, so to worship God means that you got to show that you love God. You got to praise him, you got to have some type of demonstrative activity to show that you really believe God, and that God is going to help you. They’ve gone through so many trials and temptations, and when they get to church, this is a time to release it, and they release it in praise. This is what they call praise, and the music that they have now is called praise and worship. . . . But to me, they think by loud singing, and things of that nature, you can move the emotions of the people, and they would become more susceptible to whatever you want to get over. To me, I don’t like that.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁶ Lacy and Osterman, “Music at Oakwood,” 38.

⁴⁵⁷ EPH10614, Interview Notes, 1.11-18.

⁴⁵⁸ “[Singing the spirituals] kept before us our fore-parents, forefathers. My grandmother was a slave. My great grandmother was a slave.” Verdun, Oral History, 14.24-25.

⁴⁵⁹ Rogers, Oral History, 14.20-36.

Rogers views some of the music practices today as going too far. Music in the liturgy during his childhood has influenced his perspective on worship today. These arguments are not unique to Black Adventists. This does not preclude, however, the differences between the ethnicities based upon the American experience:

Whites haven't experienced some of the things that blacks experienced, for example, you are not watched and suspected every time you go round the street. There is a certain respect that the officers have for you, but when you go round the street, if you show any signs of progress, then police aren't gonna stop you because you aren't supposed—They aren't supposed to do that. So far as relationship with work and everything else, you have difficulties, all types of difficulties that blacks have that whites never experienced, and when one gets to church, this is the time when they can release themselves, and express God, and thank him for his mercies. This is the thing, and black preachers know how to appeal to that emotion, and they can—"Nobody knows the trouble I've seen, nobody knows but Jesus." When they can see a mother who's having difficulty with her children, when they can see a parent over here that doesn't have milk to feed and food to feed their children, you have debts and rent that you cannot pay.

All of these things come, when they come to church, they come with these burdens on their hearts, and they preach to a person uplifting sermons so as to make them feel that God is with them, and even though they are passing through trials, everything is going to be all right, and they can leave with a relief somewhat because their spirits have been satisfied. They have met God. God has spoken to their heart.

. . . Before I became an Adventist, I had difficulties and trials. My mother—I came from a family of seven. Father dead, mother doing all of the work. You had to get out and make your own. You [White] folk never had experiences like this, you see. When [a Black person comes] to church on Sabbath, and you know what you have passed through, through the week, there's a feeling of release that comes, and you can express that to God. Sometime you just sit there and cry. Sometimes you said, when the preacher speaks about difficulties and things, without thinking about it, you holler, "amen."

That touches you, we know, because that's an experience that he knows that you are going through, that probably some of you in the white churches have never experienced. This is why black worship is so emotional, because as the old negro hymn says, "Nobody knows the trouble I've seen. Nobody knows but Jesus." You never know the tension that's going on. You never know the sadness. You never

know the poverty strickenness that people are enduring. All of these things come to play, and this is why I stopped criticizing and says, “Well if they want to do that, let them do it.” This is release. They come to church. They find peace for their souls, and they express it and let you know, and when one’s holler amen, it means that that’s my experience.

Likewise, Jocelyn Thomas speaks about the power of Black music to express suffering:

We’ve come through a rough time, but some of our music can put you right back there. Whereas my experience has been that some of the music in some white churches does not reach that part of me. It just sounds like they’re reciting a song. The music sounds victorious, or like we’re going somewhere. But when I want to get in that mood—Lord I’ve been down and help me—Black music gets me there. It is music of our experience, expressive like the Blues.⁴⁶⁰

Her husband, Claude, adds, “As a musician, we call it soul. It really touches your heart.”⁴⁶¹ This is what makes the Black spirituals, the blues, and Black gospel a unique and significant contribution to music history. They come from the real experience of Black Americans. They tell a story, and its profound.⁴⁶²

Alma Blackmon viewed the Black spirituals as songs of experience, including them with other “experience music” of the nineteenth century:

Spiritual songs are musical testimonies of the interaction of the Deity upon the heart and the life of the believer. “Pass Me Not, O Gentle Savior,” “In the Garden,” and “What a Friend We Have in Jesus” are examples. Because these songs describe a relationship between a person and Christ, they are correctly referred to as gospel songs. However, we Blacks do not tend to regard them as gospel songs, because rhythm is not their chief characteristic. Here we err, because it is the poem, the message of the song, and not the music that qualifies a song as “experience music.” And for us there is certainly no greater body of experience music than the heritage we have received from our slave forebears, the Negro spiritual.

⁴⁶⁰ Thomas, Oral History, 6.16-24.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 6.25, 13.30-32.

⁴⁶² Ibid., 6.26-30.

For years Black Adventists worshiped this way. There was no obvious attempt to make the church service Black except for the inclusion of Negro spirituals.⁴⁶³

Blackmon notes that a shift occurred among many Black Adventists:

When Black Adventists began to look for something new that reflected Black heritage, many looked to the rhythmic gospel music that disc jockeys were beginning to play on the radio. This in many churches was viewed as performing the music of the Pentecostal Church, but Black Adventists were determined to reflect in their music the culture of their people.⁴⁶⁴

Lovey Verdun indicates that Black and White worship used to be much more the same. The divine worship and music used to contribute to her spirituality. She recalls that it wasn't until she was working at Oakwood in the late 1970s that ministers began to "teach that our black churches were following the white behavior":

They felt that they needed to teach us black people how to react in a normal way, which was to say amen and which was to be looser, more like they felt like people should act. That's when, I remember this, that's when the behavior of the members became more vocal, more responsive to the preaching and the singing of the songs probably changed during that time.⁴⁶⁵

Becoming more demonstrative in worship, it was believed, would help Black Adventists become "more spiritual and more worshipful."⁴⁶⁶ Today, however, as a result of the vastly different worship style, she feels that she can only experience spiritual growth

⁴⁶³ Blackmon, "Black Seventh-day Adventists and Church Music," 183.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 183.

⁴⁶⁵ Verdun, Oral History, 4.40-5.5.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 5.12-13.

through her personal Bible study and prayer.⁴⁶⁷ The change in worship has resulted in a generation of Adventists no longer actively participating in corporate worship.

Sometimes I look over the congregation at the people when songs are being sung and when things are being done, that change from when we grew up. Some of them don't sing the songs and some just look like they're there because I guess habit. This is just my observation. Then of course some of them really get into the music. I'm wondering, "Where'd they learn it? How did they learn this? Why do they know it and I don't?"⁴⁶⁸

Charles Bradford observes a shift within Adventist liturgical practice towards a more charismatic manner of worship. He attributes this to the vocal groups in the church, many of which had been influenced by the Southern Gospel style of Bill and Gloria Gaither's music.⁴⁶⁹ Ethel Bradford sees a connection between Gaither music and the musical styles of the Rose Singers, Paul Johnson, Rosetta Tharpe, the Martin Singers, Mahalia Jackson, James Cleveland, and Walter Hawkins.⁴⁷⁰ Together, the Bradfords show how Adventist leaders and musicians connect with many of these notable musicians. Walter Arties, founder of the Breath of Life public evangelism ministry in 1974, sang with James Cleveland for a short time.⁴⁷¹ Harold Leventhal introduced Charles Bradford to Mahalia Jackson, arranging for her to sing for the dedication of a small Adventist church near Dayton, Ohio. Jackson's father had been "influenced by

⁴⁶⁷ Verdun, Oral History, 6.5-36.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 7.2-8.

⁴⁶⁹ Bradford, Oral History, 11.38-39, 12.6.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 11.41, 12.11, 13-14

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 12.22-23.

Adventism,” and knew that Black Adventists worshiped in a quiet, subdued manner, in contrast with Black Baptists. At the service, her regular accompanist “got a little rambunctious.” She told him, “Don’t do that.”⁴⁷²

Some Black Adventists resist the changes in the music today. Speaking of the “latest gospel,” Ethel Bradford said she had “tried to hold on against” those seeking to introduce it, but “lost that deal.” She feels uncomfortable with the way things are today.⁴⁷³ Before Adventists incorporated the Black gospel genre into their liturgies, choral arrangements held the attention of the worshipers.⁴⁷⁴

Jeryl Cunningham-Fleming asserts that the Ephesus church has sought to maintain its traditional liturgy and musical style. She notes, however, that since the 1970s, the congregation began to incorporate more African American styles of music, creating a tension between “Euro-centric versus Afro-centric musical cultures,” ultimately affecting the identity of the church.⁴⁷⁵ In light of the foregoing evidence, this tension ought not to lay along ethnic lines, but rather be situated in the context of liturgical theology. Resistance to change has more to do with normative theology and its accompanying spirituality than skin color.

⁴⁷² Bradford, Oral History, 12.28-40.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 14.39; 15.25-26.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 15.21-22.

⁴⁷⁵ Cunningham-Fleming, “African-American Identity,” 4, 17. I take issue with her terminology. The music was not European or African, but American, including the cultural subtleties of Blacks and Whites.

Today, great differences often exist between Black Americans and other Black ethnicities, such as Caribbean and African. Though an outsider, Subject 1 of TP8714 says it well: Caribbean Blacks “have contrasting views of worship with American blacks.”⁴⁷⁶ James North attributes these differences to the collective Black American experience of the Civil Rights movement. Many Caribbean and African Blacks today reflect Adventism, pre-1960.⁴⁷⁷ They did not go through the experience of the Civil Rights movement. Black Americans and West Indians demonstrated fewer differences in the 1930s and 40s than they often do today, due to the unique American experience of the last fifty years. Therefore, one must not read the history of Ephesus with an anachronistic application of contemporary cultural differences.

Similarly, Claude Thomas associates certain musical styles with skin color. Because he did not experience string quartets or wind symphonies in his early years, he claims that Black churches did not have these types of music, unlike the White churches.⁴⁷⁸ Thomas is unaware that Oakwood had a chamber orchestra in 1917. One could argue that the presence of an orchestra signifies the dominance of White culture and leadership at Oakwood at that time. However, if this was the case, then why have so many Black Adventists in this study adamantly defended the way music used to be? The

⁴⁷⁶ TP8714, Oral History, 16.13-14. For a history on African American and West Indian relationships, see Charles E. Dudley, *Thou Who Hast Brought Us*, 256-269.

⁴⁷⁷ North, Oral History, 26.26-28, 34-39.

⁴⁷⁸ Thomas, Oral History, 4.35-37. West Indian Adventists encouraged their children to learn the piano and stringed instruments. *Ibid.*, 4.38-5.2.

answer must not be based on skin color, but in liturgical theology and the conditioning of spiritual identity.

In the past, any similarities between Black and White worship and music have been argued to be based upon accommodation to White dominant culture.⁴⁷⁹ What has been overlooked, as evidenced by the testimonies of the research participants, is the shared liturgical theology of both Blacks and Whites, and particularly, the defense of it by Black Adventists.

Past historiographies have not carefully nuanced the development of Adventist music in the liturgy. All have recognized a substantial change in musical-liturgical practice in the last thirty to fifty years. Many look upon the twentieth century as a period of restrictive and staid worship expression. Consider, for example, Mervyn Warren's account:

Worship practices in their previous churches notwithstanding, Black Adventists apparently came to equate worship procedure and practice with the enlightening doctrinal teachings they had received and therefore came to terms with the majority denominational worship culture. The result was a gradual or not-so-gradual transition: hymns and anthems generally superseded spirituals and religious folk songs, preaching tended to become more doctrinal than inspirational, and worship ritual and liturgy became more formal than informal.⁴⁸⁰

Each Christian generation equates worship practice with doctrine, because *lex orandi statuat lex credendi*. But also, *lex credendi statuat lex orandi*. Worship establishes beliefs, and beliefs establish worship praxis. Therefore, it was quite natural and necessary for Black Adventists to equate worship "procedure" with doctrinal teachings.

⁴⁷⁹ Maynard-Reid, *Diverse Worship*, 57-58; Lincoln and Mamiya, *Black Church*, 115-163.

⁴⁸⁰ Warren, "Black Seventh-day Adventists and Worship," 188-89.

Warren overstates his claims. Black Adventists were not simply “coming to terms with the [White] majority denominational worship culture.” The dynamic between liturgy and beliefs had less to do with race and more to do with the normative nature of liturgy and music. Warren clearly makes his critique of the history in light of the Civil Rights movement. Especially after the 1960s, Black Adventists explicitly began to remove what was considered “White” from their midst, and embraced “Black” culture. In light of White racism and its culture of shame, Black worship necessarily looked different to speak to the needs of Black Adventists. Some Black Adventists have since been cultivating a different liturgical theology than many White Adventists.

Consistently, as evidenced by the interviews, Blacks and Whites worshiped mostly the same due to shared beliefs. Black worship continued its own differences based on their experience as Black Americans. The research participants, who range in age from the 80s to over 100 years old, are united in lamenting the changes in the worship. They miss the old music. It does not stand to reason that these Black Adventists were simply “Uncle Toms,” accommodating to White rule. By and large, they liked the same music, the same liturgy, and therefore shared very similar spiritual identities. These shared spiritual identities were not based upon accommodation, but derived from their theology that was fostered through the liturgy’s preaching and music.

Furthermore, Warren does not nuance the music history. Adventism never abandoned gospel hymnody, which descended from both the Black and White spirituals. Black Adventists continued singing the spirituals. This practice never stopped. It appears from the interviews and available bulletins that the liturgy did indeed become more formal, though more study could be done on smaller churches from the period.

It is also paramount to point out that musical taste was not tied entirely to skin color. As discussed in Chapter 2, meaning in music can shift over time. Simply because a composer had White skin does not mean the music's meaning was White. The continued preferences of older Black Adventists strongly suggest that these notions of racial music are exaggerated. They chose music based upon preference, beliefs, and that which fostered the spirituality to which they were accustomed.

These developments reveal that musical styles do not belong to one ethnicity. Sound waves are “no respecter” of skin color. Any style of music can be cultivated within any number of skin color groups. What is more important than the style of music, is a community's purposing of music. Black and White Adventists may have used the same music in worship. However, Blacks purposed their music differently. Whites sang hymns from a place of power and privilege in society, due to their skin color. When we take into account Charles Bradford's comment, “We are just as good or better musicians,” we gain insight into the fact that the Black purpose in music was different than Whites. As part of the Harlem Renaissance, when singing Bach and Beethoven, Black Adventists protested White racism by using music composed by European White men, in order to create Black community and overcome oppression. The Black experience makes any music Black, even if the same style is used by Whites.

EPH10614 believes in an ecclesiology most needed by the denomination today, an understanding of the church that supersedes White racism. This means that the denomination is not defined as a White church, or a Black church, but our church. He asks, “How will the church stand in 20-30 years? Will there be racism? Will there be Adventism among Whites? Many White churches and institutions have become Black or

have shut down.”⁴⁸¹ “My heart goes out to the church. I don’t want the church to die.” He continues, emphasizing that we have the truth, but racism prevents us in the proclamation of the message.⁴⁸² Afro-Caribbean Adventists have integrated well with White Adventists,⁴⁸³ however, Black and White Americans have not, due to their painful past.⁴⁸⁴

The similarities in worship are significant and deserve more attention, contrary to some views.⁴⁸⁵ The differences in Black worship also deserve attention, highlighting the unique Black experience and its cultural significance. The Black worship culture necessitated a new organizational structure within Adventism in the 1940s. Writing on the structural changes to the work among Black Adventists, heretofore discussed in Chapter 5 of this study, Mervyn Warren indicates that leadership and administration were not the only factors involved.

This brief review of the structural change of the Black church within Adventism suggests that the gradation was not about organizational configuration alone, but also about identifying norms within Blacks themselves for all church matters, including patterns of worship. These patterns were set for challenges ahead.⁴⁸⁶

White racism and the need to advance the gospel ministry among American Blacks were the primary factors for establishing the regional conferences. Warren astutely notes that

⁴⁸¹ EPH10614, Interview Notes, 19-23; Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 288.

⁴⁸² EPH10614, Interview Notes, 2.1-4.

⁴⁸³ Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 278.

⁴⁸⁴ EPH10614, Interview Notes, 2.4-5. See Annelle Roger’s comments in the earlier section, “Adventist Spiritual Identity in the Experience of Music,” p. 543.

⁴⁸⁵ Maynard-Reid, *Diverse Worship*, 58.

⁴⁸⁶ Warren, “Black Seventh-day Adventists and Worship,” 189.

patterns of worship contributed as well.⁴⁸⁷ Having different churches based on unique cultural differences allowed for freedom of worship. James North also sees race and the necessity for Black leaders to administrate the work as the primary factors contributing to the conferences:

The differences in worship was not, as I can recall, a force in the establishment of conferences. The main force in the establishment of conferences had to do with segregation and the fact that our black brethren believed that they should be able to administrate and hold positions similar to those held by whites. And they couldn't unless we had black conferences.⁴⁸⁸

After I shared with him Mervyn Warren's statements about worship as a contributing factor, North conceded, "A black minister could not expect to get people to respond to his appeals if he sang hymns the way white people sang them, and if he sang hymns that the people didn't know, and they had to sing it in a black style otherwise nobody would respond or they just didn't feel moved."⁴⁸⁹ The developing Black gospel style that was coming into the Adventist church during that time contributed to meeting the needs of Black Adventist worshippers. These elements of the style included rhythmic emphasis, harmonic variety, and emotional expressiveness, "that was just intuitive in black music."⁴⁹⁰ In other words, as a cultural language, music in the liturgy contributed

⁴⁸⁷ Education and denominational polity affected the fundamental reality for some Black Christians, impacting practices of spirituality. See Rock, "Institutional Loyalty versus Racial Freedom: The Dilemma of Black Seventh-day Adventist Leadership."; Bradford, "Black Seventh-day Adventists and Church Loyalty."; Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*.

⁴⁸⁸ North, Oral History, 15.38-16.4

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 16.15-18.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 16.19-26.

toward advancing the gospel message among Blacks, meeting their needs in ways that the White culture could not.

James North desires that Blacks and Whites let go of prejudice, due to their shared history, heritage, hymnody, and Scripture:

I think that the one thing that stands out in my mind is that just because it's black doesn't make it spiritual or good. I think we got carried away with the "Black is Beautiful" movement. It was good, because it gave us our self-pride and we'd not be ashamed of our color, but we went so far that if it wasn't black it's not good. . . . [Today,] Black churches don't sing the hymns because they're white hymns, they're not black hymns, and I think we've gone too far. We have a shared heritage as Adventists that I think we shouldn't lose. I don't have any objection to black culture, and that being a part of black worship in the Adventist church, but I think there's a lot of shared hymnody and shared scripture that we are losing in the black church because we've gone black. But if it's there it's a real prejudice in the black churches, in some black churches, against anything that's white, and that's very bad. . . . The white churches have adapted and adopted a lot of stuff that was traditionally black and come to like it, while black people have gone anti-white. So, while our white brothers and sisters have broadened themselves we have narrowed ourselves, and I don't see that as being helpful. Our children are growing up and they don't know hymns.⁴⁹¹

The church needs freedom of acceptance, so that one is not turned away from a place of worship based on race.⁴⁹²

Numerous similarities existed between Black and White Adventists leading up to the establishment of the regional conferences. Music in the liturgy contributed significantly to a shared Adventist spiritual identity. Black Adventists, therefore, worshiped through the modes of decorum, ceremony, and liturgy.⁴⁹³ However, due to the

⁴⁹¹ North, Oral History, 31.3-15, 18-23.

⁴⁹² EPH10614, 1.24-26.

⁴⁹³ See Chapter 2 for Ronald Grimes' taxonomy of the modes of ritualization.

unique experience of Black Adventists in the United States, they also possessed a distinct Black spiritual identity. This identity, reflected in the ritual, continued to espouse the Black ritual modes of celebration and ritualization. The ritual continued to be psychosomatic and expressive. Black folk continued to go through much hardship, perhaps the darkest of times, during Jim Crow. Coming to worship on Sabbath allowed Black Adventists the opportunity to express their protest and praise. Every Sabbath was a festival with the religious community. Preaching and singing continued to be exclamatory, even if there were not as many “amens” as there are today. The worshipers sang heartily. Worship was also compelling. God continued to provide for Black folk, meeting their physical, emotional, and spiritual needs. Coming to worship, one had to “just praise Him.” The Spirit compelled the worshiper to express one’s whole life to God in the ritual. The singing of the spirituals tapped the African American spiritual roots, displaying a spontaneity of motivation. These songs were not in the hymnal, but the oral tradition, standing ready to be tapped at the next impulse of the song leader or the preacher. The musical-liturgical taproot of the African American experience cannot be emphasized enough by this White author. Though Black and White Adventists shared much spiritually, the distinct Black spiritual identity fostered through the ritual of music directly contributed to the need for the regional conferences. These distinct modes of ritual and spiritual identity allowed Black ministers to effectively share the gospel with other Black Americans who also shared this cultural language.

Chapter Six Summary

The church is always changing. In every decade Adventists have faced the challenges of change. As the denomination moved past the lifetimes of its pioneers, the

liturgy and music became more standardized. This stability brought unity, but also uniformity, in the manifest liturgical theology and the espoused spiritual identity. Similarities notwithstanding, Black Adventists found music to be an indispensable means for maintaining their unique identity apart from Whites, free from the culture of racism.

This chapter examined the history of music in the liturgy among Black and White Seventh-day Adventists in the United States, from about 1879 to 1944. It also addressed many of the challenges the denomination has faced since that time, putting into perspective the period under study, and demonstrating the normative nature of music in the liturgy.

The twentieth century witnessed significant liturgical developments. The 1879 dedication of the Dime Tabernacle provided the skeleton of liturgical structure for the denomination for the following decades. H. M. J. Richards attempted to bring the denomination into liturgical conformity through the publication of his book on church order. The order of service therein was descriptive of typical Adventist praxis. However, it also began to normalize the liturgical theology of reverence.

When the denomination moved its headquarters to Washington, DC, in 1903, the Takoma Park church became the standard bearer of Adventist liturgical practice. Its services became the basis for the 1932 *Church Manual*, the first official denominational handbook on church order. This does not mean that all the other churches obeyed the brethren at the nation's capital. Takoma Park and a few other churches used the 1886 *HT*, while other "rebel" churches, like the old headquarters church, Battle Creek, used the contemporary hymnal, *Christ in Song* (1900/1908). Most Adventist churches sang

nineteenth-century gospel hymnody, and many developed quality music programs, featuring vocal and instrumental ensembles and choirs.

The liturgical practices of the Black Adventist churches tracked similarly to the White churches, with the exception that the Black churches always sang at least a small diet of the Black spirituals. This practice kept Black Adventists tapped into their unique American experience, as they continued to apply the *entendre* of the songs to their present contexts. Black congregations were more vocal in their worship, with louder “amens” than Whites. During this period, Adventists did not shout or clap in worship.

The music in the liturgy held ritual significance for Black and White Adventists. Twenty-nine Black and White Adventists were interviewed for this study, which range in age from almost eighty to over 100 years old. Establishing a normative spirituality when they were children, the music of their youth became endeared to these Adventists. Liturgical piety in song carried over into the week bringing cheer and comfort with all of life’s challenges. Central to their Adventist spiritual identity has been the love of God in Christ and His soon return. Singing anticipated that day, joining the host of heaven who now sing around God’s throne. The ritual of the divine service also cultivated a strong sense of reverence in the service, the most predominant theme from the research data.

Adventist musical-liturgical expression evolved during the twentieth century. Both Blacks and Whites sought to cultivate a more serious worship expression. Blacks tapped into the Harlem Renaissance. Whites gained inspiration from the high church tradition. Thus, many sought refinements from the rawer liturgical expressions of the Adventist pioneers. Both Black and White Adventists embraced the burgeoning gospel styles of Southern gospel and Black gospel. Gospel music kept Adventists connected

with their roots in demonstrative worship, though the value of reverence kept exuberance in check.

The major differences in musical-liturgical expression stemmed from the different places of society in which Blacks and Whites stood. Whites experienced privilege, even amidst life's challenges. Black Adventists faced common life challenges, such as poverty, but within systemic racism and discrimination based upon their skin color. Twentieth-century American society perpetuated racism. Therefore, Black worship and expression through music provided an escape from these realities. It also created a place of safety and inclusion. It fostered a culture of praise to God who was with them, who got them through. Thus, Black worship, including its cultural language expressed in music, communicated the gospel in ways they understood. Worship both expressed and met their needs.

Though White racism was the contributing factor in the establishment of the regional conferences, beginning in 1944, worship music was also a factor. All worship music is encoded with cultural meaning. Thus, as Black Adventists gathered for worship, the preaching, the music, the way in which folks sang, read, and testified, all spoke the same language. In this way, the separate and distinct ministry of the conferences was not only based on skin color and racism, but also upon culture. Music in the liturgy provided an effective tool toward accomplishing the spread of the Adventist message.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine Black and White Seventh-day Adventist music in the liturgy in the United States, from 1840 to 1944.¹ It described the development of spiritual identity as derived from the experience of music in the Sabbath liturgy. This study established a methodology for deriving spiritual identity from music in liturgy, the hypothesis being that music in the liturgy promotes, develops, and often establishes spiritual identity in the existential experience of the worshiper. The cultural and ethnic comparative nature of the study served as the case study for testing the hypothesis. To do so, the study situated the historical context of liturgy and music among Black and White Christians in the United States before 1840, tracing the development of music in liturgy among Black and White Adventists from 1840–1944. Having established the historical evidence, the study explored the historical spiritual identity of these communities, as fostered through the music in the liturgy.

¹ As a White American male, I recognize my own shortcomings and inherent biases in worship, music, and race. I make no claims as to being an expert or knowing Black worship from the Black American experience. As such, I rely on the experience and expressions of those I interviewed to inform both my investigation and conclusions. I am also indebted to my former graduate assistant of two years, Dorhel Davis. As a female African American who attended Oakwood University and is my same age, she afforded me countless candid conversations about race, music, and worship.

Chapter 1 introduced the study, presenting a background to the problem, the problem, purpose, scope, delimitations, and justification of the study. This first chapter also defined key terms for the study. These terms were classified as doxological definitions and anthropological definitions, that is, the definitions explored categories of worship and understandings of humanity. Readers of this study would be remiss not to read these definitions, as they establish the ground base for the entire study. The doxological terms comprise a succinct understanding—even a brief theology—of worship, liturgy, music, and ritual. The anthropological definitions explore culture, ethnicity, and race. In this context, the terms Black and White are selected due to their physiological and cultural meanings. Racial discrimination and systemic racism provide the societal backdrop for the ensuing history of Black and White Adventist music in the liturgy. These definitions culminate in a definition of spiritual identity.

Chapter 2 of this study developed a methodology for deriving elements of spiritual identity from music in the liturgy. It incorporated a broad range of disciplines, falling under the canopies of history, ritual, music, and liturgical theology. Under the umbrella of history, the research examined history, liturgical history, and oral history. Rather than beginning with written treatises of historical theology, this kind of historiography began by “seeing things their way,” focusing on people and their lived experiences in worship and music, considering societal and cultural conditions. The methodology described liturgical practices through the use of church bulletins, journal articles, and correspondence. A major component of the methodology for this particular case study was the significant amount of data in the oral histories conducted for this research. These interviews and histories offered unique insights into the lived worship of

Seventh-day Adventists. These disciplines provided the historical context for music in corporate worship, and the liturgical practices to be analyzed by ritual studies.

The study examined Adventist worship and liturgy through ritual studies. The methodology asserted that rituals are activity systems that hold significance beyond the activity itself. For example, kneeling means a position of surrender and homage to God as worship. All the liturgical activities of the Adventist Sabbath service are considered rituals. Music functions as ritual, because it creates community, fosters an emotional experience, and makes liturgy memorable and cumulative in the life of the worshiper.

Having situated music within the context of ritual, the methodology explored disciplines of musicology which aided in ascertaining the meaning of music in a cultural worship setting. These disciplines included: hymnology, the psychophysiological effects of music, ethnomusicology, and semiology. These disciplines allowed the research to perceive the process of music in worship as follows: In the context of liturgy, music has a psychophysiological effect upon the listener. At the same time, the listener creates and associates meaning with the music. In the liturgy, the music comes to mean that experience. Music in the liturgy reflects a particular—not universal—language and cultural experience. Underlying culture, music espouses and reflects worldview, communicating fundamental theological principles to the worshipers.

As an experience and expression of faith, liturgy manifests theology, which is understood as liturgical theology. Ideally, Seventh-day Adventist liturgical theology ought to derive from Scripture and doctrine. However, this methodology recognized that liturgy tends to be normative, as stated in the Latin phrase, *lex orandi lex credendi*, “the rule of praying is the rule of believing.” “The way we worship is the way we believe.”

Liturgical and musical praxis not only reveals the faith and its encompassing spirituality, but it tends to shape, intensify, and even modify beliefs and values that comprise spiritual identity. Therefore, this methodology asserted the thesis that music in the liturgy promotes, develops, and often establishes normative modes of spiritual identity in the existential experience of the worshiper. This chapter provided the justification and rationale for the study.

Chapter 3 of the study surveyed the historical context of spiritual identity and music in the liturgy among Black and White Christian Americans, before 1840, setting the context for the emergence of the Adventist movement in the 1840s. This chapter surveys developments in Black and White worship, liturgy, music, and issues of race, giving special attention to the roots of Black Christian worship and slave religion.

Puritanism held a significant influence upon American life. Its modes of worship carried over into much of American culture, influencing all the major denominations, including Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and the Christian Connexion churches. One notable difference in the tradition, however, is that most American Christians favored the free lyrical expression of hymnody over the rigid tradition of psalmody that had been espoused by Calvinism and Anglicanism. Black and White Americans gravitated toward the hymnody of Isaac Watts, and later, the songs by Charles and John Wesley. The new hymnological tradition paved the way for American Christians to add their own “stanza” to the “hymn” of the Protestant tradition, making new contributions to congregational singing that were reflective of the American experience.

Revivalism and Restorationism liberated American worship from the European tradition. These, coupled with the Reformation values of the right of private judgment

and religious liberty, led to a simplification of Christian liturgy. American revivalism became the primary contributing factor for nineteenth-century liturgical practice. As such, the mainline Christian denominations—Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist—were not the basis for early Adventist liturgical practice. American revivalism provided the pattern for Adventist liturgy.

White Americans abandoned much of their European heritage; however, they did not overcome racism and White supremacy. Whites viewed Blacks as ontologically inferior, allowing racism to become the articulating principle for American life, liturgy, theology, and spirituality. These issues took shape within Christian worship, conveying the heresy that God is a respecter of persons through segregated seating and separate lines for the Eucharist. After the conversion of Black slaves to White religion, racism drove Blacks to cultivate their own spirituality apart from White control. This contributed to the development of slave religion, the invisible institution, in which Black slaves, away from the view of their White masters, cultivated their own Christian spirituality. In slave religion, Black Christians syncretized the African worldview with Christianity, tempering it with their unique circumstances as slaves in the United States.

The quest for freedom among Blacks developed a uniquely American genre of congregational singing, aptly named the spiritual. The spirituals gave expression to the Black experience. These slave songs contained multiple meanings beyond the common “double entendre.” A song such as “Deep River” meant any of the following: the children of Israel crossing over the Jordan into the promised land, Christians crossing over into heaven and eternity, crossing from the realm of the living to the realm of the living dead, crossing the Mason-Dixon line, overcoming White oppression, or victory over any trial in

life. The polyvalent meaning of the spirituals contributed to their enduring quality and relevance in Black Christian spirituality. The hope admonished through the spirituals helped the Black community endure prejudice and discrimination. White proscription eventually led to the independent Black church movement, setting the context for numerous racial conflicts with Adventism, ultimately leading the establishment of the regional conferences. This context provided the historical milieu for the following three chapters.

Chapter 4 demonstrated a reliable link between the Adventist message and its music. Music contributed to all three stages of Adventist development, among Millerites (1840–1844), Sabbatarian Adventists (1844–1860), and Seventh-day Adventists (1860–1894). The earliest music among the movement was that of spirituals. Because the Second Great Awakening brought Blacks and Whites together, from the beginning of Adventism and in the northern United States, these ethnicities always worshiped together, at least until the turn of the twentieth century. In this liturgical context, Black and White spirituals influenced each other in fervor, style, and language, while also maintaining cultural distinctions. Joshua Himes mobilized the Millerite movement through frequent editions of Millerite hymnbooks. James White continued the legacy of Himes among Sabbatarian and Seventh-day Adventists, urging Adventists to sing only from the movement's songbooks. White believed music would establish the faith, fostering a distinctive Adventist spiritual identity. Millerites and Sabbatarian Adventist worship displayed much religious enthusiasm and demonstrative ritual embodiment through shouting, clapping, weeping, prostration, and other physical activities. Ecstatic and supernatural demonstration in worship was soon excised from Adventist practice, in

1850, as experience and Ellen White's counsel urged the movement to trust the Word of God over "religious exercises."

Hymnody continued to flourish after James White's death, as his son, Edson, and others published many hymnals in the late nineteenth century. From the beginning, Adventists borrowed from the broader Christian tradition of hymnody, though in each period, they have shown a preference for the prevailing styles of the day, regardless of concern expressed by some. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many gravitated to these musical styles, because they spoke to many in their own cultural language.

Adventist liturgy followed the heritage of American revivalism, featuring singing, prayer, Scripture, and preaching. Music in the liturgy instilled the faith experientially. Numerous accounts were detailed, demonstrating the significant role music played in spiritual development and expression. Adventist hymnody featured all the major doctrines, though the second coming stood out in the experience of nineteenth-century Adventists. This heavenward focus, however, prevented Adventists from a high level of active social engagement and social justice for Black Americans. However, Blacks and Whites tended to worship together, especially in the northern free states. Whites held sympathy for southern Blacks, though their sympathy did not propel them to social action.

Chapter 5 considered the historical context and development of music and race relations in Adventism, beginning with the Civil War until the establishment of the regional conferences in 1944. It surveyed how Black Christians expressed their faith through music as they sought to overcome White oppression. The Black spirituals gave

way to the blues, a sacred-secular Black genre of lament, giving voice to a people still oppressed through Jim Crow laws.

This chapter contextualized Ellen White's comments regarding Blacks and Whites in worship, showing how racial prejudice and violence in the South influenced Ellen White to counsel the church to work among Blacks and Whites in "separate, distinct lines." The denomination misunderstood or misapplied White's counsel, applying her directive for ministry to Blacks in the South as normative counsel across the United States. After 1908, Blacks and Whites no longer worshiped together. Many voices attempted to call out the systemic racism that continued in the Adventist organizational structure, seeking to show—in Ellen White's words—that God had shown "a better way." In 1944, the Adventist leadership established regional conferences for the advancement of the gospel ministry among Black Americans. In doing so, the denomination finally recognized the legitimate role that Black ministers should have in reaching those within their culture. However, the establishment of the regional conferences also perpetuated the "separate, distinct lines" of Adventist worship, causing the racial divide to continue on Sabbath mornings.

This chapter also detailed the hymnological development within Adventism until the 1940s, revealing how music publications highlighted racial discrimination. It also featured the shifting spiritual priorities of Adventists in the twentieth century. Some Adventists musicians sought worship renewal by espousing the high church movement of England, attempting to elevate the denominations understanding of beauty and excellence in worship. Most importantly, this chapter provided critical historical context for the last chapter.

Chapter 6 outlined the developments of music in the Adventist liturgy from 1879 to 1944. It detailed the historical, liturgical, and musical interconnectedness between four leading Black and White Adventist churches. Two White congregations and two Black congregations were selected: The Battle Creek Tabernacle, Battle Creek, Michigan; and the Takoma Park Church, Takoma Park, Maryland; the Oakwood College Church, Huntsville, Alabama, and the Ephesus Church, New York City. Battle Creek served as the starting point for the denomination in the 1860s, becoming the first seat of liturgical authority. This leadership transferred to Takoma Park in 1903, and eventually became the pattern for liturgical practice across the denomination through the publication of its liturgy in the 1932 *Church Manual*.

Church bulletins benefited this study, though less than originally hoped. No bulletins exist for the Oakwood and Ephesus churches from before 1944. Many bulletins survive for Battle Creek from 1931 to 1944. Too many bulletins exist from Takoma Park for this study, with almost every weekly bulletin available from 1921 to 1944. All these bulletins were studied for patterns of liturgical and musical practice, though no in-depth examination could be done on the over 1000 Takoma Park bulletins. This remains a valuable resource for further study.

This chapter relied heavily upon interviews and oral histories, with twenty-nine elderly persons interviewed, having been born before 1940. These interviews gave glimpses into the actual liturgical and musical practices of the church in the 1920s, 30s, and 40s. The oral history interviews moved beyond transcripts of audio recordings, becoming historical documents crafted between me and the interviewees. These documents have been entrusted to the Center for Adventist Research at the James White

Library on the campus of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan. These documents leave a lasting legacy of Adventist liturgical practice, helping fill the void left by missing church bulletins, while also illuminating the bare-bones structure given by those weekly publications.

The development of liturgical practice revealed patterns for worship, the demonstration of power from church leadership, and the normative nature of music in the liturgy, contributing to the development of spiritual identity. Through the first half of the twentieth century, Adventist liturgy progressively became more uniform in order and manifest theology. Most churches followed the 1932 *Church Manual's* long order of worship. This long form espoused the ritual modes of decorum, ceremony, and liturgy, the latter of which dramatically increased the mood of reverence. Only in the music, through the preponderance of the widespread use of *Christ in Song*, did Adventists find an expressive frame of reference for their spirituality. This beloved hymnal emphasized the popular gospel hymnody of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which often featured dotted rhythms and close harmonies.

Gospel music kept Adventism connected to its expressive and exclamatory roots of early Adventism, due to the dominance of rhythm. This energetic hymnody stood in contrast with the increasingly “staid,” or “reverent,” mood of the liturgy. The conservative nature of liturgy caused nineteenth-century gospel hymnody to become the normative music for the twentieth century, thereby shifting the ritual of music from embodied ritualization to liturgical and ceremonial mode. The liturgical mood of reverence held gospel hymnody in check from returning back to the demonstrative ritual of the Millerites and Sabbatarian Adventists. Nonetheless, all records indicate that

Adventists worshiped in singing with great fervor and zeal, providing an indispensable outlet for expressive release.

Though segregated, Blacks and Whites continued to worship similarly due to shared spiritual identity. Adventist spiritual identity centered on the uniqueness of the Adventist message, being fostered through music in the liturgy. The Word and the Law combined in promoting the predominant spirituality of liturgical reverence. Black and White research participants repeatedly stated that the two ethnicities worshiped the same, using the same types of choral music, instrumentation, ensembles, and congregational song.

Two separate movements contributed to the enhancement of music in the liturgy, as evidenced in the research data. Some Adventists sought to elevate the quality of the music and liturgy, being influenced by the “high church” traditions, such as Anglicanism. Harold Hannum, among others, understood God to be a lover of the beautiful, inferring that the music and the liturgy ought to likewise be beautiful. The Harlem Renaissance influenced the Black churches to embrace the classical music tradition in order to demonstrate to society that Blacks could perform the music just as well or better than Whites. It also encouraged Black Adventists to connect to their African heritage.

These factors combined in leveraging music in the liturgy as a powerful normative agent in shaping spirituality. That all the research participants viewed the musical-liturgical changes of the last thirty years negatively, demonstrates the validity of *lex orandi lex credendi*, that the liturgy of one’s youth tends to become normative for faith and practice. Furthermore, the Black Adventists I interviewed for the study defended the music of their youth (1920s–1940s). The musical selection and style had

become normative to their Christian experience and Adventist spiritual identity in remarkably the same way as their White counterparts. The words of these senior church members also challenged the notion that classical music is White, while gospel music in the style of Thomas Dorsey is Black. Both Black and White Adventist musicians began incorporating jazz harmonies and the new gospel rhythms into their music ministries, albeit, carefully, so as not to offend the old guard. Therefore, this chapter demonstrated that classical music, hymnody, choral anthems, northern urban gospel music, and the new gospel styles of the twentieth century did not belong to one ethnic group. This was *our* music.

However, important differences existed among Black Adventists. The only sizable musical difference between Black and White Adventists was that Black Adventists always sang the spirituals. As Whites continued to experience privilege and benefit, Blacks persevered in oppression under old Jim Crow. Black Adventists faced challenges that White never would, based on the color of their skin. The lament, pathos, protest, and praise of the spirituals, the blues, and the emerging gospel music of the 1920s gave expression to Black Adventists needs.

Furthermore, when Black Adventists used traditional Adventist hymnody and choral anthems, the music seemingly identical to White Adventist use, Black Adventist music was different due to the purpose in using the music. Black music in worship always protested White racism, always holding on to hope that God would help them overcome, reflecting assurance that God was with them in their darkest night. Black worship and expression through music provided an escape from these realities. It also created a place of safety and inclusion. It fostered a culture of praise to God who was

with them, who got them through. Even if Blacks and Whites sang the same music, they sang the music differently, based upon their experience. Thus, Black worship, including its cultural language expressed in music, communicated the gospel in ways they understood.

Holding firm to the taproot of the African and slave experience in the United States, Black Adventist modes of ritual sensibility differed from White Adventists. Beyond what they shared with Whites, Black Adventist ritual espoused modes of celebration and ritualization, continuing to be psychosomatic and expressive. Every Sabbath was a festival with the religious community. Preaching and singing continued to be exclamatory, even if there were not as many “amens” as there are today. The worshipers sang heartily. Worship was also compelling. God continued to provide for Black folk, meeting their physical, emotional, and spiritual needs. Coming to worship, one had to “just praise Him.” These distinct modes of ritual and spiritual identity compelled Black ministers to effectively share the gospel through their own cultural modes.

Though White racism was the contributing factor in the establishment of the regional conferences, beginning in 1944, worship music was also a factor. All worship music is encoded with cultural meaning. As Black Adventists gathered for worship, the preaching, the music, the way in which folks sang, read, and testified, all spoke the same language. In this way, the separate and distinct ministry of the conferences was not solely based on skin color, but upon culture. Music in the liturgy provided an effective tool toward accomplishing the spread of the Adventist message. Though Black and White

Adventists shared much spiritually, the distinct Black spiritual identity fostered through the ritual of music directly contributed to the need for the regional conferences.

Conclusions

Contributions and Limitations

This study broke new ground on the nascent field of Adventist liturgical and musicological studies. At the present, and to my knowledge, no published research or dissertation has studied Adventist liturgical history, spanning from 1840 to 1944. Additionally, this study uniquely situated the history of music in the Adventist church in the context of liturgical practice. Furthermore, this study contributed original research on music in the liturgy as an indicator and cultivator of spiritual identity.

Amidst the wealth of research in early Adventism, particularly the development of theology and the writings of Ellen White, liturgical history has been missing. Much more work must be done. The sources for Adventist worship, liturgy, and music are not scant, but abundant. For example, Chapter 6 of this study relied heavily on the research interviews for data, not following the research methodology of Chapter 4. There, letters, manuscripts, and journal articles, such as the *RH*, provided the data. The methodology of Chapter 4 should also be applied for Adventist music in the liturgy for the twentieth century. These findings would at least illuminate, if not correct, much of the data from the interviews. It would help validate or nullify the memories of these dear senior citizens. The methodology for oral histories and liturgical theology would also help historical theologians better nuance their historiographies. This study also situated Ellen White's counsel on worship and race relations in the historical context of White's counsel on demonstrative worship. The historical theology of the various controversies deserve consideration when seeking to draw application to the worship life of the church today.

Strong as this study was, its work was incomplete. Delimiting an examination of historical Adventist spiritual identity to music in liturgy prevented the study from presenting a more complete picture of a full elucidation of Adventist spirituality. Preaching and prayer among Blacks and Whites deserved attention. This delimitation prevented the study from claiming to have arrived at a historical theology of worship, liturgy, music, and spiritual identity. Rather, this study could only explore elements within these categories.

Another relative weakness of the study was the narrow scope of churches considered. Other significant churches could have been studied, including: Pioneer Memorial Church on the campus of Andrews University; Sligo Adventist Church in Takoma Park, Shiloh Adventist Church in Chicago, and Dupont Park Adventist Church in Washington, DC. All of these churches held significant influence in Adventism during the period and are also geographically located close to many of the churches in this study. Further examination of smaller Adventist churches warrants study. Finally, the development of the small vocal ensembles in gospel style, such as the King's Heralds, would illuminate much of this present study.

Relating this Study to Contemporary Adventist Worship Music

I give a word of caution to the readers of this study. The fact that Adventists of the nineteenth century tended to sing a predominance of contemporary song does not warrant that contemporary music should dominate our liturgies today. Such an argument follows *lex orandi lex credendi*, viewing a certain period of Adventist history as normative or prescriptive for present-day liturgical practice. A more accurate reading of the liturgical and musical practices of early Adventists would be to sing broadly,

embracing old and new songs. Beyond singing the latest song, the lesson to learn from early Adventism is to sing songs of experience that speak to contemporary identity. In this way, the *lex orandi* of the past does not become the *lex credendi* of today. Rather, *sola scriptura statuat lex credendi et lex orandi et lex cantandi*. The Bible establishes the rule of faith, the rule of prayer, and the rule of singing. A need exists in the Adventist church today not to simply sing the songs of mainstream evangelicalism, but to sing songs of our experience, reflecting our beliefs, being rooted in Scripture. We will continue to sing songs from other denominations, but instead of following the latest trends, we will pursue our own mission and identity.

Importance of Liturgy for History and Theology

This study demonstrates the necessity to consider the development of liturgy and music for understanding the development of Adventist theology. In particular, the new worldview and pillars of Adventism did not become part of the Adventist DNA simply through Bible study, preaching, and pamphlets. Music in the liturgy and personal piety embedded the faith and worldview to a great extent. Theologians and scholars could enhance their research by delving deeper into liturgical history and hymnody. Ritual practice is ripe for the picking, potentially opening new vistas for theological studies. More importantly, the *lex orandi* may more accurately reveal historical theology than the *lex credendi* of a single writer. The “text” of the embodied liturgy holds just as much theological data, as the volumes written by the philosopher.

The way we worship has a direct influence on promoting or harming the Adventist identity. Borrowed liturgies and music result in changes to liturgical theology,

modes of spirituality, and ultimately, spiritual identity. Liturgy is much more than an evangelistic attraction tool. It is the primary tool for long-term discipleship.

A Need for an Adventist Theology of Liturgy

Many scholars and church members have been seeking to address the concept of worship. Indeed, much is still to be learned from Scripture—and for all eternity after Christ returns! Our experiential knowledge of worship will always continue. From a scholarly perspective, however, the study of worship is not the present issue facing the church. The question is not, “What is worship?” That answer is simple. Worship is attitudinal homage. The pressing question is, “How do we worship?” That answer is liturgy. The Seventh-day Adventist Church has not articulated a theology of liturgy. The denomination needs a shared theology of liturgy to articulate what are the shared boundaries of Adventist identity in the Sabbath service. This absolutely must not continue being solely derived from experience, tradition, and other denominations, if Adventism wants to be faithful to the *sola scriptura* principle. A transcultural theology of liturgy must be articulated by the denomination, making room for various contextualizations, allowing for variation in ritualization modes, and at the same time not compromising spiritual identity.

Ecclesiology, Adventist Identity, and Liturgy

These doxological and liturgical issues demand attention as the denomination wrestles with questions of ecclesiology. What is the Church? It is not the remnant. It is not the Sabbath-keepers. The Church is the worshiping community, gathered in communal worship and in service to the world. What is the mission of the church? It is not to baptize more members. It is to gather, from every nation, tongue, kindred, and

people, more worshipping disciples of Jesus Christ. This includes baptism, but so much more. Baptism and the “so much more” include liturgy. For it is in the liturgy and personal worship that the believer cultivates spiritual identity. Thus, worship, liturgy, and music are essential toward understanding the nature of the Church.

Biblical ecclesiology will promote reconciliation between Black and White Adventists. This present study will help these groups stop judging each other based on music choice, but rather come together in the commonality of our Adventist heritage and shared expression of congregational song. We are more similar in physical DNA and spiritual DNA than our skin color suggests. Within this ecclesiology, we will cultivate a shared theology of liturgy that sets the bounds of Adventist identity. Under that broad canopy will be a diversity of liturgical practices. It will allow room for cultures and styles, not requiring uniformity, but unity in a shared theology of worship and liturgy.

Reconciliation and the Songs of Experience

It will also celebrate the beautiful differences of worship expression, based upon each ethnicity’s existential experience. It will validate the uniqueness of Black worship in the early twentieth century. The Black experience, though situated in the context of racism, reveals a people who continue to overcome, and experience a closeness with God only engendered through suffering. White Adventists need to uplift their fellow Black brothers and sisters, seeking forgiveness for their overt and silent racism.

The way forward must allow for various ethnic modes of ritual sensibility. This understanding of the church will recognize and legitimize the Black experience since Jim Crow. Black gospel has continued the same type of celebration that was present in the ring shouts of enslaved Africans in America, for it is “intertwined with its ancestral

beginning and continues to express an intimate connection to spirituality and the sacred world.”² Melva Costen strongly states:

There are sufficient data to substantiate the “primal” acceptance of the unity and wholeness of life, which is evident in African American communal life, religion and worship, music, art, politics, and culture. The outward expressions of feelings and emotions, the tendency to “move with the beat,” the similarity of music for worship and music for entertainment all speak to the functioning of an underlying belief system. A system of beliefs imposed by the dominant culture could not and cannot be a viable belief system for a marginalized people. A belief system, already well established in African traditions, continues to help an oppressed community find meaning and make sense of life, maintain community identity and continuity, find direction, and provide healing and empowerment.³

A genuinely biblical Adventist ecclesiology would no longer marginalize any ethnic group. A unified theology of liturgy will allow for a diversity of liturgical praxis, indicative of existential experience, without compromising a shared Adventist identity.

For these reasons, this study stands as a significant contribution to the Adventist understanding of both its historical worship practices and an aid towards its current theology of worship and music. It presents to the broader Christian community the challenges Adventism has faced in music, liturgy, and race. Furthermore, this study contributes to the greater society, in that it highlights that many issues—often perceived as racial—are cultural and theological. Finally, I hope this study will serve to promote meaningful dialogue between ethnic groups within the Adventist community, seeking to

² Omotayo O. Banjo and Kesha Morant Williams, “A House Divided? Christian Music in Black and White,” *Journal of Media and Religion* 10 (2011): 131.

³ Costen, *African American Christian Worship*, 7; Stewart, *Soul Survivors*, 71-108. Primal does not here mean primitive, but fundamental.

uplift one another in the spirit of Christ, and working together to bring glory to God in worship and ministry.

APPENDIX A

RAW DATA

Hymns in Worship, 1889–1893

Hymns taken from *Hymns and Tunes* (1886)

Hymns at GC Session, October 18 to November 5, 1889

#	Title	Hymn	TUNE	Comp.	Year	Style	Date	Note	
1	501	“Blessed Jesus, Meek and Lowly”	Annie Smith	SPANISH or AUTUMN	Marcio or Barthélemon	1785	Genevan or English	10/19/89	
2	1210	“Build on the Rock”	Frank E. Belden	-	Belden	1886	Gospel	10/19/89	
3	1263	“The World’s Harvest”	E. C. Ellsworth	-	James H. Fillmore	1877	Gospel	10/21/89	
4	678	“Rejoice, Believer, in the Lord”	Anon.	NORTH-FIELD	Jeremiah Ingalls	1800	Fuging Tune	10/22/89	
5	680	“How Cheering is the Christian’s Hope”	Anon.	EXHORTATION	S. Hibbard	1849	Fuging Tune	10/28/89	1985 Advent-ist Hymnal dates tune 1869
6	843	“Gracious Father, Guard Thy Children	Anon.	-	John W. Dammun	-	Gospel	10/30/89	HT listed as by Bradbury; Hymnary gives Dammun

7	904	“Hark! That Shout of Rapture High”	Tho-mas Kelly	César Malan	HEN- DON	1827	French Re- formed	11/4/89	
8	828	“Watchm an, Tell Us of the Night”	John Bow-ring	WATCH- MAN	Lowell Mason	1830	Euro- pean Heri- tage in Amer- ica	11/1/89	
9	1198	“How Much I need Thee!”	Belden	-	Belden	-	Gospel	11/2/89	<i>HT</i> called the “Large Hymn Book”
1 0	1003	“There is a Land, a Better Land”	Anon.	BETTER LAND	W. J. Bost- wick	1878	Gospel	11/3/89	Pub- lished by Ed- son White
1 1	1170	“What Vessel are you Sailing in?”	Anon.	Ship Zion	Scottish or Shaker	1849?	Scot- tish or Shaker ?	11/3/89	Hym- nary indi- cates tune is Sha- ker, 1849
1 2	983	“Zion, the City of our God”	Anon.	ST. PETER	Alexand er Rei- nagle	1836	Eng- lish	11/5/89	

Hymns at International Tract Society, March 6–25, 1891

	<u>#</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Hymn</u>	<u>TUNE</u>	<u>Comp</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Style</u>	<u>Date Sung</u>	<u>Note</u>
1	1057	“Resting By and By”	Sidney Dyer	RESTING BY-AND- BY	Robert Lowry	1868	Gospel	3/6/91	
2	1261	“Workin g, O Christ, With Thee”	Hellen E. Brown	-	William Ogden	-	Gospel	3/6/91	

3	1242	“Saints of God, the Dawn is Bright’ning”	Anon.	PRAY FOR REAPER S	D. S. Hakes	1878	Gospel	3/7/91	
4	1243	“Ask Not to be Excused”	Belden	ASK NOT TO BE EXCUS-ED	Belden	1886	Gospel	3/8/91	Open prayer called invoc.
5	85	“My Maker and My King”	Anne Steele	EL KADER	Un-known	1869	Eng-lish?	3/17/91	
6	842	“Watchman, Tell Me”	Sidney Brewer	-	Dad-mun	-	Gospel	3/22/91	
7	136	“Come, Gracious Spirit”	Simon Browne	WARE	George Kings-ley	1838	Euro-pean or L. Mason	3/25/91	
8	1331	“Happy Day”	Belden	-	Belden	1886	Gospel	3/25/91	

Hymns at International Sabbath-School Association, February 18–March 6, 1893

	<u>#</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Hymn</u>	<u>TUNE</u>	<u>Comp</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Style</u>	<u>Date Sung</u>	<u>Note</u>
1	1251	“Work, Watch, Pray”	Grace Glen	WORK, WATCH, PRAY	Fill-more	-	Gospel	2/18/93	
2	1255	“Watch and Pray”	Fanny Crosby	WATCH AND PRAY	William Kirk-patrick	-	Gospel	2/27/93	
3	354	“The Wonders of Redeem-ing Love”	R. F. Cottrell	WOODL AND	Nathaniel Gould	1832	Spiritu al		

Comparing Adventist Liturgies, 1879–1944

Dime Tabernacle, 1879	HMJ, 1906	Dime Tab, November 8, 1919	Takoma Park June 18, 1921
		Prelude	Organ Prelude
Anthem	Introit		
		Gloria	Doxology
Invocation		Invocation	Invocation
			Missionary Reports
Hymn	Hymn	Hymn	Scripture Reading
Scripture Reading		Scripture Reading	Hymn
Brief History			
Report of Building Committee	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer
		Anthem	
		Offertory	Offertory
Hymn	hymn		hymn
Dedicatory Sermon	sermon	Sermon	sermon
Renewal of Church Covenant			
Hymn	hymn		hymn
Dedicatory Prayer	benediction	Benediction	benediction
Anthem			
Benediction			Organ Postlude
			CM LONG Order
Spiritual Songs	na	Christ in Song	Hymns & Tunes

Sunnyside Portland, OR January 14, 1928	Battle Creek Tabernacle Dedication October 9, 1926	Battle Creek July 11, 1931	Takoma Park March 14, 1931
Prelude	Selection --orchestra	Prelude	Organ Prelude
Silent Devotion		Choir and Elders Enter	
Hymn	Doxology	Gloria	Doxology
Invocation	Invocation	Invocation	Invocation
Annual Roll Call		Announcements	Missionary Reports
Offering/Offertory		Offertory	
		Anthem	Scripture Reading
Building Fund Report	Scripture Reading	Scripture Reading	Hymn
Comments on Annual Reports			
		Morning Prayer:	Prayer
			Offertory
Special Music	Solo	Solo	Anthem
Sermon	Dedicatory Sermon, followed by 2 Addresses	Sermon	Sermon
	Dedicatory Prayer		
Hymn	Hymn	Closing Hymn	Hymn
Benediction	Benediction	Benediction	Benediction
		Doxology	
Postlude	Postlude	Postlude	Organ Postlude
LONG	LONG	LONG	LONG
Christ in Song	Christ in Song	Christ in Song	Hymns & Tunes

Church Manual (Long) 1932	Church Manual (Short) 1932	Battle Creek, February 27, 1932	White Memorial Los Angeles, CA November 2, 1935
Organ Prelude		*Prelude	
		Choir and Elders Enter	Silent Prayer
Doxology		*Doxology	
Invocation			
Announcements			
Scripture Reading	Hymn		
Hymn	Scripture Reading	Scripture Reading	Hymn
Prayer	Prayer	Morning Prayer	Prayer
		Junior hymn/sermon	Anthem
Offertory	Offering & Announcements	Offertory & Announcements	Announcements & Offering
Hymn or Special Song	Hymn or Special Song	Anthem	Special Music
Sermon	Sermon	Morning Sermon	Sermon
Hymn	Hymn	Closing Hymn	Hymn
Benediction	Benediction	Benediction	Benediction
Cong. Seated for silent prayer	Cong. Seated for silent prayer	Silent Prayer	
Organ Postlude		Postlude	
		LONG	CM SHORT Order
na	na	Christ in Song	Christ in Song

First Church St. Paul, MN March 23, 1935	Battle Creek, January 7, 1939	Temple Church Hatboro, PA March 8, 1941	Grand River Ave. Detroit, MI July 10, 1943
Prelude	Prelude	Prelude	Organ Prelude
Elder Enter, Silent Prayer	Call to Worship		Choral Introit
Doxology		Hymn	Doxology
Invocation	Invocation	Invocation	Invocation
Announcements	Announcements	Special Announcements	
	Offering & Offertory		Offertory
	Morning Hymn:	Hymn	
Hymn	Scripture Reading		Hymn
Prayer	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer (Choral Response; Congregation kneeling)
Offering		Tithes & Offerings	
Anthem by Choir	Choir Number	Special Music	Anthem
Sermon	Sermon:	Sermon	Junior Sermon & Sermon
Hymn	Closing Hymn:	Closing Hymn	Hymn
Benediction	Benediction	Benediction	Benediction
	Choir Response	Silent Prayer	
	Postlude		Organ Postlude
LONG	LONG	LONG	LONG
Christ in Song		unspecified	Christ in Song

Saginaw Church Saginaw, MI October 21, 1944	Pioneer Memorial Berrien Springs, MI October 21, 1944	Sanitarium Church Glendale, CA December 23, 1944	Battle Creek, June 24, 1944
Piano Prelude	Organ Prelude	Organ Prelude	Prelude
Piano Meditation	Call to Worship	Call to Worship	Call to Worship
Hymn of Praise	Gloria		Doxology
Invocation Prayer	Invocation		Invocation
	Announcements		
Offertory: Silent Prayer, Reception, Doxlogy, Offertory Prayer	Offertory	Home Missionary Report	Offering & Offertory
Scripture Reading		Scripture Reading	
	Hymn	Hymn	*Hymn
Prayer	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer
		Announcements, Tithes & Offerings	
Hymn	Anthem	Worship in Song	Choir
Sermon	Sermon	Sermon	Sermon:
Hymn	Hymn	Hymn	Hymn
Benediction	Benediction	Benediction	Benediction
Piano Meditation			Response
Piano Postlude	Organ Postlude	Organ Postlude	Postlude
LONG	LONG	SHORT	LONG
na	na	Church Hymnal	Ch. Hymnal

Hymnals and Songbooks (in chronological order)

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- Broaddus, Andrew, ed. *The Dover Selection of Spiritual Songs, with an Appendix of Choice Hymns*. Richmond, VA: W. H. Anderson, 1828.
- A Selection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs: Designed for the Use of the Pious*. Cincinnati, OH: Morgan and Sanxay, 1835.
- Himes, Joshua V., ed. *Millennial Harp or Second Advent Hymns: Designed for Meetings on the Second Coming of Christ*. Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842.
- _____. *Millennial Musings: A Choice Selection of Hymns Designed for the Use of Second Advent Meetings*. Boston: J. V. Himes, 1842.
- _____. *Second Advent Hymns: Designed to Be Used in Prayer and Camp-Meetings*. Boston: J. V. Himes, 1842.
- _____. *Millennial Harp: Designed for Meetings on the Second Coming of Christ*. 3 vols. Improved ed. Boston: J. V. Himes, 1843.
- _____. *The Advent Harp: Designed for Believers in the Speedy Coming of Christ*. Boston: J. V. Himes, 1849.
- White, James S., ed. *Hymns for God's Peculiar People, That Keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jesus*. Oswego, NY: Richard Oliphant, 1849.
- _____. *Hymns for Second Advent Believers Who Observe the Sabbath of the Lord*. Rochester, NY: James White, 1852.
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- White, James S., ed. *Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus*. Rochester, NY: The Advent Review Office, 1855.
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- Smith, Annie R. *Here, and Home in Heaven. Part II. Home in Heaven*. Rochester, NY: Advent Review Office, 1855.
- Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jesus*. Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1861.

- The Sabbath Lute*. Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1863.
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- White, James S., ed. *Hymns and Spiritual Songs for Camp-Meetings and other Religious Gatherings*. Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1872.
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- Fillmore, James H., ed. *Songs of Gratitude: A Collection of New Songs for Sunday Schools and Worshipping Assemblies*. Cincinnati, OH: Fillmore Brothers, 1877.
- White, J. Edson, ed. *Song Anchor: A Choice Collection of Favorites for Sabbath School and Praise Service*. Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing House, 1878.
- _____. *Temperance and Gospel Songs, for the Use of Temperance Clubs and Gospel Temperance Meetings*. Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald, 1880.
- _____. *Better Than Pearls*. Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1881.
- Hakes, D. S., ed. *Pearly Portals for the Sabbath School*. Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1882.
- Taylor, Marshall W., ed. *A Collection of Revival Hymns and Plantation Melodies*. Cincinnati, OH: Marshall W. Taylor and W. C. Echols, 1882.
- The Seventh-day Adventist Hymn and Tune Book for Use in Divine Worship*. Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing House, 1886.
- Belden, Franklin E., ed. *Songs of Freedom*. New York: National Religious Liberty Association, 1891.
- _____. *Christ in Song Hymnal: Containing over 700 Best Hymns and Sacred Songs New and Old*. Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald 1900.

_____. *Christ in Song for All Religious Service: Nearly One Thousand Best Gospel Hymns, New and Old with Responsive Scripture Readings*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1908.

Johnson, James Weldon, and John Rosamond Johnson, eds. *The Book of Negro Spirituals*. Vol. 1. Binghamton, NY: The Viking Press 1925.

_____. *Second Book of Negro Spirituals*. Vol. 2. Binghamton, NY: The Viking Press, 1926.

Benson, Louis F., ed. *Christian Song*. New York: The Century Co., 1926.

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Dearmer, Percy, Ralph Vaughan Williams, and Martin Shaw, eds. *Songs of Praise*. London: Oxford University Press, 1931.

The Junior Song Book: For Junior Missionary Volunteer Societies, Church Schools, Junior Division of Sabbath Schools, Summer Training Camps for Juniors, Other Gatherings of Young People, and the Home. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1931.

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The Church Hymnal: The Official Hymnal of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1941.

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APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW DOCUMENTS

Interview Questions

The following questions are given to guide the Interviewee to develop his or her thoughts in order to give a detailed oral history. Please try to answer the questions to the best of your ability while you share your history.

1. Please describe your experiences of worship and music during the time of 1920–1950.
2. Where did you worship? Describe the place where you worshiped: architecture, lighting, platform, pulpit, location of instruments, location of congregation, type of seating.
3. What was the demographic of your congregation?
4. Who led the worship? Church Leaders? Musicians?
5. Describe the order of worship. What were the elements of worship and where did they go in the service? Music, prayer, preaching, scripture, etc. Did your congregation follow the church manual?
6. What were the most common songs used in worship? What were your favorites? Did your congregation use certain hymnals? Which ones? Music outside of the hymnal? What was the style and manner of the music, both performed and congregational?
7. What were the themes or subjects of the music used in worship?
8. What was the position of the people during the music? How was the congregation involved in the music and worship? Sitting? Standing? Kneeling? Hands raised? Little to no physical movement?
9. How did people respond to the music?
10. What did people believe about the music? About the worship during the music?
11. During the worship music, what were people's attitudes about themselves, God, and the world?
12. How did the music, if at all, relate to Jesus Christ?
13. How did the music, if at all, relate to sin?
14. How did the music, if at all, relate to Adventist doctrines?
15. How did the music, if at all, relate to Scripture?
16. What did the church believe about worship at that time?
17. What did you believe about worship at that time?
18. What was the prevailing philosophy of music at that time?
19. How would you critically and theologically assess the worship and music during the period?
20. How did worship compare with other ethnicities at that time?

**Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist
Theological Seminary**

Informed Consent Form

Research Title:

“Worship Music as Spiritual Identity: An Examination of Music in the Sabbath Liturgy among Black and White Seventh-day Adventists in the United States, from 1840–1944.”

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Statements about the Research:

This research study is part of the Principle Investigator’s dissertation project, in partial fulfillment of the Doctor of Philosophy in Church History at Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan. Your participation in this study is greatly appreciated.

Purpose of Study:

The purpose of this research is to explore the development of spiritual identities among Black and White Seventh-day Adventists in the United States, as derived from their experience of music in the Sabbath service, from 1840–1944.

Procedures:

Participant(s) will meet with the Investigator to conduct an interview in order to create an oral history document. The Investigator will provide the Participant(s) will research questions, helping the Participant(s) describe their memories of worship and music in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the United States, between 1920–1950. Valuable memories may include details, such as: orders of worship, music in the service, historical locations, leaders, and musicians for the purpose of descriptive history. The interview will last approximately 30–120 minutes and will be audio recorded. This audio recording will be used to create a transcription. This transcription will be edited by both the Investigator and the Participant(s) in order to create the oral history document. The Participant(s) will spend additional time reviewing and/or editing the oral history before final approval. Following this study, the oral history document will be made available to the Center for Adventist Research, at the James White Library, on the campus of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan.

Duration of Participation of Study:

1) 30–120 minute, audio-recorded interview; 2) following editing by the Principle Investigator, Participant(s) will make additional editions to the transcription of the

interview in order to create the final oral history document. Once the Participant(s) has approved the oral history, the Participant(s) concludes role in the study.

Risks and Benefits:

This study poses no anticipated risks beyond minimal risks. Concern(s) of confidentiality are addressed under the section, Confidentiality. This study presents no tangible benefits for the Participant(s). However, the Participant(s) receive the intangible benefit of contributing to the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the broader Christian community by means of the Participant(s) memories of worship and music, fostering a better understanding and importance of music in the worship life of the church.

Voluntary Participation:

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Confidentiality:

The creation of an oral history document for the nature of this study acknowledges that there is a lack of confidentiality. The oral history does not keep confidential the Participant(s) own statements revealing one’s personal experiences, memories, and identity. Personal information such as Participant(s) personal address and telephone number will be kept confidential. Additionally, the audio transcript will be kept confidential, though a CD of the recording will be sent to the Participant(s).

At the Participant(s) request, the oral history may be anonymous, concealing the subject(s)’s identity. If so, the Investigator will use codes or identifiers (e.g., subject ID numbers) for the data, so that only the researcher can trace the identity. This data will be password protected and stored on the Investigator’s computer.

Waiver of Confidentiality:

I understand that creating an oral history necessarily reveals my identity. I waive my right of confidentiality.

Name (Signature): _____ Name (Printed): _____ Date: _____

Name (Signature): _____ Name (Printed): _____ Date: _____

Request for Anonymity:

I request that my identity be concealed for the oral history, hiding my name, and using codes or identifier numbers for the data, so that only the researcher can trace my identity.

Name (Signature): _____ Name (Printed): _____ Date: _____

Name (Signature): _____ Name (Printed): _____ Date: _____

Statement of Consent to Participate in the Study:

1. *I have read the above information, and have received answers to any questions I asked.*

2. *I understand that my recorded statements are solely for the purpose of research. The scope of my statements includes my recollection of descriptions of my past personal worship experiences, including: the order of worship, attitudes in worship, physical posture of worshipers, selection of music in worship, manner of music, and my personal feelings about and interpretation of those events.*

3. *I affirm that the recording of my statements (audio) has occurred on _____, 20____, at _____ (location).*

4. *I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary, and that refusal to participate involves no penalty, and that I may discontinue participation at any time without penalty. I acknowledge that my involvement in the research is not through coercion, but at my own free will.*

5. *Subject to the terms and conditions hereinafter set forth, I, _____, do hereby grant to Andrews University, Center for Adventist Research legal title and all literary rights including copyright to the oral history interview with David A. Williams conducted on _____, 20____.*

6. *It is agreed that access to the oral history document shall be available to qualified researchers under Center for Adventist Research use policy.*

7. *I authorize the Center for Adventist Research to edit, publish, and license the use of my oral history memoir in any manner that Andrews University considers appropriate, and I waive claim to royalties that may be received by the University as a consequence thereof. The Center for Adventist Research and Andrews University accepts with gratitude the donation. Donations are tax deductible to the extent allowed by law. The Center cannot appraise any donations.*

8. *This gift does not preclude any use that I may want to make of the information of the recording or transcript myself.*

9. *Verbal permission granted at the time of interview.*

10. *I consent to take part in the study. This form will be kept by the research for five years beyond the end of the study.*

Participant(s) Signature(s): _____ Date: _____

_____ Date: _____

Participant(s) Printed Name(s): _____

Investigator's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Investigator's Printed Name: _____

APPENDIX C

ORAL HISTORIES AND INTERVIEW NOTES

The oral histories and interviews in this appendix follow their own pagination. Citations in the study only indicate the oral history or interview page and line number. Most documents are oral histories. These documents are the result of in-person interview conversations in which the interviewees shared memories of worship and music in the Adventist church, beginning in the 1920s. These interviews were audio recorded on an iPhone, and then transcribed verbatim. Next, these transcriptions were edited by both the interviewer and the interviewees, resulting in, not a transcript, but an oral history. Each oral history has been approved by the interviewees, and have been released to the Center for Adventist Research following the completion of this study. The interview notes come from conversations with individuals that requested to not have the conversation audio recorded. These represent the interviewer's interpretation of the statements made, and where applicable, the exact words of the interviewee are given in quotes, thus indicating specific wording made by the interviewee. Oral histories and interviews are listed in alphabetical order:

Albright, Bernice and Bill	Oral History	November 21, 2013
Anderson, Bette	Oral History	March 22, 2017
Benedict, Beverly and Ralph	Oral History	March 14, 2017
Bradford, Ethel and Charles	Oral History	September 26, 2014
Chandler-Gibson, Everyl	Phone Interview Notes	October 13, 2014
Foote, Charles	Oral History	March 14, 2017
Goodine, Frances	Oral History	October 4, 2014
Kellum, Lloyd and Rosalee	Oral History	March 22, 2017
McMahon, Elihu	Oral History	October 5, 2014
Subject ID: EPH10614	Interview Notes	October 6, 2014
North, James, Jr.	Oral History	September 29, 2014
Phipps, Cullen	Interview Notes	October 6, 2014
Rogers, Annelle and Ernest	Oral History	September 25, 2014
Simmons, June and Julie	Oral History	March 25, 2017
Subject ID: TP8714	Oral History	August 7, 2014
Thomas, Jocelyn and Claude	Oral History	September 25, 2014
Subject ID: TP10914	Oral History	October 9, 2014
Verdun, Lovey	Oral History	September 25, 2014
West, Melvin	Oral History	September 18, 2014
Wrate, David	Oral History	March 25, 2017

Oral History
Bernie and Bill Albright
At their home, Adamstown, Maryland
November 21, 2013

1 Bernie Albright [1939–]: Churches back then were all from the old hymnal.
2 Singing youth was the youth music book that we sang from for camp
3 meetings, campfires, and stuff like that. Then when I went on to academy,
4 Frank [Francisco de Araujo] was our first choral director and he taught us a
5 lot. Quality of music and different styles of music. And how important it
6 was that we should sing for the glory of God. Then in college, you know,
7 music all through my life, I have had a great appreciation for it. I loved
8 singing, I loved choirs, orchestra, bands, whatever. I enjoyed music. It
9 wasn't hard for me to just to be swallowed up and take it all in. It was all
10 quality good music. It's not like you see all this stuff that churches have
11 gone to today. Andrews university is where I went to school. I was always a
12 part of a choir. Actually, I was in public school for my first 8 grades, then in
13 9th grade I attended Philadelphia Academy, then Blue Mountain Academy
14 for 10th, 11th, and 12th grades.

15 David Williams: Did you study music?

16 Bernie: Not really. I took a simple little course in college. But I didn't really study
17 music. I did have piano lessons. I did have voice lessons. But that wasn't
18 my major. My major was elementary ed. I ended up being dean of women,
19 of girls. Anyway, I loved good music. Even when I was a teenager, when all
20 my peers were interested in Elvis Presley, my desire was, if you were going
21 to have pop, my desire was Pat Boone. More the subdued type of popular
22 music. I wasn't into this other stuff. I basically appreciated what Frank
23 taught us. I followed him as a student like with his Japanese choir. I got
24 very involved with bringing the choir out to Chicago. That was a huge
25 undertaking. Then I moved to this area from the Chicago-way, Frank asked
26 me if I would promote and go ahead of the choirs to set up tours. Which I
27 ended up doing. IN different places. Atlanta, GA. Florida. I kinda got
28 involved that way. and then of course I sang in Frank's choir. We went to
29 Israel, New York, and did local things. I was very involved with the church
30 because of the contact that was regarding the national choir coming out to
31 Chicago. Carl Barr, who was an elder at Takoma Park Church, who sang
32 with the choir with Frank, came out to Chicago. As soon as I became a
33 member of the Takoma Park Church, he threw my name out as chairing the
34 music committee. I hardly knew anybody here at the time. And I said, "I
35 don't know." the scope was all the music of the church. That's how I got to
36 know Kenny Logan. That meant bringing on someone who was going to
37 play the organ. Making sure the pianos were tuned and up and ready. We
38 had 13 pianos. Making sure the organ was in tune. Doing all the Sabbath
39 Schools. Whatever music was involved with Sabbath school. The choristers.
40 Special Music. The church service. Worship service music. The concerts.
41 We did 6-8 concerts a year back then. So anything to do with instruments or

1 choirs or directors or concerts or any of that, all of that fell under my
2 umbrella. And I became very involved with all of that. I did that for 22
3 years. And I had the opportunity by being involved, I could learn a lot of
4 other musicians that were coming in from other areas. and then I would
5 contact all of our choir directors within the union. And different things like
6 that to bring in Shenandoah, or Blue Mountain, or whatever. If I heard they
7 were good, I would have them come and do a concert. We would feed them,
8 and house them sometimes. And not just them. I would pull good
9 musicians. Then also the college asked Franklyn Schneider, who was a
10 member of the Takoma Park Church, if he would find somebody to head up
11 a secular type concert series for the community. And they asked me to lead
12 that. So we did that. That went on for a couple years. Until it kinda got to be
13 too expensive and too much. But we had at one time Pat Boon and his
14 family. We had Franny and Teischer, the two pianists. You know it was just
15 different things like that. It was good music, but it was secular. I will never
16 forget at Takoma Academy, up in the rafters you might say, way upstairs,
17 because the concert was going to start pretty close to sundown, we
18 suggested we have sundown worship. And Pat Boon and his wife was there
19 and had worship with us. He was a very religious man, actually, in his own
20 right. And he came with devotion. and his daughter was there.

21 David: You've mentioned "good" music. What is good music?

22 Bernie: I lean mostly to classical and religious. I will listen to some other secular. I
23 don't like any kind of beat. I'm not into that. I love "White Christmas" by
24 Bin Crosby, and stuff like that at Christmas time. But overall, I don't enjoy
25 music that has a lot of beat to it and a lot of drums. I don't listen to WGTS.
26 I used to. It was a classical station. But when they flipped to a different type
27 of format. It just makes me cringe. I'm sorry, but I can't enjoy it. And
28 maybe its because my dad used to sing solos in church and he loved good
29 music. And my grandfather did too. I think I grew up with good quality
30 thinking towards it. And then when I learned more about music through
31 Frank, and some even some of the hymns, not maybe this particular hymnal,
32 but the old hymnal, I remember Frank pointing out—

33 David: What do you mean the hymnal? The 1941 hymnal?

34 Bernie: Yeah. Some of the hymns in that hymnal came from, you know, a secular
35 setting. So I'm sure there's a place for all that, but its not in my heart. And
36 when I get concerts going at Takoma Park or whatever, I would always say
37 send me a tape or CD. Because I wanna hear what they are going to do. I
38 don't wanna be just told. Because you can take a beautiful hymn and just
39 like some of these beautiful songs that are, Battle Hymn or whatever, a lot
40 of these songs that are very historical for our country, some of them the way
41 they sing it now and the way they perform it, ruins it. In my way of
42 thinking. We with grey hair never grew up with that. And Bill, my husband
43 is not like that. He has a broader scope when it comes to enjoying music.
44 I'm kinda narrow-minded, if you wanna know the truth, in his way of
45 thinking. And I don't want to sit down to a real long-haired classical music

1 that just drags out and all that kind of stuff. But I love good quality things.

2 David: Is the good in the intricacy of its composition?

3 Bernie: Possibly. We did some beautiful works. At first, maybe its harder, because
4 you are not accustomed to it. But then as you come into it more then it
5 becomes really part of you. Like you know, the Messiah. The first time I
6 heard the Messiah was all the solo. It wasn't as exciting as when you hear
7 the choir singing, of course. But now I have gotten so used to it that I enjoy
8 that too. So I think it is a case of you getting used to things as you do it
9 yourself. That makes a difference too.

10 David: I want to talk about the hymnals a little bit more. Which hymnal did you
11 grow up using?

12 Bernie: I grew up with the older one. the 1941 hymnal. Except for the little
13 choruses. Singing Youth and stuff like that.

14 David: When you used the *Church Hymnal*, did you ever use *Christ in Song*?

15 Bernie: Sometimes we did, but not really.

16 David: Did you know of other churches still used *Christ in Song*? Was it a
17 geographical issue?

18 Bernie: Possibly. Some churches you go to, they are going to use whatever they
19 have available.

20 David: What was it about the classical music, or that type of music, that made you
21 feel that it was what should be used in worship?

22 Bernie: Well I don't know. My understanding of all the music stems from these
23 beautiful authors. There's substance to it. You know, Bach, Beethoven, and
24 all. But you know they had their problems. But I don't know that the quality
25 that they produced is quite different from our modern people that write
26 music. Except for maybe Rutter. I think he has some very good music. I
27 don't see much depth to some of these little ditties that have just constant
28 repeat. You couldn't make any beautiful choral thing out of it that I could
29 understand to. Except just repeating, repeating. I don't see the depth in it. I
30 personally, although I'm very narrow minded with this, I don't enjoy going
31 to worship and looking at a screen. That distracts me. and maybe it distracts
32 me because I didn't grow up with it. Or maybe it distracts me because I
33 look at the minister preaching and I want to observe his face. And all this
34 screen stuff, you know. And our church here in Frederick hasn't had that.
35 There's going to be a decision on this this Saturday night. Why? Why? Why
36 do we have to have two big screens? They originally wanted four. Why? Its
37 not a huge auditorium like Kennedy Center. Its half-moon. Everybody and
38 see plainly, clearly. Everybody can hear very well. The only time there is a
39 little bit of a disturbance is they have these big beautiful windows but the
40 sun does kind of give shadows if it is a very sunny day. But outside of that,
41 is kind of stupid to put the same thing on the screen. It doesn't change
42 anything. So why? Its for entertainment? I will stay home. I can put a tape

1 in. Watch that. So that's my thinking right now. Why do we have to go in
2 that direction? And then we are going to put the words of the music up on
3 the screen. What's wrong with picking up the hymnal? What's wrong with
4 picking up a Bible? We're getting to be far more secular that made to be.
5 That's very disturbing to me. But when it comes right down to it, I'm
6 thinking, okay folks, how am I going to handle going to church knowing I
7 gotta look at the screen. Do they do that at Pioneer Memorial?

8 Bill Albright [1931-]: Let me cut in here. I don't want to interrupt your
9 conversation, but we're not going to get away from it. I'm gonna tell you
10 right now. More churches are going to it, in my opinion. I know they are.
11 Anyway, go ahead.

12 Bernie: How does it affect you? Because you are much more into worship.

13 Bill: He probably likes it due to his age.

14 David: I can see pros and cons, certainly. What I hear from you is concern for the
15 church to be distinctive and you are concerned that we don't become just
16 like the world.

17 Bernie: Thank you. 100%. Because I said, and I wasn't the only one. Some just
18 recently said this to me. She hadn't heard what I had said to my husband. I
19 said to Bill, What is the difference between going to church and having to
20 have that screen in your face so you're distracted from that rather than
21 watching him preach, even though you are seeing him (on the screen), than
22 to just go to a movie theater. It is just that you are seeing something
23 different. That's all. Now, we went to visit, two nights ago, a person who is
24 a member of the Frederick church. She was in charge of the music. And
25 when things happened, she quit just about a year ago. And Bill said, "Are
26 you going to the meeting Saturday night?" And she said, "I don't know.
27 What good is it? They got their minds made up." That's how you feel.
28 Really. going hurts you to go. You have to vote. So I said, "So how do you
29 like it?" She said, "What's the difference between that and going to the
30 movies?" So see, there isn't just me thinking it. I know there's other's out
31 there. And you are a lot younger, so maybe you will adapt to it a whole lot
32 faster. But for me, its irritating. And I feel like we are becoming way too
33 like the world. Why do we have to become like everybody else? I thought
34 we were supposed to stand out and be different. And she informed us cuz
35 Bill said, "I think it has to do with the youth." She said, "No."

36 Bill: Well, let me interject a thought there too. She is really wrong. Because one,
37 her granddaughters or nieces are very very much in favor of it. So I'm just
38 telling you that because she sits on the same committee. Obviously she is
39 not talking to her granddaughter or niece or she's forgetting about her.

40 David: Well, I really appreciate hearing your understanding of music and where
41 things are going, because it helps me know our church better and know how
42 things have developed.

43 Bernie: It has changed. Mightily. I worry about our youth. When are they going to

1 learn to appreciate all of the music? Forget the word, good. Quality. There
2 is no quality in about 6 words and saying the same thing over and over
3 again. What is it? What kind of style is it? Somebody can just sit down and
4 write it. Its no big deal. And what, a few little notes to write and you got it.
5 To me, that's not the same as these wonderful works that I grew up learning
6 and appreciating. Its just totally different. I think that at some point things
7 will turn around. But I don't see it turning around. You know what I see?
8 And I might again be very narrow. Who was it that disturbed heaven?
9 Satan. He was a musician. He is right here destroying in every way possible
10 our churches, tearing people apart from what could be better. And he's very
11 wise. He can just make it appear to be correct. But really its just another
12 pull to pull us farther from God. That's my concern for our whole church.
13 And they're learning not the same quality even in our academies. I mean
14 they do learn some, my grandchildren do. What are they learning at
15 Andrews?

16 David: I think the music department teaches good music.

17 Bernie: That's good. Glad to hear it.

18 David: Let me change gears back to your early memories. You mentioned
19 something about congregational singing. Can you describe what that was
20 like?

21 Bernie: You mean in our regular church service?

22 David: Yes.

23 Bernie: We had always in Sabbath School, of course we'd have somebody at the
24 piano. Once in a while you'd have somebody at the piano and organ, but
25 most of the time just piano for Sabbath School. Somebody would lead out
26 in the music. We would always use the hymns, but maybe another book,
27 like *Christ in Song*, or *Singing Youth*, but not too much *Singing Youth*
28 unless you were in Juniors and Earliteens. But in the actual adult Sabbath
29 School they'd use the hymnal. During the divine service, if I was ever
30 fortunate to have an organist, full blast. Again the hymnal. We didn't have
31 anybody standing out there to lead. The organist lead the congregation. It is
32 really disturbing to the organist. If he is a good organist, he gonna to be able
33 to get that congregation to really enjoy singing. If he's a dud, he shouldn't
34 be there in the first place. For somebody to stand up there and try to lead the
35 organist is very inappropriate, I think, and it is an embarrassment to the
36 organist because that's his real job, to lead the congregation in a good
37 singing experience. Now the choir, if the choir is there, they should lead out
38 too, and have descants at the end and all that stuff. Now you don't have that
39 all the time. Somebody standing up there for Sabbath School is different;
40 but for Church... I don't know if you saw our bulletin. The one, long, had
41 the gray, the edges, like what's at the church.

42 David: I did see a gray bulletin.

43 Bernie: The organist that we had, Dr. Dale Krider, we had other good organists too,

1 but he was there for fourteen years. He always, I mean we had it where
2 when you walk, when the ministers walked on, we were already engaged,
3 the audience was already engaged in singing. And then we would have
4 prayer. It was like you could tell the difference between the service prior to
5 the service that was the divine service. We would have the piano for the
6 first stanza and then the organ would come in for the second stanza. And we
7 were already in tune for the divine service. In other words, lifted up.

8 David: This is in your 100th anniversary?

9 Bernie: No. This is Takoma Park Church. When we were directly involved in the
10 music.

11 David: Was this in the 70s?

12 Bernie: No, this was in the 90s. So that you felt it. When that organ hit that chord,
13 you felt the difference. It was like elevating you, from the piano to the
14 organ and he would hit that chord so beautifully. I wish I had one of the old
15 bulletins. I'd show you what I mean. You just couldn't help but wanna sing
16 out. And this church really did sing out, I mean really. It wasn't dead beat.
17 It wasn't drag—gged along, from word to word. It was moving it.

18 David: When you were young, was the congregational singing similar?

19 Bernie: I'd have to say this was a little better. When I was younger as a child, it
20 depended on who you could get to play the piano or organ. It all depends on
21 that. But they would do the best they could.

22 David: But how did the people respond?

23 Bernie: Oh they responded positively. Definitely. I don't think I've ever been in a
24 church, unless I was visiting somebody that had just a few people. Most of
25 the churches would enjoy singing. But what I'm talking about was with a
26 pipe organ, versus, you know.... But you don't even have to have a pipe
27 organ. You can have a regular Allen or something. It depends on the
28 organist, you know. I don't know how to explain it. But he made it feel like
29 you were in the house of God. You were ready to just give your all.

30 David: Was this a joyful feeling?

31 Bernie: Yes.

32 David: Sometimes people talk about reverence to joy or in contrast to enthusiasm.

33 Bernie: Well, it would be enthusiastic when that transition would happen. I was
34 being excited to be in the house of God. We are now in the presence of God
35 and worshipping God in music and song.

36 David: And even in the smaller churches, how was that mix of reverence and joy or
37 enthusiasm?

38 Bernie: Well, that can be a mixed situation. Like I said, it depended on who was at
39 the instruments. The person at the instrument sets the tone for the
40 congregational singing. If that person at the instrument is extremely forceful

1 or excitable, it sets the tone for the people to sing. If they are kind just
2 prodding along, dragging their notes, you don't have the same feeling,
3 because you are just singing along. You know? And I think that's the key. It
4 doesn't have to be somebody standing up their waving his hands. Its the
5 man or woman playing the instrument. That's what I've experienced.

6 David: So the music really contributed to the experience of worship?

7 Bernie: Absolutely. 100%. I used to go to church, and if my music was, you know,
8 hit my heart, I think I was already blessed. No matter what the speaker said,
9 it was topping on the cake because the music already touched my soul. But
10 as far as the speaking, if that is not so good, but the music is great, it just, its
11 okay. but if the music is bad, and the sermon is great, somehow it affected
12 me. Oh my, what a shame. He had a good sermon, but boy that music really
13 turned me off. So music does play a big role in my heart. It is very
14 important. Sometimes I would go to church and I would walk away so sad.
15 People can get up and sing a hymn beautifully or somebody can get up and
16 destroy that hymn. It can be the same number, completely. I've seen that
17 happen too. Its like, how did they do that? Where did they come up with
18 that? I'm sure you've experienced some of that. I have on occasion gotten
19 up and walked out because I couldn't take it. I have very seldom done that. I
20 didn't want to embarrass anybody. If its really bad. Not that they're off key.
21 I can handle that. If they are destroying a good piece. I have a friend that
22 thinks like me about music. He's a lawyer. In fact, he's Delafield's son-in-
23 law, Jeffrey Bromme. He's done the same thing on occasion. He was a
24 member of the Takoma Park church. It just tears you inside. I don't know
25 how to say it. It just destroys you. I'd rather not hear it. Go out in the
26 hallway and talk to somebody until it's over. And then go back and try to
27 enjoy the service. But by that time, I'm already upset enough, I don't even
28 half hear what's being said. It's sad. I remember one time, you've probably
29 heard of a sextet, that group...

30 David: Take 6?

31 Bernie: Take 6. Thank you. They went to Sligo several years. This was many years
32 ago. Everybody was saying, "You gotta go hear it. You gotta go hear it."
33 And I'm not into that kind of stuff, but ok. Now I was dean of women over
34 at CUC so I thought, well, I'll show my face. I walked in and I walked out.
35 This was a few years back. Now they seem calm compared to what some of
36 them are. I said, "Don't expect that to come to Takoma Park." Now that was
37 one reason why I went. Because some of the people were pushing me to
38 have them come to Takoma Park. And I went over there and I could see
39 what they were gonna do, so wouldn't stay real long. Now compared to
40 what some things are out there, they are pretty calm. You get adjusted.
41 Mentally. You get adjusted to different styles.

42 David: Shall we transition to Bill?

43 Bernie: Yeah. He's bored over here.

1 David: I'm sorry Bill. I wanted to give both of you time to hear your experiences.
2 Now you have many memories of the old church.

3 Bill: Takoma, the old church? Yes. When I joined the church, that's the church
4 that was existing at that time. I joined the church in '51. We moved into the
5 new church in '54. When I joined it, I joined the choir. I went there,
6 probably regularly. I was in school at the time. I also worked at the GC.
7 Sometimes I was on duty. If I wasn't on duty, I could watch them build this
8 church. Because the GC was right there. And it was completely different on
9 the inside to what the building is now. They have completely remodeled it
10 now. I wasn't active in the church at that time. Whenever I was in school,
11 only in the choir. That's all. Then we moved over in 1954, which was a
12 beautiful day. It was the first day they opened the church. And I remember
13 Mom and Dad were living here at the time. I told them, you won't believe
14 when you walk into the church what you are going to see. Because it was, if
15 you hadn't seen it before, it was very aesthetically, it was great to look at.
16 But as you go on and on and on, you get used to it just like anything else.
17 You just think it is a church. The first anthem we sang was, "Bless this
18 House O Lord We Pray." That was our anthem for the morning. I don't
19 know who was the speaker. I would say it was a General Conference
20 person. Leslie Mansel was the pastor. And he walked across with the
21 congregation. They had a service in the old church that morning, and then
22 walked across I'll say, maybe at 10:30 am.

23 Bernie: Tell him about the ribbon they cut.

24 Bill: Yeah, they probably had a ribbon. And they had some dignitaries, but I
25 don't remember. I wasn't active at all, I was only in the choir.

26 David: You were there?

27 Bill: I was there.

28 David: That day in the procession?

29 Bill: Yes. I was in the procession. The choir members walked ahead of the
30 congregation, as we wanted to get into the choir loft. I don't remember who
31 the organist was.

32 Bernie: Keep in mind, in those days that the choir. The front of the church was
33 different than it is today. There was a railing that kinda separated the
34 congregation from the platform and the choir. I want you to explain how
35 beautiful was the room around the balcony, Bill.

36 Bill: Now they have burlap around the balcony. Underneath that burlap, there's
37 different figures, not like a Catholic church, but different designs that stood
38 out. But the first day in there, the acoustics were very very bad. They were
39 bouncing all over the place. William White, who I went to school with, and
40 his brother was James White. They both were students at the same school I
41 was at at that time. One was a freshmen like I was. One was a senior. The
42 senior guy, he knew a little bit about sound systems, and he would walk
43 around, for several weeks, he would walk around with his headphones on,

1 seeing what could be done about eliminating this bouncing all over the
2 place. And it took quite a while. Finally they came up with the idea of
3 putting burlap up around that balcony, which you see there. Also in the back
4 of the church, they put burlap with some wood that made it look a little bit
5 better than just burlap. And that eliminated the problem that they had. And
6 from that time on, they never had to do anything else in regard to the sound
7 bouncing all over the place. That's the way they solved the problem. And its
8 been a very good acoustical church ever since. Choirs like to sing there.
9 Orchestras like to play there, because of the acoustics.

10 Bernie: Its very live.

11 Bill: So that was my first introduction in the church of that day. And it was a
12 packed house, of course. And as I said, there were dignitaries who spoke.
13 There might be a bulletin on that day. The format was about the same. You
14 didn't see any women on the platform in those days. It was all GC men,
15 mostly, with their black suits, white shirts, and black ties. It was the flair of
16 today. Seldom as I recall, would we see a woman. Perhaps a vocalist
17 sometimes. I don't recall ever having a woman offer prayer or an
18 invocation, or anything, or even an announcement.

19 David: So women might perform music?

20 Bill: I think we had women in the choir who might have done a solo once in a
21 while or maybe a quartet. But I don't even recall a woman getting up there
22 on the platform by herself and someone playing the piano or organ or both
23 for her to sing. It probably happened, but there again, I don't recall who it
24 was.

25 Bernie: Well, maybe Del Delker.

26 Bill: Well yeah, but I'm talking about the people at the church.

27 Bernie: He came every year. Elder Richards, Sr.

28 Bill: The Voice of Prophecy came every year. So did Faith for Today, Bill Fagel.

29 Bernie: Now she was probably up there with him, this is Fagel. But it had to be
30 somebody noted. It was a very...conservative church.

31 David: Back to the Dedication day. Was there music as you processed? Were you
32 singing?

33 Bill: I don't think so. I think we just processed into the church and we went into
34 the choir loft. And then I know the anthem was "Bless this House, O Lord
35 We Pray." But they probably had some other songs, but that was the main
36 anthem. That's the one I remember very well. I think we memorized it as a
37 choir so there'd be no looking at a score, you know. We just knew the song.

38 Bernie: Was this with Merril Dawson?

39 Bill: That was with Merril Dawson. He was not trained as a choir director, but he
40 was probably one of the best choir directors I ever had, because he took care
41 of his choir members, in a very kind and articulate way.

1 Bernie: There was about 80 in the choir back then?

2 Bill: We had anywhere from 65-80, yeah. I used to have to line up the men. I
3 mean, I lined the men up on the bass end, because I was a bass. We usually
4 had 15-20 bass each week. That was a large choir. It was a joy to sing,
5 because you didn't have to look for people that were sitting in the audience
6 that should've been in the choir. The choir members were there and we
7 always had no less than 60. Many times upwards of 70-80 each Sabbath.
8 And we sang mostly every Sabbath. It wasn't like two weeks here and one
9 week off. A lot of the people from the Review came to the church, because
10 they were across the street at that time. And the same with the General
11 Conference. So we had a captive audience, because a lot of those people
12 belonged to the Park church.

13 David: Was this the Church's choir, or was this a college choir?

14 Bill: We would have the guest college choir perhaps. But the choir of the Park
15 church was strictly the Takoma Park church choir, some were students.

16 David: So there were students. Were there even younger, like high school? Middle
17 age, even elderly?

18 Bill: They were probably—I don't think there were too many in the teens.
19 Probably many in the mid to upper twenties and on up. There wasn't a lot of
20 older people in there either. There was probably a median age of 50-54, and
21 I was probably one of the youngest ones in there.

22 David: What was the atmosphere, what was the manner of the people? Maybe the
23 actions of the people [at the dedication Sabbath]?

24 Bill: I think the actions were probably like most people when they walked in
25 there. They just couldn't believe what they were looking at.

26 David: So maybe awe?

27 Bill: I would say that a lot of them were in awe. Because there were very few,
28 except those who were building it that had access to it. I didn't see it until
29 Friday night. I did see it Friday night because we were over where we were
30 gonna sit in the choir loft. But otherwise, most everybody who came, that
31 was their first view of that church. Because like I told you, I told mom and
32 dad, "You won't believe what the church looks like."

33 David: Was there great cheering as they came in? or awe?

34 Bill: It was more awe. but it wasn't any cheering or anything like they do today.
35 There may have been some applause, but not anything like it is today. In
36 those days it was conservative and it was more, I think, applauding in
37 church in those days wasn't the most acceptable thing to have for fear you
38 are going to ruin the sacredness of the sanctuary service. They may have
39 had some, maybe a dignitary was introduced, or the mayor of Takoma Park.
40 I know the governor of the state was not here.

41 David: It sounds like it was a high solemn day.

1 Bill: A high solemn day, it was.

2 David: Not solemn like morose. But solemn like “awesome.”

3 Bill: Awesome. Yes.

4 David: Could you sense maybe a positive energy that this was very exciting to go
5 in?

6 Bill: I think you probably could say that. There again, people just, in looking at
7 that thing, a lot of them couldn’t believe it. Probably many of them didn’t
8 even hear the sermon because they were still thinking, “What kind of
9 edifice do we now have to worship in?” You know? The one across the
10 street was an older church. It was the old Park Adventist church, but it
11 couldn’t compare to this. And everything was brand new. It even had a
12 fragrance of brand new. It wasn’t that old worn, torn, dirty old carpet on the
13 floor. And as I said, the General Conference brethren were the main people
14 in charge that day. We didn’t have the church center across the street. If
15 they ate-in that day, I don’t recall that at all. They didn’t have Sabbath
16 School downstairs that day. We had Sabbath School over at the old church
17 and then walked across. So it was just strictly a church service. What time
18 did it get over? It probably lasted up until 1:00pm or a little bit later because
19 of the first day. What did we do? Probably my mother, my dad and I
20 probably went home and talked about it. That’s all we did. My mom and
21 dad were not what I’d call, people who knew everybody in the church. They
22 had just moved here and were not members yet. So it was getting hard.
23 Their reaction was probably like mine was. I can’t believe what I see.

24 Bernie: Back in those days, there were 1600 people that could fit in that church.
25 I’m sure it was beautiful. By the way, the Review and Herald has an
26 enormous amount of data. If you ever want to spend time up there. I could
27 make sure that somebody could show you some stuff. That’s where we got
28 some of our main information. They have a lot of pictures. A lot of pictures.

29 Bill: See Dick Young. His son is the president of Review and Herald. He knows
30 me. Tell Dick Young what you want and who you want to see and he can
31 direct you. He is a good contact.

32 Bernie: They have a library up there and they have a lot of stuff. They have
33 beautiful, big pictures of things that pertained to Takoma Park Church.

34 David: Can you tell me a little bit more between the lines of just what was this
35 conception of worship that day? Maybe, what is this God that you would
36 build this church? What was the understanding of humanity in respect to
37 this God? This seems to suggest a lot of ideas. Can you unpack that a little?

38 Bill: First of all, there was a Sligo church at that time already in existence. It was
39 built during World War II. It was already in existence. That’s a large church
40 too. It could have been, that some of those people that came to Park, came
41 from Sligo that day to see this inspirational service. I would say that the
42 service itself, to be honest with you, it probably, outside of the music and
43 the way that people applaud today, the way the people act today, the way

1 the people dress to come to church today, all of that has changed. Other
2 than that, I would say that the service was probably very similar and that the
3 people probably responded in the same way. They probably had several
4 church readings out of the hymnal or out of the Scripture, or maybe it was
5 back and forth, someone reading, how they do. The congregation and the
6 speaker. But I will honestly say, the way I remember that service, it was
7 probably was no different that what we would have had 10 years later, or
8 even 20 years before the church started changing some of its viewpoints and
9 some of its way of having Sabbath services. I don't think it was like the way
10 it was in the 20s and 30s, because the men didn't have the long beards in
11 those days. They didn't thump on the Bible, and so forth. It was a typical
12 Sabbath day, a beautiful day, by the way. I do believe that the people
13 would've got the same blessing in that day, if they could get over the
14 "aweness" of what they were attending versus a service a service of 10
15 years later or even in the 60s. Because in my recollection, I didn't see a lot
16 of change in the Takoma Park church a lot until the General Conference
17 finally moved from where they were to [highway] 29. Then I saw a change
18 in the church, not the church structure, but a change in perhaps the way the
19 service was run, because then we didn't have the so-called brethren to be
20 there. The GC moved out, probably in the late 80s, I think. And that was
21 Neil Wilson's big thing, his big charge, to get that GC out on 29. In my
22 humble opinion, I thought was a terrible mistake. But maybe it wasn't. But I
23 think the church service of 1951 would have been the same as it would have
24 been in '61 or '71, except the people involved. And then, of course, we
25 were having more female involvement than we did in the 1950s.

26 David: As I looked at the bulletins of the old church, the order of service looked
27 very similar from the 20s and 30s to even the 50s.

28 Bill: And you say very similar as to what?

29 David: As to what was printed in the bulletin.

30 Bill: So you had your prelude, and your minister entered, and your had your
31 doxology. They don't have the doxology any more, as I recall. They had the
32 doxology, that's correct. They probably had an invocation. Then any
33 announcements. Then they would have the large congregational hymn.
34 Then they had the pastoral prayer. And as I recall, they didn't, in those
35 days, they didn't have the people come down to the garden of prayer. That
36 wasn't part of the service when I was younger. People just kneeled where
37 they were. However, more people knelt in those days that what kneel today.
38 I don't know why. But I can also rest assure, that almost everyone would
39 kneel, unless they had something wrong physically that they were unable to
40 kneel.

41 David: When did this garden of prayer, in your experience, come up?

42 Bill: I'd say that probably came up in the 80s. It wasn't always in the service. It
43 got to be quite a thing. And now its sort of, even in the Frederick Church
44 they have it. At one point, that was the thing. The Park did it more than any

1 church, in my recollection.

2 Bernie: Mike Pionkowski brought that in.

3 Bill: But then again, that has sort of faded since then. Although its still a nice
4 thing. I can take it or leave it. I'll join them sometimes in going down with a
5 burden on my heart or someone that I've thought about, but not every
6 Sabbath I don't do that. They didn't do it in the 50s. No way. And then in
7 the order of service, they would have the sermon. It wasn't a 20 minute
8 sermon in those days. It was at least 40-45. Sometimes he would forget how
9 long he had gone. Then they would always have a closing hymn. After the
10 closing hymn, they would have the benediction and the postlude. Now the
11 only thing I missed in there, was the anthem by the choir. They always had
12 special music. If the choir wasn't doing it, they always had someone doing
13 the special music.

14 Bernie: When Frank was the choir director, he introduced having, as people are
15 coming forward for the garden of prayer, having music by the choir. Then at
16 the end, when people got up off their knees, having a closing amen or
17 whatever. That was nice having singing. We always had an introit, besides
18 the introit that the organist did. A choral introit. Actually, the organist had
19 the prelude.

20 David: When was this?

21 Bernie: The 80s. We had a prelude by the organist, then we'd have a choral introit,
22 and then we would have of course the hymn with the congregation.

23 David: Now during the introit, what happened? Was that when the ministers came
24 in?

25 Bernie: Yes, it can be that way. It just depended on the minister, what he wanted.
26 Sometimes, but for the most part, it would be when the ministers came in.
27 But then as time went on, the ministers would already be up there. They'd
28 come on when the organist was playing. It just depended on that. Then the
29 congregation would sing. And then of course we would have
30 announcements and we'd have Scripture reading. And then we'd have a
31 special number. Sometimes we'd even have two special numbers. And the
32 offertory would be a special number. But even after that we'd have another
33 special number. But for the most part, we'd have the choir sing for the
34 offertory and then we'd have a main special number. Then the sermon, and
35 then after the closing prayer, after the closing hymn, before the ministers
36 would walk out, the organist would use the chime, and then at that point in
37 time, prior to the chime, the choir would sing a benediction. Before the
38 chime. Then the minister would go with the chime.

39 Bill: While the minister was walking out, the organist would use the chime.

40 Bernie: But he would start, and then the pastors would walk out. Then after that, the
41 organist would have a big postlude.

42 David: Was this similar to the older service in the 50s?

1 Bill: I would say very similar. Now the choir never sang during the offertory,
2 except on special days. Normally the organist did the offertory, something
3 he or she would play.

4 David: How did people respond to that? What were the people doing during the
5 offertory?

6 Bill: Sitting there. They'd be waiting till the deacon got into their row and the
7 plate was passed. They would all stand at the back, and when all the money
8 was collected they would come forward. But they quit that after a time
9 because of security reasons. Now they do it a little bit differently.

10 David: Was it a meditation time for the people?

11 Bill: After the offering was called, the deacons would rise, they would have a
12 prayer. Sometimes they had a prayer before they collected. Sometimes they
13 came down front and had the prayer. But when security got into the focus,
14 they didn't have them come down front to have prayer. They went into
15 another room because of the possibility of someone doing something bad.
16 They would sit there while the offertory would play. They had no reaction.
17 There was no talking, unless there was something that had to be told.
18 Basically it was a quiet time and the offering would be collected.

19 David: Did you sing a doxology when it was brought forward?

20 Bill: Yeah they did. Because there was one time they quit it, and I suggested that
21 we ought to start doing it. I forgot what it was.

22 David: Was it OLD HUNDREDTH?

23 Bill: No. It was a song that everybody knew.

24 David: All Creatures of Our God and King?

25 Bernie: No.

26 Bill: Although I know that they would be standing in the back. As soon as the
27 organist, he or she, would come down with the chord, "boom," as they were
28 coming forward, we would be singing.

29 David: Did everyone stand for that?

30 Bill: Sometimes they would stand whenever they were coming forward. That's
31 correct. Give them something to do. "Praise Him all creatures here below.
32 Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." That may have been the one we used
33 mostly.

34 Bernie: They did away with the doxology for a long time. But I forget what their
35 reasoning was. Then they went back to it because he wanted to have it. You
36 know, they do different things. Whenever we had a visiting choir or visiting
37 orchestra, or whatever. Instrument of some sort. We always had them do the
38 offertory, as well as whatever else they were doing. That would be a nice
39 time for that.

40 David: Bill, in the 50s, even at the old church, did you have an introit?

1 Bill: I think they did.

2 David: Did the ministers come in and kneel?

3 Bill: They would always come on to the platform, and when they got to the
4 platform they would kneel. And the senior pastor who was speaking that
5 day, would dictate when they knelt and when they got up. Now they came
6 in at a certain time. They knew what song to come in on. There was always
7 a head deacon who would have his ear tuned at the door to hear whenever
8 the organist played that particular song, and then he would give a sign, and
9 they would come in the side door, where the piano was, they would walk up
10 to the platform. Then when they all got up there, then they would kneel
11 down at the time the senior pastor did. And they would get up. Probably the
12 senior pastor said amen and they would get up.

13 David: And what about the congregation? Were they seated?

14 Bill: They were seated whenever they would come in. They would stay seated
15 until probably the invocation. They stood for the opening song and the
16 invocation. I think "Praise God from whom all blessings flow" might have
17 been the one mostly used. [with the Old Hundredth tune]. [Bernie brought
18 in the 1985 hymnal and we decided that they sang 694, not 695 with its
19 different rhythm] That's the one we would use.

20 David: The elders, ministers, they knelt. The people didn't stand until the
21 invocation and then they stood for the hymn. Did they stand for Scripture
22 reading?

23 Bill: No. They have never done that as far as I know. I don't recall that.

24 David: And you're wishing they would have?

25 Bernie: Unless it is awful long, I think our non-Seventh-day Adventist Churches do.
26 I've often wondered why ours don't. I would not have realized it, except
27 that I have gone to different churches on occasions and they always stand
28 for Scripture. That's what made me think, why don't we stand?

29 David: I was wanting to know about the posture of the people. When would the
30 people kneel? Just for the main prayer?

31 Bill: I would say so. In those days, at the pew. Most everybody knelt, unless they
32 had disabilities. That's not the way it is today. I still kneel. I'm too old to
33 change now. It's reverent. It's better than putting your head on a pew.

34 David: Were there altar calls?

35 Bill: Not that day, but from time to time.

36 David: Was music played or improvised in the background to that?

37 Bill: I think the only time they had that would be if they had evangelistic
38 meetings and I think that was to soften the hearts of those who were
39 thinking should they walk down or not walk down. If you're in an
40 evangelistic series, if they were going to make a call for people to come

1 forward, they would have music as they were coming forward, or trying to
2 convince them to come. But if they had an altar call in church, a church
3 service, with an evangelistic flavor to it, I don't recall ever having any kind
4 of music as the people were coming down. I don't recall a lot of altar calls.
5 Do you?

6 Bernie: Well, Ron Halvorsen [Sr.] did it fairly often.

7 Bill: Yeah, well it wasn't every Sabbath. He would say, "As a minister of the
8 gospel, it is my obligation to have anyone who wants to come forward and
9 give their heart to Jesus can do so." He would do that a lot. But there was no
10 music involved. He would wait for a couple minutes, if a couple came up,
11 he would have prayer and it was over with. I think it depends on the senior
12 pastor and how they feel about altar calls. I don't think they have as many
13 of these as they used to.

14 David: Was worship something for believers or something for unbelievers?

15 Bill: I think that probably it could have been for either believer or non-believer.
16 But I don't ever recall ever having a lot of non-believers come to any
17 service that I've ever attended, unless it was announced as a type of
18 evangelistic series. I don't think Takoma Park, in my history, had a lot of
19 nonbelievers coming to the church. I think we had Christians, Adventist
20 Christians, visiting. But I don't think there was a whole lot of people in that
21 congregation that lived in that community, or walked in because they
22 wanted to know what we were doing or what we believed. No. I don't
23 believe that.

24 David: So the church service was not the evangelistic event?

25 Bill: Absolutely no. They would have evangelistic series maybe one a year or
26 maybe two. But they don't do that so much anymore. But they did have
27 evangelistic series and they would run from 6-7 weeks. We just went to one
28 in Charlotte, NC, and Ron Halvorsen, Sr. spoke for several weeks. We were
29 just there for a week. But he was there for several weeks. How did they
30 come out? I don't know. There was a lot of baptisms, I think. But that's the
31 way they build membership down there, this past month.

32 David: I don't want to put words in your mouth. But as I looked at the history, it
33 looked like there were other ways to grow the membership besides
34 evangelistic series. There were baptismal classes, I saw.

35 Bill: Sometimes for the youth, there were. As they were finishing John Nevins
36 Andrews School, that's true. I think that sometimes they had some people
37 who were coming to church regularly who had to decide they wanted to
38 give their heart to the Lord and be baptized. They got some through that.
39 They also got some people who were transient from one church to another.
40 "I'm going from Sligo to the Park." "I want to belong to the Park." "I like
41 the pastor there." You know. That goes on all the time.

42 David: I saw [in the bulletins] those transfers from Sligo.

1 Bernie: Ron Halvorsen was there for just under 3 years. Of all the pastors, he had a
2 wonderful team. They baptized from anywhere from 100-110 yearly. They
3 were active.

4 David: Where is the baptismal tank?

5 Bernie: Its right behind the choir loft.

6 David: Where in the service would baptisms occur? You would have them in the
7 service?

8 Bill: Uh-huh [affirmative].

9 David: When I looked at the bulletins, I never saw baptism listed in the order.

10 Bill: Maybe they didn't do it?

11 Bernie: No, they always had it.

12 David: Where would it normally occur?

13 Bernie: Prior to the sermon.

14 David: Just before the sermon.

15 Bill: Rarely after. But before the sermon.

16 David: What would the pastor do, now he's wet?

17 Bernie: No. They would have a time, prior to the anthem that they would actually
18 have the minister come out and introduce the candidate to the congregation,
19 and all that. Take the membership.

20 Bill: Vote them in subject to baptism.

21 Bernie: Sometimes they would even do all of that at the announcement period. And
22 then he would go off and get prepared. And so would the candidate. And
23 then we would have our service. The choir would sing and so forth. I don't
24 understand why it wouldn't be the bulletin.

25 David: Maybe I saw an asterisk [indicating a second service item].

26 Bernie: Yeah, that's possible. Because first service would not have anything like
27 that.

28 David: I don't remember from what I saw today in the bulletins [at the Takoma
29 Park heritage room], but at some point, and I don't remember when, maybe
30 you can tell me when they went to two services. It used to just be one.

31 Bernie: It went to two services before I joined. I joined in 1971. It was two services
32 before I came. It had to of been in the 60s.

33 Bill: I don't recall when it went. I didn't think it was that early, but I don't know.

34 David: And they were identical services?

35 Bill: For the most part. It was the same speaker. It was the same sermon. They
36 had different people for the elder's prayer, or the benediction, or the prelude
37 and the Scripture. The only thing that was the same was that the speaker

1 was usually the same. The choir didn't sing for the first service. They had
2 someone do the singing. They had different people on the platform except
3 for the pastor usually.

4 David: Back to the idea of the believers. This was a believers service. It seems the
5 church was very active in wanting to bring new people into the body.

6 Bernie: Well in those days, we were very active in our desire to connect with a
7 community person and encourage them to come with us to church, or tell
8 them about the church. The place that community would come was concert
9 time. Always at concert time. Never, I mean, our own members would not
10 support the concerts like the community. And then once you get them in the
11 door, sometimes you can go from there.

12 Bill: Not too often. It was usually that they just enjoyed good music.

13 Bernie: Yeah, but they also, I know people who have come back because they
14 didn't know, "Oh man, that was really spectacular. I'd like to come back to
15 something else you do." I remember when I first joined the church, there
16 were a lot of General Conference people, and they would have wonderful
17 meetings. Theodore Carsage, he was one of the vice presidents of the
18 church. He was originally from Russia. He had a wonderful series of
19 meetings. There were several people from the community that came at that
20 time. So different ones. Of course, whenever they had HMS Richards, they
21 always invited the community, had an outreach for people to come for that
22 type of service. Fagal. You know, special days. I remember also, because
23 the Westbergs were in charge of this, every quarter there would be a
24 visitor's Sabbath. So that particular Sabbath, we would encourage again,
25 those whom we were working with, to come. We would even have times
26 when we would divide up the church family, and have a dozen different key
27 people in the church to invite any visitor to their home. They would be
28 prepared. And if there was a visitor, even if it was an Adventist visitor from
29 out of town, they would invite them to their home. And we did that for a
30 few years. And that was quite effective.

31 Bill: The problem with those little things she's talking about, everybody is
32 excited to begin with. To play around with a little jargon, they would "Peter
33 off." And a lot of times they were not successful. A lot of pastors have great
34 ideas, but some of them don't follow through to make sure that it's going to
35 be carried out. That's the thing that I objected to.

36 Bernie: But it was effective at the time.

37 Bill: At the time, but as I said, most of them, they went by the wayside.

38 Bernie: Now they have a lot of these potlucks. But its always the same people that
39 they usually have to prepare. Its always the same people that enjoy the food.
40 And you even have different groups doing it and inviting visitors. But
41 instead of visitors feeling comfortable in coming, some of them do. Its
42 always the same members that come. And their not supposed...

43 Bill: They're invited to visitor's lunch, but the members are there before the

1 visitors.

2 Bernie: Yeah, and that's not fair.

3 Bill: That's the way it is, guys.

4 Bernie: They asked me to start the hospitality team, and I did. But I started it with
5 the idea of having strictly visitors, except for a given Sabbath. Then
6 everybody can come. It pitters out after a year or two or three. Its just the
7 same people.

8 David: You said something intriguing, Bill. When the GC moved, then it seemed
9 like the worship at Takoma Park changed.

10 Bill: I think it did, because the people we had on the platform that were left.

11 Bernie: I don't think the format changed.

12 Bill: No no. I think it changed because we didn't have the same black suited,
13 black tied men up there every Sabbath. We then had a senior pastor and an
14 associate pastor, and it was more of the same. When the GC was in charge,
15 we had at many times different speakers. And they are going to speak
16 differently and have different types of sermons. But when you have a senior
17 pastor, a lot of the time its gonna be much the same. He has the voice, he
18 has the same format, he has the same way of doing it.

19 David: You always had a senior pastor, but he was allowing the GC...?

20 Bill: Yeah, I think he knew better. The brethren were right across the street. It
21 was always the brethren, I'll tell ya. Leslie Mansel was my senior pastor,
22 whenever I went there. If there was not a general conference guy there, he
23 would be the speaker, naturally. But he always had people on the platform,
24 a lot of them from the GC.

25 David: Was there a lot of influence from the GC and how to go about planning
26 worship?

27 Bill: I don't know that they had a lot of influence. They may have had someone
28 calling, saying, "Hey brother, I want you to do this Sabbath, I want you to
29 do that." But I think the senior pastor still had some say as to certain things.
30 I know the faces that I used to see were those of the people walking to
31 church, walking to GC, each morning going to work. When I was working
32 there as a student, I went there different hours there working, and often
33 seeing the guys walking back and forth, because a lot of them lived right
34 there on Carroll Avenue. Like Bernie said earlier, a lot of the residents were
35 Seventh-day Adventist. But I do believe the GC had influence on it. And
36 I'm sure they probably helped out financially. I wasn't on the finance
37 committee and I couldn't tell you what went on. But they were always
38 looking for money, same as churches today. That hasn't changed. The only
39 format that hasn't changed is offering! We still need it, we want it!
40 (laughter) I'm on the finance committee here (in Frederick). We still need it,
41 we want it.

1 David: Was the General Conference President almost always in attendance?
2 Bill: No, because he probably was traveling a lot.
3 Bernie: But when he was in attendance, you could be sure he was on the platform.
4 Bill: And sometimes, he would even help with the amount of people coming
5 there. After a while, it wasn't as full as it was the first Sabbath. You're still
6 gonna get back to where it is a normal service. But if there's someone
7 special coming, like the GC president, if he was able to, or elder HMS
8 Richards, it was packed. Or with elder Fagal, it was packed. Those kind of
9 things happened all the time. And they still happen. The best speaker we
10 ever had there was HMS Richards, in my opinion. There were a lot of good
11 speakers and a lot of people I really liked. But I liked him so much. You
12 probably never heard him speak.
13 David: I never did.
14 Bill: He was wonderful. And he would always have his quartet behind. And we
15 looked forward to that Sabbath when he and his wife would come. And then
16 Bill Fagal was very good too. Didn't have the finesse that elder Richards
17 had. He was almost a living prophet, a living saint. He was one of the most
18 godly men we have ever had in the Park church. I could be wrong.
19 Absolutely. You never got tired of him speaking. And he never had long,
20 long sermons. There's a good point. He got his point across and he was
21 done. And you remembered what he said.
22 David: Bernie, you mentioned, in your years there, about the value of music to you.
23 But maybe in general in the church, was music the main point? Or was
24 preaching the main point?
25 Bill: You know, unlike Bernie, I don't... In my opinion, she said a couple times,
26 she was so upset that she would walk out. I don't think I ever left a church
27 service in my life. I don't like all the music, but I don't take it as badly as
28 she does. She does take it hard. And I understand that. That's her history,
29 that's her background. It wasn't my background. I came from a very small
30 church in Pennsylvania, in Greenburg, 30 miles east of Pittsburg. My father
31 was the head elder, and my mother was the superintendent of the Sabbath
32 School. We went every Sabbath. Whenever my dad would preach, he would
33 preach too long. Because the pastor was only there only twice a month. He
34 had other churches. And my dad would speak. And we used to say, "You
35 know, if you are going to preach long, we have to do something about
36 lunch, because its just too long." But he loved to preach. And for a man
37 who only had an 8th grade education, he did very well. He loved to be up
38 there. He loved the Lord. My mother, she had an 8th grade education, but
39 she was the Sabbath School superintendent. And we had big Sabbath
40 schools. Our church membership was probably 75 people. And every year
41 they complained about the Albrights, and the Bears, and the Wallaces, who
42 just run the church. But every time we had nominating committee, they'd
43 ask other people to do it, nobody wanted to do it. So who would do it? The

1 Albrights, the Bears, the Wallaces. That's the way it went, and that's how I
2 grew up. I was 6 years old when they joined the church. So I didn't know
3 any other church in my life. But I was conditioned to go to church, and that
4 shows today, as I nor Bernie ever rarely miss a church service. The music
5 never gets to me like it does she or Frank. It doesn't bother me that much. I
6 don't like the praise songs, some of what they sing. I don't like those. I
7 don't like some of the way the vocalists sing today, they have a different
8 style. You know what I'm talking about. But there again, I say, you know
9 maybe they reach people hearts. They didn't reach mine. But if I don't go to
10 church, I have a funny day that day and its not the same, and I'm sure you
11 experience the same. So I always go to church if I can. Its just part of our
12 life. Its us. But anyway, that's the way I grew up in a small church. When I
13 came down here to go to college, I remember one lady who used to play the
14 piano and organ. I mean, the piano and the pump organ in those days at the
15 Greensburg church. My folks brought her down. She wanted to come down
16 and see the Takoma Park church. She had heard about it. And they came
17 down for the weekend. I was in college at the time. I'll never forget, she
18 said to me, "You know, you're the first one from the church who ever went
19 to college. Is there anything I could do to help you?" Because my mom and
20 dad had no money. They never had any extra money. We lived very poorly.
21 I said, "Yes, you could. I have to get the Conflict of the Ages series. I
22 wondered if you would buy that for me." She said, "Yes, I would. How
23 much is it." I said, "\$13.95 for all 5 books." And that's the only help I got in
24 college. The rest of which I paid, which I'm proud of.

25 Bernie: And there were no school bills at the end.

26 Bill: But my mom and dad, they loved their church. And when he came down
27 here, they made him a deacon at the Park church.

28 Bernie: The water fountain behind is Albright.

29 Bill: I don't know if you ever saw it. It says, "In memory of the Albrights". So
30 they both had a good experience at the Takoma Park church the years they
31 were here. But most of their experience was in Pennsylvania.

32 David: How important was Scripture and preaching in the service?

33 Bill: For me personally, or collectively?

34 David: Collectively, for the Takoma Park church.

35 Bill: I think both those aspects are very important and I think the church family
36 feels that way too. I mean, both Scripture and sermon, you're talking about?
37 Or is it important to them?

38 David: Yes. Well, today there is a trend to put away preaching and just have a
39 musical experience only. But it seems that the church used to say that the
40 proclamation of the Word and Scripture took first place. And then the music
41 assisted that.

42 Bill: I would feel that way. I think the proclamation of the Word has to be

1 brought out. I never thought about anything else.

2 Bernie: Who is saying this?

3 David: A lot of new churches are thinking that way.

4 Bernie: Would they not have any sermon?

5 David: Maybe.

6 Bernie: So what, would they have congregational singing?

7 David: Or just have the praise team performing.

8 Bill: You know, its funny that you mention that. I'm still a broker in real estate. I
9 have a man that I work with up here. He's a good Christian man, not of our
10 faith. When he goes to church, he and his wife, and the other people. They
11 have no sermon. Anybody who has anything on their heart, each week, can
12 get up and talk. Most of them are probably testimonies of what happened to
13 them in the past week or the past month. But anybody is eligible to get up
14 and say what they want to say, and then they have prayer, and its over. In
15 light of that, I know years ago, when I was a young kid, going to
16 Greensburg church, we used to have testimonies in the church. They don't
17 have those anymore. Do they? Not like they used to. They used to say,
18 "Does anybody have a testimony today?"

19 Bernie: Sometimes at the Communion.

20 Bill: I used to say, "I hope they don't look at me." In those days I was pretty shy.
21 I didn't want to get up there and say my testimony. They don't do much
22 anymore. But what you're saying here, is similar to this man I'm talking
23 about, and has in their church every Sunday. Whoever wants to, gets up and
24 speaks, and that's it. It lasts about 45 minutes to an hour, and then they go
25 home. They an offering, because they have to pay somebody for the place
26 they have their service. I don't know if they have music or not. I don't even
27 think they have music. That I just heard about.

28 David: What denomination?

29 Bill: Something to do with the Church of the Brethren.

30 David: Oh, yeah. That's part of their tradition.

31 Bernie: What churches are going in this direction?

32 David: There's Adventist and non-Adventist. Or that if we're worshiping,
33 proclamation of the Word is not perceived as worship.

34 Bernie: Really?

35 Bill: I guess, because they feel as though there is only one person involved, and
36 the other people are just sitting there listening. The proclamation of the
37 Word, they think maybe should be, sorta universal or collectively, or
38 something.

39 David: Yeah. Good points.

1 Bill: Well you know more than we know about current trends of the day.

2 Bernie: Well I certainly hope that you can instill in your students that music and the
3 Word is very important to the church service.

4 Bill: Years ago, I was single at the time. Every Sunday morning I got up early
5 enough to listen to the spoken word from the Tabernacle in Utah. The
6 Mormon Church. I was fascinated by the man who spoke, by the way he
7 spoke, and the music they had. And every Sunday I listened to that thing.
8 Even though I went to church Sabbath, I always tuned in Sunday morning.
9 They would always say, "This is the one thousand, two hundred, and sixty-
10 fifth service from this Tabernacle in Salt Lake City, Utah."

11 David: They still do it.

12 Bill: They still do it?

13 David: That program is still on.

14 Bill: I didn't think it was on anymore.

15 David: Oh yeah, I hear it.

16 Bill: Don't you enjoy it?

17 David: Oh, its beautiful.

18 Bill: It is! What do you find the trend of our youth in our church's concern
19 today? I have a feeling that a lot of them are walking away. And the reason,
20 do you have any idea?

21 David: One young man that I know, has told me that he just doesn't feel involved
22 or included. He would like to be made important, be taught, and have a part
23 in the service, if he could. Just somehow be included. And they are not
24 included, and so it is not for them.

25 Bernie: How does he want to be included? By being a Deacon? By being on the
26 platform? Doing Scripture reading? What did he say?

27 David: Either of those. To sing in a group.

28 Bernie: How long has he been coming?

29 David: All his life.

30 Bernie: And he's never been asked?

31 David: Oh he has. But it keeps him plugged in. You know, that's how I loved
32 churches. I've played the organ for church. They asked me back. It must
33 have been awful. (laughter) They would ask me back. And then I always
34 had an interest, and I was part of this church. So church and worship is dear
35 to me because I have a vested interest in it.

36 Bernie: So they didn't ask them back.

37 David: Oh, he has been, and will be. But he says that the other youth would like to
38 be more involved.

1 Bill: I guess when Bernie and I were youths, I never felt that way in church, even
2 though my dad was the so-called speaker many many times during that
3 year, or years. I never felt that I wanted to be or should be involved. I guess
4 I just as well... You know, when you grow older and you get some
5 education behind you, maybe you'll be involved. But whenever I was in my
6 teens, even though I went to church each Sabbath, I was very little involved.
7 We didn't even have a choir in that small church. I never picked up offering
8 or anything. But I know its different today. I'm not being critical. But I
9 know its the same thing at the Frederick church. The youth there don't think
10 they are getting involved enough. I hear it on the committee meeting that
11 I'll be going to tonight. They don't think they get enough visibility, and
12 they should be involved more. So I guess its becoming universal among our
13 churches.

14 David: I think that they need to be taught, they need to be mentored. I think that's
15 they would have the desire to be involved. This is wonderful. If we can
16 mentor and teach them how to do the offices of the church, this is fantastic.

17 Bill: I'll tell you, being an officer of the church, particularly a chair person, like
18 the two of us have been for years. It isn't just sitting down and saying, Oh
19 yes, I'll take that office. You have to apply yourself. As you apply yourself,
20 you learn, and you find your mistakes and you correct them and you move
21 on. I've chaired the finance committee for years. I've gotten to the point
22 where, not because of me, but because of how it was handle, my people, we
23 had a great finance committee. But I had everybody on that committee
24 involved. Everybody had a right to speak up and ask questions or answer
25 them. I guess from my standpoint, that's involvement too. Maybe not on the
26 platform, but involvement behind the scenes.

27 Bernie: Well, I've never chaired any committee in my entire life, that I haven't
28 made sure that there was some youth involved. Especially with music. I
29 wanted their input. And I asked two or three young people to come on. I
30 will have to say, though, that for the most part, they're not consistent.
31 They're all gung-ho, Thank you Mrs. Albright, they come on, but then after
32 the first two meetings, well... "What happened?" I'd always call. And I'd
33 say, "Hey, I've missed you. Scott, where were you?" "Well, I had this to do.
34 And I didn't think I was important enough." Don't give me that. If you want
35 to be on, then make sure you come. And don't belly-ache about what we do
36 or don't do, if you're not there. And some of them would throw that at me.
37 "But you never do this." "Hey, you're a member of the committee. That's
38 the time to speak up. If you want something, or you have a desire for a
39 particular group, even if its not something that I personally want, I would go
40 out of my way to possibly bring that group on and I would say, fine, but you
41 gotta be involved too. Don't make me do all the work." So it goes a little bit
42 both ways. They wanna be, but then...you know. Its easy wanna, but its not
43 easy to do. That's the part that is a little disturbing as a chair person. But it
44 doesn't matter, I would always get them involved. I never had group that I
45 wouldn't put young people on there. You know, they would be interested to

1 be involved. And some were better than others. I think young people in the
2 day that we grew up, in some ways were more dedicated to church, and
3 church philosophy, and church going, and all the rest, than they are today.
4 They're only today if it interests them at that moment in time. They are not
5 consistent. I see that over and over. What is that? Is that because we've
6 changed our home life?

7 David: I think the home life has a lot to do with it. That's the number one area. And
8 the media, and entertainment culture.

9 Bernie: And then again, we are just bringing it to the church. It's all about making
10 everything visual, entertainment. You know, throwing it out. Its the lights,
11 the whatever. I don't know what's gonna happen ten years down the road.

12 David: Yeah, well, hopefully the Lord will come. We won't have to do with it
13 anymore. He can teach us the right way.

14 David: You have given me lots of notes, lots of recording. This is just a lot of
15 material that is really helpful to know what the worship looked like. We
16 need to know how things were. You folks really have something to say. So I
17 hope that I can do you justice and give us a proper historical perspective on
18 worship.

19 Bill: I'll tell you another thing you'd see. People who are older like we are, if we
20 get up and we talk with passion and they see we carry out after we're off the
21 platform, that means a lot to them. But if they see, he's up there talking, he
22 gave a great appeal, but I see him on the streets, and he's not doing what I
23 think he should be. That is what is turning some away. So my advice to
24 anybody, is if you have any time in church, whenever you have to speak to
25 the congregation about any issue, whatever its going to be, you have to let
26 your light shine once you leave that platform and let them know that what
27 you did in a passionate way is the way you passionately live at home, as far
28 as your own personal relationship with Christ is concerned. I'm a firm
29 believer in that. I don't care how much you talk, and how much you say you
30 are going to do, if you don't have a relationship, your words are not going
31 to anywhere and people will come to know you as someone who likes to
32 talk, and that's about it.

33 Bernie: Well, they see the insincerity to it. That's the key to it.

34 Bill: Our pastor last week, he had a baptism, several baptisms. At the end, he was
35 talking about a group of people who were coming up to the front. He knew
36 that some people were there that wanted to give their heart to the Lord, but
37 they just couldn't bring themselves up front and he made a passionate call,
38 and he ended up with 6 or 8, didn't he? You know, he had tears in his eyes.
39 Because I was in the front row, I could see him. That to me is sincerity. He
40 is so sincere about these people wanting to give their heart to the Lord, that
41 he isn't just using it for words, and oh that pastor, oh he talked nice. No,
42 that's what he meant at that moment. And people can see that. Particularly
43 the youth. If you act the way in front of the youth, the way you act when

1 you are up front, they won't forget it and it will help them and it will help
2 you too. You have to be passionate about what you believe in. If you're not
3 passionate, don't get up front.

4 Bernie: We had a young man, I think named Scott. He left and went to Thailand for
5 a few years, and he took education as his major. He was just one of the
6 young folks. I never personally did that much with him at a personal level.
7 But I would have him on the 100th anniversary committee. He was involved
8 in that. And I'd have him get up once in a while and do something for
9 Sabbath School. Well, he called me about 6 months ago and came back and
10 he brought his wife. He got married to a lady in Thailand. He said, "I just
11 want to let you know that I am here, and I would love to see you and
12 introduce you to my wife, and would you come to the Takoma Park
13 church." He knew we didn't come to the Takoma Park church (anymore). I
14 said, "Oh, I would love to, Scott, but I'm obligated somewhere else. But I
15 would just love to see you, if there was some other way we can." He said, "I
16 just want to see you and your husband so bad, because all the years you
17 were there an involved, I would observe. I'm now in Thailand, trying, in a
18 little small way, to repeat what I saw in you and your husband." And I
19 thought, what a testimony! You don't even know what you are doing that
20 makes any kind of impression. And I was just blown away. I was just
21 thankful that my life at church made an impression on him, but I would
22 have never known. So I think that's how it goes, what Bill was saying.
23 People look at you when you are up front as a leader and then they either
24 have good thoughts about it, or they don't.

25 Bill: I had a young fellow at the Frederick church three weeks ago, I befriended
26 him about 2 months ago. He's a cute little kid, maybe 7, 8, maybe 10. I
27 don't know. And when I see him on Sabbath, I try to always make sure I get
28 to him. I always try to talk to him. So last time I was on the platform, he
29 came to me and said, "I want to show you something." And he gets out this
30 piece of paper, and he has it on there. He says, "You know who that is?" He
31 drew my picture while I was on the platform. "You'll notice, I even put
32 your glasses on." (laughter) I have influence with that kid, don't ask me
33 how. It meant me something to me, that he would do that. Beautiful little
34 kid. I'll have to introduce you to him. Beautiful little kid. He had to show
35 me what he drew. You do make a mark when you are upfront. I'm sure
36 you're up front a lot. You make a mark on people. And you have to watch
37 how. I watch how I sit on the platform.

38 Bernie: Yeah, that's another thing...

39 Bill: I'm very careful how I sit. I don't slumber. I always sit a certain way. My
40 encouragement to anyone, I don't care who it is, you're up front a lot, I'm
41 sure. Show yourself in a respectful way, and people will never forget it.

42 David: Thank you for taking the time for this oral history.

Oral History
Bette Anderson
In her home
Battle Creek, Michigan
March 22, 2017

1 Bette Anderson (BA): I will be ninety-nine years old in November. Born in
2 November 1918 (died July 4, 2017). Just after the Armistice. I grew up here
3 in Battle Creek. Born here. I went to Washington Missionary College in
4 Murray, Kentucky, my first year of nursing. Only time I've been away. I was
5 an Adventist all my life, except I married outside the church. We went
6 together off and on for 10 years. I just couldn't make up my mind to do it.
7 Finally, I did. Didn't have a wedding. We just went to the Lutheran
8 parsonage because I knew an Adventist wouldn't marry me. My husband
9 never did, was never converted. All of our friends, he liked all my friends.
10 We all ran around together, all Adventists, but he just—I don't know.

11 Actually, minister at that time was Dale Leeman, and during Sabbath school
12 he was giving studies to non-Adventists or anybody, and my husband went
13 to those. That is when he got sick. Satan got ahold of him then, and he got
14 sick. He was sick for 15 years. I took care of him. He was in three different
15 hospitals. Then he was home here. We had a hospital bed for him for eight
16 years before he died. I'm just hoping he made it right with the Lord before
17 he died, but I'll never know.

18 David Williams (DW): God is the judge, and he knows our heart.

19 BA: That's right. That's right.

20 DW: You were born in '18, so you went to church as a very small child at the
21 Dime Tabernacle before-

22 BA: I can remember I was four years old when the church burned. My first
23 memory is in the [current] church in the lower auditorium where we had—
24 before they built the one up, and we had our church service downstairs.
25 That's the only thing I can remember about it. I don't remember the Dime
26 Tabernacle at all.

27 DW: Oh, you don't. You were four when it was burned, but you remember
28 worshipping downstairs in the present church.

29 BA: Present church, that's right.

30 DW: That was dedicated in, what, '29 maybe? [The current church was completed
31 in October 1926].

32 BA: I don't remember. Probably '19 or '20. Because I remember being four years
33 old. That's the oldest memory I have of being in the church, which was
34 downstairs. All those rooms downstairs were all one. That's where the
35 church met. Our church used to be, as I was growing up, it used to be my
36 folks had to—My mother saved a seat for us. My dad was one of the elders,
37 and he was busy, and the church was much bigger then.

1 DW: What was your maiden name?
2 BA: Mallernee. I've been Anderson since 1946, so I've been Anderson more than
3 Mallernee.
4 DW: Before the upstairs Tabernacle was built there was a lower auditorium? Is
5 that what I'm hearing?
6 BA: Yeah, all the classes like kindergarten and up are all down there. I don't
7 know where the youth meet, but downstairs I guess it's pre-kindergarten,
8 kindergarten, primary, and I guess up to eighth grade. I don't remember. I
9 don't go down there very much. I don't go down there at all anymore. Take
10 the ramp. That ramp is so steep.
11 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative), it is. Brother Foote said it used to be steeper.
12 BA: Yeah, yeah. For a long time they didn't have it, the ramp. I used to sit in the
13 balcony. I loved it in the balcony. You can see how many people are below.
14 Now I can't climb the steps. My husband died in '08. Six months later our
15 son died, sudden heart attack. He was baptized probably two years before he
16 died. We adopted him, and you know what they say about adopted kids. So
17 many of them don't do right. Took him a long time, tough life though. Were
18 you raised in Michigan?
19 DW: No, my mom grew up here in Battle Creek. You may remember her dad and
20 their family, the Burgesses.
21 BA: Yeah, which Burgesses?
22 DW: Velma and Paul Burgess.
23 BA: Oh, yeah.
24 DW: In fact, Rosalee Kellum worked for my grandfather. We just made that
25 connection earlier.
26 BA: You know, he was never a member of this church Tabernacle.
27 DW: Oh, he wasn't?
28 BA: I've looked through all of the directories. I've got them all. I looked for Paul
29 Burgess, and he wasn't in any of them. I know, I remember the name, I don't
30 remember him. I do remember the name. What was your mother's name?
31 DW: Sharon. She's the oldest. She started going to the University of Michigan, I
32 think, and then she transferred to Andrews, and her girlfriends told her,
33 "Don't you go to that Adventist school because you'll become an Adventist
34 then, and not only will you become one of them, you'll marry one of their
35 preachers." Well, she did.
36 BA: Was your dad a preacher?
37 DW: Yeah, yeah. I think there's something like five or six generations of
38 Adventist preachers in our family.
39 BA: Oh my word.

1 DW: My mom became Adventist, so then all of her family did.
2 Then there's Kathy, and then Terry, and then Scott. All the rest of them ...
3 Well, my grandma is passed now, but everyone else lives out in Dayton,
4 Ohio. My parents live in Colorado.

5 DW: Well, when you think you start remembering what worship was like at the
6 present Tabernacle upstairs?

7 BA: Well, I think it's Elder Stevens was the first that I remember. He was, in
8 those days, all the preachers were old, I thought. I thought they were really
9 old. But it was Elder Stevens, and he was a kind gentleman. You looked up
10 to them. Nowadays, they're like you.

11 DW: I have here a few Church bulletins from way back. They used to be in the
12 vault of the church, but now they've all been given to the Center for
13 Adventist research. They're down at Andrews. I wanted to share them with
14 you, and I could ask you some questions, but you might just describe and
15 remember.

16 You may remember this. This is 1931.

17 BA: Oh, he was an old man when he was here.

18 DW: George Judd.

19 BA: Yeah. He was something at the Sanitarium. He was one of the head guys.

20 BA: A. B. Olson, yeah. Donald Haynes's dad was the pastor of our church, and
21 he let out a boys choir. They were good, and they traveled around. His dad
22 was Carlyle B. Haynes. He was our pastor. He was a nice guy. Let's see.
23 This is in what year, '31, oh yeah.

24 DW: What can you say about the music there in that time?

25 BA: They had a good choir, a good choir. I never sang in it. I was busy with two
26 other girls. We had a trio. We sang a lot. I don't know why I never sang in it.
27 At least, I don't remember being in a choir. We haven't had a choir in
28 several years.

29 DW: I'm wondering what the music was like, maybe the nature of it, or where at
30 what points was there music in the service?

31 BA: You know, I don't remember.

32 DW: Like during the prelude, this is May 21, '32, the prelude, the organist is
33 doing that? Is that right?

34 BA: We had just the regular organ.

35 DW: Not the pipe organ.

36 BA: No. Oh, she taught music, Mrs. Lyle de Camp. I'd forgotten about her. Let's
37 see, let's see, let's see.

38 DW: Then it says the choir and elders enter, all heads bowed in prayer. That must
39 be near the end of the prelude, I'm guessing.

1 BA: That's like when the first elders come on the platform.
2 DW: The people don't kneel, but the elders enter, and they probably knelt up on
3 the platform?
4 BA: I think they did.
5 DW: Then they sing the doxology standing, it says.
6 BA: Praise God from whom all blessing flow. Yeah, they did that.
7 DW: Then, would there have been music before or after the morning prayer?
8 BA: There was always after the elders came in. They would come in, they'd kneel
9 down right then, and then finally then get up. Then, let's see. Then they
10 would have the congregational prayer, I guess, and then a congregational
11 sing. Then they'd have a prayer.
12 DW: Here's there's doxology, then scripture reading, then the morning prayer. I
13 guess the main prayer.
14 BA: Yes, that was the main prayer.
15 DW: At this point, even 1932, they had a children's story, this one. A junior
16 hymn.
17 BA: I don't remember them ever having a children's choir.
18 DW: Oh, you don't? Okay.
19 BA: Seemed like they always did.
20 DW: Beverly Benedict said that in those early days ... She wouldn't remember this
21 because she was born in '32.
22 BA: She's 10 years younger than I. I can remember her mother walking her
23 around the neighborhood in a buggy. She's always kidding me about, "Yeah,
24 I know you're older than me because you saw me in the buggy."
25 DW: Well, she said that at some point in the early years the children's story, or the
26 children's sermon, the children didn't go down to the front. They stayed in
27 the pews. Well, she said they stayed at the pews.
28 BA: Oh, stayed in the pew?
29 DW: Do you recall that?
30 BA: Mm-mm (negative).
31 DW: You just remember them going down.
32 BA: Yeah. I don't remember them staying in the pew. Different people remember
33 different things. They did have a Wednesday prayer meeting at night. I think
34 that time, when Elder Haynes was here, where the parking lot is, there was a
35 house that the ministers lived in. I know that that's been long gone. Wow. He
36 was the principal of the Academy.

1 DW: Now this is actually an order of service here that they had it so pretty back
2 here. See? The order of service is still clear, but here in '40 they've gone to a
3 different font, and different typewriter, and it's really simple.

4 I see in this order of service over there, they had a closing hymn,
5 benediction, and then a choir response. It seems that the choir did quite a bit
6 in the service.

7 BA: Yeah, the choir sat right there during the service. I'm sure a lot of them wish
8 they were sleeping in the pew. They had a big choir always. Who led it?

9 DW: Was Foote the leader then?

10 BA: They had a choir leader, yeah. I think Don Haynes was for a while. B.I.
11 Vanhorn was leader for a long time. In the college auditorium. We had Battle
12 Creek College was there then, then they moved to Berrien. Wow, this is very
13 interesting.

14 DW: I've enlarged one of these bulletins. [July 12, 1941]

15 BA: Oh, I see. Pingenot, he was one that had my mother's funeral.

16 DW: Oh, there's the announcements are stapled to it.

17 BA: Oh, I see. That's why because ... Oh my word. Frank Foote. His son Charlie
18 is my Sabbath school teacher. You ... Yeah, that's right. You were there.

19 DW: Yeah, and I met with Foote, and he shared with me his memories too.

20 BA: Oh, he has a lot of them. Oh yeah, that's right. I remember so many of these.
21 Oh, my. Wow. Talk about memories. Brings memories to me. They done it.
22 Boy, did they have a church parsonage. We haven't had a church parsonage
23 in quite a while, until Rob came two years ago and bought a house, or he
24 talked the church into buying it. They say that's going to be the parsonage
25 from now on. I don't know.

26 [Looking at bulletin]

27 Both of them taught piano. Winniefred K. DeRees. Tress Graichen.

28 I don't remember this. Doors open only at the time indicated.

29 DW: Yeah, Rosalee [Kellum] was just talking about that saying, that there were
30 certain times they would allow you to enter into the sanctuary.

31 BA: Our sanctuary used to be full. Then when Kellogg, when the San[itarium]
32 quit—It's entirely different now.

33 DW: Oh, so a lot of the attendance dropped because they didn't have jobs there
34 anymore, so they moved away.

35 BA: The San gave a lot of jobs to people. Yeah, when I got out of high school I
36 worked at the San addressing envelopes in those days, imagine that. \$11 a
37 week. Or was it a month?

38 DW: Not too much money.

1 BA: Nope.

2 DW: As I look at this bulletin, I think it's interesting that it says Seventh-day
3 Adventist Tabernacle, not Battle Creek Tabernacle.

4 BA: I didn't even notice that. I did not notice that.

5 DW: Yeah, in the '40s they were doing that, it looks like.

6 This other one, '44, they have a doxology at the beginning, but this other one
7 they have Gloria Patri. [singing] "Glory be to the Father and to the Son"—

8 BA: You're a singer, aren't you?

9 DW: Well, I'm more of an organist than anything.

10 BA: Are you?

11 DW: It looks like they alternated between it, because the '32, they had Gloria in
12 there at the beginning.

13 BA: You notice a lot of things. That's what you're doing.

14 DW: Tell me about, so you have something, what, 1,200 people in this packed
15 church. What was the singing like?

16 BA: They always had a choir.

17 DW: But the congregational singing?

18 BA: Oh the congregation. You know, it was from the old hymnal.

19 DW: I have that.

20 BA: Do you?

21 DW: Do you ever remember using *Hymns and Tunes*?

22 BA: Yeah, but not this. I don't remember. This is way before my time.

23 DW: Yeah, that one is a special, decorated one.

24 BA: Wow.

25 DW: *Hymns and Tunes*, this one is last published in 1886. But it's the official
26 denomination's hymnal until the 1941 *Church Hymnal*.

27 BA: Well, I remember that one.

28 DW: But you probably remember using *Christ in Song*.

29 BA: Yes, but I don't remember that size. It was that size that I remember *Christ*
30 *in Song*.

31 DW: I don't know.

32 BA: Where in the world did you get these?

33 DW: You know who I think gave these to me? Stan Hickerson.

34 BA: Oh, I love that man. That was so sad.

1 DW: I only knew him at Andrews. But, you know, he spent so much time here in
2 Battle Creek. He loved the Adventist history, so then he ended up working at
3 the Center for Adventist research.

4 BA: He did so much for that.

5 DW: For the village.

6 BA: Oh, yeah, he did so much for it.

7 DW: He and I would talk sometimes, just in the lobby of the library, for an hour.
8 When he really learned that I was writing on Adventist worship and music,
9 he would periodically bring me a box of old hymnals. Especially the *Hymns*
10 *and Tunes*, you can't find that.

11 BA: Look at that beautiful writing. Oh my.

12 DW: You would have sung out of *Christ in Song*.

13 BA: Yeah. "Praise him, praise him, Jesus the redeemer." You know Lloyd
14 Kellum, you can ask him to play something, and he'll do it. If he doesn't
15 know it, he'll have someone sing it to him. Oh, he's so good at the piano.
16 This is the—Oh my word. You got all these songs.

17 DW: "Nearer still nearer."

18 BA: Oh my word. I don't remember ever having so many songs like this. What
19 year was this anyway?

20 DW: Well, it first came out in 1899, but this one is really from 1908. This is the
21 main edition of it, is 1908. These hymns, like here 1931, let's see 172. That
22 should correspond to this hymnal.

23 BA: Thank you. "The Wondrous Cross."

24 DW: "When I survey the wondrous cross."

25 BA: My richest gain I count above ...

26 DW: It looks like it's a different tune that we're used to.

27 BA: Yeah, big old notes.

28 DW: To give you a piece of a history that happened, that is the common hymnal,
29 but it's not an official denomination's hymnal. In 1914, the general
30 conference says, "You must only sing out of *Hymns and Tunes*," because I
31 think they were trying to censure Frank Beldon, and they wanted it to be
32 official. Your church continued singing out of *Christ in Song* because the
33 number corresponds. At the General Conference church in Takoma Park, I
34 have the bulletins there.

35 BA: Oh, you do?

36 DW: All the hymns correspond to *Hymns and Tunes*, until 1941, when *The*
37 *Church Hymnal*. Of course, then everyone's going to use that.

38 BA: Yeah.

1 DW: That one's kind of a worn copy, that's for sure.
2 BA: Someone was doing their math or something there on that.
3 DW: Looks like hymn numbers. But maybe checking off when they sang it.
4 BA: I don't know.
5 DW: [Looking in one of my personal copies of *The Church Hymnal*] In fact, I bet
6 this is a pianist's copy because it says, "Robin Willis," I don't know, "Piano
7 tuner." Maybe the pianist was keeping record of when they sang.
8 BA: That could be.
9 DW: I haven't looked at that before.
10 BA: I never heard of that song, but I guess—Heard of this one.
11 DW: "Onward Christian Soldiers."
12 BA: "Faith of our Fathers."
13 DW: What did you sense of—Were you aware of a sense of differing of style
14 between *Christ in Song* and the new hymnal?
15 BA: No, I don't.
16 DW: You weren't aware of that.
17 BA: Nope, but boy—I never heard of these songs even. Of course, I know that
18 song.
19 DW: "My Jesus I Love Thee"?
20 BA: Uh-huh (affirmative). They've gone through so much. This last one, they've
21 taken a lot of the hymns out, and put in other ones. You know the one that ...
22 "This is Our Hope."
23 DW: "We have this hope that..."
24 BA: Mm-hmm (affirmative). He was in the Voice of Prophecy. On Saturday night
25 at 10:00 o'clock, it's called the family reunion, and from 10:00 to about
26 11:30 all these people that used to be ... They were in music, and they call
27 this reunion. What was I going to say about them?
28 DW: Well, the get together and sing.
29 BA: Melashenko family. It's on Hope channel. The Family Reunion.
30 DW: I've watched that before.
31 BA: Yeah, good, very nostalgic to me, but I love that, "We have this hope."
32 DW: Are there certain hymns maybe that you remember that were special in your
33 experience?
34 BA: There's a lot of them, but to think of them—Until I see them, I can't think of
35 them. Yes, I can't really. Going through this I can see a lot of them that feel
36 good. The reason I don't remember being in the choir is because our trio

1 sang so much. Both of them are dead now that sang with me, but of course
2 everybody is. All my friends are dead.

3 DW: What about the music contributed in a meaningful way to your experience
4 back then?

5 BA: I've always liked music. I had five siblings, and my folks couldn't afford us
6 to have music, take lessons on any kind of an instrument. But I've always
7 loved it, and I always liked the band, the Academy band. We didn't have a
8 band then when I was growing up, at the Academy or anywhere. I don't
9 remember when it started, but I've always liked it. I'm from the era of the
10 big band. Because I love some of those. I didn't see what was wrong with it
11 myself, but I guess because it was dancing, that they played for. But I just
12 loved the big band.

13 DW: Did you used to go to dance with big band music?

14 BA: I never knew how to dance. Did you?

15 DW: No, no. But do you like that music?

16 BA: Yes. I love that music.

17 DW: What if they would have played that in church then?

18 BA: You're right, I wouldn't have liked that in church, no.

19 DW: So there was something counter cultural, or set apart of the divine service.

20 BA: Yes, I think so. I think you're right. My folks were quite strict. My mother
21 was not an Adventist when she married my dad, and to this day I wish I'd
22 asked her how she became converted. I'll have to ask her that in heaven,
23 because she was not an Adventist.

24 DW: Maybe I could ask some other questions about the service? How did the
25 music contribute to a sense of the worship being set apart like there was a
26 certain sense of reverence?

27 BA: I think so. I think so.

28 DW: What did people do to show reverence? Do you remember?

29 BA: I think the church was much more quiet in those days. Nowadays, so much,
30 when the preacher's talking, if they're sitting by somebody they'll talk to
31 that person, which we didn't do in those days.

32 DW: So people were quieter? There wasn't as much chatter?

33 BA: Yeah.

34 DW: What about actions or postures people would do?

35 BA: Actions?

36 DW: Would they clap?

1 BA: No. No, they never clapped. Still to this day, it bothers me when they
2 clapped after—Well, like you got the Dish, 3ABN, and all those. There's so
3 much clapping nowadays. We never did that. Never. Lot of amens.

4 DW: So there were amens back then?

5 BA: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Not like with Black churches. They're really—

6 DW: Did you ever go to a black church when you were young?

7 BA: No. No. Maybe at the Academy, one principal would have a chorus of girls,
8 five or six, six. He would have us go to different churches. I remember going
9 to a city called Burlington, and we used to sing there. That's the only time I
10 went to a Black church.

11 DW: So that would have been in the 30s? When you were in Academy?

12 BA: That's right. I graduated in '37.

13 DW: You went with this women's sextet to sing there? What was their worship
14 like?

15 BA: You know what? I can't even remember the worship. Maybe we gave the
16 whole program. I don't know.

17 DW: But you remember a lot of amens there.

18 BA: Oh yeah, yeah. A lot of hallelujah. Now, I watch Carlton Byrd a lot. I like to
19 watch the audience, they raise their hands, but there's not a lot of amens and
20 stuff like there used to be.

21 DW: Well, the Black church is changing too. It's changed a lot. In fact, what
22 you're describing to me is exactly what Black folk have told me. Is that
23 really, back then, Blacks and Whites worshiped so similarly, but Blacks were
24 still more vocal, or perhaps more demonstrative in some ways. But they
25 wouldn't clap.

26 BA: They didn't, no.

27 DW: They said what they would do instead of clapping is take the bulletin, and
28 wave it.

29 BA: Oh, I never heard of that. I never heard of that.

30 DW: That was their way of applauding.

31 BA: There's a lot of raising of the hands, even now.

32 DW: You remember people raising hands there back in the 30s? Probably not.

33 BA: Maybe once in a while someone would, but not as a rule, no, they didn't.

34 DW: But we were so segregated then, that you're not going to have experiences in
35 a Black church, and Blacks certainly wouldn't have an experience in a White
36 church.

37 BA: No. We would always have one or two Black families in our church. I can
38 remember one family. They were a very attractive family, and they weren't

1 really Black, but they were. They were Black. They were light Black. They
2 didn't go to Berrien church then, but they came to the Tabernacle. A couple
3 families of them.

4 DW: When were these Black families coming to the Tabernacle.

5 BA: Oh, all during my Academy years, there was a couple families. But they
6 were not black-Black. You know what I mean? They were lighter Black. But
7 they were nice, nice families. I never understood why it was segregated, and
8 why it still is. But, I understand the Blacks want it that way. I don't know if
9 that's right or wrong.

10 DW: Well ... Part of my research question is trying to contribute to that, as to why.
11 Certainly, race and racism has played a part. A need for culturally specific
12 ministry has played a part. My question is how did music, as it shapes
13 spirituality, how did that contribute to the similarities and differences among
14 Blacks and Whites to the extent that we would need separate services.

15 BA: It seems strange that Whites and the Blacks are so different. I don't know
16 what started that.

17 DW: I think that, simply, our experiences are different.

18 BA: Backgrounds are so different.

19 DW: Just because you and I, while we certainly have hardships and trials, we
20 don't because of our skin color. They do and they have, and there's such a
21 long history of that. So they are going to worship differently. It's going to
22 reflect their experience. What I've found is there's such a strong shared
23 experience of being Seventh-day Adventist too. Which I think has
24 contributed to why we haven't made separate denominations like the
25 Methodists did.

26 BA: Boy, that's a hard subject that you've taken on. Does someone tell you what
27 your dissertation would be in, like this?

28 DW: No, I've chosen it. I've been counseled with my department in church
29 history on it. I really came to my PhD program with the thesis idea that
30 worship music contributes to our spirituality, and I wanted to research that.
31 So I'm essentially applying Seventh-day Adventism and the issue of race as
32 the case study.

33 BA: That man that you were with Sabbath ...

34 DW: That was my dad.

35 BA: Yeah, your dad's very knowledgeable. It sounded like he had studied his
36 lesson. Oh, I think these lessons have been good on the Holy Spirit. I've
37 learned a lot.

38 DW: Good.

39 BA: I don't know what I thought He was. I thought He was a spirit I guess, but I
40 never realized He was an actual man. Wow.

1 DW: Yeah.

2 BA: Live and learn.

3 DW: Yeah, when I was in high school, my dad gave me bible studies. High
4 school, college, I would come home. I did literature evangelism. I would
5 come home and someone at the door would challenge me in my beliefs, and I
6 would come home and say I need a bible study on this.

7 BA: Oh.

8 DW: So we would study that, about the Holy Spirit being a person, and having
9 feelings and thoughts. This was wonderful to study at a young age. Some
10 really foundational doctrines I can attribute to my dad, sitting at his dining
11 table studying with me.

12 BA: So, that was your dad?

13 DW: Yeah.

14 BA: My word.

15 DW: For my history, and talking about worship and music, is there anything you
16 would say, maybe as a closing statement to the church today about worship
17 and music, or something that we could learn from your experience and
18 memories of worship and music?

19 BA: I think there was more spirituality in music then, than there is now, and yet
20 now, it's still good. It's still spiritual, but not—I guess, I don't know how to
21 say it. Now, there's so much going on in this world. We know the Lord is
22 coming soon. All these things that are happening constantly. Murders, and
23 all this, and that. I don't know. It's just—Satan's getting a hold of too many
24 say, is all I can say.

25 There's good music. Actually, when I work around and so forth, I think of
26 spiritual songs are not worldly songs. When I was younger, I used to not feel
27 that way. I guess being closer to death now, it's just different. I say I have
28 nothing to look forward to, but I do have a lot to look forward to. Some of
29 the music now, you hear it, oh. It's too jazzy. It is. It's different.

30 DW: So, I'm hearing that it's so much like the world? And you appreciated it
31 when it was more different.

32 BA: Yeah, right. It doesn't have to be like the world, but it somehow is. I don't
33 know, but then when you get a song like "We Have This Hope." Oh, I just
34 love that song. I love it when the whole church sings it.

35 DW: I appreciate you taking time to share your memories. You've talked about a
36 lot of perspective on things, and the way things were. We talked about some
37 of the hymns. You pointed out some dear hymns to you.

38 BA: I haven't helped you at all, but you've helped me.

39 DW: Well, you would be surprised how much you've helped me. So, this is great,
40 really great.

Oral History
Beverly and Ralph Benedict
In their home
Battle Creek, Michigan
March 14, 2017

1 Ralph Benedict (RB): I'm Ralph Benedict, I was born in 1929 in Grand Rapids.
2 That's why we were going to Cedar Lake rather than Battle Creek. I had the
3 privilege of growing up in an Adventist home. My grandparents on both sides
4 were Seventh-day Adventists and my grandpa, he was known for how many
5 wives he had. He had five wives but they were all deceased before he did
6 accept the last one. We have a picture of him and one of his wives standing
7 down in the back of the old Sanitarium building on Washington. I shouldn't
8 say it's on Washington, I'm not too sure where it was but anyway my folks on
9 both sides were strict and good Adventists to be brought up by and we just
10 had the privilege, I didn't have the privilege of going to church school until I
11 was in—I did in the third grade and I did again in the eighth grade but then
12 our whole attended Cedar Lake Academy. There were seven of us as far as
13 siblings. It was in my senior year that I saw my now wife of Battle Creek,
14 Michigan. It was after I met her and started coming to Battle Creek, I grew to
15 learn about the Tabernacle and how valuable it was to Adventist history and
16 then in later years after we were married in 1950, I grew to love, I didn't like
17 history, but I learned to love Adventist history. I started working as one of the
18 tour guides as far as doing the tours on Sabbath afternoon for the people that
19 visited Battle Creek. We organized it so I had every fourth or fifth Sabbath
20 because we had other tour guides too. It wasn't too long after I became a tour
21 guide they saw my leadership abilities so I was tour guide director for over 20
22 years.

23 David Williams (DW): Is this at the Tabernacle or at the [Historic] Village?

24 RB: Tabernacle, we didn't have a Village then. We started out at the Tabernacle
25 with about a 20-minute presentation by slides and then we would tell them
26 about the current church and then we load them on a bus and take them out to
27 the cemetery that comes through town and tell them about the Sanitarium and
28 where the hospital started and where the Fussil building was still standing at
29 that time, and where the college was and so on and so forth. Then we'd take
30 them over to the area which is now the Village and tell them about where
31 Ellen White lives and of course we usually had to stop the bus and let people
32 get out and take pictures because we weren't allowed near the normal, I
33 should say, neighborhood people living in the houses there at that time. We
34 didn't start the Village until about '95. So it's just been the last 20 years or so
35 that we had a village so we could call it Adventist village. There was one of
36 my tour guides that I found it—I needed a bus driver along with tour guides
37 and we used the school bus for many years then it got to the point where we
38 needed more than one bus so we bought a Bluebird bus, you know what they
39 are? Anyway, we purchased one of those and it had to have two guides each

1 Sabbath instead of one but we needed a bus driver along with those tour
2 guides and we learned a fellow by the name of Garth Stoltz, he goes by Duff,
3 he came to work at the hospital, that was back in the '70s. I heard that he was
4 a good bus driver so I more or less, we didn't get paid, we did it all as
5 volunteer work. I asked him if he would be willing to drive one of the buses
6 for me once a week, probably once a month or thereabouts. He agreed to do
7 that and several months after he driven the bus for us, he decided he enjoyed
8 it so much, he decided he wanted to be a tour guide so that saved a person for
9 me because he could drive the bus and be a tour guide too.

10 It was along with Duff's inspiration and so on that we got the village started.
11 Now he's the one that Dr. Jim Nix and got him involved with, they were
12 tearing down some of the houses in the neighborhood because of their
13 dilapidated condition and Duff thought that we should start planning and
14 preparing to keep some of those houses and we knew that we were involved
15 in the Adventist history. He worked with Jim Nix and the committee at that
16 time to start performing some of the acquisitions of the houses and the
17 buildings we needed to preserve our history. Duff more or less was working
18 with me in developing the village and then he took over as more or less the
19 head one because he had a little more time and more availability to do that
20 than I did at that particular time. I was retired and going to Florida by that
21 time and spending my retirement years and Duff was still here working so I
22 let him do that.

23 That's how I've been involved. Anyway, we still have the cemetery, I was the
24 one that developed the cemetery route and the flags out there to indicate all
25 the specific Adventist memories and so on and so forth of those that were
26 involved with the Adventist denomination along with a few other site posts
27 and so on and so forth.

28 Getting to learn the music of the church, I love music, I'm not a organist or a
29 pianist or even a good singer but I sang in a choir for many years. I sang in a
30 choir when I was in the academy at Cedar Lake. I sang in a choir before that
31 at Grand Rapids. Music has been a big factor in my life and my wife is a good
32 musician, she'll tell her about her side of the story a little later. Anyway, it
33 was meaningful to me to have all the activities that were going on along with
34 the music and the programming at the church. We had a regular youth
35 program on Friday evenings and we'd go and have our youth sing so to speak
36 and so on and so forth. We were younger then of course.

37 On Sabbath evening, we always had the Vesper program and this is when
38 somebody was just asking us this past few days "Do they ever ring the bell
39 anymore? Did you go up and see the clock on Sabbath?"

40 DW: I'd like to.

41 RB: Anyway, the bell is connected with that bell and the clock in the front of the
42 church. It rings, it does strike on the hour as far as the bell ringing. I think
43 they may even have it set off and I didn't notice. You get so used to it you

1 don't whether it's ringing or not. Anyway, it used to ring at 12 o'clock and I
2 think they shut that off for Sabbath so it doesn't disturb the minister while
3 he's speaking. Anyway, that bell used to be rung at sundown on Friday
4 evening and also on Sabbath evening so the people of the community would
5 know that the Sabbath was beginning and the Sabbath was ending. The whole
6 west end of basically north Washington and west of there, quite a few eastern
7 Washington street and south too was called Advent town because all of the
8 Adventists that lived in that area. Of course, with the Sanitarium in full
9 fledged operation I can't say the dates exactly but you will have it probably in
10 some of the information you have as far as when it was converted over to
11 Percy Jones Center Hospital during World War II when they converted over
12 to the hospital for the wounded service men in World War II, then after that,
13 probably after the Korean War was probably the '50s that they converted it
14 over to use it is in today of offices for the federal government doing the
15 purchasing and the selling of things for the government. They have a lot,
16 2,000 employees there at the present time.

17 There was a time we couldn't go in the building but Betty and Don
18 [Scherencel] do arrange for people coming that want to go to the federal
19 center on a tour, they can do that.

20 Like I say, I haven't been doing tours the last probably five to ten years
21 because of my memory. She almost got to the point where I didn't who was
22 who or what was what. My memory's pretty stable right now. I don't
23 remember some of the details that I used to remember.

24 Going back to the music aspect of it, we had a good choir and I sang in the
25 choir regularly, we both did. You're going to be talking with the son of the
26 father who was directing it at the time we were in it. The one who was the
27 choir director before that had been choir director a number of years before
28 that. We found out from several of the older people we've talked to, like the
29 Borrowdales, had dinner with them last night and talked to them. We talked
30 to them about things they could remember. She says "Well, I can remember
31 singing Missionary Volunteer song." I don't know if you know that one or
32 not. It was very prominent, very zealous type of song like "Captain Calls For
33 You" and some of those things. She can tell you more about some of the
34 music they used to sing. She's afraid to say anything.

35 DW: Let's bring you in and tell about yourself and if you could give your birth
36 year.

37 Beverly Benedict (BB): Okay, I'm Beverly Benedict. I was Beverly Benjamin
38 back when I was young. I was born in 1931. I've lived here in Battle Creek all
39 my life other than when we would go to Florida in the winter time for about
40 20 years. As far as our music and everything I think Ralph already mentioned
41 we had a string group on Sabbath evening that quite often played. They had
42 about six people in it and they sat down on the floor. They didn't sit on the
43 floor but they were not on the platform, they were in chairs and they were
44 down on the same level as the people that were listening were sitting.

1 DW: What about for the divine service? Did that quartet play then?

2 BB: They might have once in a while but for worship service usually the choir
3 always sang. We had a good sized choir. Back in those days, people would
4 love to be in the choir but they could not be in the choir unless they were
5 asked to be in the choir. You didn't ask to go in the choir, they would ask you
6 if they wanted you in the choir. That's a little different. Nowadays you're
7 glad for anybody that will sing in the choir.

8 DW: How many do you think were in it back in those days?

9 BB: Probably 30.

10 RB: The choir loft that you saw Sabbath didn't used to have the organ where it is
11 now. The organ console was over on the floor in front of the baptistry over on
12 that side. Where the piano is now, that part of the rostrum wasn't there, they
13 build that platform there for the grand piano so they could put it there.
14 Though we've been told how much that grand piano is valuable because
15 history too because that piano belonged to Mrs. Post for the Post family. After
16 she died, I understand there was some relationship she had with some of our
17 church family and she kind of wanted us to have that piano and I guess there
18 was some bidding for the piano in a sale and I don't know who it was that
19 made it possible that we got it but we got it. People from all over the country
20 that come to play it, perform on that piano, say "We'll come back anytime
21 just to play that piano."

22 DW: When do you think the church got the piano?

23 RB: Well, it was something they've been talking about the last several years now
24 trying to find some record of when that happened. We aren't too sure whether
25 it was in the late '30s or whether it was the early '40s.

26 DW: Okay. It's in this period we're talking about.

27 RB: Yeah. It's been reconditioned, rebuilt.

28 DW: It's beautiful.

29 RB: But it's the same way and it's a nine foot Steinway. As you see, the holder
30 that holds the legs are hanging over the edge.

31 DW: I saw, it goes beyond, yes.

32 RB: The platform they made wasn't quite big enough even when they built it and
33 they couldn't go any further because that doorway going back into the
34 ministerial room and so they couldn't build it any bigger. Anyway, that's one
35 of the assets of our church. And our organ, I'll just brief on this because it's
36 fairly recent the fact that it isn't completely done now. The pipe organ, we
37 never had a pipe organ before, it was all electronics. We bought an electronic,
38 come on with the name.

39 BB: Hammond.

1 RB: No, no, the one we have now, the one we had that Harrison, when Mrs.
2 Harrison was playing was a Hammond but anyway, I'll think of it sooner or
3 later here.

4 DW: It sounds like maybe it's the console new that is new. It looked new to me on
5 Sabbath.

6 RB: Well, the console, like I say is new, 10, I don't remember the date now,
7 probably 12 years ago now about that. The old organ we did have before that,
8 I think it was anyway, was the Hammond that sat on the floor.

9 DW: So back in the '30s and '40s, it would have been a Hammond?

10 BB: Yes.

11 RB: Yeah, yeah, in the '40s because it was after I was there.

12 BB: I'm not sure whether that Hammond was always there though when I was
13 young.

14 DW: Hmm. You grew up in the Tabernacle church?

15 BB: Yeah. I think it came sometime when I was fairly young but I'm not sure
16 what year now, maybe someone else is gonna have that to say but —

17 RB: Yeah, Charles may have more information on that.

18 BB: Charles, yeah. I was gonna say too about the choir, you were asking how
19 many, but back then we had individual seats now we have just the benches
20 like are in the church.

21 RB: 45 I think it was old, something like that. I mean that's my memory, I don't
22 know exactly. I can't say for sure but it was around 40 anyway, somewhere in
23 that.

24 DW: And what part did you all sing?

25 BB: Soprano was me.

26 RB: I sang bass.

27 DW: Okay.

28 RB: The deep part, you know.

29 DW: What do you remember what the services were like?

30 BB: Well, they were very ...

31 RB: Formal.

32 BB: They were very, yeah, they were, we had two pastors that wore tails, it was
33 very proper. That was not in the '40s, that was a little later on.

34 RB: Well, Mills was in the '40s.

35 BB: Was it? Okay.

36 RB: Yeah, because he married us.

1 BB: Yeah, he married us. Yeah, he always wore his tails and things were
2 definitely quieter than today.

3 RB: Reverent, yeah.

4 BB: Reverent, that's what I want to say, yeah. Not the talking as much in church
5 as what there is nowadays.

6 DW: What do you think about that? How did you appreciate it?

7 BB: Being younger I probably liked it when people did visit a little more but I can
8 see where it's gets sometimes too much of the visiting nowadays during the
9 church when you're supposed to be listening to the announcements and some
10 of the things. There might be visits going on where it used to a lot quieter, we
11 were a lot more, well, whatever.

12 RB: Well, David, as far as I'm concerned there's been a tremendous change in the
13 reverence of the service. We used to—In fact, I've made comments several
14 times about how there's still churches that people go to dressed up but there's
15 certain tie and coat which we used to do. It used to be a requirement for that,
16 elders and the deacons to wear a shirt and tie and a coat. In fact, practically
17 everybody did at church but that is drastic—

18 BB: They didn't let you on the platform if you didn't. I mean you were dressed
19 that way or you wouldn't be up there in front.

20 RB: Mm-hmm (affirmative). I think that's one of the big things and then where the
21 elders, when they went on the platform, they stayed the whole service. They
22 didn't leave after the main part of the services, especially music and
23 everything was over with and pastor gets up to talk and everybody leaves him
24 like they do today.

25 DW: Ah, now your church still has people come out on the platform?

26 RB: Oh yeah, they still do, yeah.

27 DW: Some churches don't today.

28 RB: I noticed that but I just feel that some way the reverence of the service is lost
29 along with meaning.

30 DW: What did that mean with it being reverent? What does reverent mean?

31 RB: What does it mean? It means to me to be silent. We always used to sing this
32 song, "Be Silent, Be Silent." I can't repeat the whole thing but you know
33 what it means.

34 BB: A whisper is heard.

35 RB: Yeah.

36 DW: "The Lord is in his holy temple."

37 RB: Yeah.

38 BB: yeah.

1 RB: Yeah. Not that I'm gonna give up going to church because of the conditions, I
2 feel our church is very conservative compared to a lot of churches. In fact, it
3 wasn't too long ago that a young man that usually sang with some of the
4 younger people that sang when they had their song service and so on and so
5 forth. He said his priority as far as a prayer was concerned is to have a set of
6 drums up there on the platform. I don't agree with drums, it's not that I don't
7 like drums but I don't think the worship service has a place for drums as far
8 as worship service. It gets too heavy and too demanding, you need silence and
9 quietness and prepare your heart and hear what the Lord's message is for you
10 at that particular time in service.

11 DW: Ah, so that's really interesting so you're saying that the quiet reverence of the
12 service allowed you to better prepare yourself to hear the Word.

13 RB: That's right. That's why we have prayer. That's why we have this time of
14 silence and meditation so we can expand our thinking and be reverent and
15 listen to what the pastor has to say. It kind of bothers me today to see some
16 people, this is parents now, bring their coloring books to church. They sit and
17 color all during church. Some people say that that helps them to meditate and
18 listen to the service, I couldn't do that and be listening. Anyway, it's just the
19 idea, it seemed like it would take your mind off of the reverence of the
20 sanctuary and the message that's being presented.

21 BB: Probably does, for some people it works one way and for others it works
22 another, you never know.

23 RB: We talked about that with some of our younger folks. Some go to a different
24 church because they like the music that's not quite so wild. There's still
25 people that prefer sacredness and quietness in a worship service rather than all
26 the loud banging and noise that some people can make up in front. Some of
27 the stuff doesn't relate to the '30s and the '40s because we didn't have that to
28 contend with back then in those days. We were all reverent, I suppose there
29 were some that were not.

30 DW: You know but the contrast that you make is still informative of the way things
31 were because you're really talking about the change that you've observed.

32 RB: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

33 DW: You talk about the sacredness so is it perhaps the association that we have
34 with drums to secular society and certain cultures that it would seem to
35 disturb that reverence or holiness of the service?

36 RB: You know, David, it's kinda hard to ... People say "Well, go back and read
37 about what happened in Bible times of people dance, they play their drums
38 and their horns and so on and so forth and praise the Lord." That's some of
39 the things that they use for reference so are we doing any different by doing a
40 similar type of service but being brought up in the what you call a, maybe not
41 a strict, but a loving and kind and obedient parents teaching us what was right
42 and what was wrong, how we should do this and how we should do that, I
43 think it makes a difference in what you're brought up with. If you're brought

1 up used to listening—I don't care for pop really and jazzy music. I enjoy
2 good classical music. We have this on our TV fairly solid you came in. We'll
3 put that on and just leave it for the afternoon if we have it on at all. There's
4 other things we'd rather listen to than some of the jammed out music they
5 have nowadays. I think that makes a whole lot of difference with me and my
6 age, I'd rather be in a worshipful stage during the week as well as on the
7 Sabbath day. As far as not having things to disturb me in my thinking and my
8 actions. Mm-hmm (affirmative).

9 DW: Those are all very very good insights. To go back to your experience when
10 you were at Cedar Lake.

11 RB: Cedar Lake Academy, yeah.

12 DW: How did worship there compare to Battle Creek Tabernacle?

13 RB: I think it was very similar. We had chapel time and we had our Friday night
14 program and our Sabbath evening Vespers and so on and so forth. It was very
15 well organized and very well disciplined. Like I said earlier, I didn't play a
16 musical instrument or anything but they have some terrific musicians. We had
17 some very good soloists and had one of my classmates that played the violin
18 and they usually played, basically when they played it was for a worship
19 service of some kind.

20 DW: When instruments played in worship, what accompanied congregations? Was
21 it just piano and organ or would other instruments accompany?

22 BB: Mostly I would say piano and organ, yes.

23 DW: Together?

24 BB: Probably not all the time, but maybe once in a while they might both play but
25 I think most of the time I remember more I think piano playing when I was
26 younger. Being I don't remember for sure when we got the organ. I know we
27 had another organ before the one we have now.

28 RB: Well, we just got that about 12 years ago I'd say.

29 DW: I brought this bulletin, you may not remember because of how passing
30 worship is. This one's from '45, so you were about 14.

31 RB: Who's the pastor there?

32 BB: Pingenot.

33 DW: Would you remember a bulletin like this?

34 BB: Yeah.

35 DW: Or an order of service?

36 BB: Yes, it looks quite familiar like we would of had it, more than likely Mrs.
37 Graichen was the pianist, DeRees was the organist. Pingenot was the one that
38 played the violin for Vespers. I mean he was one of the ones that was in the

1 strings. They called them the strings. They had about six people I think that
2 played strings.

3 RB: Where did you find those, David?

4 DW: These are from the Center for Adventist Research. These are just a few I
5 have.

6 BB: These would have been some my dad printed I'm sure.

7 DW: Okay.

8 RB: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

9 DW: You have the order, I don't know how this one goes. You have "Prelude" and
10 Call to Worship, you have "Gloria Patri".

11 RB: No. We don't do that anymore.

12 DW: What did people do when the service took place? Are they standing, kneeling,
13 sitting? The minister's coming out at what point?

14 BB: The minister's I think had come out before we started singing at all the
15 "Prelude."

16 DW: Okay.

17 BB: For standing, I'm trying to think, I think we might have stood for the Prelude.
18 I don't know if we sang. I'm not sure. It's hard going back.

19 DW: It's unclear with this bulletin whether is that the organist playing a piece by
20 West because here it indicates congregation, at "Gloria Patri."

21 BB: That would have been probably at that time more than likely, they might have
22 both been playing when we did that.

23 DW: This is the "Glory Be To The Father."

24 BB: Yes.

25 RB: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Mm-hmm (affirmative).

26 DW: Okay. Then music played during the offering?

27 BB: Yes.

28 DW: An offertory there I guess.

29 BB: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

30 RB: Is there special music or is it just the choir?

31 BB: The choir.

32 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Mm-hmm (affirmative).

33 BB: The prayer.

34 RB: The prayer.

35 DW: Then a hymn.

1 BB: Yeah.

2 DW: "Soldiers of Christ Arrive."

3 BB: It's pretty much an order of service similar to what we have now, but I mean
4 as far as the order. Well, the offering seems to be a little sooner back then
5 than what it is now.

6 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

7 RB: See that's a ... Go back and we changed that which year this was either but
8 there used to be a railing along the front of the platform.

9 DW: Okay.

10 RB: You had to come up on the platform from either side. They took that railing
11 down and put the steps all along the front. We didn't use to have a children's
12 story time.

13 DW: You know, so this one, it doesn't have a children's.

14 BB: No, we didn't have them back then.

15 DW: I had it later. I think it's later, maybe in the late '40s or '50s, right?

16 BB: Yeah, I would think more like that.

17 DW: Started observing children's story, they called it a children's sermon.

18 BB: They didn't come up in front either back then.

19 DW: Oh.

20 BB: Because back when we didn't have the steps there.

21 RB: They didn't do the steps probably until the late '60s or early '70s.

22 DW: Okay.

23 BB: So they just had a children's story but I don't think anybody came up in front
24 for it.

25 DW: The children were in their pews.

26 BB: Yes.

27 RB: Yeah.

28 DW: Oh okay. Was it on topic with the sermon?

29 RB: Not always.

30 DW: Just like today.

31 BB: It's hard to say, I can't remember that.

32 DW: Okay.

33 RB: I mean sometimes it coincides with the sermon now and sometimes it doesn't.
34 I think of the pastor can relay with the storyteller might be, they may be able

1 to do that but I think it's more or less up to the person who's telling the
2 children's story what they come up with.

3 BB: I think a lot of times too, the children's story was done by the pastor.

4 RB: Well, that's true. That happens once in a while now too but not very often.

5 BB: Yeah.

6 DW: That one's really old, '31. [June 6, 1931].

7 BB: That's when I was born.

8 DW: Not gonna remember that.

9 BB: No.

10 BB: There's my grandpa. Elder W. E. Videto. He had the morning prayer.

11 DW: Do you remember him praying?

12 BB: I don't remember him praying in church but I remember him, yes, he was ...

13 RB: He was a very proper person.

14 BB: Oh yeah.

15 DW: What were his prayers like?

16 BB: Well, very sincere, we had a diary or book, something where he wrote all
17 these sermons or something in it. I'm not sure where we've got it now
18 because after my mom and dad both had died, my brother, we had him keep a
19 lot of the stuff cause I didn't know where to put something and he was
20 keeping things in a certain room. I'm surprising to see that, I was a month and
21 six days old when he had that prayer. I probably wasn't there in church.

22 RB: If you were, you were supposed to be quiet. See that.

23 BB: That's the first I've seen something like that with his name in it. I mean for a
24 church service.

25 DW: This is your grandfather.

26 BB: My mother's dad.

27 RB: The sermon was by pastor P. H. Augustine.

28 BB: No, honey, he wasn't a pastor then.

29 DW: Okay, guest speaker. [Bulletin lists him as Elder].

30 BB: Probably.

31 RB: Do you have a picture of all the former pastors that were there?

32 DW: No, but I've seen the wall.

33 BB: You saw them on the wall, okay.

34 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

1 BB: [Looking at another bulletin] Carlyle B. Haynes, I see, he had the sermon here
2 that week.

3 DW: It's interesting the order changes a little bit. This one in '44 after the call to
4 worship has the doxology.

5 BB: Okay.

6 DW: "Praise God from Whom all blessings flow."

7 BB: Yeah.

8 DW: So perhaps the doxology alternate. That one has "Gloria," probably "Gloria
9 Patri", right?

10 BB: Right.

11 DW: And that's '31.

12 BB: Should be "Glory Be To The Father." [crosstalk 00:41:16].

13 DW: So maybe they alternated between doxology and "Gloria Patri."

14 BB: I doubt it, I think when they got doing one thing, they went to the doxology,
15 they probably used that for so many years.

16 RB: What's interesting on this one of Sabbath, June 6, 1931, they had a piano
17 selection, 10:45 it started, then they had a choir chant, "Come Holy Spirit,
18 Calm My Mind." I don't know what the tune is of that. Then they had the
19 elders enter, all heads bowed in silent prayer.

20 BB: I don't remember that, yeah.

21 RB: Then the "Gloria" with the congregation, then the Invocation, then a Hymn,
22 then the Scripture, Morning Prayer—that's her grandpa, then the
23 announcements. They put the announcements right in the middle of the
24 service. Then the Anthem before the Sermon. After the Benediction, the choir
25 had a chant of a doxology. So that was very formal by the sounds of it.

26 DW: And the music, it sounds like is really moving the service along.

27 RB: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

28 DW: The music is speaking to the various elements of the service?

29 BB: Yeah, I'd say so, yes.

30 RB: Quite a bit of difference even in the 15 years, you have this one for April of
31 '45 and that was June of '31, so that's 14 years difference.

32 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

33 RB: It's amazing if you've got a bulletin of the last Sabbath, this past week from
34 the Tabernacle, and compare them. As far as the music was a real highlight of
35 the church service back in those days, whereas today, we spend more time in
36 the singing and oh probably spend a good 15 minutes in the singing before the
37 sermon.

1 BB: But the choir was, back then, the choir was ...
2 RB: More prominent.
3 BB: Really special. I mean the choir they always looked up to and doing a good
4 job.
5 DW: Did the choir sing while the congregation sang?
6 RB: Probably.
7 BB: I think so, yes, I think, yeah.
8 DW: It would be in harmony or just on melody?
9 RB: Well, probably in part, we used to sing in parts.
10 DW: Parts out of the hymnal?
11 RB: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Mm-hmm (affirmative). Yeah.
12 BB: I would imagine that they sang [crosstalk 00:44:40] sopranos and altos pretty
13 much sang the way that they would sing if they were having special music.
14 They would sing. Yeah. Because the altos everyone plays and sopranos
15 another and they would sing accordingly. Judy Lawson, she was an organist,
16 I'd forgotten about her being an organist.
17 DW: Think about the hymnals that you used. *The Church Hymnal* came out in '41.
18 You probably remember that coming out.
19 BB: Yeah.
20 RB: I remember that one better than I do when this came out.
21 DW: You remember *Christ in Song*.
22 RB: Yeah.
23 BB: You don't remember when it came out, just remember using it.
24 RB: Yeah, I remember using that one.
25 DW: Well, this edition that everyone knows is 1908. Did you ever sing out of
26 *Hymns and Tunes* [1886]?
27 BB: No.
28 RB: No. Was that before the—?
29 DW: You don't even know that one?
30 BB: No.
31 RB: Is that before *Christ in Song*?
32 DW: Yeah.
33 RB: Oh, was it?
34 DW: This is 1886.

1 BB: We didn't sing out of that.

2 DW: But the official hymnal is this one, *Hymns and Tunes*, and then *The Church*
3 *Hymnal*. Now what's very interesting, is that the General Conference said in
4 1914, "You must not sing out of *Christ in Song* in Divine Worship but must
5 continue singing out of *Hymns and Tunes*."

6 BB: Oh.

7 DW: You're church was the rebellious church.

8 BB: Really?

9 DW: And your church kept singing out of *Christ in Song*. These hymn numbers
10 correspond to *Christ in Song*. But Takoma Park, they continued with *Hymns*
11 *and Tunes*.

12 RB: Well, that's interesting. There was a direct statement saying we weren't
13 supposed to sing out of *Christ in Song*.

14 DW: Right.

15 RB: Hmm.

16 DW: But I've spoken with people who have memory of worship in the '30s at
17 Takoma Park. The bulletin says they sang out of *Hymns and Tunes* but which
18 hymnal do you think they remember singing out of

19 RB: Probably that one.

20 BB: *Christ in Song*.

21 DW: *Christ in Song*.

22 RB: Oh, did they?

23 DW: So tell me what was special about this hymnal in your memory?

24 BB: To me, it was just the book of what we had.

25 RB: I think we were amazed at how much better the hymnal was to read the music
26 than [*Christ in Song*], because they're so cramped on the page in that.

27 BB: What's that one, some of them were written by Wayne Hooper or was that the
28 next book?

29 DW: That's our current hymnal.

30 BB: Yeah, okay. Yeah, he's not that old. I was trying to think when that came out.
31 Yeah, that was a lot easier to read.

32 DW: Yeah, these are big pages, big notes.

33 BB: Yeah.

34 RB: Can read it four-part from this far away, almost.

35 BB: We do remember though, I mean anyone my age about, we remember the
36 *Christ in Song*, and we remember that book. It was nice when we did get

1 something different. I don't know that we disliked it, it was just we had
2 something new and some new songs too.

3 RB: We have one downstairs.

4 DW: *Christ in Song*.

5 BB: Yeah.

6 RB: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Like that in the youth, whatever that one is that,
7 *Youth Sings* I think it is.

8 BB: Yeah, something like that.

9 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Mm-hmm (affirmative).

10 RB: Then they had another one about this size of youth choruses or stuff like that.
11 I took that book and copied it and pasted it four on a sheet and made a booklet
12 to take for campfires and stuff.

13 DW: Oh great, great idea.

14 RB: So put pages on cardboard. I have about six or eight pages of those four on a
15 sheet.

16 DW: Uh huh, uh huh.

17 BB: Quite a few copies that way.

18 RB: I made copies of it.

19 DW: When you sing out of this maybe a little bit like that, did you ever turn the
20 page where you could sing ... They say in the beginning that he lined up
21 meters so that you could turn the page over.

22 BB: I don't believe I ever did, no. No.

23 RB: She sang in a trio.

24 BB: But that was all later, well it was '40s wasn't it, yeah, we had a trio, three of
25 us. Naturally three. Three girls and we did quite a lot of singing, we, at one
26 time had a TV program in Battle Creek. It was just a little station and they
27 started, Warren Johns was the one that had the preaching, and Charles
28 Shaskey played his trumpet. And our trio, we sang several songs each week at
29 this. It didn't reach out. We're talking, Denise was born in '50.

30 RB: '53.

31 BB: '53, that's when we started it, in '53, 1953 so it's after what you're looking
32 for, yeah.

33 DW: What kind of songs would you sing?

34 BB: They would be hymns or trio songs. We had ...

35 RB: Had a book.

36 BB: I'm trying to think of some of the ones that are still very familiar.

1 RB: "Precious Lord."

2 BB: "Precious Lord." This was kinda interesting. It was in the early '50s, '53, and
3 we had this program every Sunday. It was a half hour program, or was it an
4 hour? Half hour, I'm not sure, maybe it was an hour. At the same time as we
5 started that there was another quartet, a quartet that started and they were on
6 TV and they heard about that we had a program. We were told that we could
7 not sing anymore on our program because this quartet, a very well-known
8 one, had their program. We probably were on for six months maybe and we
9 certainly were not a threat to anyone else but we had to be off because they
10 wanted us not to have a program.

11 DW: They thought it was competition, huh?

12 RB: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

13 BB: They were nowhere near here.

14 RB: When did you start singing together?

15 BB: Oh, singing, probably about, we had a sextet in the seventh and eighth grade,
16 we did a sextet and then we probably started our trio, probably about ninth
17 grade I would say. So that would be '46, '47 and we put on quite a few
18 programs. We went over to the Stark Commonwealth which was a boys that
19 had been in trouble and they were trying to help them and we'd go over there
20 and put on programs every so often. We had a speaker that would speak and
21 we had a nice time. We had a good time. We still would get together for a
22 long time after we were married we did too. As we're all older and now we
23 do not try anymore. I think the last time we tried was up at Camp Au Sable
24 when we had our married couples outing up there and the three of us were up
25 there for that. We sang but I says "That's it. My voice is not gonna do it
26 anymore."

27 DW: Oh no.

28 BB: So, yeah, but we had a lot of fun doing it.

29 DW: It sounds like you did some more popular religious music like "Precious
30 Lord."

31 BB: I guess if that was considered popular, yes that but things, yes. Yet we did, oh
32 my. It's hard to remember right on the spur of the moment here.

33 DW: Would you sing a song like that in the worship service?

34 BB: Yes.

35 RB: They sang for worship service.

36 BB: Yeah, we did.

37 DW: That song's interesting because that song used to be prohibited in divine
38 worship in the '30s.

39 BB: Oh, okay.

1 DW: Because it was the new Gospel music and they wouldn't have that in divine
2 service.

3 BB: Okay, we probably did more singing actually in our Vesper service Sabbath
4 evening than but yeah we did it in a lot of different times.

5 DW: Is Vespers different than divine service like as far as what was tolerated or
6 allowed?

7 BB: I don't think.

8 DW: That wasn't a question.

9 BB: No, I don't think that was a question. I think about the same types of songs
10 were sung and we had all types of music and people that were around at that
11 time and are still around miss having the Vespers. The newer generation does
12 not have the interest in that like we used to have and I know a lot of people
13 say "Ah, I wish we just had Vespers again." But we had a nice, we usually
14 half hour before sundown, sometimes it was an hour but a lot of times, it was
15 just half hour.

16 DW: What made it so special?

17 BB: It was probably a little more relaxed for one thing probably. I don't mean that
18 it was stiff anything but it was just ... We just enjoyed it. We seemed to enjoy
19 it. There were people who'd have a talk maybe that was about somebody's
20 life or what they did.

21 RB: Someone's experience.

22 BB: Experience, yeah. It was just interesting.

23 DW: So you had more testimonies then sometimes?

24 BB: Story maybe.

25 DW: Or stories.

26 BB: Yeah, stories. Story type thing telling how they maybe became a Seventh-day
27 Adventist, or, maybe what they did when they were young or different things.

28 DW: It sounds a little more free than the divine service.

29 BB: Probably.

30 RB: Yes it was.

31 BB: I would say so.

32 RB: Or like she said a little more relaxed.

33 BB: At the close, at sundown, then they'd always.

34 RB: Ring the bell.

35 BB: Ring the bell but always have "Day is dying in the west."

36 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

1 BB: Yeah.

2 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

3 RB: Do you find any bulletins or anything indicating our Vesper program?

4 DW: Yeah, I think that they're mentioned. I wonder if ... Now one of these stapled
5 in the back, here it is, Vesper at 5:10.

6 BB: Okay, and what time was sundown, what does it say? Sun set at 6:12 pm so
7 it's an hour.

8 DW: An hour.

9 BB: It's an hour, I couldn't remember, sometimes it might have been a half hour.

10 DW: Yeah. Close the Sabbath with this inspirational hour.

11 RB: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

12 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

13 RB: Do you have anything on the Friday evening programs for the youth?

14 BB: I don't think Friday evenings were usually listed that much in the bulletin. It
15 might just say Friday evening. Yeah, JMV, there it is, junior meeting. A
16 program of interest is planned for all the—Well, that, that's juniors but it was
17 called Junior Missionary Volunteer, Friday evening.

18 DW: Here it is, Friday 7:45 pm, MV.

19 BB: MV, Missionary V, yeah. "A program of vital importance." Yeah. 7:45 pm,
20 she that was, sundown was a at six something and then that was—Of course it
21 depends, it would vary according to the time of year it was.

22 DW: Yeah, it says, "Play musical instruments? Please bring them and join our
23 orchestra."

24 BB: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Yeah, we used to have a lot more going on, Friday
25 nights, Sabbath Vespers. Now, it's Sabbath school and church.

26 DW: What do you think were some of the societal factors that contributed to
27 having so much go on in church?

28 BB: The people were willing to do and take part in things and they didn't have TV
29 as much, weren't as interested in that as it was ... Yes, there was TV, it came
30 out in the '50s anyway, maybe '40s, I don't know.

31 RB: Late '40s.

32 BB: We just had a good time among our group just doing things, talking, singing,
33 just get together more.

34 DW: That's really insightful, television hasn't come up in my conversations but
35 that seems like a major factor.

36 BB: Yeah.

37 RB: It does.

1 DW: That would pull people away from being involved with church and
2 fellowship.

3 BB: Actually, TV in some ways just as good for some of the programs that are
4 one, we got 3ABN and we've got different things that are on and that's good
5 but we didn't have all that back then so we had more togetherness.

6 DW: Hmm.

7 RB: Just like down here, this is the Sabbath, July of '31, says youth choir rehearsal
8 at 2 pm today so they had a youth choir along with the adult choir.

9 BB: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

10 DW: Hmm.

11 RB: Like she said and besides TV, they have these iPods and all they think about
12 is their iPod. They say "Well, I've got the whole Bible, I've got Conflict of
13 Ages all on here as well." One of our Sabbath school teachers now, he doesn't
14 bring his quarterly, he just brings his iPod.

15 DW: Right, right.

16 BB: Well, that's the way a lot of people are now, I don't know if that's bad. It's
17 there, they got it but I mean it's different than what it was.

18 DW: Yeah.

19 BB: You don't see people as much carrying their Bibles to church because they
20 got their iPods and things.

21 RB: In our study group, one of the gals it says right here on Wednesday night we
22 have ... In fact, we're having it tonight because other conflict tomorrow night.
23 Anyway, she sits here with here ... We're studying *The Great Controversy*
24 right now, instead of her bringing *The Great Controversy*, she just has her
25 iPod, she follows on her iPod.

26 DW: Yeah, yeah.

27 BB: She hasn't done that very long but it has been the last six months probably.

28 DW: Okay.

29 RB: So there's so many things that are so different now than when we're talking
30 about in the '30s and '40s and '50s. It's almost hard to compare the religious
31 part of it and the aspects of what we learn and what we gain from what we do
32 now compared to what we did then. It's almost—We're still Seventh-day
33 Adventists but—

34 DW: What if someone comes up in church today in the worship with their iPad or
35 iPhone to read the Scripture, how does that feel for you?

36 RB: Have you seen that?

37 BB: Don't ask.

38 RB: No, I just wondered.

1 BB: Yeah.

2 RB: I haven't seen that here at the Tabernacle.

3 DW: Okay.

4 RB: Maybe it has.

5 BB: I'd prefer not to see that, I'd rather see them with their Bible.

6 RB: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

7 BB: But I imagine that is being used because that's what they do nowadays.

8 RB: But we had a pastor that spoke Sabbath, his son was the one that had the
9 Scripture. He had his Bible, I think it's nice that we're using ... It used to be
10 that our elders, elder people, not as old as we are but older people. Anyway,
11 you didn't see very much of the young people participating in the Church
12 service and I think we're including them a little more today even though they
13 may not do a real perfect job. They're up there learning and I think that's a
14 good thing for them to be included, it helps them feel so they have a purpose
15 in being in a Church.

16 DW: So what did it used to be? Who used to be able to lead out in the various
17 elements up front?

18 BB: Elders.

19 RB: Elders basically.

20 DW: Why do you think that was?

21 RB: That was probably the standards back in those day, there wasn't anything
22 that—I don't remember ever getting asked to be on the platform. If I had a
23 mission story or something like that for Sabbath school, that was one thing
24 but to be asked to be on the platform during the service, I don't ever recall.
25 But I was an elder for a number of years, I was on the platform quite a bit.

26 BB: What are you saying then? You weren't asked to be—

27 RB: Well, not like the young people are now today.

28 BB: Oh, okay.

29 DW: When you were very young.

30 BB: When you were young, okay.

31 RB: Yeah, I don't remember, David, if any particular reason. I guess we went to
32 the Grand Rapids Central Church, that was a fairly large church at that time
33 compared to the Wright. If you've ever been to the Wright Church out on the
34 countryside and it's not like a small congregation where you can get up more
35 readily when you're not an elder or a deacon than you could in the bigger
36 churches.

37 DW: Did smaller churches perhaps have other laity involved in the service outside
38 of elders, do you think?

1 RB: I don't know, I don't know what the standards were.

2 BB: I was always at the Tabernacle, I didn't really get around to too much other
3 churches.

4 DW: What about women being on the platform?

5 BB: I supposed they weren't a lot, but I mean, I don't remember ever hearing any
6 discussion whether they could or couldn't.

7 RB: It probably wasn't as prominent back in those days as it is today as far as
8 women preaching and we have—

9 BB: They don't think they were preaching much back in the old.

10 RB: No, no they weren't. In fact we don't have women doing the sermon now
11 very often, once in a while. We have a gal that her husband was a teacher at
12 the Academy, she's a tremendous person to speak. She speaks at the small
13 churches around the area now, she doesn't even want to be called a minister
14 or a preacher but she does a fabulous job when she does speak.

15 BB: She sometimes does it on, what is it they have—Women's Ministry.

16 RB: Ministry, yeah.

17 BB: Sabbath and she sometimes does it then and she does do a really nice job.

18 DW: Hmm.

19 RB: That I think has changed considerably compared to what it was back in the
20 '30s and '40s too. I don't think you'd ever see—You might for Sabbath
21 School but you wouldn't for church.

22 DW: Hmm. Mm. This reverence for the worship service that you've talked about a
23 lot, and the sacredness of it, what did that say about what the congregation
24 believed about God?

25 RB: I don't know whether you can really answer that truthfully because it hasn't
26 changed my aspect of what I think about God.

27 DW: Hmm.

28 RB: Even though I don't agree with some of the things that are done in church
29 service compared to what they used to be like I mentioned as far as dress and
30 so on. I supposed I would have a more, a deeper conviction of whether I want
31 the church there or not if it was much different than what it really is right
32 now. I wouldn't go to some of the churches that have some of the loud
33 banging and noisy instruments that they have. In fact there was a situation
34 here just a few months ago that happened at our own church where they got a
35 little bit too wild and they were told that they weren't to do that anymore.

36 DW: Okay.

37 BB: It was on the piano.

1 RB: It wasn't just the piano, it was the whole thing so we have a fairly
2 conservative, I should say a very conservative, Conference president and I
3 think some of our churches in Michigan are a lot more conservative than what
4 other parts of the country.

5 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

6 RB: I don't know what you think of it in your travels, but I just feel I wouldn't
7 enjoy going to a church for the sacredness, if it were any less than what we
8 have probably.

9 DW: Okay.

10 RB: That's about the way I look at it.

11 DW: It sounds like that the way the worship is can facilitate that for you. The way
12 you're used to worshiping and approaching God that way.

13 RB: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

14 DW: It's helped foster a certain understanding of who God is, how you should
15 approach him, but now you have that, so if someone else does something else,
16 you still have your belief about God. Am I hearing you right?

17 RB: Yes, it's likely these young ladies over here that I mentioned, even they're at
18 a younger age group of course and they still appreciate good music.

19 BB: They grew up with it.

20 RB: Yeah, and they are bound and determined that they're not gonna let anybody
21 get in their way of having a relationship with God that they know they should
22 have because they want to be ready to go to Heaven. They spend their
23 devotional time every day before they do anything else with the Lord and the
24 Bible. They sing, one of them plays the guitar and the younger one plays the
25 flute, so on and so forth. But they will just play music that's reverent and
26 presentable to God's, to them, and to all of us. We're just blessed as far as our
27 children are concerned and I've been blessed because of what my folks taught
28 me. I think that it means a lot to have the kind of parents we had back in the
29 '30s and '40s and '50s and beyond that, I was beyond my folks' control.

30 DW: Well if I could just shift gears. I just have a couple other questions for you.

31 BB: Okay.

32 DW: Do you have any hymns that stand out to you in your memory that were just
33 special in your experience?

34 RB: Well, my favorite hymn right now and I don't know how long it will stick in
35 my memory is "Trust and Obey."

36 DW: Uh huh.

37 RB: For "there's no other way to be happy in Jesus, but to trust and obey."

38 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

1 RB: Some of the older ones that I enjoyed singing when we went to junior camp
2 when I was 10 years old and so on and so forth, we had quite a time in our
3 singing at the campfire every night and so and so forth. I think that "The
4 Captain Calls For You" is probably one of my favorite ones as far as ...

5 BB: You probably wouldn't know that one.

6 DW: I know that one.

7 BB: Do you?

8 DW: Yeah and I saw it on one of these bulletins here, I think.

9 RB: Back in those days, that's one of the main ones I can remember that
10 Missionary Volunteers and "The Captain Calls For You."

11 BB: [tapping]. Is that the one? "There's Another Task To Do," "The Captain Calls
12 For You." Yeah.

13 DW: You got it in your fingers.

14 BB: Yeah. That's how they start it. "There's Another Task To Do, There's
15 Another Task To Do." Probably "Precious Lord" would be one of my
16 favorites and there are a lot of ... I like our new song, not new song but the
17 one that they wrote, what's?

18 RB: That Buddy wrote?

19 BB: No, no, no, I'm talking about what's in our hymnal.

20 DW: "We Have This Hope?"

21 BB: "We Have This Hope." Yeah, that was. Nowadays, that wasn't back then but
22 that is one of my favorite too.

23 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Mm-hmm (affirmative).

24 BB: I like that.

25 DW: Did you sing much second coming hymnody back then?

26 RB: Probably a normal amount.

27 BB: Yeah, I don't.

28 RB: You mean back in the ...

29 DW: Growing up did you sing many hymns about the second coming?

30 RB: Probably did but you asked which one were prominent in our memories?

31 DW: Maybe "Lift Up The Trumpet?"

32 BB: Oh yeah.

33 RB: Oh yeah, that was.

34 BB: Yeah.

35 DW: Did you sing it back then?

1 BB: Yeah, yeah.
2 RB: Oh yes, that was one of our ...
3 BB: We did.
4 RB: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
5 BB: Was that one that you weren't supposed to sing?
6 DW: Oh no, that's great.
7 BB: Okay.
8 DW: I think "We Have This Hope" is probably in some ways eclipsed that one a
9 little bit.
10 RB: Yeah, yeah.
11 DW: But there's something, I think, about second coming hymns that are special—
12 BB: Right.
13 DW: To be in a Seventh-day Adventist.
14 BB: Right.
15 DW: You hear "We Have This Hope" and "Lift Up The Trumpet" and there's
16 something that it does to you.
17 RB: Yeah.
18 BB: Yeah, "We Have This Hope", that's something that a person comes in from
19 another church and hears us singing it, they don't know it of course.
20 DW: They're gonna learn it.
21 BB: Yeah, I was gonna say that's, yeah. I really like that.
22 DW: Well, if you folks could share, because we're making the recording and
23 having this. It's really a legacy, if you will. Is there something you would say
24 to the church today about worship and music?
25 RB: I think as far as I'm concerned keep your eyes up on Jesus and that's our
26 whole goal is keeping ourselves in tune, keeping our heart in tune and
27 following him every day. Whether we can sing or whether we can play an
28 instrument, but our lives are what matter to Jesus.
29 DW: Hmm.
30 BB: I guess all I can say I guess I just want to be ready to see him come or meet
31 him or be able to go to Heaven with him and be home. That's about it I guess.
32 DW: Beautiful. I think that's great.

Oral History
Charles and Ethel Bradford
At the Oakwood University
Seventh-day Adventist Church
Huntsville, Alabama
September 26, 2014

1 Charles Bradford (CB) [1926?–]: Well I can give you a bit of my theology in a
2 minute. The modern church was the church of Jerusalem. Acts 2. And I take
3 out of the second chapter of Acts, verses 41 and 42 and on. And at first I have
4 a little acronym, or whatever we call it. It's a little, I guess, direction for
5 studies. A word the academics use. Word. Worship. Fellowship. Service.
6 [WWFS]. I would not separate—could not—that these go together.

7 But we have to give the supremacy to the Word, “And they heard the Word
8 gladly and were baptized.” So you can go back to all the pre-times you want
9 in the church, and every time incline, it's the Word first. I heard the Word.
10 And the man on the road to Ethiopia heard the Word. Cornelius, he heard the
11 Word. Everybody else and the book of Acts talks about the Word. In some
12 places it said the Word grew and multiplied. So that gives preference. Of
13 course, Christ is the Word. He says, “I am the Word.” You know.

14 Second is Worship. I have a friend right there at your university, Professor of
15 Greek. He's an older man. I'm sure he's gone now. But he says, brethren, and
16 we're looking at charismatic things in that decade. We have decades. We're
17 interested in certain things. And so we had a big meeting down in Georgia
18 somewhere. And he said you know, I don't believe in that business of tongue
19 speaking, but he said, those people who received the Word were so joyous.
20 As they went along the road together, they may shout out something, you
21 know. And so the Word brings out of people, the Word—Ellen White uses,
22 the text or the Word, cuts out from the stone quarry. Cuts out the believers
23 and separates them, and brings them into community with each other. And
24 they then worship, I guess, through there. They worship God everyday. So
25 forth. And that seems to have brought them together. Everything is done to
26 get us together in community, because the church in its essence, is a
27 community. That's what the Bible says, when two or three gather in My
28 name. So you know they had the Word, but now they must learn to express it
29 and respond to it. Word. Worship. That's together, they all tie together. And I
30 would imagine that worship's, not the idea of worship, but the idea of various
31 forms of worship. I'm sure it has changed. But essentially it's worship.

32 And then Fellowship. That's a big one. We have sometimes overlooked the
33 idea of Fellowship. And then finally, Service. Ministry. Now you got those
34 four together. You have the curriculum for a growing, dynamic church. It
35 must test well in each one of these four. It must test well in the Word. You
36 can't long keep us together if there is not a response to the Word. A decision
37 to follow the Word, then it has to have Worship. You see people come up out
38 of the pool. In my day in the south, people come up out of the pool

1 worshiping already. Thanking God. And then they do group—come together.
2 Not groupies, but people who follow Jesus. And then we are following Him
3 together. That's Worship. And Fellowship. And then after that takes place, we
4 see that we tell the people about this. You know. My neighbors, my relatives,
5 and so forth. Fellowship. Service. See? And you can say whatever ministry it
6 is. The first one to take place within the group, but the church must not be
7 satisfied just within the group. Let your light so shine, you know, the world.
8 So I think it takes them all to fulfill God's mission for them. God has a
9 mission for them.

10 David Williams (DW): Can you tell me as you've told me now about the WWFS,
11 how long has that been a guiding principle or curriculum for you in your
12 ministry? Is this something you've discovered of late or was that very young?

13 CB: No, I've written on that. I've written. By the way, I'm still working on this
14 book on the Church, and I asked them to give me the names of the articles,
15 dates that I have written. There's 230 some. I never had the foggiest notion
16 that it was that much. I haven't gone through it yet, but I just got word of it
17 the other day. So I have writing this for publication and discussion at
18 meetings, workers meetings, since the '80's. 1980. Of course, I didn't have it
19 under the Four before, but the Four existed before. So we have the articles,
20 talks, books, bits of information, and thoughts on that. So it's mellowing more
21 and more in my mind you see. And I was urging the brethren to look at us
22 under these new rubrics and test ourselves. How well are we doing in the
23 Word? Now, there's some who are doing very well in what they call Worship,
24 and they're sincere. But all Worship should be guided by the Word, you see.
25 And we have—oh I wish I had that statement. I can't tell what you're going to
26 need when you leave. So I can't bring it here now. But the statement was
27 made—you may like that statement. It was made by the Christianity Today. I
28 think the 19—Anyway, I can get it quickly. And it said that the Church today
29 is divided between those who are radically, what shall I say, demonstrative
30 and so forth. And the other end of the spectrum—while the two of them, he
31 says, is a rift. And I use that all the time. All the time. So I suppose that to be
32 really healing we've got to go back to the Word. The Word. Then how
33 much—in the music of the Church—you know more than I about that. But we
34 know that the Methodists were very much criticized in the United Kingdom,
35 Britain. Because the people said all your songs come from the ale houses, and
36 so forth you know. Now that's overdone but it still can be considered you see.
37 That they came from the Methodists at that time. Came from the so called
38 lower class of people. And you folk who have been exposed to the liturgies
39 and the so forth, their responses and things. In England, know that they had
40 high church and they didn't like call it lower church, but they sang things, and
41 of course, Wesley was not in the buildings of the controlled areas of the
42 church. King Henry's church. But they had a little distance between them.
43 People looked at, you know, although Wesley was an Oxford Don. He wore
44 the habit sometimes preaching in the slums. And a little incidence says he had
45 preacher boys that went past the fish house, you know, the fishery and all

1 that. And the women were cutting the fish and shouting out things. And one
2 of his little fellows who came from an upper crest family was getting ready to
3 run and leave. And Wesley said to him, “Stay Sammy and learn to preach!”
4 Yea, so they accused him of that. And I heard our pastor the other day, he
5 went through a lot of this at one of his sermons, I don’t know, at one of his
6 talks somewhere which he picked up at the seminary.

7 But in our situation, my wife has been playing music for the churches since
8 1940’s. And she tells me all the time, as far as music is concerned, that she’s
9 seen a change coming over the churches. And she can explain that more than I
10 but even a non-musical observer can say the same too. And then please look
11 at the hymn books, hymnals. I was brought up on the *Christ in Song*. Now of
12 course nine hundred and some numbers, and Frank Belden brought that
13 together. He got responses from a lot of the top musicians, Fanny Crosby, and
14 the rest of them on that one. They liked it. But look at how it has changed.
15 Not necessarily in the songs it uses, but I don’t know who—I think it could
16 have been some of the better musicians. We seem to have had more musicians
17 operating in those days—Adventists—and it seems, of course, the world-wide
18 church. And some of them want a little more of this side I was told, and I had
19 nothing to do with it. And we had the next hymnal came out in ‘41. I was
20 getting ready to go to Oakwood College then. It was a Junior college but it
21 changed when I became a senior. I was a student there from ‘42-’46. I grew
22 us Adventist. I was in the Academy and College at Oakwood. You have to go
23 back and get a real historian to simplify it. What I had was more College than
24 Academy, but I came here with a pretty good Academy background. And they
25 said, but they didn’t tell me, that I found myself enrolled in the Academy and
26 pre-College.

27 Ethel Bradford (EB) [1926?–]: He did graduate from the Academy. I have his
28 picture.

29 DW: OK. I bet it was a good looking picture.

30 CB: So I was right here when the new hymnal came into being.

31 DW: Well now, let’s talk about the hymnals, but let me—I’m trying to just situate
32 your life context because this is very interesting with your connection with
33 Oakwood. The two churches, two of the four churches I’m looking at, are
34 Oakwood and Ephesus. Tell me about your New York connection.

35 CB: I had an Ephesus connection because my father was once pastor in New
36 Rochelle [NE of the Bronx]. Which was a stone’s throw from Harlem. He
37 often went there because my sister, Eva Bradford Rock, was from church, and
38 she was a teacher in the New York school system. She really was one of the
39 lead teachers in the little brown schoolhouse. They’re always looking as to
40 whether you should go to sooner or later to school and all that. Well, the little
41 brown schoolhouse was trying a little preschool in Harlem. Now how she got
42 into that I don’t know. But when she went to California, they said you have

1 more understanding in this, than we have in all the state of California. So she
2 led out in that in L. A. [Los Angeles] for years.

3 I was born in Washington, DC. My father pastored Washington for a little
4 while.

5 EB: He pastored what is now Dupont Park, the largest church. His father was
6 pastor there. It was called Ephesus then.

7 CB: And I came here to Oakwood from the city of Philadelphia. My father was
8 semi-retired. He was working in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Hopesville. Some
9 of those companies out there.

10 DW: I would like to transition our conversation to the music, the hymnals, and the
11 larger context of the worship service. Can you tell me about the order of
12 worship and how the order of the elements was similar or different from your
13 Philadelphia experience to Ephesus, New York to Oakwood. Or was the order
14 virtually the same?

15 CB: Mostly the order is the preacher. He's reflecting on his own experience and
16 that which appeals to him. And of course, he's always impressed with his
17 musicians. They are influenced by the community worship. Baptists,
18 Methodists—Most Adventists are converts. They haven't grown all their lives
19 in Adventism. I was just reading this morning that in 1900, there were only 50
20 black American Adventists in the south. The whole big southland. 50. Today
21 there are about 400,000 I guess. It was, yes, about 200,000. So who's going to
22 form this community's music? People who become Methodist, Methodism—
23 Baptist and Pentecostal. They wouldn't want you to call them in those days
24 Pentecostal. There are other names, just the same. So, also, the pastors,
25 sometimes, did most of the music selection. In my ministry, we felt it was a
26 sin to follow the Baptists too much. We had something different in our own
27 minds—superior to those others.

28 DW: In the music or in the worship?

29 CB: In the music. In the whole thing.

30 DW: What about being Adventist made it superior?

31 CB: Well in those days it was felt in some of the churches, they were over
32 enthusiastic, and they did not recognize "Bach and Wach," as one old lady
33 said.

34 They had more of their own music, and when churches even in our youth,
35 were some going all out for academic pursuits. Most of them down in the
36 hood were following their own tastes. And our church said You're going to be
37 a Seventh-day Adventist? Oh you're going to so and so." We didn't sing the
38 music of Dorsey, "Precious Lord." We were influenced by them. But we
39 didn't want to say every influence as much.

40 EB: Now you need to let me say something. And the difference between the two
41 of us, he was born Adventist. He's third generation Adventist minister, and

1 his father before him, and his grandfather—real Adventism. That’s what he’s
2 saying now. That’s what he grew up as. I’m a convert. We were Baptists. My
3 mother came in in 1936. And so that is how I was introduced. I was about 10
4 or 11. I was introduced to Adventism. And so he’s saying what they believed
5 about all the other churches. But being in that genre—cause there were
6 Methodists, Baptists. I was a National Baptist. But my mother was a seeker
7 evidently, because she took us around every little church in the neighborhood.
8 We were living in Jacksonville, Florida. Methodists—we called them
9 sanctified but they had various names of them. And even to the—I can’t recall
10 the name of that group where they had grandfather Abraham, not all of them.
11 And then my mother dragged us around. So I say she was seeking. And then
12 in 1936, Elder J. G. Thomas pitched a tent on the next street over from us on
13 the very same block. So we went. I was playing in the sawdust. As he said,
14 they had a beautiful choir. Gwen Foster’s mother was in it. You know Gwen
15 Foster? You didn’t know her from Pine Forge? Allen Foster? Oh, you have to
16 meet them. They are musicians.

17 CB: Allen wrote some stuff in the hymnal.

18 EB: Oh he had some songs in here? Yes. And he was on the committee. This
19 present hymnal. Allen Foster. Her mother [Gwen] was from Jacksonville.
20 Had a beautiful voice. But that’s my impression of the kid of these folks
21 singing. Now as he says, we sang hymns, anthems and all of that. And the
22 Baptists and the Methodists churches. We weren’t that far behind, but then
23 the other churches have their music. The sanctified folks seem to me have a
24 little different—have a different beat—some of them. Some of the larger ones
25 were more sophisticated with their music. So I came up with that music. They
26 liked hymns in the Baptist Church. They had their hymnal and we sang some
27 of the same hymns in the Adventist church. However, they used to use what
28 we call the old meters, and I don’t know if the Adventists did that back then
29 or not. But it’s where you—they called, lined-out. In my day, it was usually
30 the deacon, and they had this little service before the regular service. They
31 had a kind of prayer service. And in that time the deacons would lead out.
32 And he’d get up and say well, whatever the words were and then they’d start
33 singing it [singing a phrase] you know. And that was what they called meters,
34 and that was in most of the Baptist churches that we went to they started off
35 like that. Cause by the time I got to be fifteen or sixteen, I played for those
36 Baptist churches. And I didn’t like that time. So lots of times, I’d come a little
37 late and stand outside while they did all that in there. Then I’d go in and play,
38 cause I played for the choir and played for the church service.

39 DW: Just to understand the lining out, was that like if I was the deacon I would
40 sing ‘Praise God from Whom all blessings flow’ very slowly. And the
41 congregation would repeat [humming to tune] [clearly not in the style Ethel
42 remembered].

43 EB: I’m forgetting my songs. That they used to sing. [da da da da da da da].

44 CB: Now “Jesus Keep Me Near the Cross” was one of their favorites.

1 EB: It wasn't mine. That's somebody's hymn in the book. They had the old ones.
2 And they would moan in it a little bit. [Moaning while humming a tune] It
3 was very slow. And it would just go like that. I wish I had thought of
4 something for you. Its an old tradition that I grew up with. In those churches
5 we had the Baptist hymnals. Like my mother's by the piano at home. They
6 sing hymns, you know. [Humming different tunes quickly, "I am thine O
7 Lord"—da da da da—"Draw me Nearer"—da da—"Holy, holy, Holy." They
8 sing all that in their hymnals. And they sang some of what we call some
9 anthems. Yes, they had big choirs. There was a difference in the meter of the
10 hymns. I'll have to get some more for you on that. It's very interesting. And
11 those churches that I went around, that's what they did. And I knew it was
12 coming before every service. Especially Sunday night, cause that's when we
13 would go to them. Then they would sing the meters. Now I did go, cause see
14 my mother's church was far over in west Jacksonville from where we lived.
15 So we ended up going to the Baptist church. But right in the neighborhood,
16 they had about three or four of them. It was Friendly Baptist on the street
17 behind us. There was Moncrief Baptist. There was one second street over
18 from us, can't recall the name of it. But that's where we went. I went to
19 Sunday School. They used to have the little cards they gave the children. You
20 come home with your little card, the picture of Jesus on a Bible verse. And
21 then we were in Sunday School, and then they would go into the 11:00
22 service with choirs, and everything. The Adventists and Baptists were similar
23 in that they both had hymnals and choirs. We always incorporated spirituals. I
24 tried to bring you a book I had on spirituals last night, but I copied down
25 something out of one of them. Here's a whole list of spirituals listed. I
26 remember playing and singing them. They would be sung by a soloist,
27 ensemble, choir, and congregation. Like you have here, you know "Deep
28 River." Well, let's get some others. You know "Down By the Riverside."
29 This is, you know [Singing] "Get on board, little children, get on board." You
30 know, "Go down Moses"—[singing] "When Egypt [*sic*] was in da da da—
31 people go." And this would be what we used to sing as kids, [singing] "Oh
32 hand me down, hand me down, hand me down the silver trumpets." You
33 know. Hand it down, throw it down, any way you get it down! [Laughing]
34 Oh and then here's one about heb'n [heaven]. [singing] "Everybody talkin'
35 about heb'n, ain't goin' there. Heb'n. Heb'n. Goin' walk all over God's
36 heavenly earth." Oh all these I know, [singing] "I couldn't hear nobody pray.
37 Couldn't hear nobody pray." You know. [singing] "I know the Lord. I know
38 the Lord. I know the Lord is laid His hands on me." And this is one that a
39 group that came up, I guess in the 30s, and they were called "Wings Over
40 Jordan." They sang on the radio.

41 CB: Every Sunday morning.

42 EB: And they sang lots of spirituals. And one of these they used to sing, [singing]
43 "I'm rolling. I'm rolling. I'm rolling through—

44 CB: "through an unfriendly world"

1 EB: “Rolling through an unfriendly world.” And of course everybody would be
2 listening to that cause those songs had a little movement. So we Adventists,
3 by that time I was in the church, 1936 when mother came in. And they didn’t
4 like that, especially his father who was a minister. It had too much rhythm.
5 “Wings Over Jordan” had too much rhythm. “I’m rolling. I’m roll— And it
6 was a cappella they were singing. So we had “Wings Over Jordan.” There
7 was this black quartet that was very famous, your Dad liked.

8 CB: Southern Aires.

9 EB: Southern Aires. So they were popular. This was all on the radio for religious
10 people to listen to.

11 DW: So it sounds like not all of these spirituals would be sung in the Adventist
12 church, cause they had too much rhythm. Is that what you’re saying?

13 EB: Well, that’s just sorta’ just his father, because as he’s saying, I’m leading up
14 to it. The music was evolving in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. So that
15 when I came in, I found, boy, these folk were strict, compared to us. You
16 know, that’s the posture that they wanted. And that’s when I came in with the
17 hymnal, *Christ in Song*. Before that they added a couple more tunes and
18 something.

19 CB and DW (together): *Hymns and Tunes*

20 EB: *Hymns and Tunes*. But when I got there, it was *Christ in Song*.

21 DW: There’s some bouncy songs in there.

22 EB: That’s the thing. I’m goin’ get to it. So, being a musician, Friday nights I’d be
23 playing all through that *Christ in Song* book. So there was some ones in there.
24 We kids used to like to come in “Clouds of—

25 CB and EB (together): “Pillar of Fire...

26 CB: “A little cloud by day”

27 EB: (Humming tune) Dum da dum dum da dum dum dum dum. And the
28 kids would come marching to church after their Sabbath School to that. Oh
29 yes. And so they had so many songs, you noticed all crammed in there.

30 DW: Two on a page

31 EB: Yes, two on a page. It’s almost without the music, it’s the words. But I was
32 playing all through that book. And it was a little different from my Baptist
33 hymnal, although it had lots of the songs we sang in the Baptist Church, you
34 know. It was a beautiful hymnbook. But so, we had the *Christ in Song* and I
35 was learning all of that. Then having been in the Baptist—still in connection
36 ‘cause my sister was Baptist—still in connection with them, ‘cause I said I
37 played for that church. Then I got with the Dorsey music, which we so claim
38 in the Adventist Church that we didn’t sing that stuff. So I knew Dorsey
39 music, and the man, he was a great composer. Really. I played his music at
40 home and at the Baptist Church. But we didn’t sing that Dorsey music at the

1 Adventist Church. The Baptist Church is where I played it. OK? So but then,
2 and music is evolving. The first Dorsey song that I heard in the Adventist
3 Church was sung by elder F[rank]. L. Peterson who was the President of
4 Oakwood College. He came to Jacksonville. Professor Dickerson was
5 principal there at our little school. Had a very nice school and the church. But
6 there was a friend of mine who was about a year younger than me, Howard
7 Hodge, who was a real classical musician and really played the piano. And so,
8 you know, in those days you know you were striving to get to play, especially
9 for the senior choir and the church. And he was ahead, and I was behind him.
10 (Laughing) But anyway, Elder Peterson wanted to sing this song. But he
11 wouldn't let Howard play it. He got Professor Dickerson to play it because he
12 knew he would put it in Adventist style. He sang, it was, "Amen." [singing]
13 "I'll be honest, I'll be true, Lord I'll . . . something . . . It is your service,
14 prayer, Amen." I'm sitting there simply because I'm from a Baptist—oh
15 wow—Is he singing that, you know? First time I heard it. But then it started
16 creeping right on in. I went to Oakwood in '44. So this must have been
17 around '42, '43. So it's creeping in. So we did Dorsey music, and we had
18 usual choir like I said. Gwen Foster's mother sang in that, and I ended up
19 playing for church. Played for the senior choir. I was nothin' but a kid.
20 They'd come in the house and pick me up for choir rehearsal. These were
21 older people in the choir, but I was 15, 16 and playing for the senior choir. I
22 had gotten that far playing for the choir of the church. So we sang anthems.
23 The choir did the hymns—arrangements. And we didn't do too much of that,
24 Dorsey, but maybe one or two things came in.

25 Anthems were people's arrangements of a hymn. But some of it was taken
26 from Mendelssohn, and others like him. We were impressed by—I wish I
27 could sing or I could even explain to you the anthems. We have a young man,
28 he's getting older now, that was from Cleveland, Ohio. And Myles Martin, he
29 lived up at Andrews. He's now gone to New York now. He's not doing too
30 well. But he's from an upper class family in Cleveland. And he was so
31 impressed, as a little boy, to come to the Seventh-day Adventist Church and
32 hear the music. Now again I say, all of this is influenced by the minister.
33 Elder J. D. Cox was one who chose those anthems and they became pieces of
34 memory. One was, and they were Biblical lines..

35 EB: Like "Lift Up Ye Heads All Ye Gates."

36 CB: And they would be numbers, or you would choose it for a service, and
37 everybody knew it. But to get up and say, what? She sang that today. You
38 know. And those were great anthems!

39 EB: The people appreciated the anthems, too. They thought that was class.

40 CB: I would imagine they came from Protestant churches. Methodists. We bought
41 a church once in St Louis, Missouri. We bought a church from them. What
42 was it, Episcopal? Somebody like that. And they left a lot of their music
43 there. So those same anthems were [sung in the Adventist service].

1 EB: I got a piece or two at home. [singing] “Fierce was the wild below, dark was
2 the night.”

3 CB: Yeah, “Fierce was the wild below.”

4 EB: [Laughing] Now that music in the church, and some of it—

5 CB: Now our people took to that music in that age now, in that time. They loved
6 it. One of the ones that they sang in Berean church, in Elder Jeeter Cox, old
7 man Cox’s son. “I Would Give Thanks to Thee.”

8 EB: Oh yes.

9 CB: “Thanks”—

10 EB: And that’s with a soloist in the choir behind.

11 CB: Oh man. [singing] “I will give thanks to Thee.” In black Adventism, the large
12 churches would influence the smaller churches to try that.

13 EB: Oh, we’d be trying with the big churches to get to know the smaller ones.
14 Because we didn’t have the people...

15 CB: On that song, it was almost breathtaking because you know before that lady’s
16 going to hit that high note.

17 EB and CB: [Excited] Ohhh [with a crescendo] Yes!

18 DW: [Excited with them] Uh Huh! Uh Huh! Yeah!

19 CB: Big event! Big event!

20 EB: This is from a different perspective, what I wanted you to hear.

21 DW: Now with the hymnals, were you aware at all—maybe you were too young—
22 but that *Christ in Song* was not to be used in the Divine Service. In 1914, the
23 General Conference had said that *Christ in Song* must not be used in Divine
24 Service, only *Hymns and Tunes*. Did you ever use *Hymns and Tunes*?

25 CB: No

26 EB: No

27 EB: Now he didn’t, you see, ‘cause his father and his grandfather before him. So
28 if he says he didn’t use *Hymns and Tunes*—

29 CB: I never heard—I heard of *Hymns and Tunes*, but never used it. I never saw a
30 *Hymns and Tunes* in the Adventist Church. And they didn’t like *Christ in*
31 *Song*?

32 EB: That’s what I’ve studied too. They didn’t like *Christ in Song*.

33 DW: That only the Takoma Park Church, the GC Church, in their bulletins every
34 week, they showed that all their hymns are from *Hymns and Tunes*. All the
35 other churches, and everyone I talk to, uses *Christ in Song*.

36 CB: Yeah, *Christ in Song* was a hit.

1 EB: I think there's a question about all of the hymnals, because after *Christ in*
2 *Song*, what did we do? We got this 1941 book, which, we right here in
3 Oakwood, we're like, "Where did they get this staid music from?" It was
4 different. The hymns chosen in that book were different like they took out the
5 ones that had rhythm, basically.

6 CB: "Pillar of Fire."

7 EB: That was all gone

8 CB: But let me interrupt. But I think that Belden made a difference. He fought his
9 own aunt. Ellen White, he called her aunt. He fought her. He was so angry
10 with the church. And Wood, he was the editor of the Review, told me that he
11 was starting an evangelistic meeting with one of our evangelists in Cleveland.
12 Then at that time, Frank was living in Cleveland. The brethren said let's go
13 and visit him. You know, he was bitter. He would not let them pray for him,
14 you see. Now, being on the preacher's side of it, you know we don't like guys
15 that left us. Why, Walter Ray died. Walter Ray was a man that told a "white
16 lie." I interviewed him, labored with him. He told me he was going to knock
17 this thing sky high. Meaning the church. Exposing everything bad, bad. But
18 that's not the point today. Elder Cox was the one. When those men went to
19 pray, well they went to visit Belden. Said, "Can we pray?" He said, "No. Get
20 out of my house. Get out." Now the reason I brought up Walter Ray was
21 because some of us actually hated Walter Ray, because he said a word about
22 Sister White. Just like Belden. We are supposed to be the Church of God,
23 which I'm writing on, loving one another, communitive saints. And that's a
24 different chapter. Model of the kingdom of heaven. But we hated him.
25 [Laughed] We went out of the church, you know. Some people would have
26 even lashed him if they could have, you know? So I understand that about
27 Belden.

28 EB: I have here in the present hymnal. The history of it gets to that part where it's
29 too rhythmical and that type of thing. But as I said we watched the change
30 'cause this last hymnal that we had, we had that one at Oakwood. That was
31 too staid. The *Church Hymnal* 1941. [singing] "The God of Abraham" the da
32 da da da dum. Da da da da da da da da da dum dum dum, you know. That
33 type of thing was in that hymnal, from whence it come from. [laughing] But
34 then after that hymnal we got the *Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal*. In '85.

35 CB: That was a money maker.

36 EB: And that was a much better hymnal. They incorporated a little bit of
37 everything. A little bit of everything.

38 CB: But going from *Christ in Song* to the *Church Hymnal*, one of the things some
39 people said, scuttle-butt, you see. The people of Europe felt they had no place
40 in our hymns. I've done a little travel in Europe and they don't sing the same
41 hymns we do. Theirs are a little, we think, a little predated. So, and especially
42 English brethren. Our people said they decided to have more of their music in
43 the *Church Hymnal*.

- 1 DW: And so in the '41 hymnal, we got a lot more English music.
- 2 CB: Yeah. Now that's the scuttle-butt. I'm no musician. I just assume to sing what
3 I like. [Laughing] Whether it's English or not. Now another thing you might
4 want to consider—you should in your own thinking. People from the
5 Caribbean have a leaning towards the English hymns. And when they come to
6 this country African Americans are looked upon by them as sort of too much
7 on the wild side, you know. And I would pastor a church once—600 people
8 from the Caribbean. And they sang certain songs over and over again.
- 9 EB: And they knew them. In fact, most of their hymn books were just the words,
10 not the score. They could just take that and sing.
- 11 DW: It was cheaper to print the words, than the music.
- 12 CB: That's the West Indian economy.
- 13 EB: It was mostly the people of the Caribbean that used that. We had had that type
14 here. So now even now none of their songs we say, "uh oh." Like, "How
15 cheering is... [humming] da da da da da dum da dum da dum dum dum. De
16 dum dum de dum dum
- 17 CB: That's the national anthem for the Caribbean.
- 18 EB: There's several songs in it because my daughter plays. Her husband's a
19 minister. So they're just getting transferred to, although he has other duties,
20 but he's associate at Mt Calvary. And so she plays occasionally for them, and
21 she said those people would [laughing] invariably call out all those songs that
22 we didn't sing, you know. She said, "Mama I got that book out and started
23 picking them out." And they still hold to them.
- 24 CB: Then also remember, that we are a rather new denomination. We don't have a
25 great heritage in history. The Methodists came. Ellen White was a Methodist.
26 She said she loved the Methodist church till the day she died. And the
27 Christian church, of course, was the one that drew in most of our leaders. And
28 I don't know what their musical thing was. But it certainly wasn't, they didn't
29 want to do anything too Catholic, 'cause they all hated the Catholics, you
30 know. Hated them. Then we go to Europe, there are only two or three hymns
31 that they sing. I've been all through Italy and other places, and Switzerland
32 and France. The little churches there, they don't have any hymnals. They all
33 sing the same hymns, five or six.
- 34 EB: I notice in the hymnal we have now, you will have one song with about three,
35 four, five different arrangements of it. Some of it is English, the same song—I
36 wish I had a book. And it's fun to play it. You know, because it's just a
37 different approach, the English version of it.
- 38 CB: I must refrain, there's a transition now going on among Adventism for music
39 that is more Charismatic. And it started, a lot of it started in the North Pacific
40 Union with the Rose singers. And after that, what do you call them now?
- 41 EB: Well, that was the Rose singers. There was Paul Johnson.

1 CB: No, I'm talking about Adventist people. I'm talking about Adventist people.
2 There's a man now who still has one of those groups. They go around the
3 camp meetings. Good place to see how things have gone, but people in the
4 pew—You're thinking about people in the pew. And we are all influenced
5 now by, what's the group I can never think of by name—family singers,
6 they're on TV. We are greatly influenced by Gaithers. You can also tell
7 something about it on Sabbath dinner. And what they are playing. And so
8 Gaithers and several others like that. And the black Adventists are—

9 EB: The Black Adventists have gone a little further. [chuckling] So they've gone
10 from "Rings over Jordan," to—let's see who was next. During that time they
11 had Rosetta Tharpe, we had the Martin singers, and Mahalia Jackson.

12 CB: I knew her. Visited her, didn't live too far from us in Chicago.

13 EB: And then they came on down to James Cleveland—very popular. And then
14 we had Walter Hawkins. He's still around. He's the "O Happy Day man." He
15 would take hymns, though like, "Just A Closer Walk With Thee," a lot of
16 them. But he put a different thing to it. You know. It's not like [singing] "Just
17 a closer walk with Thee, Granted Jesus..." No, his is [singing with rhythm
18 different and emphasizing words] "Just a closer walk with Thee, Granted da
19 da da da." So they just take those things and just put them in a new—

20 DW: Different rhythm.

21 EB: Rhythm. And a lot of folks were just following him, just all over the country.
22 So that's how we got Walter Arties with the Breath of Life. Walter sang with
23 James Cleveland for a little bit there. They did something together—Walter
24 did. Who else do we have here? And then we come down—we use Ralph
25 Carmichael, which we have in the hymnal. There were a few other guys like
26 him. Paul Johnson. And we among the blacks, had the Blenrites[?]. It's a very
27 famous group. Out of Dayton, Ohio.

28 CB: Harold led the Blenrites. He's the one who introduced me to Mahalia Jackson.
29 He was her manager in Mississippi in the early days you know. When they
30 got churches to accept her for a fee, and so forth and so on. And finally she
31 sang for the President of the United States. But she recognized the difference
32 between her moneymaking, bread making song, you know to please the
33 public, and the Adventist church. Because when the Brinrite's family,
34 organized a little church near Dayton, they asked her to come and sing for the
35 opening of the church. She was glad to come because her father had been
36 influenced by Adventism. I imagine she was Baptist. "Baptist bred, Baptist
37 born, when I'm dead, I'll be a Baptist gone." [All chuckling] So she said,
38 "Yes, I'll come sing for you." The pianist, the accompanist got a little
39 rambunctious there. He had played for her all the time. "Don't do that, don't
40 do like." [Laughing, laughing]

41 EB: She stopped him with a stage whisper. [All laughing] You know. Because you
42 do have to watch that.

1 CB: In this area, ten churches, isn't it? You got the Central Church, and you got
2 nine, more or less, African American. They all, almost all, have different
3 emphasis in their worship. Last Sabbath, went going to First Church. That
4 used to be a staid church. When I was a kid here, First Church is where they
5 sent the preacher boys to talk to the small church. And they just were
6 whatever Adventists, they thought, ought to be. But when I walked in there
7 last Sabbath, they had the joint a-jumping. I want to just open up your eyes.
8 [Chuckling].

9 EB: We're coming down to that—

10 CB: Look at where your daughter and her husband are now. Mt Calvary. Now
11 Ward. Pastor Ward. The saint.

12 EB: He wouldn't let these kids sing in this church here. Was that Dynamic Praise
13 or some of these other groups we had around Oakwood? He wouldn't even let
14 them sing in here.

15 CB: "Sorry 'bout that," he'd say.

16 EB: I can't think with kids in the school or what. But you did not sing that music
17 in this church under Elder Ward.

18 CB: So, so today if you visit all these churches, you get a whole—

19 EB: Well, most of them are doing the same thing. The drums came in and that
20 settled it.

21 CB: Now wait a minute. Alright, now what about the Harvest?

22 EB: I said most.

23 DW: Now Harvest is a traditionally black church?

24 CB: Oh yes

25 EB: Oh yes

26 DW: And they don't have drums.

27 CB: No

28 EB: No

29 DW: OK. And they have a very traditional service.

30 EB: Yes

31 CB: I have a young preacher that I baptized in St Louis, and he went to our
32 schools here out. And he got out to California, in southern California. He was
33 at a church when these things were just coming in. He was pastor. And the
34 deacons told him—over my dead body will this come into this church.

35 EB: Well, we had a fight over drums and we still do.

36 CB: Over my dead body!

37 EB: As I said it's evolving, and evolving, and evolving, and so—

1 CB: And more, I want to call this, we had strong evangelistic programs.
2 Whosoever may come, that's wonderful! You got to accept everybody. But
3 absolutely, it's going to come in with them, things that are not— In St Louis,
4 we had a wonderful lady. A good person. Rather strange in some ways, but
5 she wanted to sing in the choir. When I was in St Louis, Missouri, I had two
6 doctors of music. And Ida, she was just about to baptism. The Baptist and
7 Methodist preachers said, "Bradford, give me some of those musicians you
8 have." Teasing of course. And that went with the times. Now we cannot seem
9 to stem the tide. Our pastor, we love him. As my cousin says, "I love him to
10 death."

11 EB: [Agreeing and chuckling]

12 CB: I know his family and all. He is leaning that way. 100%. And he had a little
13 singing group at Andrews. But he found out that his outreach for ministries—
14 it would bring his church to the attention of the public to bring people in to
15 give a concert. But also, mostly, to start out his evangelistic meetings. I wish I
16 knew the names of those guys. I don't know the name of them. But the kids
17 know, the little children, listen to music all day long. They got your stuff and
18 they carry it with them, you know. Oh, John Johnson will be here tomorrow
19 night! Everybody knows him, you know. And the church is filled up. Now he
20 preaches, he's preached old fashioned gospel. All of us have preached it. And
21 he doesn't cut out. He doesn't throw it in the sea or wind at all.

22 EB: Remarkably. And they enjoy this performance.

23 CB: His sermon. They stay for his sermon.

24 EB: And they don't leave. And he gives them, let's say, fifteen to twenty minutes
25 of Adventist gospel. Well they got it. And I watched to see if they'd leave.
26 But they didn't leave. And so, he's had about ten or twelve of those folks
27 here. All the popular ones. All of them. And the folks didn't have to pay.
28 They can come and hear this great artist. And they fill up this church. So he
29 has a method. And I applaud him myself. Although, I must say, 'cause I've
30 been a musician in most of the churches that I've been in. Even that St Louis
31 one. [Chuckling] My last one was at Springhill where we moved from there to
32 here. I was the organist. And Mrs. Carter played the piano. She directed the
33 choir for awhile, but then her husband became ill. Her husband, Bob Carter,
34 was president of the Lake Union. And so she had to give it up, and the lady in
35 the church who was one of these gospel people, had been waiting to get her
36 chance in there. And she saw the chance. And she came in and said, "Oh, I'll
37 just fill in." And then she became it. Well, it's gospel. Nothing against all the
38 other anthems and stuff. She did that too. But this latest gospel, she was really
39 into it. So Rose and I tried to hold on against them. But we lost that deal. Now
40 this was a very integrated church. Maybe first it was three-fourths white, and
41 then black. But the blacks about 60:40 now.

42 But one of the integrated churches that we have. That lady kept on until she
43 got the drums in there. They went in there every Sabbath, but she would bring

1 them in what she wanted to. We had friends with all those people out there.
2 And she got to be very popular. They had her all over the state, because she
3 put on some cantatas and whatever you want to call them. [Ethel and Charles
4 talking at the same time] And it was great! And so she liked that music with
5 the drums. So I decided I would play for her. If you can't beat 'em, join 'em.
6 And I thought I could influence them in some way. Which I did. They knew
7 what I liked and what I didn't like. But I played for her, so I have gobs of that
8 music now. Like the introit for this church, I got it from her in Springhills, so
9 when Elder Byrd came, I said, I know that one. [Ethel and David laughing]

10 We just came down through all of these guys, and right on in to what do we
11 have now. We have, Brooklyn Tabernacle has their influence in music. That's
12 a great choir in New York there. That's a white pastor and he has a diverse
13 church. He and his wife does the music. The name is Cymbala. And then we
14 have Richard Smallwood. Who is a great musician in the black community.
15 He does some very nice stuff. But he's a little—

16 CB: "I lift my hands in total praise."

17 EB: He does that too, "Praise." You hear them sing all the time. And then you
18 have Kirk Franklin who appeals to the young people. And so, we've had all of
19 them here.

20 CB: I don't much bother with him. [laughing]

21 EB: Then before them was J. W. Peterson music. It was before these guys that we
22 like to stand around and hear these choir arrangements and stuff.

23 CB: All the Christmas cantatas.

24 DW: So I get the sense from you both, and from others, that of your generation
25 there is some level of discomfort of where things are?

26 EB: Yes

27 DW: But you also are seeing people being won to the gospel? My question then
28 perhaps to come back to my period that I'm studying, and I think there's
29 some implications for today. In the early days of your experience, this staid
30 worship taught a certain spirituality. Would you agree to that then?

31 EB: I would agree to that.

32 DW: And the music was promoting that, forming that. What was it forming? is my
33 question for you. This staid worship. There were amens, there wasn't
34 clapping, there wasn't the shouting. Maybe hearty amens in the black church.
35 What was this saying then about their conception of God? That we would be
36 more staid in the worship. Or what does it say about how they viewed
37 humanity in relation to God in worship?

38 EB: It's probably like "be quiet." What's the thing we sang? [singing] "Be Quiet,
39 da da da da." ["The Lord is in His Holy Temple"].

40 CB: Oh that hymn.

1 EB: Yes. That was us when I got in this church. Lots of the deacons didn't want
2 you to stay in church and talk. Some folks when they got in church would
3 bow on their knees.

4 DW: So why would they bow on their knees? But what are they saying? This is
5 what I want you to interpret for me.

6 EB: They revered the house of God.

7 CB: It's an extreme reverence for things. They did not want a woman to put her
8 foot on the rostrum.

9 DW: But wouldn't women sing up there?

10 CB: They sing in the choir loft. There is no rhyme or reason for these extreme
11 things.

12 EB: But right across the rostrum, no kids up there.

13 CB: Where the brethren sit up there.

14 DW: So it's the ministers, elders and pastors.

15 EB: Even through the caretakers, I think, they would only let men do that.

16 CB: In the New Orleans church, a fine church, wonderful people. But many of
17 them, not all, but many of them come out of the Catholic faith. That's the
18 only part of America where black people are BORN Catholics. And they are
19 very devotional. They come in and they would kneel and pray.

20 EB: That's right

21 CB: You kneel in the Catholic church all the time, you know. They were quiet and
22 they didn't even want the communion table to be shown with its—they'd turn
23 it around so you couldn't see it until communion day. You know you're
24 dealing with people my dear brother. And they had it in the early church.
25 Some of them kept ceremonial law and so forth.

26 EB: And putting things on that, like if you wanted to set some flowers on there, oh
27 no. You know it had "In Remembrance of Me" on the front of the
28 communion table. But most of us use it as a table in the front of the church,
29 right? They only wanted it for communion—so you come along a place a big
30 thing of flowers on it, the deacons would sneak up and take it off and set it to
31 the side. [Laughing]

32 CB: I'll tell you what was very strong in the Adventist church, black Adventist.
33 Their idea of the church building is different. Holy place, most Holy place.
34 And the people in the church let the children run up on the pulpit at the
35 MOST Holy place.

36 DW: Do you still have that conception in your thinking that the platform is the
37 most holy place?

38 CB: No, no, no

39 EB: Well, I think that Elder Ward would have, the former pastor of this church.

1 DW: OK

2 EB: And you would have seen how he had it. He built this church, so he had down
3 on the lower level of the rostrum. Then he had another level of the rostrum.
4 Then he had the choir back there, so that if you were doing Sabbath School
5 you would be down on that lower level. You would be raised up where people
6 could see you. That's the lower level. The one above that was for where the
7 ministers came in. Beautifully done, the red carpet in here as you see the
8 church. It has only been changed like this since Elder Byrd has been here. But
9 that's what all of the guys are doing. They make it a platform. So he did it
10 here, in the new church.

11 DW: So are seeing that as a positive change that they're making, or—?

12 EB: Old timers don't like it, so some of them have left, on a count of it. But the
13 young people—he was brought here to get the kids to come to church. They
14 love this church. They're here every Sabbath and fill it up.

15 DW: Now you said women could not go to that rostrum. Only the ministers. Now
16 would this be the case in a lot of other smaller churches too?

17 CB: Women have always been going on the rostrum. We were saying the cleaning
18 woman that cleans up the church—she is not a deaconess. She cleans the
19 church. She's a janitor. And in New Orleans with it—dominant,
20 predominant—the deacons would clean the rostrum. Now that's only one
21 church. It's not a whole group of churches.

22 EB: I found that in Florida.

23 DW: In the 30s and 40s, at Oakwood, where were you meeting for worship?

24 EB: In the ad building.

25 DW: Did you have a rostrum there?

26 CB: Oh yeah.

27 EB: A platform.

28 DW: When a soloist got up to sing, would they sing at the rostrum?

29 CB: Well that was not a church building.

30 EB: No it was an auditorium. That was a platform.

31 DW: So that was a different understanding.

32 EB: Yes. They just had to use it for church.

33 CB: And some of the strong members of the church imposed their thinking. We
34 had an older minister preach a sermon on being silent. Very good sermon.

35 EB: This happened at a church with drums and everything. The musicians were
36 into the music, and the minister made them stop. To preach on being silent
37 and not making all this music, and to call out the musicians, this is
38 inappropriate.

1 DW: Some are still having this conception today and wrestling with how things
2 have changed. Now you said that there was this conception back in the day of
3 sanctity of objects. I understand that “holy space” is the phrase we use for that
4 today, or even holiness in these things.

5 CB: Yeah

6 DW: If we should be silent or reverent in church, what does this say about their
7 conception of God? Perhaps in contrast to—is there a difference in
8 conception about God today, because of how we worship?

9 CB: We have an interpretation of scripture. The psalms are full of dance. David
10 did a pretty good chant [chuckling]

11 EB: And the loud sounding cymbals. Praise Him, praise Him. See those things
12 praise Him.

13 CB: Everything that has breath.

14 DW: But I’m asking what those people thought in the 30’s and 40’s that prevailed
15 back then.

16 CB: Here are people that are not theologians. They come into the church. We have
17 people from every—this is a mishmash hetero-church. And the church should
18 be that. The bootblack is sitting next to the bootmaker. You see? And the big
19 boys are all supposed to be in the same church. And it could be bad, one with
20 the other. Where everyone wants to be still, and then everyone wants to
21 express yourself. Shout to the Lord! You know. And there are so many of our
22 people who today are looking at those psalms in a different way. They’re
23 saying, we ought to do this—this is not only black, this is white folk and
24 everybody else. Now what are you going to do with those psalms?

25 And I have been in big seminars which the General Conference has called
26 together to study the charismatic movement, and how it, you know, works
27 out. Of course they go back to those two fellows in Indiana, can’t think of
28 their names now, who had the real thing going on at that time. Smirnoff,
29 Smirnoff, somebody, two preachers. They didn’t last long. And don’t forget
30 the charismatic movement that started off in L. A., and went for years.

31 EB: But you must even go back to Sister White. She was Methodist. And that was
32 brought in through the church.

33 DW: I hear two things. I hear a desire from you both, today, and others, that there’s
34 a desire to express oneself in worship. But then I also hear a concern from
35 you of the Pentecostal/Charismatic in worship. And so what’s the difference?

36 CB: Well, the difference is in the people. How do they see it? You know, every
37 one of us is different, and we want to have our way, of course.

38 EB: Well, with the Spirit business, you see that’s Pentecostal. And we believe in,
39 no, you can have that same experience and be silent. This is the way I came
40 up in the Adventist church. You don’t have to do all that stuff so that you
41 have the Spirit. You could just be silent and it would be working, you know.

1 DW: But did you have the sense in the late 30's when you became Adventist, or in
2 the 40's, that you felt constrained by the more staid worship? Did you felt
3 restrained by that staid worship and you wished that you could just express
4 yourself.

5 EB: Since I came in, no. Because I left out some of the things that have been done
6 in the Baptist church that was outlandish.

7 DW: So you embraced the staid worship?

8 EB: I embraced the staid worship.

9 DW: How did you feel, Dr. Bradford? Did you feel constrained by this culture?

10 CB: That's all I knew. I knew nothing else but Adventism. I was in a day when
11 almost you felt condemned if you put your foot in a non-Adventist church.
12 You have no business here. The angels leave you. [All laughing.] But at the
13 same time we are baptizing people. We're evangelizing. We don't have a
14 church of great heritage where everyone has been the same. We're saying,
15 whosoever will may come. And I used to hear them in Philly talk about a dear
16 old lady. I wish I could remember her name. She was a Methodist preacher.
17 Something like that in the Methodist church. And oh boy, she would say
18 "Ohhhhhhhh, ohhhhhhhh" right there. And some of them used to do it in
19 Ellen White's time. The boys who, the fellows who are rather modernists and
20 some of your great theologians—liberal, and church-involved persons—they
21 have to tell you, the historians have to tell you, that the Adventists were at the
22 very onset more from Methodist Christian line. And the Methodist church in
23 those days had laughing spells, whooping, crawling on their knees, all that
24 stuff. And I could name some of my friends, who would say that there was a
25 time when they had to come out to the Adventist church. And people sent the
26 constabulary to see what they are doing over there. [Laughing] And sister
27 White said we mustn't do too much. It's bad for our reputation.

28 EB: All evolving, and like I told you.

29 DW: Why do you think that if they're used to be great enthusiasm in the worship in
30 the 19th century, what do you think led to this more staid worship?

31 CB: Ellen White and her friends. [Laughing] The writers.

32 EB: I think Catholic influence. I don't know how.

33 CB: No

34 DW: Now that's something very different to say that Ellen White and Catholic?

35 CB: No

36 EB: Because somewhere we got this, be silent, be silent. And bowing in church
37 and not talking in church. Not clapping. Not anything. You might as well
38 make the sign of the cross, you know what I mean? [Laughing]

39 DW: But so you're saying the Ellen White helped create this staid worship.

1 CB: Well she said she herself used to be too loud. Talk to some of the boys who
2 are a little more in depth in the study. I've talked to a lot of them, well not a
3 lot, but some of them. I just heard a sermon, an Adventist preacher last month
4 or so, who told how Ellen White, I didn't say was against it, said "What think
5 ye of the Adventist people?" And she was always hoping to get for us a good
6 footing in Protestantism as sane people, you know. People who could be
7 relied on, and not jumping up and carrying on. She didn't want to be
8 influenced by or identified. I heard one of my Union presidents said to me
9 once, "I wish we could get more Episcopal Presbyterians," you see.

10 Well he enjoyed their—If you are the pastor of church, you wouldn't want the
11 people to think that your church was you know—And this is coming into all
12 churches. Who are these, what do you call them, the great churches?

13 These mega churches all have this way of doing, and it isn't strict you know.
14 Just like you are. You're all dressed up. You can go on the pulpit like that.

15 EB: Now there was a time when some of our people wanted to wear the turn
16 around collar—the ministers.

17 CB: I know two or three who did it. The clerical collar.

18 EB: They're influenced by that.

19 CB: But some of those were for little respect. Reverend, thank you. You know.

20 EB: That's another thing too about terminology of elder as opposed to reverend.
21 We had all those fights you know. Can't call you holy, reverend, no. And so
22 then the other people had a time with us and our elder bit. What do you mean
23 by elder? What is that? Reverend? Are you a reverend? [Chuckling] The
24 bishops. We don't have bishops.

25 CB: You can help us greatly because here we are, and I'm still a Seventh-day
26 Adventist preacher of the Apocalypse. But we're gathering from every nation
27 in this church. And we can't even call ourselves the only remnant. Africa has
28 the largest number of Sabbath-keepers. That's my study. And some of them
29 are pretty expressive. All of them are not.

30 EB: Are not, I'm surprised. They have their little handkerchiefs waving.

31 CB: If you go to former British colonies, you find a little different attitude. But if
32 you go to some of the other areas of Africa, they have Pentecostal men of
33 course there. They have a least fifty or sixty Sabbath keeping denominations
34 in Africa. Big denominations. 5-6,000 people in one church. We don't have
35 all the Sabbath keepers in Africa among us. They have whole associations of
36 people. And they're studying. So we have to ask the Lord to help us. And we
37 maybe are trying to tell it like the Lord didn't tell it. But I am only talking to
38 you because you have influence, your writing, and I'm praying that the Lord
39 will give you the right balance, and approach.

1 We never, never want to be critical. Ellen White says “when we view these
2 things without prejudice, there will be so much to commend and so less to
3 condemn.” That’s what she says. Read my book when it comes out.

4 DW: One last question to both of you. This recording and the transcript will not
5 only help me in my research as I’ve said, but you’ve given a fabulous
6 testimony here that I think will be a blessing to future researchers, and the
7 testimony of witness to the church. Because I know you go around
8 proclaiming the gospel and you don’t often talk about worship. So this is a
9 real privilege to have talked to you. So in light of both of you and your
10 experience, if you could say something for the recording for the present and
11 future generations, that you would like to leave to them. What is a lesson that
12 we should learn from your experience of worship in the church? And even to
13 make it more pointed, what is something we could learn from the 30’s and
14 40’s about worship that would help us today for these future generations?
15 What is the legacy you would like to leave in just a closing thought?

16 CB: The church that goes in through the gates, you know this whole earth, six
17 billion people. You know my emphasis is not new is that the Lord is
18 gathering together, and it’s all spiritual, a nation that will obey. So, and of
19 course, we’re all covered by the commandments of God and the faith of
20 Jesus, and the loyalty to God. The first thing of this message is “Fear God and
21 give glory to Him.” This covers all this six billion people. It’s demanded of
22 them. We have an assignment. We don’t have the whole assignment. When
23 Christ was about through with His visit, the disciple ran to him and said,
24 “We’ve got some fellow, that guy is preaching in you name.” He said,
25 “Leave him alone.” That’s what He said, “Leave him alone.” “He’s not
26 against Me, he must be for Me.” So we as Seventh-day Adventists are in a
27 control of everything. We have to let the Spirit speak, and sometime if we
28 see it, we don’t condemn it, but we pray for the people and try to be an
29 example for them. And I personally have been blessed with worship
30 experiences in almost every part of this globe. And all were a blessing to me.
31 And down in the Qasi, where 300,000 people asking to study the message.
32 I’ve been out in the sitting-on log, and an old guy walking around with a little
33 stick. It just became a little touchy you know. [Somewhat emotional]
34 Wouldn’t be hard. And they sang hymns and the man preached, and I said,
35 “This is wonderful,” you know. Next time I’m in London, I go to the what
36 you call the church in London, you know. And then even in London, I got my
37 Ghanaian churches, and all the rest are more black people in the church.
38 Holland - now I didn’t go to church in Holland, but in France, I took my
39 wife. We went to the central Paris church, nice, big, fine church. Many of the
40 people there from all nations, and they seemed to be getting along. And so
41 that is a test of the faith. The Lord didn’t give us a hundred requirements.
42 This hymn, wear this to church and do this. You couldn’t manufacture like
43 the Jews did. But it said, “Who that cometh unto Me,” you know, “Must love
44 his neighbor.” How does the Lord look on the people over emphasizing a
45 piece of furniture and a soul in need of Christ?

1 So we must get the concept of God. Ellen White says again. Read everything
2 she says on the concept of God. She said, “The world is suffering from
3 misapprehension of the character of God.” And she always says “Father.”

4 And she points out, and “I can see Jesus going from village to village, and let
5 me tell you about my Father. He’s a good God.” Paul, and I don’t know who
6 was with Paul, but in Acts preaching in a totally Gentile population. Never
7 heard of our God. Paul says, “He gave us rain from heaven.” You know, “He
8 helped our crops. This is our God. That is the kind of God that shines and
9 reigns on the just and the unjust.” That’s some kind of God isn’t He? He’s not
10 a God that’s mad at the Catholics or mad at the Islam Mohammed, or mad at
11 anybody. Mad at the non-Christians in America. But they hold up to light and
12 all of them ought to be peace loving people. God will be peace loving people.
13 I just read a little sentence that I just wrote today, “God is a people God.” His
14 whole orientation is to bring together. And He’s a gatherer. And one of my
15 theologians says “the word ‘gatherer’ is part of God’s name.” Gatherer. He’s
16 not separating people, He’s gathering them. And so, in all of this, to the glory
17 of God. And let’s stop with a lesson of what Ellen White says, how she puts
18 it. I love her to death, but sometimes she comes across as harsh, to anyone,
19 you know. You read in Letters and stuff, at the White Estate. She could have
20 been accused of being a little over-emphasizing certain points. And of course
21 it was for that day. It was for that day. She had to tell the brethren, “Stop this
22 fighting. You got to quit it.” So that’s when she’d get a little severe. And I’d
23 say to the brethren, “You ought to be glad Sister White was a mother, ‘cause
24 you wouldn’t take that from your Daddy.” [All laughing]

25 EB: I’d like to say music is a very important part of our lives. Music is a very
26 important part of our worship. I’d like to say to the young people to
27 remember to revere the hymns of the church. We know that Christ, when He
28 was finishing up the Last Supper, and He was going to His death, that they
29 sang a hymn and went out. Music is a great influence in our lives. And I
30 would emphasize to the young people, don’t forget the hymns of the church.

31 CB: Any musical presentation is enhanced by being class—well done. And these
32 old anthems that we used to sing: “Lift Up Ye Heads All Ye Gates.” You put
33 them in the new class of Adventism and the people will say “Amen.” When
34 it’s done right! Not shoddy! No. So anyway, the Lord be with you.

Phone Interview Notes
Everyl Chandler-Gibson
October 13, 2014, 8:00 pm

- 1 In 1939, Everyl Chandler's family came to the Ephesus Church.
2 She started playing organ at Ephesus at age 14 or 15. In 1940.
3 Ephesus was predominantly a West Indian church. Chandler family from there.
4 West Indian school curriculum had an arts/music emphasis. All studied music.
5 Father played Sax and Clarinet, mother piano (played for SS).
6 Chandler family came from Harlem #1 to #2.
7 J. K. Humphry's church used *Hymns & Tunes* in divine worship.
8 *Christ in Song* was used in worship at #2.
9 Then came the 1941 *Church Hymnal*.
10 Very strong vigorous singing.
- 11 The Order of service (11:00–12:45) for Ephesus in the 1940s was as follows:
12 Processional
13 Opening hymn
14 Prayer
15 Announcements
16 Choir sings a heavy anthem
17 Offertory
18 Minister would give remarks somewhere in there.
19 Then an anthem, hymn or light gospel: Meditative/light, not heavy anthem.
20 Sermon
- 21 The Choir played a significant role in the worship service:
22 Choir was much better back then.
23 Church choir in robes
24 Heavy anthem = 8-10 pages
25 "Infirmatus"
26 150th psalm
27 Church anthems.
28 And then a gospel song
29 Example of light gospel: "Precious Lord" before the Sermon, or Spirituals (short)
30 Light = 1-2 pages.
- 31 When Chandler-Gibson played, she would add to what was in the hymnal.
32 She notes that she played religious music.
33 Would change from 4/4 to 6/8 rhythm.
34 Sometimes changed the harmonies.
35 Congregation sang harmony in hymnal, while she played a few different
36 harmonies/chords. Sometimes she would change keys.
37 Heard the music in her mind. Played what she heard!

Oral History
Charles Foote
At the Battle Creek Tabernacle
Seventh-day Adventist Church
Battle Creek, Michigan
March 14, 2017

1 Charles Foote (CF): All right. Well, I'm Charles Foote. I was born in Battle Creek,
2 Michigan in 1939. My parents were in school down in EMC [Emmanuel
3 Missionary College]. My mother stayed up here until I was able to go down
4 and join in the family down there. I lived down there until my father
5 graduated when I was two and a half years old, then we moved back up to
6 Battle Creek. I've pretty much lived here all my life, with exception of being
7 away at school and being in the military for a little while.

8 I was trained as a medic but I never worked as a medic. By the time I was
9 drafted, I was already a college graduate, so the opportunity came to join the
10 Whitecoat activity. I was stationed in the Washington DC area, attached to
11 Walter Reed, but I never worked as a medic either. I worked as a company
12 clerk there, and I became acquainted with young Adventists there that I
13 wouldn't have otherwise, too.

14 All my life, my folks loved music. My grandparents, especially on my dad's
15 side, they all loved music. Some on my mother's side, they didn't have the
16 opportunities to pursue it as much. My brothers and sisters did the same.

17 We were given the opportunity to learn to play the piano when we started
18 school, which is something that I think is a good idea myself, because if you
19 can play the piano—not everybody aspires to or has the ability to become a
20 concert pianist—but if you have a good foundation in piano, you can pick up
21 music and read it vocally with some practice, because you have to hear the
22 intervals and so forth vocally, but you can pick up band instruments and
23 learn to play those much faster than someone who's starting from zero. Same
24 thing with orchestra. My sister took piano and then she took up the violin
25 and played the violin. To my mind, that was a very good foundation for us.
26 Even though I sat at the piano bench sometimes as I was practicing and
27 dreamed of being outside playing baseball, and then suddenly coming to
28 reality and then not knowing where I was in the music, I'd have to start over
29 again.

30 My father directed the choir at Battle Creek Tabernacle for 25–35 years. I
31 think he began somewhere around in maybe 1937 or 8, something like that.
32 He directed it into the early '70s, then his health forced him to quit. I mean,
33 he still was a capable director but he had to slow his whole itinerary down a
34 bit. There were others then that picked it up. Ray Davis, I remember,
35 directed it some, who went on to become principal at Cedar Lake Academy.
36 Another man by the name of Ernie Steiner, and then I did it for probably
37 another 20, 25 years.

1 We directed, and we had capable organists. Very good organists. Evelyn
2 Conkell and Irma Jane Cook, Jim Slater was another one that was very
3 capable. I'm forgetting some, and it's not on purpose.

4 David Williams (DW): I think it's Cook that played for my parents' wedding.

5 CF: Okay, yeah because the Cooks were here, actually they were here twice. He
6 came to be a principal at the school here, and she, very active in music, has
7 had a lot of vocal students and keyboard students, too. One of her vocal
8 students is, I believe Bill Fagel. His dad started Faith for Today. Bill, I think,
9 still lives down at Berrien Springs and still sings down there.

10 DW: Okay, all right. Thinking about the choir music ... I have two questions that
11 are coming to mind. Does the church still have the anthems, like the
12 collection of anthems that used to be sung back then?

13 CF: Just part of it. Just part of it. I think some of the older ones they don't have
14 anymore. I don't know really what became of that, but it was pretty much the
15 standards we did. At one time my father directed, also, a Sunday choir.
16 They'd go back to church, and from time to time he would combine the
17 choirs and we did the "Elijah," we did the "Messiah," and some of the other
18 really well-known works that he had us do and the two choirs. Our choir was
19 35 members or so, and theirs was a bit smaller than that, but we probably had
20 a 60 voice choir or something that did that. Pretty much the soloists came out
21 of the choirs. He didn't have to hire soloists to do it.

22 DW: Tell me more about what standard repertoire means.

23 CF: Standard repertoire. Well, I don't know. It was choir music like you would
24 find being done at the universities.

25 DW: Is this like, the major—

26 CF: Major works.

27 DW: European composers—

28 CF: Yes, yes.

29 DW: Mozart, Handel.

30 CF: Yes, yes.

31 DW: Did you do any of Bach's cantatas?

32 CF: Yes, I think we did a few of his, too. I don't recall all of the names of all of
33 them at this point, but yes. It was the European composers.

34 DW: Okay. There's a lot of English, not in terms of England, but English
35 language anthems that are just on a sacred theme that aren't Mozart or
36 Handel, but those type of things that I see in the bulletins.

37 CF: We did those, too. Much of the words were from the Scriptures in the
38 anthems that we did, which is a beautiful way to memorize Scripture. It's
39 much easier.

1 DW: When you call to mind a certain psalm and actually have that tune come to
2 mind.

3 CF: Yes, or you hear the tune that—the other way around, too, you know?

4 DW: What do you think the anthems in worship did for the spiritual life, the
5 spirituality of this congregation?

6 CF: I believe it was a very big positive, very big positive, both for the choir
7 members and for the congregation itself. It was what was expected and what
8 was appreciated, and it wasn't until the '70s and '80s that some of the others
9 started—some of the congregation wanted some of the lighter music,
10 especially in the Tabernacle. It was difficult for it to get a foothold but
11 eventually it did.

12 DW: Okay. The worship, the music styles have changed here at the Tabernacle
13 you've observed.

14 CF: Yes, the [new] music style, it lends itself toward small groups and
15 individuals. Now the choir doesn't very often sing anymore. As a matter of
16 fact, it doesn't now, just on occasion, like for the Christmas program we'll
17 do the Hallelujah Chorus and something like that. Some people actually from
18 the community will know that we're gonna do it and they'll come and sing,
19 too, with us, which is fine. They're welcome to do that.

20 DW: There's a long history of the community being involved here with music.

21 CF: Yes, mm-hmm (affirmative). There is a community chorus in the community
22 that isn't affiliated with the Tabernacle Church or anything. Yes that, and I
23 believe it greatly influenced the lives of the musicians and the congregation.

24 DW: We talked about maybe the composers, but can you say more about the
25 actual music, what that style was like?

26 CF: Well, I minored in music but I didn't really study styles and all of that sort of
27 thing, so I really can't speak so much to that. It was a big grand style. Music
28 like you would find in the cantatas, but we did a lot of other music, too, that
29 was just sheet music. But it was scriptural based and the music itself, while it
30 was grand, it didn't detract from the words and the message.

31 DW: Okay. What would a detracting style of music sound like?

32 CF: What would it sound like? Well, I guess my thought there would be that the
33 music itself would be more of an attraction to the listener than the words. It
34 has come to the point where some of the words are very trite and don't really
35 lead you to the Scriptures and to God Himself. I don't want that
36 misunderstood either, because there's a lot of sacred music that does lead
37 you to Christ.

38 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). It sounds like there's a grandeur and a refinement to
39 the music—

40 CF: Yes.

1 DW: —that complemented the richness of the text.

2 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative), right.

3 DW: Would piano accompany, or organ, or both with the choir?

4 CF: Usually it was only organ.

5 DW: Was there a reason for that? Practical or theoretical or philosophical?

6 CF: I don't know that there was a theoretical reason for it. It was more practical
7 here in the Tabernacle, the two instruments weren't in close proximity. Nor
8 were they, for part of the time, in very close proximity to the director, either.
9 So staying together in tempo would have been a difficult task.

10 DW: What about congregation singing? Was it one instrument or the other then?

11 CF: No, it could be both then. Yes, but it's my experience that it's been primarily
12 organ. I mean, it was either one or the other most of the time, not both
13 together.

14 DW: Okay, usually not together.

15 CF: Yeah, usually not together.

16 DW: Okay. Let me talk about congregational singing. What about the way the
17 organist, or if it was the piano, accompanied the hymns? I have here with
18 me, probably the hymnal you grew up with, *The Church Hymnal*.

19 CF: Yes, mm-hmm (affirmative).

20 DW: Did you ever sing out of this [*Christ in Song*] in worship?

21 CF: Not in church worship. The Friday night young people's meeting. They call
22 it young people's meeting, the MV, but actually there were some young
23 people that were in their 50s and 60s that went to that, too. So it was a whole
24 church thing.

25 DW: Okay, and they're still coming with *Christ in Song*?

26 CF: Yes, they used the *Christ in Song* more downstairs on Friday nights. It was
27 not like it is now. There was a room that was larger down there.

28 DW: Okay, and they just had copies of this from before probably.

29 CF: Yes, mm-hmm (affirmative).

30 DW: Probably the old copies that used to be up here?

31 CF: Probably the old copies likely. I don't remember when *Christ in Song* was up
32 in the sanctuary.

33 DW: Yeah, this one is from 1908. I guess the first one is 1900 or 1899, but it's
34 really the 1908 that's the main one. *The Church Hymnal* came out in '41.

35 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

36 DW: So I would imagine this was your experience.

1 CF: That was it, yes.

2 DW: Thinking about accompaniment, I don't know, just opening a page here.
3 Would they just play what's written? Or was there ever an altering of
4 harmony or other sort of configuration a keyboardist would do?

5 CF: There were those who could do some of their own style on it, but in the
6 Tabernacle, it generally didn't get overdone.

7 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

8 CF: Didn't get overdone. Even now in our church service we have an organist
9 who's very good but can ... by altering style a little bit, make each stanza a
10 little different.

11 DW: Uh huh. So, that's today.

12 CF: That's today. I think somewhat they did it maybe a little more subtly, I guess
13 would be a way to put it, so that it was not distracting from the words or
14 anything like that at all.

15 DW: Okay.

16 CF: That's the way it was back then, and the way the Tabernacle liked it. The
17 pastors that we had liked it that way.

18 DW: Growing up, did you hear people talk about what the reception of this
19 hymnal was like?

20 CF: I didn't hear it. I didn't hear anything in that regard until I was a young adult,
21 so it would have been—here again, I would guess it would have been late
22 '60s, early '70s, in that era.

23 DW: What were they saying then?

24 CF: I guess they felt that it maybe was a little boring to them. Well, by that time,
25 people were more subjected to the musical styles that they saw on TV.

26 DW: A little bit more popular music?

27 CF: A little bit more popular at the time, mm-hmm (affirmative).

28 DW: Was there discussion about it being more of a staid type of hymnal, type of
29 composition, a little less rhythmic?

30 CF: I don't recall anybody saying that. Their preferences sort of pointed that out.

31 DW: Okay.

32 CF: I don't recall them saying that, but it's totally different now. I mean, there
33 are some songs that, not for the church service and you're staying with the
34 church service, but there are some songs that the words greatly overpower
35 the music. The music is hardly worthy to contain the words. In some new
36 music today, rhythm is the primary driver.

37 DW: Some have told me that they've felt that *Christ in Song* was more rhythmic
38 in its emphasis-

1 CF: It was.

2 DW: - than *The Church Hymnal*.

3 CF: Yes, than *The Church Hymnal* that you're referring to, yes. Yes, I believe
4 that that is true.

5 DW: Okay.

6 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

7 DW: Yeah, that's interesting. Just in your comments here, it seems that there's
8 been a pendulum swing.

9 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

10 DW: That there was a little bit more rhythmic music, and then some less with the
11 '41 hymnal, and then by the time '60s, '70s, some 20 years, 30 years come
12 along, people are wanting a different type of expression.

13 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative), yeah.

14 DW: To put it all very positively.

15 CF: Yeah, I mean any style that you prefer can have its positives and negatives.

16 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

17 CF: That's the, in my opinion, the style of preference shouldn't be such that it
18 obliterates the message.

19 DW: In *The Church Hymnal*, there are sentences and responses, and choral
20 settings in the back. Some of these things, would they use these settings by
21 the choir in worship?

22 CF: Sometimes. Sometimes they would use those. Sometimes they just used part
23 of a hymn as a call to worship, like, "Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the
24 King of Creation." But not a whole hymn, but part of it sometimes.

25 DW: What about these responsive readings? Did they do that when you were real
26 young here?

27 CF: Yeah, they did responsive readings. Not every week but they did responsive
28 readings. We have them in our current hymnal now, too. As a matter of fact,
29 there's a lot of information in the back of the hymnal that most people
30 probably don't know, and don't know it's there. Sometimes it can be a help
31 to somebody who's, on a spur of the moment, having to lead out in
32 something, in a meeting and so forth.

33 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative), finding a topical song to fit a theme.

34 CF: Yes, that type of thing. In the *Church Hymnal*, there's some Scriptural
35 responsive readings and other worship aids.

36 DW: What about matching up various meter text with an alternate meter tune?
37 What I mean, like you have a long meter text, "Praise God from Whom all
38 Blessings Flow," normally paired with OLD HUNDREDTH. Would you

1 take that text and do it with a different long meter tune. Did you ever switch
2 text and tune like that?

3 CF: It was done very infrequently, but yes it was done. Yes. Growing up in the
4 Tabernacle was—and I don't mean this in a negative way—it was just
5 different. It was a larger church. The Sanitarium was here then. Before my
6 time, the Battle Creek College was here then. We had Battle Creek Academy
7 all these years. It was a little different from some churches that might have
8 been in other cities that didn't have people who were from those institutions.

9 DW: You could probably do more in the service.

10 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative), yeah. Yeah.

11 DW: More resources.

12 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

13 DW: Did that contribute to a certain aesthetic or style of the service?

14 CF: It probably did, yes.

15 DW: What would that be then?

16 CF: Just the personalities and lifestyle of the people who were leading out. I
17 would think that, that would influence their choices and what hymns they
18 picked and the responsive readings they picked or anything else like that. I
19 can't think of a specific incident or anything like that, but I'm sure our
20 experiences influence us in many ways. The transition that I experienced in
21 the late '60s and early '70s were partially influenced by some musical
22 groups that were started in the church that traveled around and had a specific
23 style. For example, Max Mace and the Heritage singers patterned their music
24 after the style of Ray Conniff and Fred Waring.

25 DW: You think that King's Heralds, that type of style, influenced the church?

26 CF: Oh, yes. Yeah, it did, sure. And the Faith for Today Quartet and so forth, but
27 there were others. There was a period of time when smaller choral groups,
28 with utilizing closer harmonies in that period of time.

29 DW: More in the style of, like Gaither type of music?

30 CF: Not quite that robust. The Gaither style is more prevalent today, because
31 they were just getting started back then. One of the first ones was the
32 Wedgwood Trio that, I mean, some people thought that was the end, you
33 know, when they started out. That didn't turn out to be that way. That was
34 what influenced primarily the younger people. The older we get, the harder it
35 is to change, I suppose.

36 DW: These various ensembles, I'm hearing you say, would then later, they're
37 bringing it in as special music or ensemble music.

38 CF: Yes. Or they sold records and tapes and things like that, too.

1 DW: Do you think there was some sort of that '60s, '70s, was there some sort of
2 movement? Oppressing of style in the '20s or '30s or '40s? I know that's not
3 all your experience, but there's always a development in music.

4 CF: There's always a development of style.

5 DW: Always an influence.

6 CF: Yes, yes.

7 DW: Would parents talk about that then?

8 CF: Yeah, mm-hmm (affirmative). Yeah. They thought it was wrong and so
9 forth. I was still a young adult, but not as young as some of the adults were
10 in that era. I personally couldn't see a right or a wrong in it just by virtue of
11 style, you know? As far as how it was presented, sometimes I could see a
12 right and a wrong.

13 DW: Because of the decorum of it?

14 CF: Yeah, yeah. I don't believe that worship music should ever detract from our
15 worship.

16 DW: Being focused on God. Sometimes a performer might make it about one's
17 self then?

18 CF: Yes.

19 DW: Whether their singing ability, their demonstrative nature, their playing—

20 CF: Whether they're, and I will say this, too. Whether they're intending it to be
21 about themselves or not, they have to be careful of what they're doing,
22 because if you give somebody else in the audience the idea that that's your
23 purpose, then they've lost their experience.

24 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative), yeah. Yeah. In worship here, when you have
25 congregational song, was there a song leader back then?

26 CF: Yes, there was. Well, not during the church service, no there was not.

27 DW: Just the choir.

28 CF: Just the choir and, the choir singing from the front, and the organist. The
29 choir did a good job leading. The choir directors did not. I mean, to be a
30 choir director and direct the congregation from the choir, to my way of
31 thinking and I think it was my father's and probably the other choir directors,
32 too. We weren't helping at all, so why do it? It would have been more of a
33 distraction than anything.

34 DW: You said that this room seats 1200. What was hearing the congregation sing
35 like then?

36 CF: Oh, it was wonderful, with the organ and the congregation singing and so
37 forth. In congregational singing, there's always a little bit of a lag, just by
38 virtue of the distance. I will just digress for just a minute here, because when
39 we were doing choral music some, there were a few times that we did

1 antiphonal music from the front of the church and the back of the church,
2 and as you would stand and look at it you'd say, "Well, that's not very far
3 apart," you know. I mean, it's quite a ways from the back of the ... the choir
4 would go up by the ceilings in the back, but the antiphonal choir would have
5 to start before the other choir was finished, according to their ears, in order
6 to stay together. So you're always going to have some lag time with the
7 congregation. Not all the congregation is musical, either.

8 DW: I imagine that, back then when you were little, with all the carpet and pads
9 out, they were more together.

10 CF: They were more together, oh yes. More together, definitely. But even that,
11 you know, even being able to be confronted by the reverberation and so
12 forth, there's always lag time in that, too. It's just a part of the experience.

13 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

14 CF: Nobody can be right together with any distance in between them.

15 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative), yeah. I brought some orders of service. Now, this is
16 not recent enough to really jog your memory. But maybe you can recall a
17 service looking similar to that by around 1950 or something like that.

18 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Well, I probably remember some of this, but I was
19 about five years old here.

20 DW: Yeah. This one is from '44. I brought this one because you might know this
21 person. Francis Foote.

22 CF: Francis Foote, that's my dad. He went by Frank.

23 DW: Okay.

24 CF: Yeah. I actually, I know a lot of these names. Here's another name that
25 people down at Andrews would know from history, V. E. Garber.

26 DW: Hmm, Garber. Garber Auditorium now.

27 CF: Yeah. He was in the administration down there for a number of years, after
28 he was principal up here.

29 DW: Okay.

30 CF: At the school. Yeah. Yeah. I know about all these people, really. Yes, "The
31 Lord is Exalted" by West. That's what they sang then. The congregation
32 sang "Awake My Soul," which is—you know, that's what some might call,
33 staid. I would say there are hymns that are much more staid than that.

34 DW: What number is that?

35 CF: 355 in the old hymnal.

36 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative). And "Soldiers of Christ Arise" 366.

37 DW: Yeah, so this one, 366 strikes me as a very grand, arousing hymn.

1 CF: Arousing hymn, yes. Mm-hmm (affirmative). In my opinion, it was not by
2 accident that it was earlier in the church service then. In other words, it was
3 more appropriate that way than reversing the two, even though this one says
4 “Awake my soul” in the words, but in the music it doesn’t.

5 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Now, this was interesting that it says that they did
6 the “Gloria Patri,” and then other bulletins, I don’t know if the one in your
7 hand has “Doxology,” which would be OLD HUNDREDTH.

8 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

9 DW: Yeah. Now, the words are similar.

10 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

11 DW: “Praise God from whom all blessings flow” and it has the Trinitarian text, or
12 “Glory be to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.” The text is essentially the
13 same.

14 CF: Same message.

15 DW: But this is ... “Gloria Patri” this is the (singing).

16 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

17 DW: That tune?

18 CF: Yes, that tune. That tune.

19 DW: Now what would happen, during the prelude? Is that when the elders would
20 come up to the rostrum to sit?

21 CF: Yes, mm-hmm (affirmative).

22 DW: What does the congregation doing at that time?

23 CF: Well, let’s see. During the prelude, call to worship. Yes, I think that came in
24 right at the, toward the end of the prelude then the choir sang “Spirit.” Then
25 the invocation.

26 DW: Just so I’m not confused later, this is what, April 7, 1945.

27 CF: 45, yes. The prelude-

28 DW: Maybe they come in at the call to worship?

29 DW: And they would come and kneel?

30 CF: And kneel, mm-hmm (affirmative).

31 CF: They all stood at the “Gloria Patri” and then there was the invocation.

32 DW: And remain standing during the invocation.

33 CF: Yes, mm-hmm (affirmative).

34 DW: Then, at this point, they’re doing the offering at this date and time.

35 CF: Right, mm-hmm (affirmative). That was early on in the service.

1 DW: Hmm.

2 CF: The offertory was probably the organist, or possibly piano, but most likely
3 organist.

4 DW: Okay. So this, besides "Still Waters" by Thompson, is some setting by
5 Thompson for the organ, I would assume.

6 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative), yeah I'm thinking so. Mm-hmm (affirmative).

7 DW: That's interesting, after all these years, the sermon doesn't have a sermon
8 title. We have all the musical details. Almost today sometimes it's the
9 opposite in some of our churches. We get a sermon title without any music
10 details.

11 CF: Right. I'm looking and it doesn't here, either. The pastor in both of these was
12 E. L. Pingenot. There are good pictures. Have you seen the pictures of the
13 pastors?

14 DW: I've seen them, yeah. Now, what about the rest of the service? Would the
15 congregation stand at the hymn before prayer?

16 CF: Yes.

17 DW: And then again after the sermon.

18 CF: Yes, mm-hmm (affirmative).

19 DW: Okay.

20 DW: Everyone would kneel at that middle prayer.

21 CF: Yes.

22 DW: Okay.

23 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative). That's what I'm thinking. I'm not positive about
24 that.

25 DW: Okay. So they would stand at the hymn of response to the sermon.

26 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

27 DW: Are they standing for the benediction most likely?

28 CF: Yes.

29 DW: And then a short response by the choir, it looks like.

30 CF: Short response. Mm-hmm (affirmative).

31 DW: What was the spirit? Do you remember at the postlude? Do people start
32 talking here? Did they remain in prayer? Or did they file out right away?
33 What did that look like back then?

34 CF: Having to think about that. Some may have begun talking, but I believe that
35 more it was, they began filing out, but there wasn't so much talking in the
36 sanctuary. Back here, at this time, likely that the congregation was more apt
37 to go out the front doors and down the steps. At that time, the steps were

1 wider than they are now. Then they would stand in front of the church and
2 talk. In that kind of patio place there in front. Not in the winter time, of
3 course.

4 DW: No. So, having that after service fellowship that's so often done here among
5 the pews today, it's done out there.

6 CF: Right.

7 DW: What did they think about this space?

8 CF: Hmm. Well, I believe that they felt that it was a holy space, you know? It
9 was the sanctuary, and it was called the sanctuary, and they treated it as such.

10 DW: Well, the name of the building is called the Tabernacle.

11 CF: The Tabernacle, yeah.

12 DW: Uh huh.

13 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative), yeah. That picture [up front in the sanctuary], when
14 I was real little, that picture wasn't there. It was, I believe it was white
15 background with a picture of tables of stones on it before. I believe that's
16 what it was.

17 DW: Wow. Did it have the Commandments written on there?

18 CF: That I can't remember.

19 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). I've seen it. We have it at the Historic Village,
20 written on those tables.

21 CF: Okay, it may have been written on then.

22 DW: It's very common in the mainline churches.

23 CF: It at least had the Roman numerals. One, two, three, four.

24 DW: Would you recall reciting the Ten Commandments, or the Fourth
25 Commandment in worship?

26 CF: I don't recall that.

27 DW: Okay.

28 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

29 DW: I haven't seen it in the bulletins. What did we mean by the sanctuary being
30 holy?

31 CF: It was a place where they were reverent. I think that's what, because they felt
32 I can't tell you what they were thinking, you know? But they were reverent,
33 and back here in the '40s and so forth. That didn't start to dissipate
34 somewhat until probably the '60s.

35 DW: Okay. That reverence, what did that look like in other aspects of the service?
36 Can you give other descriptors to that?

1 CF: Hmm. Well, I think the thing that stands out to me the most is that they
2 weren't somber or anything like that, but it was more to the point in worship
3 and not greeting friends out here and that type of thing. The demeanor of the
4 participants was more worshipful, I think.

5 DW: Hmm, wow. Okay. Now, I've heard some describe worship then as formal.

6 CF: More formal is a very good description, yeah.

7 DW: But is that in retrospect from today? Is that just contrast? Did it feel strict?

8 CF: No, it didn't because I think back then people were more formal than they
9 are now.

10 DW: Okay. Just to stay there and keep pushing on it, Ellen White is very
11 significant in our views on things.

12 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

13 DW: She says, "Dry formalism is a great evil."

14 CF: That's right, I believe it.

15 DW: I'm sure that would've been quoted then if it's quoted today.

16 CF: Yes.

17 DW: Because I imagine Ellen White even being more in the psyche then.

18 CF: Right.

19 DW: So, what would they say would look like dry formalism?

20 CF: Well, I would have said that what they would have thought was dry
21 formalism was more what would've taken place in the Episcopalian church,
22 Catholic church, so on and so forth, where you're reciting things more by
23 rote—

24 DW: Almost vain repetition.

25 CF: Yeah, I don't know whether I'd say vain, but it can be. Anything can be vain.

26 DW: Sure, or it may be meaningless repetition.

27 CF: Meaningless, yes, that's better I think.

28 DW: This is a beautiful picture of church you're painting. You're saying that 1200
29 people came to church here, and had the sense of God's holiness. They were
30 disciplined in their own right, their own lifestyle, to let this room be set
31 apart, that they eagerly anticipated meeting God here.

32 CF: That's the way I feel that they felt, yeah, by and large. Sure, there were
33 children in the congregation and all of that sort of thing, too, but we never
34 had a children's room up here. The children were always integrated within
35 the congregation. If they needed to be taken out, they needed to be taken out.
36 That's the way it was. I know some families didn't believe in taking them
37 out and staying out unless that was the only way it was gonna work that day

1 or something, but I know of families who have reiterated that now. They
2 didn't want their child to get the idea, if I act up I get to go out and not be in
3 here.

4 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

5 CF: When things were taken care of, they came back in.

6 DW: Yeah, yeah. That's a challenge. I know very real what that is with our three
7 year old.

8 CF: Yes, yes. Perhaps my feeling about how it was back then isn't what others
9 felt, but it was truly what I felt. I know we didn't sit down in the front. My
10 mother had us four kids on her own, because my dad was up directing the
11 choir. But we sat on one of the front—the first, second, or third pew, usually
12 first or second pew of the balcony which, to my estimation, was the next best
13 thing to sitting in front, because there wasn't much in front of you to distract
14 you, because you're right there and you're a third of the way down the room.

15 DW: You had a good view.

16 CF: Had a good view and there wasn't the distraction for us kids. Anyway, that's
17 just a little side light, didn't have to do with worship really, yet I believe
18 things like that contributed.

19 DW: It sounds like music was an essential part of your experience.

20 CF: Yeah, it was an essential part, and I think the pastors wanted it that way, too.
21 The actual, the music was a certain ritual, well, I don't want to say ritual, but
22 you know, we did the same things at the same time in the service and it
23 moved the service along. It signaled what was going to happen.

24 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). It seems the music was very functional in that.

25 CF: Functional, right. Good word for it.

26 DW: Whereas, some types of services today will have a block of singing, and
27 that's their cluster of singing. You had a lot of music in this service. I don't
28 know how many pieces, between congregation and choir and organ—

29 CF: Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah.

30 DW: —but it's moving you through this entire service, order of service.

31 CF: Yeah, more than half a dozen.

32 DW: yeah.

33 CF: Some of them short.

34 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). You know what I didn't see in these, is I don't see a
35 formal Scripture reading. Did the preacher do that?

36 CF: I don't recall that. Well, he might have, but I don't know that they always
37 had a Scripture, unless, well, it could have, no, I just don't see it. Not back
38 then in 1945 anyway.

1 DW: How long did worship go then?
2 CF: Not too much past 12 o'clock.
3 DW: So if the bell rang up there, was that telling the preacher it's time to be done?
4 CF: Well, we had that clock, and the bell can be rung either by hand or the clock
5 rings it.
6 DW: Okay.
7 CF: It rang at that time. But, church started on time and-
8 DW: What about this time? The Tabernacle's minutes, from back in—oh, I want
9 to say 1880—1880, somewhere in there. Some of the earliest record that we
10 have, this church started us all keeping this 10:50 time.
11 CF: Really.
12 DW: That's the first record I can find.
13 CF: Okay.
14 DW: But, what would transpire in those 10 minutes was something actually
15 starting at 11, but there's a 10 minute window there? Is prelude and call to
16 worship those 10 minutes? I don't know. Does prelude come before 10:50?
17 CF: I don't think prelude came before 10:50, but the choir filed in during the
18 prelude. That wasn't always the case, because the choir used to practice
19 downstairs and come up those back stairways and filed in from the side.
20 DW: Okay. In regular church clothes, or in robes?
21 CF: In robes. Then we began to practice over in the annex building over there,
22 then we practiced there and we would warm up there. Then we processed
23 down the aisle during the first hymn. Came up both sides.
24 DW: The choir would assemble back there for the prelude.
25 CF: Yes.
26 DW: Would they sing the call to worship back there?
27 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
28 DW: And then come up for the hymn.
29 CF: Right.
30 DW: Wow. And this was regular.
31 CF: Yeah, this was a regular thing.
32 DW: And then come up around, because this used to be not steps but railing.
33 CF: No, the steps were here by the time we did that. Because you really can't, it
34 wouldn't work to do it the other way. Especially on the other side. Because
35 it's a very narrow, windy stairway there going up into the men's dressing
36 room for the baptistry.

1 DW: All right, wow. Well, do you have any vivid memories of worship and music
2 in the '40s, maybe as a young boy, that have always stood out to you?

3 CF: I used to, as a little boy, come to choir practice with my dad and sit out in
4 back, just here in one of these pews, and listen to choir practice and all of
5 that sort of thing. A couple of other children, a girl who was in my grade and
6 her brother was about three years younger I think, but both of their parents
7 were in the choir. They came to choir practice and they sat on the front pew,
8 and both of their parents were in the choir practicing on Friday night before
9 the young people's meeting and so forth. That is one of my first memories of
10 the choir, and I really enjoyed listening to choir practice and so forth. But not
11 all kids would, because they're all different. That was one thing.

12 Another thing that we've had, by and large, not all of them, but some of our
13 pastors have appreciated music more than others. I'll put it that way. Pastor
14 Moon was here when we bought the first pipe organ from the Congregational
15 Church, a used one, and they installed it. Before him, Charles Keymer was
16 here as a pastor. Well, we always had top-notch pastors, and Charles Keymer
17 was also a top-notch singer. He had a beautiful tenor voice. One highlight,
18 which is a personal highlight to me is, that one time when I was in either—I
19 think I was still in the academy, but I likely was in college at the time—I
20 happened to be home in the summer or something, and my dad and Elder
21 Keymer asked me to sing a trio with them one time. That was a highlight to
22 me. The music itself was a highlight to the worship service, because the
23 anthems we sang with were from the Scriptures, by and large, and so we
24 learned Scripture that way. Sure, we had to look at the pastor's back when he
25 was preaching, but that's not all bad, you know. We were up there. When
26 you're behind the pastor, you'd best be behaving. It was, I think as a choir,
27 we felt like we were helping to lead the worship service in what we
28 participated in. That's one of the biggest—and the kids, the school kids
29 being so happy to be invited to come sing in the choir and so forth, you
30 know. It joined them in with, because we had school kids in the choir and we
31 had grandpas and grandmas in the choir, too.

32 DW: You had a broad range of ages in this. But then you mentioned earlier, there
33 was also a youth choir as well.

34 CF: Later there was. And the school had their choir and so forth, and they
35 would—but pretty much the Tabernacle choir always sang for church. If the
36 school choir came, they sang for special music or something like that, you
37 know, maybe. As far as leading the congregation, helping to lead the
38 congregation in worship, it was pretty much the Tabernacle choir all year
39 round, even in the summer. Even in the summer. That was one thing that
40 amazed people when they came here, because in most churches the choir
41 took a vacation in the summertime, but not here.

42 DW: Hmm. This was just their regular thing they did.

43 CF: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

1 DW: If you go on vacation then you go on vacation, but next week you'll be back
2 here and singing.

3 CF: Right, and the choir was big enough to absorb that.

4 DW: Yeah, yeah.

5 CF: Good enough. In some churches, if the three best singers leave on vacation
6 together, well then probably a vacation is called for.

7 DW: What would you say to the church today about worship and music?

8 CF: Well, what I would say is that music has a large part to play in the worship,
9 and music does—music tastes and so forth—do change with the times. It
10 needs to be relevant to the participants and the congregation, but it should
11 always, always be worshipful and point to God. Point people to God, I guess
12 I should say. That's the way I feel about it.

13 DW: Beautiful.

Oral History
Frances Goodine
At the Ephesus Seventh-day Adventist Church
Harlem, New York
October 4, 2014

1 Frances Goodine (FG): I wasn't always an Adventist. I was a Baptist before I
2 attended this church. How I learned about the religion is, my father bought a
3 *Bible Readings for the Home* from a colporteur—his last name was
4 Preston—that worked on his job, and he was told he would receive ten free
5 lessons. My father, he couldn't read or write, so he said I would have to stay
6 home and listen to what they were saying, and check it out for him to see if it
7 was in the Bible. He said while I was staying home, I could invite my friends
8 to the class, because I couldn't go to church while the classes were given.
9 The individual teaching the class was Ruth Blackburn North, the Bible
10 instructor. Her husband came to assist one of the senior elders. He was a
11 Bible instructor to my brother. Their son was James.

12 David Williams (DW): I just recently talked to him about his memories here.

13 FG: We took the ten lessons, and since we were interested, and we were not
14 attending the church yet, she gave us more classes. She taught us about a
15 year. We visited the church. I was a teenager so I went to the Sabbath School
16 class in the balcony, but the kids were disruptive, so I didn't enjoy attending
17 the class. In my church, we went to Sunday school, we behaved there and if
18 you were going to carry on you did that outside the classroom.

19 One of the friends I invited wasn't an Adventist, but she had Adventist
20 family members living in New Jersey. She went to camp meeting with them,
21 and came back telling me about it. She asked me how I liked attending
22 Ephesus, and was I still going to the church? I said, "Well yeah, I visited the
23 Sabbath school class." I told her how they were acting and I didn't like it.
24 She said, "Well you can get in another class," so she came and I joined
25 another class in the balcony which was a little more mature and they didn't
26 act like that. I'd go down stairs for church service but I'd sit on the back row.

27 My younger sister would sit down with the Bible worker on 124th Street
28 side. Then I told my father I was going to join someday, but I wasn't ready
29 to join yet. One day I couldn't help myself, and I answered the altar call. My
30 sister asked the Bible worker, should she go up? The Bible Work said, "If
31 you really feel that's what you want to do then go." We both got baptized by
32 Pastor Peters in December 1938.

33 My sister never took her membership from Ephesus, but when I graduated
34 from Oakwood College, before I left the campus, professor Natelke E.
35 Burrell, asked me to please answer the urgent call from the Texas
36 Conference for an elementary teacher for the school year, '46-47. This was
37 for a school in Houston, Texas, because a teacher had resigned. I wasn't
38 planning on teaching, because that's not what I had planned to do, but

1 Oakwood didn't have any more teachers to send, because all the elementary
2 graduates had jobs. Professor Burrell begged me to go, so I went and taught
3 there for three years.

4 At first I said I wasn't going to go because I didn't have elementary
5 ed[ucation courses]. I said if they would give me those courses, then I would
6 go, so the Texas Conference paid for me to go to Union College and take the
7 courses and then I went on to Texas for the three years. Then I came back to
8 New York.

9 DW: Now you said it was in about '36 you started coming to church here?

10 FG: I know for sure in '37. I mean, I might have come a few times in '36 but it
11 would have been at the end of the year. It wouldn't have been at the
12 beginning of the year. Then in '38 I was baptized by Peters in December.
13 When I became 18, I went to Oakwood, when I graduated from high school
14 here. All my education was in public school, until I attended Oakwood
15 Junior College. Prior, I never had any religious schooling.

16 I matriculated to Oakwood for the two-year pre-nursing program, but then it
17 became a senior college while I was there. I decided to complete a bachelor's
18 degree, changing my program to history and the sciences. Then I went to
19 Union College for the summer to take a few elementary courses, the
20 methods. Then I taught in Texas. Oakwood assumed that because I was
21 formerly a Baptist, they wanted me to register for more Bible courses.
22 However, that gave me too many credits, and so I wasn't able to take the
23 anatomy course I needed. As a result, I went to NYU Bellevue School of
24 Nursing, to finish my education. I have taught as a public health nurse.

25 DW: Let me ask you to now tell me a little bit what you remember with the
26 worship here. Were you in the youth chapel in '37?

27 FG: Yes, the youth chapel. The chapel didn't look like it looks now. It's been
28 remodeled. Because the church was crowded, and because Pastor Rowe did
29 not want to have two main services, he started the pre-youth church. First,
30 we started off quarterly, then monthly, then we had it every two weeks. Then
31 after that we had it weekly. We had our own deaconess, and deacons and
32 ushers, but we always had someone from the senior church working with us.
33 The senior church started at 11:00 am, and used the offices in the back of the
34 youth church. Therefore, we had to wait until after the senior church started
35 before we could hold our service. They promised to take those offices out
36 when they renovated the church, and they did, so that's why it's like it is. In
37 the youth church, we didn't have a choir loft back then at the time I came.

38 DW: Do you remember, when it started, how the youth worship compared to the
39 order of service in the adult worship? Was it similar or the same?

40 FG: No, it was similar. They didn't have drums and all that stuff.

41 DW: No, but you would have the same elements in the service?

1 FG: Yes, they did that because you would have a deacon assigned to the deacons,
2 and an elder assigned to the youth elders, and you would have someone
3 assigned to the ushers. They would do the same thing so that later they could
4 go out there, because the people you see, watching those young ones up
5 there, they were back here when they came. They got their training back here
6 and then as they learned everything they got promoted.

7 DW: It was really valuable to help train them for the main service.

8 FG: Yes, they did. That's what they were doing.

9 DW: They've done a good job of that I think.

10 FG: The thing you see in the Heritage Lobby there, that's when the official youth
11 church started from the conference. This was done by Pastor Rowe before,
12 which they never wrote too much of a history about it. Just some of us know,
13 who were here before know about it. Subject EPH10614 don't know that
14 much about that. The three people that you see pictured up there, they were
15 starting the official youth church.

16 DW: Right, right.

17 FG: Okay, and then you see those elders and everything, but you don't see the
18 people who were working back here before. But Blackman was one of those
19 elders. Dr. Simpson, he was one of the elders. Eaton, I can't remember all of
20 the names, I once had a letter that Dr. Simpson wrote to me telling me the
21 names of all of them, and had given it to several people. Blackman became a
22 public high school science teacher and the first elder at Ephesus. Eaton
23 became an ordained pastor in the denomination. Simpson became a medical
24 doctor and a local elder at Ephesus, though he eventually went to New
25 Rochelle.

26 DW: Tell me about the music. Do you remember what hymnal you used?

27 FG: We used *Christ in Song* when I came.

28 DW: In the worship service, in the main?

29 FG: In the worship service, in the main and in the youth. The youth also used a
30 youth book that they had back then. *Gospel Melodies*, we used that in the
31 youth services. This was used down in the Juniors department.

32 DW: Okay, but in the Divine Worship you used this [*Christ in Song*].

33 FG: Correct, when I came here *Christ in Song* was used until the new hymnal
34 came out.

35 DW: Do you remember when this [1941 *Church Hymnal*] came out, when you
36 started using it? Now it came out in '41.

37 FG: Ephesus got it at that time and started using it and then they didn't like the
38 idea of some of the things that were in *The Church Hymnal*. So they were
39 using both and after a while there wasn't enough of *Christ in Song* left.

40 DW: You had both in the pews?

1 FG: No, they weren't in the pew, people had their own books. For some reason
2 when Ephesus gets a bunch of books and put them in the pews, like the
3 *Church Hymnal* they did, that people would walk out with them. Like they
4 had one person was seen, the man used the book and he was walking out
5 with it. They said that's Ephesus' book. He said, "I know," and he kept
6 going with it. I don't know why they want to take the books from Ephesus.
7 The other Adventist churches, the Black ones, they don't take their books,
8 but they take Ephesus' books.

9 DW: Did you ever use *Hymns and Tunes* [1886]?

10 FG: They would sing songs out of this. Solos, duets, and trios and all like that,
11 they used all kinds of books. They would be Adventist books, Baptist,
12 Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, whatever they thought appropriate.
13 The choir director would just change the words to fit our beliefs.

14 DW: This wasn't congregational singing.

15 FG: No, this was not congregational. Musicians would use that old song book,
16 not the congregation. Or people who came from the islands, they may have
17 had the hymnal. Or they may have known a song from it from memory.

18 Pastor Rowe's brother was the choir director. He would be in the center, and
19 the organ was on the left, facing the 124th street side, seeing every
20 movement of the director. This is the same arrangement as the Abyssinian
21 Baptist church. I came from a church with good music, and went to a new
22 church with good music.

23 DW: I bring it up because this was the official denomination's hymnal until this
24 one. In fact in 1914—

25 FG: This is the one we used [*Christ in Song, 1908*].

26 DW: But in '14 they said this book [*Christ in Song*] shall not be used in Divine
27 Worship, and they all still did it.

28 FG: Yeah, we were using it [*Christ in Song*], and when this came out we used
29 this [*Church Hymnal*].

30 FG: We used this official one and now the one that they got now [the 1985
31 *Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal*]. When I came that's what they were doing,
32 but they sang out of these books.

33 DW: What was the character of *Christ in Song* that people were so endeared to, or
34 the style of songs maybe, that then when *The Church Hymnal* 1941 came
35 out, they didn't like it?

36 FG: They didn't like it because some of the numbers that they liked to sing were
37 not put in this book. Then we were told because they couldn't get the
38 copyright. They said it's not the official one and that we should just learn
39 some of these songs. They would explain to us how they had a group from
40 all the different nationalities and groups, and that's why they encouraged us

1 to use that. Then we didn't see any more *Christ in Song* until they had a new
2 one.

3 DW: A reprint.

4 FG: That's when I got mine, but I don't know how it got away from me. Then
5 they've been using [*The Church Hymnal*] ever since and then now the new
6 one, [*The Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal*, 1985].

7 DW: What were some of the favorite songs that the church would sing as a group?
8 Do you remember there being special songs that you sang a lot out of *Christ*
9 *in Song*?

10 FG: I'd have to look through here to see. Keep talking and I'll tell you.

11 DW: Maybe there were certain topics, do you remember topics of songs that you
12 would sing, like sing about the Second Coming or the Sabbath?

13 FG: They would sing about the Sabbath, like in Sabbath school. It depends on the
14 topic that they had for the day. They would pick numbers according to that.
15 We have song service, they would pick numbers.

16 DW: For Sabbath School you did?

17 FG: For Sabbath School according to what the special day is, or special program,
18 like this is the ninetieth anniversary, or it's baptism. They will have numbers
19 about—If it's a communion they would sing numbers about communion.
20 Baptism, you would have numbers about baptism, or connected with the
21 preacher's sermon. Then usually the choir director or the music director
22 would pick the numbers that go into the bulletin. The pastor would
23 communicate with them and then they would finally have their anthems and
24 what not, around the subject that's going to be covered, so that the sermon,
25 and everything, and the music would go together to help win souls.

26 DW: You remember all that being integrated back then?

27 FG: Well, I mean as I got older I realized what they were doing. I don't know if I
28 first came, I would select certain hymns and anthems, we sang 100 today.
29 That was one of the ones our collegiate choir used to like to sing. I liked it. It
30 means something to me. I mean, the numbers they sang that I liked I
31 remember, but I know that that's what they're doing. I'm older now so I
32 would know that, but when I first came here I don't think I paid attention to
33 that. I would pay attention if they sang it well or not, or I didn't understand
34 the words and I don't consider that good singing when you cannot
35 understand the words of what's going on.

36 DW: Maybe you could tell me about what did the people do while they were
37 singing? Would they be seated or would they be standing?

38 FG: You have an order of service: Opening hymn, you would stand for that.
39 Sometimes they would tell us to sit. When the people were marching on the
40 stage we'd have to stand. For the opening hymn we're going to stand. For
41 invocation and prayer, of course we're standing. For the closing hymn we

1 would be standing. All right, this is pretty old, this is Blackman. This is
2 1977. Hymn of worship: "Praise Ye the Father," that's one of the numbers,
3 they sang that often. "Oh, Lord Have Mercy," "Take Time to be Holy," they
4 sang that often.

5 DW: You mean back in the '30s and '40s you remember them singing those?

6 FG: Yes, they sang those numbers. They sang, "Oh, Master Let Me Walk With
7 You," "God Be With You." Main hymn of worship, you're standing.

8 DW: Well, you know, today we may have people raise their hands in worship or
9 clap. What did people do back then?

10 FG: No, we didn't clap.

11 DW: But what about hand raising, would there be hand raising in worship?

12 FG: If there was, it would be very few. I didn't see them. What they would do
13 was wave the bulletin.

14 DW: Back in the '30s and '40s, did you have paper bulletins at the Ephesus
15 Church?

16 FG: Yes, we always had bulletins. Occasionally we may not have had one if the
17 secretary did not have them produced.

18 DW: It sounds like except for a few they've all been lost.

19 FG: I don't say they were lost, we just didn't keep them.

20 DW: Yeah, yeah, that's what I mean.

21 FG: They weren't lost, people just, you know—

22 DW: They weren't important records to keep back then.

23 FG: They didn't do those things. They didn't keep them. Some have ... I know
24 one person who had them but in moving and stuff they lost them. Everyl
25 Gibson had them, most of the bulletins for a long time but she probably
26 doesn't have them now. I had some things like that, but she's not doing well.
27 She lives in New Jersey.

28 DW: Well it sounds like you may have some bulletins with the records that you
29 have that Jeryl has now.

30 FG: Jeryl doesn't have it, it's Sandy Bird.

31 DW: Oh, Sandy Bird has it. [She was organizing the 90th Anniversary].

32 FG: I was hoping she can bring it. She didn't tell me she was going to bring it
33 today. I told her I needed it today because what's her name said that I had it
34 in there, something that you wanted to see. But I brought this one. [Gave me
35 a copy, from 1978 and 1986]

36 I don't know, it might not even be what you need. It's not that far back in the
37 '30s because I didn't save bulletins from the the '30s. I did have some
38 bulletins I did save but we didn't keep all those things. Too much paper.

1 DW: Let me, if I can, ask you a little more about the music. You said you sang in
2 the choir?

3 FG: The collegiate choir.

4 DW: So, do you read music?

5 FG: I read a little music. I took music lessons before I came to this church. I took
6 a year of piano at the New York School of Music. But I didn't continue. I
7 can read notes.

8 DW: Do you remember back then in the '40s if there was much gospel music
9 being sung?

10 FG: No, there wasn't a lot of gospel. I said they did anthems and the hymns, no
11 songs. They would do spirituals, but not like what they do now.

12 DW: They did spirituals?

13 FG: Yeah, they did some spirituals. And Black history week, it was Black history
14 week, back then it wasn't a month, and they would have a program and then
15 they would do different things. They might do some gospel, but it wouldn't
16 be the type of gospel that goes on now. The music is sort of, to me, sort of
17 jazzy. We didn't have that.

18 DW: No jazz back then.

19 FG: No, even the fellows who played for professional bands when they came in
20 here and they played their sax and whatnot they played hymns like they
21 should be played. We had some people from Duke Ellington's band and
22 whatnot. If this was the song, they would just play straight what these notes
23 were.

24 You might end up, how you end up a number just like the girl sang that last
25 number. If the sax were an alto or tenor sax, the note might be high, but they
26 didn't play—

27 DW: Do a little riff, or something.

28 FG: No, no. We had a little orchestra because people would want violin. Several
29 people played the sax, my brother played the sax.

30 DW: Is there a word of advice you would give to the present and future church
31 about worship and music that we could learn from your experiences?

32 FG: As a Christian, we all have different types of music we like. There's a place
33 for everything. Certain things I don't think should be in the church, or done
34 in the divine worship service, or during the Sabbath hours. These types of
35 music may be fine to do, but not in those places or times. There is music
36 appropriate for church, for school, for concerts, etc.

Oral History
Lloyd & Rosalee Kellum
In their home
Battle Creek, Michigan
March 22, 2017

1 Rosalee Kellum (RK) [1941–]: You want my birth year, which is 1941, in August,
2 so it was RK just before the Pearl Harbor. I don't know how my parents felt
3 about that. I went to public school through the eighth grade, and then I went
4 to the Battle Creek Academy and graduated from there, and then one year at
5 Emmanuel Missionary College, which is now Andrews.

6 Lloyd Kellum (LK) [1936–]: My name is Lloyd Kellum. I had the privilege of
7 attending the academy all the years that I attended school. My mother started
8 me a little late because she had read in Sister White's writings that you don't
9 want to start them too early, so I started when I was eight years old. In that
10 era of time, it wasn't as acceptable because all my neighbor kids were telling
11 me I was going to go to jail because I hadn't started school. I wasn't in school
12 yet, but mom taught me how to spell and the numbers and multiplication
13 tables, things of that nature, and we often had those things to do on a Sabbath
14 afternoon. We often went into town because my father was not an Adventist.
15 My father was a hard-working man, but we always went into church, and we
16 often walked in from where we lived to the end of the bus line. That was
17 usually about a 30-minute walk. We got a chance to ride the bus and go to
18 church, and get off and spend the day there, we'd take lunch. Sabbath was
19 kind of different because we had a lot of other young people that came in at
20 the same time. They liked the idea of eating there and being at church and so
21 instead of just mom and myself at a lunch, we often ended up with a few
22 other people with us. There were kids from the school. It was quite a deal for
23 us. I went to the academy to begin with, and I can still remember, this was
24 when it was up on Kendall Street before it burned. They put me in school, and
25 they said that I knew everything that they were trying to teach me, so it didn't
26 seem to be a prudent thing to do, so they decided to move me up a grade.
27 They then decided that I'd still been taught everything that they were
28 teaching, and it might be prudent to move me up one more, but they were
29 afraid it would make my head big. I can still remember that little
30 conversation. "He's going to get a big head if we put him in too many grades
31 up," so they left me there and just let me do whatever I did. It was nothing but
32 As because I already knew it, but they felt that that was probably more
33 prudent, so that's what they did. I went there until I graduated from 12th, and
34 it was probably a blessing, but that's a little bit of the Adventist nonsense, I
35 guess.

36 David Williams (DW): Uh-huh (affirmative). So now you all went to the academy
37 together?

38 RK: No, he's ahead of me by five years, so when I started in the ninth grade, he
39 was already graduated.

1 DW: Oh, okay.

2 RK: But I knew of him, and then he came back from the military and worked at
3 the San[itarium] for a little while is where we kind of got acquainted.

4 DW: Oh, okay.

5 LK: Yeah, I guess that's the way that worked out.

6 DW: You all have memories of worship at the Tabernacle.

7 LK: I do. I think she does, too. I played at the Tabernacle. Even for what we had
8 back then was called junior meeting. What junior meeting was about was
9 something for young people to be involved in that was church-oriented, and I
10 remember some of the teachers that were at the academy also were
11 participants in the young people in there, had junior meeting. But because it
12 was discovered that I played the piano, they wanted me to play for junior
13 meeting because it always sounded better, for whatever reason they felt. I
14 played a direct sound for them, and playing or them I often played what
15 didn't make any sense if you just heard it, but it was more of the
16 accompaniment for what they were singing. Why play the melody line when
17 everybody's doing it? Why not play something else to help enhance it? So
18 that's what we did, and some of the music teachers picked up some of that
19 stuff, so we played for junior meeting for quite a long time.

20 DW: What do you mean the music teachers picked up on it? They started to do
21 that, too?

22 LK: No. They knew better than to play anything for me. When I'd go, they ...
23 Mom wanted me to take lessons and so we did what your parents' wanted. I
24 took lessons, but in doing that, I had music that I had to read, I read music. I
25 didn't have any real earth-shattering desire to do so, but it was something that
26 I needed to do because mom said that I need to do. As a result, when I would
27 go there and I'd ask them to play it for me, and then I'd play what they just
28 played. I heard it, so I knew what they wanted.

29 They got to where they wouldn't do that. I think their favorite line was, "This
30 song, this piece of music was not written by Lloyd Kellum. It was written by
31 Johann Sebastian Bach, so you need to play it like ..." "Yes," I said, "Which
32 do you like the sound of better?" He said, "That isn't the point. We like yours,
33 but we ..." So that was where that all went. They got the point where they
34 said, "When you practice the music with us, will you come back?" And
35 somehow or rather I never got back.

36 But that was what people inherently liked for me to play for junior meetings. I
37 didn't know what everyone felt this. I'd sit there and play, that's all.

38 RK: When he talked about the junior meetings, we went to junior meetings that
39 Leslie Iles lead out in. That's what my memory of it is. Les Iles would be the
40 leader of the music, and he would have you, he just really got you—

41 LK: He got you involved.

1 RK: Then he would direct it, and he'd want you to hold a note and you'd better
2 watch him because he'd get to a point where you're supposed to hold the note
3 for quite a while. So that's why I say you better watch it because then when
4 he's ready for you to start up again, he'd start directing, and he did that an
5 awful lot, I remember.

6 LK: Yes, he did. He was an impromptu kind of guy.

7 RK: He let out, as far as my memory is, even before I got to the academy was he
8 was directing the young people. My first memory is maybe being in the junior
9 room, and I think maybe he was leading out even in the music there because
10 he could really get people to sing with him.

11 LK: He involved you. That's what he was best noted for. He taught accounting,
12 bookkeeping and so forth at the school, and some other classes as well, some
13 English and so forth, but he was definitely one to cause the people to be
14 involved. He would have impromptu services where he would call upon
15 people, put something together while he kept on talking, and then the rest of
16 the program was he would call on them, and they would do something.
17 Whether they sang, whether they played, or played instrument other than
18 maybe piano, but that's what he did. He was one of the people who would get
19 the young people involved in doing things.

20 DW: So these impromptu services were young people?

21 LK: Yeah.

22 DW: Okay. And how was that received by the young people? How did they enjoy
23 it?

24 LK: It was different generation, remember.

25 DW: Uh-huh (affirmative).

26 LK: That's what they wanted, that's what they got. But he did it in a fashion
27 where they were part of it, and he felt that if they were a part of it, they would
28 likely be around there a little longer as opposed to having nothing to with it,
29 walking in, showing up, and leaving. His philosophy was if you get them
30 involved it's probably a whole lot better than just letting them walk out the
31 door.

32 DW: Uh-huh (affirmative).

33 RK: Did we have Friday night meetings then? Is that where I remember him-

34 LK: Oh yeah. They did have Friday meetings.

35 DW: Is that the junior meeting you're talking about?

36 LK: No, junior meetings were usually Sabbath afternoon.

37 DW: Okay.

38 LK: Yeah, but they had Friday night meetings. Back then, our church was a
39 different, well, it's a different configuration, if you will, even in the design of

1 the place. When you walked downstairs, and I don't know if you'll want any
2 of that, but we can show you how it was to begin with because it was totally
3 different than how it is now. I remember-

4 DW: There's a big room down there, right?

5 LK: One big room.

6 DW: Oh, okay.

7 RK: Where that little lobby is, where there's couches and things?

8 DW: Uh-huh (affirmative).

9 RK: That's the room I remember of. That and the next one, too, it was all one big
10 room. That's where we met for some, I remember being in there singing with
11 Les Isles, but I don't know. It may have been the Friday night meeting.

12 LK: Well, it could have been because also we had Sabbath afternoon meetings in
13 that same room where pastor at the time was Pingenot, and a few years ago, I
14 thought of Pingenot, because he was still alive at that point in time, and his
15 memory was fading him, but he said, "Do you remember the series that I
16 pointed out in regards to the end of time series?" I said, "Yeah, I have a copy
17 of that in my bible." He was floored.

18 DW: Wow.

19 LK: That room was one large room. It went all the way back to the other end. At
20 the other end, there was a room that was used for the primary at the time. The
21 other half of it was used for the pastor's office.

22 DW: Okay.

23 LK: Totally different configuration down there because the hallway where we
24 walked was a thin hallway which had the rooms on the other side where you
25 could go and listen to them. Listen to them when they had the services up
26 there. If you had crying children, you take them down there, you could turn
27 the speaker on down there, however, as suited just so you could hear, and you
28 wouldn't have to disturb everybody else with crying kids. That was the way
29 that they handled it then. There was a lot of that that was different.

30 Oh, downstairs, you could go downstairs where they, it's totally different
31 down there now because you don't get access to the outside. There was some
32 actual construction work done, the church itself didn't have carpeting all over
33 the place, it only had it on the walkways, I guess. Up in front had a banister
34 across it which separated where they couldn't fall, kids couldn't fall off. I
35 remember having 13 Sabbath programs up there. I had a youngster that just
36 liked me very well, but he couldn't carry a tune in the bushel basket, but he
37 always wanted to stand by me when we were doing our songs up there. I was
38 mortified, but I did it because mom said we should be kind.

39 DW: You accompanied them to be nice.

40 LK: I guess that was it.

1 RK: I remember that we always had a choir.
2 LK: I guess.
3 RK: Just in the last few years we haven't, and Frank Foote directed that forever.
4 As far as I, all my memory of our choir was Frank Foote directing it. We've
5 always been very blessed with lots of people that were very good with music.
6 The Tabernacle seems like, has all the talent. Maybe other big churches have
7 the same, but my thought about the Tabernacle is that we've always had very,
8 very good musical talent. Even now, the young people from the school,
9 there's some excellent, excellent musicians coming out of the Battle Creek
10 Academy.
11 LK: That was one of the perks the Academy.
12 RK: Of course, we got Buddy, they've all told you about Buddy.
13 DW: Uh-uh (negative).
14 RK: Buddy Houghtaling?
15 DW: Oh, I have heard of him.
16 RK: He writes his own music and has a lot of CDs and then—
17 LK: He has concerts.
18 RK: The guy that does it with him, Dan Grents, they are both very musical. In fact,
19 Buddy's concert is this Saturday night. Come back to Battle Creek for that.
20 You'll be very blessed.
21 DW: Okay.
22 RK: We've always had ... It seems to be that we've always had very talented
23 young people with their music and very good organists. We had Mrs. Cook
24 who was a beautiful organist, Evelyn Conklin? Did she play the organ? That's
25 the first memory of organists. There was another good one before that, but
26 my-
27 LK: Was it Geraldine Lawson?
28 RK: Geraldine Lawson, yeah.
29 LK: Geraldine Lawson, then we had Lucille Harrison.
30 DW: A lot of women were the organists.
31 RK: The only male was Jim Slater. He worked at the San with me, and he played
32 the organ. Very loud. Becker, was that the one down at Andrews?
33 DW: Uh-huh (affirmative).
34 RK: He was his teacher, and he taught organ to play loud.
35 LK: Yeah.
36 RK: But yeah.
37 LK: It was a performance instrument.

1 RK: So we've always had the organ. I'm not sure when that came, but then when
2 we put it in, we've always had beautiful organists. Of course, now we have
3 Debbie Candy who has a PhD or something in organ, so she does a beautiful
4 job with it.

5 LK: Yeah, she does a good job, but she's kind of a perfectionist at heart. That
6 plays a role in what you do. It just plain does. We've been blessed in that
7 regard. The organ was down on the floor of the church over on the north side.

8 RK: Where the piano is now.

9 LK: Where the piano is now.

10 DW: Okay.

11 LK: The piano was up on something else. You didn't have the steps in front like
12 they are. You came in from the side, but they modified that one. They
13 carpeted the whole sanctuary finally. They had an issue, I think, with the
14 sound because everything was a hard surface, and the sound bounced
15 everywhere. They decided, well, they did a number of things. Anyway, that's
16 one of the many changes that took place.

17 RK: They had discussion of they didn't want the carpet up in the choir loft because
18 that did something with the sound, so there was ...

19 LK: They felt that it did, and they probably did to some extent. How great, I don't
20 know, but I was still pretty young then. Up in the front, they had the Ten
21 Commandments. That was changed and years later, but back in the 30s and
22 the 40s, Ten Commandments were up there.

23 DW: So when the present Tabernacle was built, they probably had those Ten
24 Commandments as the main piece upfront.

25 LK: Yes. Of course, that's just a little bit north of where the Dime Tabernacle was
26 because that was on the corner. You know how that was diagonal and it had
27 four clocks instead of one like we have now.

28 DW: You remember seeing this Ten Commandments up there?

29 LK: Yes.

30 DW: Would that be used? Did people interact with that in some way during the
31 service like you would recite it together? Was it the words written or you just
32 saw numbers?

33 LK: I do not remember us ever reciting it off and that.

34 DW: Okay. Because over at the Historic Village, at the main meeting houses, over
35 there, they have the Ten Commandments up there. Maybe it's just the fourth
36 commandment, I don't remember which is up there, but we have recited over
37 there. Maybe that's just a contemporary thing that we've done, but I do know
38 that in Christian history and Anglican churches, Presbyterian churches, they
39 also have had the Ten Commandments and maybe the Lord's Prayer as well.

1 They would recite during the service, so I was interested if perhaps in the
2 Tabernacle if there was some sort of reciting of it in the service.

3 LK: I never remember that being done that way. I can remember if we would read
4 something out of the scripture and it would have maybe that, but I never
5 remember ...

6 DW: Okay. But it seems that them having that up on the wall would say something
7 about the law.

8 LK: You got to remember, back in that era, there was a lot of discussion. Well,
9 back in the 1880s, they had a fair amount of discussions going on. I wasn't
10 alive then, I know about some of the history of it, and that makes it of interest
11 because we were a very law oriented denomination early on. There's been a
12 modifying of that in time as to how that's viewed, but the early believers
13 probably didn't have everything. It's been a gradual process.

14 DW: Yeah. The organ usually led the worship, I hear you saying. Is that right?
15 Would the piano be used in divine service?

16 LK: It was. It wasn't done as much as it is now, probably. There's a lot of piano as
17 well as organ in the church service, but most of the piano is used for ...

18 RK: More for accompaniment.

19 LK: Yeah, it is. The music of the service is basically done by the organ. The
20 exception to that is when they have the pray song for people to kind of, which
21 is something that was started later on in an effort to get people involved,
22 which seemed to be, again, an important facet of it. As a result of that, there
23 are still parts of the services that are done with piano and piano only. The
24 specials many times are piano and other instruments as well. The thing about
25 it is that there's more people who play piano than organ for the most part. I'm
26 sure that has some bearing on it.

27 The fact that the organ is used is basically because I think there's a feeling in
28 the mindset somewhere that when you have an organ, it might be a little more
29 reverential. That's just a perception on my part I could be all that, maybe, but
30 I get that distinct impression from watching these things. They play some, in
31 the sequence that they have. I know there was a fellow who was older than I,
32 and his name was Moon. Moon was, he played his own arrangements.

33 DW: Arrangements of hymns?

34 LK: Of whatever he played.

35 DW: Okay.

36 RK: Like you do when you ... You play a hymn, but you schmooze it up.

37 LK: Yeah, I schmaltz it up a little bit. That's true, but that's something that I
38 learned when I was extremely young. I was listening to the radio, and I was
39 listening to what they were playing because I always was thinking of ways to
40 make it sound better. And as a result of that, I discovered what the

1 accompaniment was, had little to do with what was being done whether it was
2 an instrumentation, whether it was vocal, whatever. As a result of that, I
3 decided that was probably a plus because it sounded better. I decided I would
4 maybe build that into what I might be doing, and from then on, my whole
5 style of piano modified. I guess the comment is, "I can walk up outside, and if
6 Lloyd's playing, I know it's him because the style was different."

7 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

8 LK: Why play what they're already doing? Play something else. Give it a fuller
9 sound. Why not?

10 RK: Buddy Houghtaling is also my dentist. We were talking, and he had this idea
11 because when you walk in and you don't know who's playing, you can tell
12 that's him or some of these others. So he was going to do kind of a hide
13 who's back there and have people guess who was playing because each one,
14 who's really good at their piano playing like he is and Debbie Candy is, you
15 can tell, without knowing who it is, you can tell who's playing. He was going
16 to do kind of a hide the piano player and have people guess, and he never did
17 that, but it's true. Lloyd had a different style, Debbie had a different style,
18 Buddy does, and without knowing who's there, you can tell who's playing.

19 LK: Everybody has seemingly something on their do, the input to it.

20 DW: Now would you let the piano lead congregational singing in divine worship?

21 LK: I have. I have done. But it's not a usual thing. No, it's not.

22 RK: Up to the 50s or whatever, back in my childhood, there would be one or two
23 hymns with an accompaniment to start the service. And it's only been within
24 the last, when celebration churches came out, to me, that's when this praise
25 sing came into being. And our church would start out with a hymn up until
26 what, eight years ago or so, we started doing the praise sing? So that praise
27 sing thing is all very new because it would just be right out of the hymnal,
28 one or two hymns would start the service. Now it's everybody gets up, and
29 Andrews we do a praise sing where you, what, five songs maybe? And some
30 of them are these new 7-11 things that —

31 LK: Yeah. Seven lines and you sing it 11 times.

32 DW: Right, right, right, right. Yeah.

33 RK: So we being from that older generation, at least I can speak for me, I'd much
34 rather hear one of the old time hymns than some of this new stuff.

35 LK: Well, we grew up with that.

36 RK: Mm-hmm (affirmative). That's how we used to start the service before praise
37 sing.

38 LK: Reverence had a different connotation.

39 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). So the organ was believed to be, in that cultural
40 mindset, to be more reverent.

1 LK: Yeah.

2 DW: Can you say more about that?

3 LK: The thing that was always noticeable to me was that early on, the organ was
4 primary, because it was played for any part of the service you want it almost,
5 and piano was a little less, which it's the way it was. It may have been a
6 matter of perception but not totally, I don't think. The thing that happened
7 was that as time went by, a need for reverence in the sanctuary was more
8 paramount in my perception of it. As a result of that, the organ was more
9 primary as far as the music that was provided.

10 DW: You mean, so in your experience, there has been an ever-increasing desire, for
11 some time, for reverence in the service.

12 LK: Yes.

13 DW: Maybe in the 40s or 50s, maybe, they're making it more reverent. In the 60s,
14 trying to be more reverent.

15 LK: And then it kind of went downhill after that.

16 RK: I was going to say, it's turned around. I don't think it's near as reverent now
17 as it was when I was a child.

18 DW: So what does reverent mean?

19 LK: I think it's in the ear of the hearer.

20 DW: Uh-huh (affirmative).

21 LK: And I'm sure it plays a role because depending upon who's in charge of that,
22 and often the pastor has some say in that, I'm sure. And it was that way more
23 in the past than the current. The modification of that has not applied, and I
24 guess in looking at it, I've seen the mutation. Right or wrong, whatever, when
25 I began playing for a chorale group, which was back in '69, I played for them
26 for 30 years ...

27 DW: Oh wow.

28 LK: ... until '99. And it was interesting to note how the music modified and how
29 its acceptance modified. I guess, the easiest way to say that would be the fact
30 that when I started playing for the chorale, it was in the air of the Heritage
31 Singers, and there were pros and cons about that a lot and several discussions
32 about it. I can recall thinking on some of the songs that we were doing and
33 how they modified a little bit in the programs that we did and how the music
34 from the Heritage Singers, and I played for The Youth for Eternity, and we
35 changed it to Eternity Singers for obvious needs, I got older. There was a
36 modification on what we did, there was a modification of how it was accepted
37 or not accepted in some cases as well. That seemed to be the time when there
38 was a bit of a turmoil on what are we going to do with the music?

39 I remember having people come in and give sermons about it. There's been
40 that modification that I went through with the performance of concerts

1 because we did a lot of concerts every year, and we did them all over the
2 country. Some places it was accepted better than others, and it depended on
3 the part of the country we seemed to be in at the time on how it was accepted
4 or not accepted, whatever the case may be. I can remember hearing comments
5 of, “You guys are like the new Christian Minstrels,” or something, things like
6 that which I never quite understood because I didn’t think we sounded like
7 them, but ...

8 RK: Wasn’t there at least one pastor that did not want your group in the
9 Tabernacle because they didn’t feel right about your music?

10 LK: There was a time when it was less accepted. Yeah, that’s true.

11 RK: And your music was pretty much what the Heritage Singers did but ...

12 LK: That type of music.

13 RK: ... there was at least one pastor that wasn’t comfortable with it.

14 LK: Do you remember who that was?

15 RK: No, I don’t.

16 LK: Go down look at the pictures, and it’ll probably remind me.

17 RK: Because it seemed like you told me there was, you weren’t going to be
18 coming to the Tabernacle because whoever was the pastor then wasn’t
19 comfortable with the music that your group was playing.

20 LK: Yeah. I think that’s true.

21 DW: And this is more of a gospel, southern gospel style?

22 LK: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Yeah, it was. But we always had the other kind in
23 there, we always had the other type of music in there. The leader was always
24 trying to do what he needed to do to try and make it more acceptable, I guess.
25 Sometimes, he would just—The Black churches liked the other kind of music,
26 so when we went to the Black—

27 DW: Which kind of music?

28 LK: They liked the more rambunctious type of music.

29 RK: Upbeat.

30 LK: Upbeat, yeah.

31 RK: More upbeat music.

32 DW: Like the southern gospel?

33 LK: Yeah.

34 DW: Uh-huh (affirmative).

35 LK: They love that stuff and so we had quartets and trios that we put together
36 from the group, and we did those kinds of songs for them because they really
37 enjoyed it, they really got into it. We have a local Black church here, and they

1 have had one for a long time. Whenever we went to their church, the music
2 was modified because they loved it. They loved that kind of music, they got
3 into it. That was their way of praising the Lord.

4 DW: Can you be more descriptive musically about what was modified with the
5 music?

6 LK: What was modified? Let me give you a maybe, I don't know if you know
7 how many types, how much music you know. I got a fairly a lot of it up in
8 here.

9 DW: I studied, I have an undergrad in music and a master's in music.

10 LK: Oh.

11 DW: So I have music vocabulary.

12 LK: Okay.

13 DW: But my style is not your style, but that doesn't mean I can't understand.

14 LK: No, that's fine. I got you. I can remember we did a song that I really liked. It
15 was called "Soon and Very Soon." I remember that song. I had a rendition of
16 that that we played, and it was definitely upbeat. They loved that kind of
17 stuff. They just loved it.

18 DW: Would they have some of the chromatic bass line type of thing coming out?
19 Sort of that boogie woogie accompaniment?

20 LK: I never put that in. I couldn't reconcile it, and I know there were times when
21 the leader whose name was Lindy, when we talk about some of the songs, and
22 I said, "You know, don't we want to make sure that the blessing gets to the
23 people, and it doesn't get funneled towards us?" I said, "In order to do that, I
24 think we have to be a little bit meticulous on what we decide to do for music."
25 If we did a quartet number or something of that number, we might wander
26 away from that a little bit, but quartets have a way of killing that style like
27 barber shop a little bit.

28 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

29 LK: I think there was an era of time in there where I probably played a role in
30 keeping some of it down because one, it wasn't as acceptable, two, I wanted
31 them to have a blessing from it, and if they heard something they didn't like,
32 the blessing would not be there.

33 DW: That there were certain associations in some congregations that this is not
34 sacred and so it wouldn't be acceptable.

35 LK: Not be as acceptable, yeah.

36 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

37 LK: Yeah, that's true.

38 DW: Now I've heard you play, I heard you play this summer. My wife and I came
39 up and visited the church.

1 LK: Oh, is that right?
2 DW: Right at the offertory.
3 LK: Oh yeah.
4 DW: I've heard you play, and you have some, I would say some jazz harmonies at
5 times.
6 LK: I do put in a different type of harmony many times because they never hear it
7 otherwise.
8 RK: Well, you have a musical background.
9 LK: Yeah.
10 RK: I would not know the difference because I'm not musical, but someone who's
11 musical will. He'll make comments about people coming up to him and
12 saying something about how he played or whatever, and I think, "I don't get
13 it." But someone who's musical picked up that he's different. That his style is
14 different.
15 DW: When you were young, did you have some of that harmonic vocabulary then?
16 LK: I did because I decided it was something that added to it. I had heard all the
17 people that I wanted to hear play the notes. I heard all that, but I really, you
18 know. They still do it, but it isn't my style anymore. That started back when I
19 was about seven.
20 DW: Okay. So remind me, so that's what year now? You were born in '36?
21 LK: I was born in '36. Yeah.
22 DW: Okay, so early 40s.
23 LK: Yeah. Oh yeah. I can still remember the song. I think the song that broke that
24 to me the best was a song called "Teach Me Tonight." It was a popular song,
25 you probably don't even remember it now.
26 DW: Mm-mm (negative).
27 LK: The thing that I heard when I heard that accompaniment was whole lot of
28 different chords which sounded a whole lot better than any other way. I
29 remember to this day going and sitting down to the piano, making a mental
30 note of what I was listening to on the radio, because that was a popular song,
31 and saying, "I'm going to play those. I heard those, I'm going to play those,"
32 and doing it. I decided if I could do it with that song, I could do it with
33 another one. And from there on, it exploded. That's what I did. I'm glad I did
34 because I guess I was thinking just, I don't know, it's been what, four, five
35 weeks ago that I played. My friend Buddy, who's our dentist, he said, "Lloyd,
36 what did I hear you play? Didn't I hear you play a seventh in that thing?" I
37 said, "Yeah, you did. You were listening." He said, "Oh, I listen." He said,
38 "That was amazing stuff." I said, "Well, it's not just mine. You can play it if
39 you want to." He said, "I do that a lot."

1 But they just hear a different sound, and that's fine. I want them to hear
2 something different that's appealing, that is that I think more beautiful. I
3 know it blows their minds away because I think it's probably your most
4 beautiful key to playing on the piano is the key of F sharp, and he says, "What
5 are you doing?" I said, "Well, I was playing the song." He said, "Were you
6 playing that in six sharps?" I said, "Well, probably." I said, "It sounds nicer."
7 He said, "What is with you?" I said, "I don't know," but it's just the way it is,
8 and I was putting together a song that I'll probably use for a special, and
9 that's the song Quiet Place.

10 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

11 LK: I have made an arrangement that thing that has so many extra chords put into
12 it, lead-in chords, and there's a fellow in our church now. What's his name?
13 Can't remember.

14 RK: Randy?

15 LK: Oh, Randy. Yeah, Randy Dagan. He plays on the piano, too, but he plays the
16 guitar, and he puts those chords in the guitar. He said, "Lloyd, we're going to
17 have to do a concert some time." I said, "Why do you want to do a concert all
18 the time?" He said, "People ought to hear this stuff." I said, "Well, I don't
19 know if they'll agree with this or not." Every once in a while, he comes up
20 afterwards, he said, "I heard a song." He said, "I'm going to send it to you."
21 He just did that this last week, and he said, "I'm going to send it to you," so
22 I've got to go in there and play it. Then I'll probably put an arrangement to it.

23 DW: Tell me more about the harmonies that you would play. Bud was pointing out
24 sevenths. What other type of intervals that you're conscious of that you're
25 stacking on the root?

26 LK: A seventh basically is what it says it is. It's the seventh notes out of the
27 eighth, but you have 12th actually as you go up there. You go, "Cool."

28 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). So it might be a minor seventh or a major seventh
29 depending on the chord, of course.

30 LK: Depending upon the key you're in probably.

31 DW: Sure. Do you add other ninths or 11ths?

32 LK: Yes.

33 DW: 13th?

34 LK: I do, and I often do it with the other hand if I—I stretch 10 keys. I don't have
35 big enough hands. It doesn't look like it, but I do it. I can play a C down here,
36 and then I have an octave C, and beyond that, I go up to the E that I play. It's
37 what adds in. Let me play just one bit of it for you so you can hear what I'm
38 telling you.

1 When I'm playing the songs like I just put together was "Quiet Place." I put it
2 in the key of F, and then I go up a half step, modify it out to an F sharp. Like
3 that.

4 DW: So I hear a lot of seconds, and I hear a lot of often major second that would
5 have the dissonant with the third in it. And all the sevenths, and you do a lot
6 of major seven chords of another chord.

7 LK: Yes, we do that. We do a lot of diminished.

8 DW: And I heard an augmented fifth in there.

9 LK: Yes, you did.

10 DW: Am I being descriptive in what I'm hearing?

11 LK: Yeah.

12 DW: Essentially your seconds and your seventh will just, we could call it a lot of
13 other things higher up in the octave but—

14 LK: It's just a lead-in, that's all it is.

15 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). You're just creating a sense of some dissonance and
16 resolution, but your resolutions usually go to another dissonance instead.

17 LK: Don't they though? At the end of that song, it gets a little dicey especially if
18 you're in six sharps. Most people don't want to play six sharps.

19 DW: Uh-huh (affirmative).

20 LK: I don't care. They said, "How can you play that?" I said, "You hit the, the
21 note makes the same sound. Every time you hit it, it makes the same sound.
22 You can count on it," you know?

23 DW: You just start playing according to the intervals and ...

24 LK: It is, and we stick it all in here. At that end of it, you'll hear a [inaudible
25 00:50:03]. That's a nice thing about that key, you can just [play a glissando
26 on the black keys].

27 DW: Uh-huh (affirmative).

28 LK: You play all the long chords.

29 DW: Good.

30 LK: You don't have to worry about messing them up, but you can't mess them up
31 because they're all black.

32 DW: Right.

33 LK: Yeah.

34 DW: So your style certainly has evolved in—

35 LK: It's been an evolution, you're right.

1 DW: ... 60-some years of playing, but it sounds like you listen to the radio and
2 various things, and you hear some of these styles.

3 LK: Oh yeah.

4 DW: And gospel, blues, jazz, all of that is part of the radio, and you are potentially
5 hearing it saying, "Can I create this?" And you go to the keyboard and—

6 LK: And do it. Because I know what they're going to sound like every time I hit
7 them, so I'll put the ones that go together. It's something here. I don't know
8 how to explain it. I really don't. A lot of people say, "Can't you give me
9 lessons?" I said, "I couldn't give anybody lessons if I had to."

10 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). I'm not able to transcribe that, but what you played
11 and I think the descriptions of it, we'll be able to, and that's really helpful. In
12 some of the churches, especially in the Black churches, they talk about at that
13 time in the 30s and 40s, just beginning to start to swing to the hymns. Really
14 taking a 4/4 meter and putting it in a 12/8, so each quarter note is a triplet, has
15 a triplet to it.

16 LK: They did a fair amount of that.

17 DW: Would you do that?

18 LK: I have, but the kind of music that I play for the Tabernacle, I try and keep it
19 traditional, because that's basically what it was to begin with, and I know that
20 there are people in there who like to hear that. I try and give them that, but
21 give them a little bit of the other stuff that makes it sound better.

22 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). So you wouldn't alter the meter to have, and they
23 probably didn't either in congregational singing.

24 LK: No, they didn't. They didn't-

25 DW: So you're just going to have eighth notes to your quarters in a 4/4 meter in the
26 Tabernacle?

27 LK: You see, I grew up in that church. That's the only church I knew, and so
28 consequently, I feel duty-bound to make sure I don't make it uncomfortable
29 for people who came there for a blessing because it's easily done. It can be
30 easily done and so when I started playing for junior around when I was a
31 squirt, I didn't have any of that stuff at that point because what was I, five?
32 Six?

33 In fact, I'll have of the confess to you. I can remember playing down there
34 one day, and it was just second nature to me, but I got off on a different song
35 than we were singing. That was embarrassing, as you can imagine.

36 DW: Uh-huh (affirmative).

37 LK: I stopped, and I said, "My apologies. Let's start over again." And I have to
38 think about what I'm doing. Many times that I'm sitting up there, and it's
39 easier not to be distracted by what's out there, so if I close my eyes, but that
40 kind of blows people away sometimes. They go, "What's he doing?" But I

1 just feel like I need to make sure I'm thinking of what I'm doing because it is
2 so natural to do, I could go off on something else. I got to pay attention to
3 what I'm doing, and that's unnerving.

4 DW: Uh-huh (affirmative).

5 LK: Because there are some songs that I play that—I can't think of what the
6 names are. There's two of them that they are so close, and it's easy to get off
7 from one into the next, into a different song. So when I'm doing those songs,
8 I remember when I'm playing those songs for praise sing, I make a little
9 check mark, so I can remember that. I got to think what I'm doing when I get
10 there because I could easily take off and go to something else. And that would
11 not be very, that wouldn't be helpful.

12 RK: He's not sitting there with the music in front of him like most pianists would
13 be. He's just, here it is. All up there.

14 DW: Are you familiar with the different temperaments of piano tuning?

15 LK: Oh piano tuning?

16 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

17 LK: Yeah, I used to tune pianos. I did piano tune, I got a piano tuner and there's
18 electronic.

19 DW: So you know that we call this equal temperament, right?

20 LK: Yeah.

21 DW: But it's really not equal.

22 LK: No.

23 DW: It's everything is equally unequal, but even it's still not because that's why
24 your F sharp key has a little more shimmer to it than C does.

25 LK: Oh yeah. It's a whole different league of music. It really is, and most people,
26 99% of the people haven't a clue, don't know, don't care. That type of thing. I
27 used to tune pianos. Because no matter where I was in the church, if I could
28 hear it playing, I tell you what key it was.

29 DW: Oh, so you have perfect pitch, too.

30 LK: I have perfect pitch, yeah. I don't have it now because it slipped. But I'm
31 pretty close, you know?

32 DW: So there was the sense that music needed to be played from the hymnal, I
33 gather.

34 RK: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

35 DW: What about the other organists when you were young? Would they play just
36 what's written or would they still add or come with another harmonization or
37 maybe add runs?

38 LK: Depends on who's sitting there.

1 DW: Okay.

2 LK: We have a new organist coming on board and one's leaving. When Joyce, for
3 instance, wanted me to play along with her, she said, "The problem I'm going
4 to have is if you play other notes." I said, "I can take care of that." She said,
5 "How are you going to do it?" I said, "I'm going to play the melody line for
6 you and for the congregation. You're going to be playing the other notes, I'm
7 going to be playing an octave of the, not the harmony but of the melody line."
8 And I said, "It can't go astray. You can play anything you want because all
9 I'm doing is playing melody line." She said, "It sounds good when you play
10 the other stuff." I said, "It wouldn't sound good if we were both playing
11 something different, would it?" She said, "No." I said, "Well, that's where I
12 rest my case." It makes a difference on who's up there when I play.

13 DW: What I'm hearing is that some of the organists would maybe add back then,
14 but it doesn't sound like very much.

15 LK: Yeah, that's right.

16 DW: *The Church Hymnal*, 1941 hymnal, it's printed there, and the organist would
17 play what's in the hymnal.

18 LK: Yeah.

19 RK: Mrs. Cook played by ear and by note. Would she have added?

20 LK: Yeah, we did. I did when I played along with Mrs. Cook, I could do that, but I
21 had to do it, keeping in my mind what I was doing, so it wouldn't become a
22 dissonant.

23 DW: So with congregational singing, opening hymn, closing hymn, that sort of
24 thing, would it just be organ or would you have piano and organ together?

25 LK: I have played the piano with the organ.

26 RK: But not often. Most of them don't want you with them.

27 LK: Most of them don't.

28 DW: And is that more of a stylistic thing or a desire to only have the organ and not
29 piano?

30 LK: My philosophy is that it's the latter.

31 DW: Okay.

32 RK: It's up to the organist, though.

33 LK: Yeah, it is.

34 RK: To make that call. It isn't like the congregation or our church is saying we
35 can't have both. If Debbie Candy does not want anybody playing with her,
36 Joyce Stolz like to have you play with her, so either way is all right.

37 DW: I can't read the organist motive, but maybe is there a perceived sense of
38 elitism among the organists?

1 LK: There's probably a little.

2 DW: Or maybe even could it be threatening that they don't play in this way, so it's
3 hard to work together?

4 LK: I think they want it to sound ... My philosophy is I think they want it to sound
5 good, and they want it to sound the best it can be because it's for the King of
6 the universe.

7 RK: Debbie is excellent. She studied, she's got a degree.

8 LK: Oh yeah.

9 RK: I don't know if it's that she doesn't want any other, anything but her in it, but
10 she does not want anybody playing with her whereas Joyce Stolz is not good.
11 She can play, but she's not an expert. I think maybe she likes to have that
12 extra fill in.

13 LK: That could very well be, and I don't follow Debbie Candy. I don't follow her
14 chords at all, and I told her that. I said, "I don't ..." She said, "I hope that
15 doesn't bother you." I said, "It really doesn't." I said, "We're all here to do
16 our bit for the King." I said, "Anything that makes it easier for you, it's going
17 to be a plus." And that's the way I look at it. A lot of people don't. A lot of
18 people are, they don't have those feelings.

19 RK: I think maybe to total answer the question, in the past, what you're writing
20 about, it would pretty much just the organ.

21 LK: For the most part, yeah. Mm-hmm (affirmative).

22 DW: Is it a stretch to make a connection? And where are the connections? They got
23 the law of God printed up there, there's a sense of it being a legalistic
24 denomination, and you're only playing out of the hymn book. Are there
25 connections there?

26 RK: Could be.

27 LK: There might be. I don't feel that I have them.

28 DW: No?

29 LK: Because, to me-

30 DW: But the church.

31 LK: Yeah. Good point.

32 RK: When I grew up in this church, when we came into church, we were ready to
33 sit there, and that was, you were back to reverence. We had to have our
34 personal matters taken care of because mom said, whatever, and once church
35 started you sat there. You didn't get up and run around. If there was
36 somebody up in front playing a special music, you didn't come into the
37 church during that, you didn't get up and leave because it was disrespectful,
38 but now, all that—

39 DW: So are you saying you appreciated that back then?

1 RK: Yeah, I think. I think so. I felt like it was more ...
2 LK: I think it was reverence.
3 RK: ... reverent. It wasn't a disturbance. The idea I got was when that person is up
4 there in front say, singing, when there are people running in and out ...
5 LK: Distracts.
6 RK: ... at least with me, distract from what I'm doing up there. These kids
7 nowadays run in and out, doesn't matter somebody's up there doing a
8 beautiful number or what's going on. To me, from back when you're writing
9 about back to the reverence idea that the music was maybe more reverent, the
10 congregation was more—You stayed there, and you knew that you were
11 there.
12 LK: Not all!
13 RK: Well, that you were meeting with God there. I mean, it was disrespectful to
14 God to get up and run around.
15 DW: So there's a sense of God's holiness, it sounds like.
16 RK: Yeah. I felt that was more that way.
17 DW: So you're revering Him by having quietness or silence?
18 LK: And that has been lost.
19 RK: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
20 DW: Do I sense from you that you miss that to some degree?
21 RK: I do.
22 LK: Yeah.
23 RK: That maybe it's because we're old fogies now, but ...
24 DW: Old foggies?
25 RK: Yeah, foggies.
26 LK: And foggy, too. Getting worse for the day.
27 DW: So that with less distraction, it sounds like you're able to focus your thoughts
28 on God more?
29 LK: Yeah.
30 DW: Worship better.
31 RK: I'm a visual, and distractions bother me from listening to what's going on up
32 front.
33 LK: I'm an audio, but I can cut all those distractions out by just not seeing them.
34 Close my eyes. Stuff's going to be in the same place no matter where I go. It
35 makes a difference to me because I can definitely think what I'm doing, and

1 there's no outside disturbance, unless it's audio, because I can't see them.
2 That out there.

3 DW: Have you seen the denomination statement on music? Came out in about the
4 70s?

5 RK: Mm-mm (negative).

6 DW: That said you're not suppose to play sevenths and those type of things in your
7 music.

8 LK: Yeah.

9 DW: Are you aware of that?

10 LK: I'm aware of that. I'm aware of that.

11 DW: Talk to me about that.

12 LK: I classify that in the same area, in the same arena as the rhythm.

13 DW: What do you mean by that? Expand on that.

14 LK: If you play a seventh, is it going to be a 16th note, or is it going to be a
15 quarter note, or is it going to be a whole note? It makes a difference on what
16 you do, and it makes a difference in regards to the meter of the song. It really
17 does. We have associated, and this sound is association like it or not, it is, and
18 what you do with it is the name of the game.

19 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

20 LK: You could play a number that is as secular as them, but you could play it like
21 nobody would know what it is if you modify the timing on the thing a little
22 bit, they won't know what in the world is different. They won't know it. I
23 would say that basically a large percentage up in the 80s or more that they
24 wouldn't know what you're doing. You could play a song which sounds as
25 good as it can be, as reverent as it can be because of that particular point if
26 nothing else. I could play music and I have done it when I was younger. I did
27 a lot of weird things as she well knows.

28 When I was younger, I played music up there that were secular songs, but I
29 played them in a beautiful fashion, and with the timing that was totally
30 different. They said, "That was a pretty number. I didn't recognize that."
31 Depending on who I was talking to, I would say there was a reason you didn't
32 recognize that. Then what I would tell them is what I really played, and they
33 said, "You didn't." I said, "I did." I said, "It just goes to prove it's all in
34 here."

35 DW: All in the associations.

36 LK: Yeah.

37 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

38 RK: When I grew up, they weren't allowed to have guitars in the church either.

1 LK: No guitars, no drums, no, you know.

2 RK: And now they're up in front with guitars all the time, which doesn't bother
3 me, but that's the Tabernacle. Whether other churches in our denomination
4 was that way or not but no guitars.

5 LK: Yeah.

6 DW: It sounds like there's a strong sense in the Seventh-day Adventist church back
7 then of being counter-cultural, or perceived to be anyway.

8 LK: Probably in case of a just cause. The adversary has done so much with music.
9 He was the choir leader, but he's done so much. Probably because he's got so
10 little time. And I play that in what's going on now. I try and make sure that
11 what I play is good, is exceptional, but it sounds good, and it doesn't lead
12 people away. We got enough of that now, leading people away. So I would
13 say the main purpose when I play at the church is to make sure it sounds the
14 best I can make it, and what I don't get, they didn't pick up the slack.

15 RK: Are you writing about the difference in the music before the 50s and what it
16 has come to now?

17 DW: No, I'm not really talking about now, but because we live now, it's
18 impossible for us to not make comparisons. And when we make comparisons,
19 I can just as readily take the opposite of what is said to say, "Well, see? So
20 that's how it was back then," because we're talking, saying, "I don't like it
21 now," because we're actually saying I liked it then, which is a different way.
22 I'm trying to say, it's helpful to even hear reactions to now. Does that make
23 sense?

24 RK: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

25 DW: Every person I've talked to, I don't know if I've talked to 15, 17 people now,
26 everyone shares similar things, which is helpful for research.

27 RK: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

28 LK: I think that by the time you get down to the bottom line with all this research
29 you're doing, you'll probably be able to pick out certain areas of time when
30 you see pronounced modifications. And I think you're going to find, if you
31 look at what's taking place in the world around us, some of those things will
32 coincide. I think you'll find that. I'm sure there's a good reason why.

33 RK: Did the Seventh-day Adventist pastors kind of dictate what the music of that
34 church would be? Because it seems like with ours, when Bruce Moore first
35 came of the Battle Creek, and I said Battle Creek is a very conservative or has
36 been extremely conservative church, and there was a young group 10 years
37 ago that wanted to play some of the more modern things that the young
38 people would enjoy, and they wanted to have a Friday night meeting when
39 they could play it with the guitars and everything. He wouldn't let them play
40 in the church. They had to go to a Sunday church and rent a room for their

1 Friday night meeting. It was the pastor that dictated what could and couldn't
2 be played inside the Tabernacle.

3 LK: It's his church.

4 RK: So he still drew the line on keeping it very conservative. Although, even
5 during his pastorship, it evolved somewhat to the more modern music, but ...

6 DW: It sounds like the sanctuary was a holy place or holy space than where you
7 had junior meeting downstairs.

8 LK: That's a good analysis.

9 DW: And why couldn't you do it upstairs? Isn't that where you're supposed to
10 meet with God? So why can't the young people go up there?

11 LK: It depends on who you have in the leadership and how they feel that it does or
12 does not represent what should be there.

13 RK: I didn't get the idea that it was because they didn't want us when we were
14 young having our Friday night meeting or whatever upstairs. It was more this
15 is a room that fits you better.

16 LK: Diplomacy has a great role to play. There are those who are a little more
17 diplomatic than others, and you can give the presentation with more
18 diplomacy than others. It's difference in people, but I think that in the past, it
19 was viewed differently than it is viewed now. There's been that mutation take
20 place. I guess many people call it the creeping compromise for lack of better
21 terminology, maybe. And I think it'll be very interesting one day to find out
22 how that all played out.

23 DW: If I could change gears just a little, I have couple of hymnals I want to show
24 you. Did you ever use *Hymns and Tunes*?

25 LK: No.

26 DW: You use *Christ in Song*?

27 RK: I remember it.

28 LK: Oh yeah, I do, too, but it was replaced by *The Church Hymnal*. Yeah. There
29 was a lot more songs in here, a lot more. And it's a free book.

30 DW: You really didn't use *Christ In Song* either then?

31 LK: No, because I was born in '36.

32 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). So by the time you were really playing piano,
33 *Church Hymnal* comes out?

34 LK: Yeah.

35 DW: And then you're playing out of the what, the *Junior Song Book* or ...

36 LK: Yeah, they had what was called the *MV Song Book* back then? We were
37 called Missionary Volunteers.

1 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

2 LK: That's a long time ago. I knew the majority of the songs and some they said,
3 "Can you play this?" I just said, "Yeah, if it's in there, I'll play it," because
4 it's up here. I don't know how that all took place, I have never figured that
5 out. Never figured out.

6 DW: So you didn't play out of the hymnal much, it's more from memory then? Or
7 by hearing the melody, you would play it.

8 LK: The songs that I played were songs that I heard, she put me in the junior room
9 for Sabbath afternoon because we stayed all day. We were there for the day,
10 and we took Bible games with us because we were youngsters. I knew those
11 Bible games, I knew the answer to all the questions. That got tired like so.
12 Well, there are, you know. Didn't know what they were and so when we
13 played the music at church, and I went home and mom had a piano there, I
14 got up on it and—My feet never came close to the floor, but I just played the
15 song and mom recognized, she said, "Where did you get that?" I said, "We
16 sang it today." That's how all that went, and I told mother, bless her heart.

17 DW: Wow. I also brought, these are just a few bulletins. I have some from
18 probably a time when you would remember them. You wouldn't remember
19 these in the early 30s, obviously.

20 LK: No.

21 DW: But I have a couple here, '44 and '45.

22 LK: I would remember those.

23 DW: I can show those to you.

24 DW: Do you have any songs that you remember you used to really sing in worship
25 a lot?

26 RK: No, I don't. It was just things that were in the hymnal. Like we were saying,
27 my memory is very much about Les Isles leading us. He was quite a guy.

28 LK: Oh yeah. Remember Geraldine Lawson. Her and her husband lived up on the
29 Greenwood.

30 RK: This would have been earlier than my time.

31 LK: I always remember Geraldine and Alan Lawson, they were great friends with
32 my uncle. My uncle was friends with their son. Alan, Jr., and they went to the
33 academy together.

34 RK: Who was it? There was a group around this time that played, the whole group
35 that played music of ...

36 DW: String group?

37 RK: Yeah.

1 DW: The Benedicts talked about that, that there was a string group that would often
2 play for vespers, Sabbath evening vespers, but it sounds like they would
3 sometimes play a special during the divine service as well.

4 LK: We had a vesper service for a long time. I was just looking here. The vesper
5 service today, 5:10.

6 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

7 RK: [inaudible 01:24:12]

8 LK: Uh-huh (affirmative).

9 RK: Who was the ... He was saying that the Benedicts mentioned them, too, the
10 group that played their ... There was a small group that played.

11 LK: At the church? We had Lawson, another Lawson.

12 DW: You said another Lawson? Someone else? Not the organist?

13 LK: Not Alan Lawson.

14 DW: Okay.

15 LK: There was a gal up on Manchester Street. Had the old '48 Buick. No, she had
16 a '48 Cadillac.

17 RK: You remember the car?

18 LK: Yeah. They both played the saw.

19 DW: Oh. Uh-huh (affirmative).

20 LK: They were good. They would play. V. E. Garber, he lived next door to the
21 school when it was on Kendall Street.

22 RK: Oh yeah.

23 LK: Brother Field's in here. Shirley Whipple. H. E. Moon was the pastor. L. C.
24 Coulston, he was there for a hundred years. Shirley Whipple, Francis Foote,
25 that was Charlie's dad. Let's see. A.P. Petersen, he played the violin. And they
26 often did vespers. Lawson, J. Perrish, that group. Here's Benjamin, Ernie
27 Benjamin, there's Wildman, Barry Wildman. Pingnot would have the best
28 people, he'd say a few words and so forth. They'd do songs with the organist.
29 That's the vespers.

30 DW: Oh, so that's the quartet or ensemble would play with the organist at vespers?

31 LK: Yeah.

32 DW: Okay.

33 LK: And we would have, sometimes somebody would read a poem. It was about
34 an hour just the closing hours of Sabbath.

35 DW: And the music that they did, this was just out of the hymnal?

36 LK: Sometimes yeah, sometimes no. Sometimes it was something you recognized,
37 sometime it wasn't as recognizable.

1 DW: Just meditation music?
2 LK: Yeah. It was ... Let's see who was on this one [1945 Bulletin].
3 RK: Okay.
4 LK: Oh yeah, Graichen. Winniefred DeRees, yeah. Winnie DeRees.
5 RK: Okay.
6 LK: She played the organ. And this is a day or so ago.
7 DW: It feels recent. It feels like it was just yesterday?
8 LK: Yeah, kind of like going wrong way.
9 DW: I noticed that these services, those two and these are just random I have, I
10 have almost every bulletin from about 1931 to 1950.
11 LK: Oh, where did you ever come up with them?
12 DW: The Center for Adventist Research has them. Down at Andrews. We don't
13 have but a few from the Dime Tabernacle. We have the dedication of the
14 Tabernacle. We have those type of things, but most are from about 1931 on.
15 But these two dates that I've chosen, just the samples, ones '44 and ones '45,
16 it's interesting that the service starts and you'll see at the top, I'm not sure
17 that may say Gloria Patri at the beginning.
18 LK: The what?
19 DW: They sang the Gloria Patri.
20 LK: Yeah.
21 DW: But then the other years example, they sing the doxology.
22 LK: Yeah.
23 DW: And at the same place in the service.
24 LK: I remember in the back there in the church is where they kept a lot of the
25 music for the choir. They had them all categorized, they were just ...
26 RK: It's all that down in that space downstairs now.
27 LK: I don't know where they put it.
28 DW: This service music would have probably been from the hymnal, right?
29 LK: Most of it.
30 DW: I mean ... (singing)
31 LK: Mm-hmm (affirmative). You'll find that in the back of it.
32 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
33 LK: Yeah.
34 DW: So it sounds like maybe they alternated sometimes between using the
35 doxology or using the Gloria Patri music.

1 LK: For the most part, they were fairly the way to learn.
2 RK: Doors opened only at the time indicated. Back to my saying that you didn't,
3 that you only came in when there was not something going on up front.
4 DW: And so then they had certain points in the service according to, it's marking
5 in the bulletin where you could come in or out?
6 RK: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
7 DW: During the call to worship or when the ministers came in and knelt, after that
8 prelude, I think.
9 LK: They'd sing "The Lord Is In His Holy Temple."
10 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
11 LK: And that was done by the choir.
12 DW: Okay. Accompanied by the organ or acapella?
13 LK: Now did you mention that, the organ was used to make sure that the singers,
14 they were both on pitch and kept the time.
15 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
16 LK: I can still remember sitting in the audience trying to figure out how the
17 deacons knew to come forward because the deacons would come forward in
18 the offering, for the blessing to the offering. How in the world do they know?
19 So I thought I'd sit there and figure it out. I looked to see what happened
20 about that time, and I figured it out. Frank Foote was up there in the choir, he
21 led the choir. He could see what was going on in the back, and he knew when
22 they were ready to come forward. That's exactly what he would do. He'd sit
23 there and put his hand up like this. Yeah, he just, he's sitting there, just come
24 up like this. Down they come. He just put his hand up to his face. Like this.
25 Like he's just resting up there. I guess I was the only one to realize that, that
26 figured that out, what they did.
27 DW: So Foote is directing the service maybe more than the pastor?
28 LK: No, he was a choir leader.
29 DW: Right.
30 LK: He had choir practice Friday nights.
31 RK: He was the one that would be visible.
32 DW: Because at the Takoma Park Church, the pastor would be sitting up there,
33 very proper upfront and maybe just move a finger. Something and direct that
34 whole service, I've been told. Just by a twitch of a finger.
35 LK: It's amazing how much emphasis they put on reverence.
36 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Let me ask just a couple of perhaps bigger picture
37 question. And maybe it'll take a few with to get to it. What was the purpose

1 and place of music then in all of this? What was the place and function or
2 purpose of the music in the service?

3 LK: I think that was probably decided long before I was around there. But I would
4 think that it needed to be, since He was the King of the universe, that
5 reverence and awe were important. And we as mortal beings needed to be
6 reverent. When you're there to meet the King of the universe, that had great
7 importance. That importance today is almost nonexistent.

8 RK: Not just the change in our church, though, it's the change in whole society.
9 We grew up with our parents telling us that you don't interrupt adults when
10 they're speaking. Of course, I was raised with my mother insisted that if we
11 were in dad's chair when he came home, you're out of it. And it was nothing
12 he did, it was my mother instilled in us a respect. And in church you're
13 reverent, you don't get up and run around in church, you come in and you got
14 everything ready, you've been downstairs, all your personal needs are taken
15 care of because you're going to sit there the whole time. It was just instilled
16 into us. Now all of society, and it's crept into our church that we don't
17 respect. We don't respect our elders, we don't respect the church. We don't
18 respect God.

19 DW: So what does it say about then or now about our understanding? What did
20 music say about our understanding of God?

21 LK: Doesn't have very good things to say.

22 RK: I think back then, to me, the music set the mood. Is that way off?

23 LK: Yeah.

24 RK: When we came in, the music was kind of setting that mood of here you are
25 now, you're in church, and you're meeting with God, and you are reverent.
26 To me, that's what the music played a part in that.

27 LK: That's what happened when they sang "The Lord Is In His Holy Temple."

28 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

29 LK: They came in, they knelt, they got up, and there on, it was us and the Lord.
30 For whatever the reason, I think that was the purpose, and as a result of that,
31 when we have modified the way we do the service, everything else modified,
32 too.

33 DW: Can you go expand on that a little bit more? What is everything else that ... I
34 know you can't be encyclopedic here, but what else had been modified?

35 LK: When people come in, they're coming in, they're sitting down. That is a
36 somewhat confusing time, if you will. Everybody's doing what they're doing,
37 but then there was a time when all that was done. That was basically
38 legislated by the service, how the service was done so that when the elders
39 came in, the song "All The Earth Keep Silent." I remember Frank would
40 always do this or do this [show a sign with his hands for "s" or "t"] so they'd
41 know if it was silent or silence.

1 DW: Uh-huh (affirmative).

2 LK: What they said, what they sang, “let all the earth be silent before Him, keep
3 silence before Him.” See here, when they did that, the tone was set. Where it
4 was done, everybody knew then time to be quiet.

5 DW: That’s right at the beginning, right?

6 LK: Yeah.

7 DW: The call to worship?

8 LK: Yeah.

9 DW: What role then did music play in contributing, fostering, nurturing people’s
10 spirituality?

11 LK: I think it has gone downhill big time. And it’s a result of that is the fact that
12 there’s no order, there’s no, hardly the semblance of order. There’s nothing
13 that basically delineates when it’s time to be there and to be quiet and be
14 reverent. There’s nothing that delineates that anymore. Hardly at all.

15 RK: And for me, the organ did that. Me walking into the sanctuary and the organ
16 was playing—maybe it’s because that’s what I was taught—but I thought,
17 “Okay, I’m coming in here, and I’m hearing a reverence. And through the
18 organ playing—even today—I come in, I sit down, and I’m quiet and
19 respectful.” I think, for me, the organ played a part in that.

20 LK: It probably did. I’m sure it did.

21 RK: I wouldn’t get the same—We were talking about the difference between
22 organ and piano.

23 LK: Yeah.

24 RK: I wouldn’t get that same feeling from a piano because maybe a piano, in my
25 ears, is a little sharper or whereas the music is more—

26 DW: Because it’s more percussive with hammer and the strings?

27 RK: Yeah, whereas an organ is more, because I’m not musically inclined, I don’t
28 know how to explain it, but the organ would be more calming, more—

29 DW: Perhaps played in a quiet way, that it has a sustained sound?

30 RK: Mm-hmm (affirmative). And so that, to me, that started out, “Okay, I’m in
31 here,” and the music is playing the notes like you say being sustained, that
32 indicated to me that’s where I go in and I sit down and I’m now reverent
33 because I’m hearing that ...

34 LK: That form of music.

35 RK: That form of music. Nowadays, we come in, and we have this praise sing,
36 which to me is more upbeat and not as reverent. And then they say, “Okay,
37 everybody, get up and greet each other.” That starts everybody talking, and
38 I’ve totally lost the mood of, “I’m here to meet God,” because now I’m up

1 here greeting all these people, and it's hard to get them to calm down
2 afterward. We've started talking, we've greeted each other. And so, to me,
3 we've lost that mood that I used to get when I first walked into the room.
4 Does that make sense?

5 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

6 LK: That's been the mutation that took place in an effort to try and obtain a greater
7 attendance of people.

8 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

9 LK: We figure we have got to modify what we do in order to get them in, and that
10 is not the way that should work. It's just basically backward. What we should
11 have is something which is reverent which will cause people to want to be
12 there. You have to create it. But that is not what has happened, but we
13 basically, I think we explain it away in an effort to have a greater attendance.

14 RK: We're trying to be more like the world to bring the world in, and we really are
15 supposed to do it the other way around.

16 LK: That's why I say it's totally backwards. I think that's what we've been told
17 anyway.

18 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

19 LK: So we just watch it happen.

20 RK: I think, for me, growing up, the music played a big part for me in the mood,
21 the reverent mood, so maybe music played a bigger part for me growing up
22 than—I'm not musical, but it still, it set the mood for me. I don't find that as
23 much anymore.

24 LK: Because we're much older now.

25 RK: So you're trying to do this on music, that's what music did for me is it set the
26 mood. Of course, I enjoy music, so I enjoy listening to it, I enjoy listening to a
27 talented person like Buddy. I just love hearing Buddy.

28 DW: I'm hearing you. Though you are not a musician, performer yourself, you
29 appreciate music.

30 RK: I appreciate music.

31 DW: And it has helped foster your spiritual experience in worship and because or
32 perhaps your experience in a certain way of that for so long, with a different,
33 it's hard to enter into that experience because you've been so shaped in this
34 other way.

35 RK: Somebody will do a performance, and they've made a mistake or two and
36 they'll say something. I'll compliment them on it, and they'll say, "Yeah, but
37 I ..." such and such, and I say, "I didn't hear it," but if it's a really bad
38 mistake, I'm going to hear it. So for me, you can make little mistakes, and I'll
39 just sit there and enjoy your performance. You got to make a big mistake
40 before I'm going to say, "Oh, that was bad."

1 DW: Yeah.

2 RK: Yes, your comment is yes, music for me set the mood for the whole thing.

3 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Well, you all have been so, so helpful with all of this.
4 Really great insights, new insights for me, and I really appreciate that. Is there
5 anything you would say to the church today that you think would be helpful
6 for us to know? What can we learn from your experience or from the church
7 back then about worship and music that would be helpful for us to know
8 today?

9 LK: I think the reverence aspect of the need to be very obvious about it, I think.
10 Knowing that the times will modify, knowing that they will, that they do and
11 they are, should keep us a little bit more in tune with what's taking place
12 about us. I think it's sad to see it, to watch it, knowing that there's probably
13 not a lot that we're going to do to make it different. We can be good
14 examples, we can make the proclamation, but I think people are watching
15 what we do.

16 DW: Wow, beautiful.

17 RK: I suppose that the generation before us felt the same because here we are now,
18 the oldest generation, we can't believe it but we are and so a lot of our
19 thinking is that we are old and think everything has changed that we don't
20 like. And every generation has probably gone through it, but now we don't
21 like the changes. We want it to be like what it used to be, and it's never going
22 to be like it used to be.

23 LK: That's what we're acclimated to. That's probably why we feel that way. Plus,
24 our upbringing I'm sure makes a difference.

Oral History
Elihu McMahan
At the Ephesus Seventh-day Adventist Church
Harlem, New York
October 5, 2014

1 Elihu McMahan (EM) [1934–]: My name is Elihu Hassell McMahan. I was born
2 February 25th, 1934 and I've been a member of Ephesus Church all of those
3 years up until the present, which is 80 plus years. I've gone no other place
4 except to this church. I've visited other churches of course, but they were
5 other Adventist churches.

6 David Williams (DW): Do you have any early impressions about worship and
7 music or a certain Sabbath or something?

8 EM: Well, actually I got raised in a Jewish family home because my father's
9 mother was Ethiopian Jew. We've always had a kosher home. We've always
10 celebrated the Sabbath, and I've been to as many synagogues as Adventist
11 churches. My early recollection of Adventism goes back, I think I was five,
12 back to 1939. I remember the pastors. Pastor Peterson was the first guy I
13 remember, and the Sabbath service was reverent. In my opinion, now it's
14 not. For instance, when the call to worship was made and they would tell you
15 that, "the Lord is in his holy temple. Let all the earth keep silence before
16 him," from that point on there was no joking or secularism that would take
17 place. Now to me is—Well, you have been here for a couple of times, and I
18 don't know how you appreciated the service yesterday, but things like
19 reading proclamations are not Sabbath things. They shouldn't be done on the
20 Sabbath, but they do this all the time.

21 Very often, the Sabbath is disturbed in my opinion by politicians. They will
22 invite a politician here. They will sit on the rostrum. When I was growing up,
23 if you were not ordained, you could not go on the rostrum. Now, anything
24 goes, which to me is desecrating the temple. But there are some persons here
25 who believe, and I was just told it's not, a couple of months ago, that the
26 sanctuary is not sacred in itself. It's just a room, and it becomes sacred when
27 we are there because the Lord is in our hearts. Well, if the Holy Spirit is not
28 in your heart, then he's not in the temple. I truly believe that once you
29 dedicated the sanctuary to God, whether you're in the room or not, the
30 presence of God is there, and I think that you have to, when you come into
31 the building, you have to honor that, but we don't do that anymore. As I said,
32 when I was younger, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, there was never any secular kind of
33 added action that went on in the church. Now it's just used—It's like a gym.

34 DW: What were some of the experiences then that would have contributed to
35 helping establish that idea that God's presence is there? Like you mentioned
36 singing, "The Lord is in his holy temple."

37 EM: Right, right.

1 DW: Or no ordained person on the rostrum. Were there some other things that
2 may have contributed to that?

3 EM: Well, simply first of all the type of music that they sang in those days was
4 never gospel or jumpy kind of music. It was always a very solemn kind of
5 atmosphere. I remember Elder Chandler used to do the offertory, and he had
6 it memorized. It was beautiful. He didn't read anything.

7 DW: What was beautiful?

8 EM: In other words, it was simply directed towards service to the Lord and not
9 nothing to do—Like yesterday Eddie, when she was calling for the tithe,
10 she's telling these stories. That was not appropriate. I told her about it
11 yesterday. I said, "That kind of thing is not appropriate." Of course, her
12 comment to me was, and I was offended by it and I let her know, "Well, if
13 you don't like the ways things are going on here, find another church." I
14 said, "Excuse me." I said, "I've been here for 80 years plus. You're not even
15 50 years old, so you can't tell me that I should find another church simply
16 because I don't like the rock and roll kind of atmosphere that you're bringing
17 in." I said, "That's not the style of worship that I'm used to."

18 Well, even the senior pastor, you know, "Best church east of the Mississippi
19 and North of the Mason-Dixon Line." That in itself, who needs to hear that?
20 That's what was always said. Then they get up and tell jokes. To me, it's
21 almost like the Lord is put on hold until we finish our secular part of the
22 service, and then we'll bring the Lord back, and then after the scripture
23 reading then of course the service goes on in a reverent kind of way. You
24 will hear and you saw what went on in between. That kind of activity has
25 been introduced in the last I would say 10 years, but before that it was not
26 that way. It was when you came to church, you felt as though you were
27 coming to the house of the Lord, but now it's like a market.

28 DW: What does that say about, like you're going into some beautiful, deep things
29 here, so it leads me to ask maybe some probing questions for that.

30 EM: Go ahead.

31 DW: I think that maybe there's a certain value about worship or about God and
32 who we are, but you're sort of circling it. What is that?

33 EM: Well, I guess if you just look at the Bible, just when the Lord was at the
34 bush, the burning bush, you're on holy ground. Once it's holy ground, you
35 have to reverence the Lord in every instance. You cannot introduce anything
36 there that would deviate from honoring the presence, and I think the presence
37 of the Lord is in church, but they don't act like that. The very fact that the
38 type of music they do, we never did gospel. I mean, I'm not a favorite friend
39 of gospel. When they have concerts that are gospel, I don't come. I'm strictly
40 anthems and so forth.

41 Of course the gospel is very jumpy, and if you change the lyrics you'd swear
42 you were in a night club, and that's exactly the feeling you get. But they will

1 say, "Well, times have changed." I said, "Yeah, but the Lord hasn't changed.
2 He still demands a certain amount of reverence." "Well, we have to meet
3 people the way they are. People come from other churches." But we're
4 supposed to be a peculiar church, okay? When they come from another
5 church, they become like us. I didn't say we became weird or anything like
6 that, but we do things differently than what they do in churches out there. I
7 said, "If you look at the commandment, you know, the stranger within your
8 gates is now supposed to honor what you do with respect to honoring God,
9 but you don't let the stranger who has a different worship mode come in and
10 bring his worship in and change your way of worshiping," which is what
11 they've done.

12 In fact, one lady sat in my Sabbath school class. She became a member, and
13 she said she left the first-day church because she got tired of seeing
14 Christmas decorations and all that sort of stuff. She said, "But I came here
15 and I see exactly the same thing." This has only been introduced in the last
16 couple of years. They put wreaths around there, and they put lights. I said,
17 "Why are we celebrating Christmas?" "Well, we're not celebrating
18 Christmas. We're simply acknowledging the season when people's heart are
19 open for giving." I said, "But that's the way we should be 365 days out of
20 the year."

21 I said, "The very fact that you do what you're doing at Christmastime means
22 that you're in lock step with the people that worship during this time of
23 year." I said, "So you're actually celebrating." "No, we're not celebrating.
24 We're simply acknowledging." I said, "Kindly look in your dictionary and
25 look up the word acknowledge." he said, "Agree with." I said, "That's how
26 we have done, we want to keep these people that are coming in simply by
27 introducing to the same kinds of things they saw outside, except that we're
28 going to church on the Sabbath." They went on Sunday and Christmas trees.
29 We go on Saturday, we have Christmas trees. The transition that the person
30 experiences is only a day of worship," and that's happened quite a few times.

31 In fact, they had 3ABN here. They had people with all these booms with
32 cameras on it. I said, "Now, these people are in my house, and they are
33 working. How do you justify doing that?" I said, "It's the stranger within.
34 He's not honoring you or God or the way you worship. It's a business." I
35 was so upset with that 3ABN thing they did because Pastor King, I think he's
36 the president of the Atlantic union or whatever it is, he said a prayer, but he
37 didn't go right for the camera, so he repeated the same prayer. I said, "This is
38 Hollywood." I said, "There's no religious, the religiosity right there, you
39 can't tell me that it's reverent," I said, "because he said a prayer, it didn't
40 take for the cameras, so he said it again, which was simply a work situation."
41 That's a kind of way they're changed the worship atmosphere here.

42 DW: You said your earliest memories was maybe '39.

43 EM: '39, '40.

1 DW: Maybe 30s, 40s.

2 EM: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

3 DW: You said that we were a peculiar people.

4 EM: Yeah.

5 DW: Can you maybe talk more about how in the 40s worship felt unique to
6 Adventism?

7 EM: Well, first of all there was not a lot of pomp and circumstance as far as
8 people, especially with the women's dress. They would dress very modestly,
9 no giant hats. We couldn't wear feathers and all that sort of stuff. When you
10 came and worshiped, it was quiet. It was serene, and it was simply an all
11 business kind of thing. They read scripture and so forth, but there was never
12 any kind of showmanship as now there is. It's all, you know—It's a matter
13 of—and they baptize people. You had to study long before you became
14 baptized. I mean, like I grew up in the church. I still had to go to class. Now
15 they just baptize any-ole-body. They can have their earrings on. They can
16 have their jewelry on. They can have short shorts on. They'll put them in the
17 water if they want to do that.

18 It has become in my opinion a game of numbers. "Oh, I baptized 500
19 people." But you baptize 500 and most of the people you don't see them
20 ever. In fact, I was speaking to a young lady at church at lunch yesterday.
21 She says the young people have to experience what we already know. In
22 other words, there's no door there, but they have to bump their head on the
23 wall to make sure that there's no door. They don't learn from experience.
24 They don't learn from the older persons. They don't reverence what older
25 person's have to say to them. They have to go out and experience.

26 Like one young lady, she sits in the class, Sabbath school class, sometimes. I
27 said, "Why are you wearing all these bangles and beads?" When she got
28 baptized, I was so proud of her. I went down in the front there, and she had
29 on her earrings, and rings, and stuff like that. I said, "Why are you wearing
30 that?" "It makes me feel good." It had nothing to do with the Lord, honoring
31 the Lord. "It makes me feel good." This is the attitude that a lot of the young
32 people have now. They have to experience the world, and then if the Lord
33 spares them, they come back, you know?

34 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). I see.

35 EM: One of my good friends, Joyce Bryant, she's out on the west coast. I think
36 she's still alive, but she was a famous jazz singer, a tremendous singer. She
37 was on her way to Oakwood and somebody heard her singing, and she got
38 off and became a Hollywood kind of entity. I remember once I used to sing
39 with the Uptown Men's Chorale. She came to New York. She had come
40 back to the church now. We had to have a female vocalist sing with the male
41 chorus I was singing with. She then transitioned back—she traveled with the
42 conference and so forth. Of course, they didn't do her right, because when

1 she did all this transition, she still retired with nothing. She had no pension
2 or anything like that.

3 However, You can't guarantee that if you go out and experience what the
4 world wants you to experience that you have the opportunity to come back.
5 Fortunately, she had lived long enough. She's I guess in her late 70s or
6 something like that, but everybody doesn't have the chance. I try to say to
7 some of the young people, especially here, "You know, we try to provide
8 leadership. In fact, they even said they don't want us to come to AY. They
9 said, "Old people don't belong here. We need to do our own thing." You can
10 see there there's no spiritual connection.

11 DW: But now, I heard from someone. Who was it? Maybe it was yesterday I
12 heard it.

13 EM: Right.

14 DW: They said that it used to be that the parents were in with the youth here.

15 EM: Yes.

16 DW: There was very much this, even though it was youth church, it was very
17 multi-generational and there was a lot of mentorship there. It wasn't just the
18 youth doing their thing.

19 EM: Yes, when it first started out; however, it became a situation where the
20 parents wanted to drop their kids off, and they would go to the main church
21 service. What the kids were doing, they had no clue. It became basically—I
22 don't know, basically a child controlled atmosphere where there was very
23 little parent input. Now, the elders were seniors so to speak, but the advisory
24 capacity of showing them how to be deacons and deaconesses and so forth,
25 that sort of waned in a way, and they took over. They took over control.

26 When we had pastors here, we had one guy here. He was complaining about
27 the dress, I mean the way that young ladies dressed. They actually said,
28 "We're going to get rid of this guy," because they didn't want to hear
29 anything about dress code. If you ... I don't know if you've gone to a youth
30 church at all in any fashion, but their dress is not in keeping with the way we
31 think an Adventist young lady should look. When I say peculiar, we're not
32 supposed to be any kind of freak, but you have to be modestly dressed. You
33 don't wear short shorts or a skirt just below your crotch or something like
34 that, which is how they dress. Their dresses are so tight, it exhibits all the
35 curves and everything that the women have. To me, that's not appropriate.
36 It's not appropriate for church.

37 DW: I get the sense that from lifestyle to behavior in church, the sense of
38 reverence and being the remnant church or with our unique message was
39 prevailing back then and made worship very different then, and created that
40 Sabbath, they call it today Sabbath experience, helped shape who everyone
41 was.

42 EM: Right.

1 DW: Just maybe a comment that you maybe can explain. You said that baptisms
2 were really prepared. There was a lot of bible study for that.

3 EM: Right, absolutely.

4 DW: Now you're talking about a time with probably one of the most significant
5 growths of membership. The 30s and 40s are when this church really is
6 expanding, right? There must have been a lot of labor put into that.

7 EM: Yes.

8 DW: I'm wondering how did baptism relate to worship? Was the worship
9 service—How was it viewed? Was it the believers gathered for worship, or
10 was the Sabbath service primarily evangelistic to these baptismal candidates,
11 or was there another service during the week that's really targeting the
12 baptismal candidates?

13 EM: Actually, we used to have these evangelistic meetings, these tents where the
14 Third Angel's Message was preached and all that sort of thing. When the
15 person came and he understood what Adventism was, what we believed, why
16 we went to church on the Sabbath, on Saturday and not the first day, it was
17 all explained to them the changes that were made. They were grounded and
18 rooted in philosophy. Ellen G. White was talked about. Later on, it was
19 mostly they would talk about Ellen G. White, but they would no longer talk
20 about God. In other words, she became the focus of the conversation. It's
21 almost like she took the place of Jesus Christ so to speak. She was always
22 quoted.

23 Then again, they were not ... They were shying away from the hell and
24 damnation kind of thing that will happen to you if you don't obey God's
25 laws. In fact, someone just told me that some conferences are now telling
26 pastors, "You can't preach death, gloom and death anymore. If you do that,
27 we get rid of you." They want to be more social and make the person feel
28 comfortable rather than tell them what the Lord demands that they do.
29 Consequently, it's shying away from doctrine and more or less becoming
30 like a social camp. That's what I think has happened.

31 Here we don't have AY that often simply because they said, "Well, we don't
32 have a sponsor." "Can you get a sponsor?" "Nobody wants to take the job."
33 When they have elections or selections at the board and so forth, everybody
34 turns it down. Nobody wants to become involved, so then they leave the
35 young people to do their own thing. When I was growing up, we had
36 Missionary Volunteer Society, and we had the various sections where you
37 graduated from one section to the other and you were dying to get to the
38 seniors, and it was very strict. You couldn't go into the senior meeting if you
39 were a junior or something like that. But that is gone forever. It doesn't exist.
40 It's just everybody comes.

41 If the older persons here did not come to AY, there would be no people in
42 the audience, because the young people don't come. They'll sit in. Well, too
43 bad you can't stay here for a couple of months and watch them sit in church.

1 They have their conversations about whatever. They're texting people.
2 They're not listening to what the pastor's saying. One young lady, she's now
3 about 27, she used to go to the youth church and she said she doesn't go
4 anymore simply because the music is unbearably loud. It's basically a jazz
5 concert.

6 The pastor seems to focus the attention on himself, like when the pastor was
7 away so George was preaching. He's preaching. Then he turns around, "Can
8 I have a church here?" and he refers to us as ladies and gentlemen. There's
9 no more the brother and sister kind of thing. It's almost like they're focusing
10 the attention on themselves. A lot of young people who are serious about this
11 religion, they're beginning to shy away from that, because Jessica was telling
12 me that, she says, "I don't understand how they try to focus all the attention
13 on me, on themselves rather, rather than on the Word of the Lord.

14 DW: It's helpful for me to, as you make these contrasts, I think for me to hear
15 your comparison. It helps me understand what the values were in the earlier
16 period then.

17 EM: You didn't talk in the sanctuary like they do now. It was quiet.

18 DW: But you were mentioning doctrine a minute ago and how that was really
19 emphasized. How did the music contribute to doctrine?

20 EM: The music was always anthems.

21 DW: You mean special music?

22 EM: Yeah, the special music I mean. Like for instance, yesterday during—You
23 were here for the children's story?

24 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

25 EM: Okay. Now, the music the guy was playing during the children going around
26 collecting and they're supposed to be teaching them how to give, but they're
27 collecting money for the church for the building fund, but the guy, and I
28 spoke to Mr. Simonson. I said, "You know, it was jazz you were playing. It
29 has nothing to do with directing the children's hearts towards any kind of
30 reverence to God." They didn't hear the music, and I'm sitting there listening
31 to the music. I said, "That was not appropriate." Then when they had the
32 offertory, when they call for the tithe, the song did not apply to the giving of
33 tithe. There was no relationship.

34 DW: What was the name of the song at that point? Do you remember the words?

35 EM: I don't remember any of the words.

36 DW: Everyone knew it.

37 EM: But I don't remember. You know, I get so turned off by that kind of
38 deviation from the sanctity of the Sabbath.

39 DW: But now they did have the one piece that wasn't gospel by the choir that was
40 the Parry piece, "I Was Glad."

1 EM: Okay.

2 DW: You may have heard anthems like that.

3 EM: Yeah. Well, like for instance usually-

4 DW: "I was glad when they said unto me let us go-"

5 EM: "Let us come," right, but they would do anthems like Rossini, by Rossini or
6 something like that.

7 DW: Okay.

8 EM: "Inflamatus [et accensus" from *Stabat Mater*] or something like that, but
9 now it's—Well, I'm just saying the songs don't fit the service. They just
10 don't fit the service. It's only sung like it's a fill in almost, you know? When
11 you're collecting tithe and offerings, I think the songs that they sing should
12 relate to that portion of giving, stewardship, but they don't. They'll
13 sometimes have a soloist come and sing some operatic aria, which doesn't
14 relate to tithe at all.

15 DW: Did you used to do that? Would you sing a song about giving during the
16 offertory?

17 EM: Absolutely, absolutely.

18 DW: In the 40s you did.

19 EM: In the 40s, and 50s, and 60s, and 70s. It's only in recent time when they try
20 to incorporate the younger persons into the worship service that they've
21 changed.

22 DW: Help me. I know this is obvious, but I'm just trying to spell it out for the
23 recording.

24 EM: Go ahead. Be my guest.

25 DW: I mean, you're assuming that I'm getting it all, so forgive me playing dumb
26 here.

27 EM: That's okay. That's okay.

28 DW: But how does singing a song, how is that so significant at the offering or at
29 the children [story]? What does that music do at that time?

30 EM: Well, the music should put you in a mood of wanting to contribute what God
31 has given you, and you're returning it to the Lord. It should make your heart
32 feel as though this is what you want to do, but the music that they play now
33 has nothing to do with trying to set you in a sort of mood of giving. It's just a
34 fill in.

35 DW: Because the subject matter of the music doesn't speak to that.

36 EM: It doesn't relate. It doesn't speak to it. It does not speak to what the aim is. It
37 just doesn't. It doesn't speak to it at all.

38 DW: So they sang anthems that were probably based on scripture then?

1 EM: Yeah, right. I mean, a lot of the anthems-

2 DW: These are compositions or were they just based on the hymnal?

3 EM: Well, in fact they used to sing, always say hymns.

4 DW: Who? The choir or the congregation?

5 EM: The congregation always sang hymns, but then the choir always sang a
6 particular anthem that was glorifying God or something like that. For
7 instance, unfortunately we had a group here called the Ephesus Ensemble,
8 and they would open the service with a piece that made you feel as though
9 you were going to heaven. It was them doing in various [parts of the
10 service]. When they had the intercessory prayer, they would sing a particular
11 song that made you feel as though you were like transcending this earth
12 going to heaven.

13 But the choirs that sing now, the guy who comes in and conducts the choir
14 who was here yesterday, he's simply a paid director from somewhere. He
15 brings in his first day church kind of attitude into the Ephesus church. They
16 sing a lot of stuff now that's loud and screaming and soloists singing to the
17 top of their lungs and so forth. Then they do a lot of things that resort to
18 clapping, you know? To me, that's not the way the church used to be. We
19 never clapped in church. That's one thing that really annoys me, like when
20 the choir sings, they clap. What are you clapping for?

21 I did a Wednesday evening service, and I told them there the music in the
22 church should have two directions. Well, music has two directions. It's
23 vertical and it's horizontal. I said, "When it's horizontal, you see the
24 performer and the performance. When it's vertical, it's directing your
25 thoughts and feelings towards heaven." I said, "But that's not how we
26 worship anymore. We look at what the person is doing."

27 I mentioned that to one of my members in the Sabbath school, and she said,
28 "Well, you're always criticizing." I said, "But the way these girls are up here
29 swinging, and some of their dresses were not appropriate." I said, "It just
30 doesn't direct you towards heaven. It directs you at what they're doing." She
31 said, "Okay. You're always criticizing." She came back next week, the next
32 week, and she says, "You know, I thought about what you said, and she said,
33 "I really was watching them instead of listening to what they were trying to
34 transmit." I said, "And that's what's happening. You won't remember what
35 the song was, but you certainly will remember their performance."

36 Let's see. Well, the children's story thing was odd. I just wish that you could
37 be around longer. They do—well, for instance I was told—I used to sing a
38 lot here, and one of the ladies who was not an Adventist who wanted to do
39 opera highlights. The conference said, "You can't sing opera, because it
40 deals with death and all that sort of thing," so okay, you can't. However,
41 when Angela Brown made her debut at The Met in I think 2004. She's a
42 fabulous singer. The New York Times wanted to get some pictures of her in
43 the church setting, so the New York Times came one Sabbath and they're

1 taking pictures of her during the Sabbath hour, just like they did last week.
2 They talked about the 90th anniversary. They had a lady come from the New
3 York Times and she was taking picture.

4 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

5 EM: Was not dressed properly, had on a pink top or something and some sort of
6 rose colored pants or something, sleeveless. Subject EPH10614, and I called
7 him out on it, was walking, taking her around as she was taking pictures.
8 That was not appropriate for Sabbath. You don't do that. You couldn't go
9 into a mosque or a synagogue and do that on the Sabbath. You just could not.
10 But that's the kind of thing that they're doing to change the way we worship,
11 and the reverence of the Sabbath has just gone out of the window. You
12 know, that was very upsetting to me.

13 DW: I get from you there's this real sense of God's holiness. Were we thinking
14 about our sinfulness before God, or was it, we are his creation and that's why
15 we have the reverence, or how did those factors about humanity relate in the
16 worship, sinfulness or creator and creature?

17 EM: Well, I think that it was more or less the Lord sent his son to redeem us, and
18 therefore we had to simply become Christ-like. That attitude no longer
19 exists, you know? It's not even mentioned basically. It's simply a meeting
20 place where we hear some scriptures, and a lot of times the pastors do not
21 quote scripture. Now, Pastor Jack on Sabbath, he was quoting scripture, but I
22 can tell you that most of the time they don't quote scripture anymore. It's
23 simply a life experience that they've gone through and they key on that.
24 They'll talk very much, like for instance I understand that we've had a
25 couple of killings here by police. Instead of directing the worship service
26 towards that, they will talk about that, what transpired humanly. It, to me,
27 serves up simply anger.

28 Now, sometimes the pastor, and I spoke to him about it, I said, "You know,
29 you're mandated to preach the gospel. If you cannot preach the gospel, then
30 you don't belong here." I said, "You are supposed to lead the flock towards
31 New Jerusalem. If you're not going that in every instance, you're
32 misplaced." I said, "Also, you can't be ethnic." I don't know. Well, Pastor
33 Jack wasn't ethnic at all yesterday, but sometimes the other pastors, I tell
34 them—

35 DW: What does it mean to be ethnic?

36 EM: I remember once the pastor was saying, from Isaiah 6, "Here I am, Lord.
37 Here I am, Lord," but he didn't say that. He said, "Here I is. Here I is, Lord."
38 You know, like a ghetto. You can't ghettoize the gospel, and you can't—

39 DW: But that's suggesting something about the importance of preaching or the
40 gospel, and what is that? There's some importance there. A heightened sense
41 of that? A theology of the gospel or preaching?

1 EM: In other words, when you're preaching, you should make sure that the
2 person's thoughts and heart is directed towards the Savior and his
3 redemptive power. Once you start preaching and bringing in the way we do
4 things in the ghetto and you start talking that way, and now especially we've
5 had a lot of white visitors so to speak. Sometimes the pastor would go off on
6 this, I call it, colored kind of talk. You can't do that. I was told, "Well, this is
7 a colored church or a black church." It's not a black church. It's the church
8 of God where you preach the gospel and you speak to those people who want
9 to hear the Word. But you can't go down in the gutter. The people who
10 understand that gutter talk are maybe people who have lived in New York
11 forever, but I know that in my household my father never allowed us to be
12 ethnic so to speak. If we didn't speak the King's English, then we got a hand
13 across the face or something like that.

14 DW: Can you describe what the preaching was like back in the 40s, in terms of
15 eloquence, mannerism, or volume?

16 EM: It was just, "Thus sayeth the Lord." That's what it was. It wasn't a lot of
17 showmanship, or screaming, or like for instance yesterday. Sometimes it was
18 too loud, but they think that they get the message across by making it louder.
19 That did not occur early on. It was simply scriptural always, but now it's
20 more or less the Baptist kind of mode. In fact, a little bit was happening
21 yesterday. When Pastor Jack was saying something, the music would play.

22 DW: You didn't have someone play the background music when the pastor
23 preached?

24 EM: Not like that. Not like that. That's a first day kind of attitude.

25 DW: You mean not like that, there was something going on?

26 EM: If they played music, it was very just a steady volume if they played, but
27 now what they do—

28 DW: Like during an appeal?

29 EM: Yes, but now they're doing when the pastor says something to stir your
30 emotion, Dah dah dah, the piano goes or the organ goes.

31 DW: Yeah.

32 EM: That kind of thing did not happen and only happened in first day church. In
33 fact, a person said to me yesterday that we're becoming like the Baptists,
34 getting the Baptist attitude of yelling, and screaming, and all the antics and
35 so forth to draw attention to what he's saying.

36 DW: Was yesterday more typical of worship today?

37 EM: Yes, it was.

38 DW: Because you know when I was here in August, that was a completely
39 different church.

1 EM: Well, see, then you'll see the difference between then and now. Pastor Jack,
2 he tends to be more in tune with I think what the Lord, the message that the
3 Lord wants to get across, but again, sometimes these guys change their
4 thinking somewhat.

5 DW: No, but like the music. There was very little clapping in August.

6 EM: Yes.

7 DW: The music was much more reserved.

8 EM: Right, right.

9 DW: Blue's preaching was actually more toned down than Pastor Jack's.

10 EM: Okay.

11 DW: He preached just a message on Revelation.

12 EM: Right, right.

13 DW: I don't know if that's typical.

14 EM: Well, I've been told that the conferences are trying to get away from
15 ministers preaching strictly the Third Angel's Message. They don't want
16 them to do that. They want them to be more social.

17 DW: Maybe we can talk more about the particulars about the service. I'd like to
18 ask you about the order of service. I'd like to talk to you about your
19 memories of what the church was like before the fire and about more
20 questions about the music itself back then.

21 EM: Okay.

22 DW: Maybe with the building, I saw pictures yesterday at the afternoon program,
23 and I think I'd seen them before, of how the church had inherited this Dutch
24 Reformed building.

25 EM: It's fantastic looking at those.

26 DW: Can you describe what that architecture was like on that side?

27 EM: That was awesome. When you—first of all, there was a—over the altar was a
28 wood carving of Gabriel with a shield and a sword. When you came to
29 church, you wouldn't dare open your mouth. It was almost like the angel
30 would've come down and cut you to pieces. It was so awesome. I mean,
31 when I was young you didn't dare say anything too loud in church. The
32 woodwork was all mahogany. All around the church, woodworking, and
33 there was a lot of it looked like it was hard-carved.

34 The balcony was, instead of the way it is, it was much lower and then it had
35 brass railing all around with little curtains and so forth. The ceiling had these
36 beautiful beams in the church. It had even, instead of having this air
37 conditioning blowing you and freeze you to death like the way they have it
38 now, they had fans and the lighting was totally different. It was a
39 magnificent looking church on the inside. In fact, on the rostrum I could

1 never—I was amazed. A lot of times, if I took my eyes off the rostrum and
2 looked back, I'd see the pastors on the rostrum. I'd say, "Well, how did they
3 get there?" There were doors behind the pastor that would open and the
4 clergy would appear on the rostrum. It was simply magnificent wood
5 structures on the inside of the church. It was simply beautiful.

6 DW: How did that beautiful aesthetic of the space, the angel, the fine woodwork,
7 and stenciling, how did that contribute to your experience of worship?

8 EM: Well, first of all it wasn't like a bright, like you walk into bright light. The
9 woodworking was very dark and it absorbed light so to speak, so you
10 actually realized you were in some sort of sanctuary, almost like in biblical
11 times where the ark of the covenant or something was at the end. You
12 walked in and you felt as though you were in a sacred place. At least that's
13 the way I felt. It was not flamboyant like it is. It's well lighted now with
14 those modern lights. First of all, it wouldn't have fit in the old sanctuary.
15 That's for sure.

16 DW: As you say, it was sacred and you were coming into a holy place. It sounds
17 like it was very different from maybe your home or something.

18 EM: Yes. You actually felt as though you were going from a secular place into a
19 holy place. You were actually entering a sanctuary, and it was considered—
20 It was quiet. My wife used to be Catholic, and I used to enjoy going to
21 church with her simply because when you walked into the Catholic church
22 there was no noise. It was quiet. You saw a candle over here and candles
23 over there. It was quiet. You wouldn't dare talk about baseball. I mean, they
24 talk about anything in the sanctuary now. That's one reason I didn't like the
25 youth church when they let the kids go back there. They would be rocking to
26 the music and talking about some boyfriend down the street. It couldn't have
27 been a very good religious experience for them.

28 But the church, before it burned, when it had all these nice dark wood
29 structures, and in the back where the Heritage Hall is, that was an open
30 space. There were no poles or anything. It had a colored glass work there,
31 "The Lord is in his holy temple. Let all the earth keep silence." Where the
32 pastors, have the picture of the pastors, there used to be very big doors that
33 opened so that the youth church could open to that space there. That has all
34 changed, and you can see it's not anything like what it used to look like. You
35 actually thought you—You know, it was totally different than just a hall. It
36 wasn't a hall. Now it's a hall, anything goes.

37 DW: Now, you mentioned like the anthems. Do you remember any other major
38 composers, types of great music you would hear?

39 EM: Very often you'd hear things by Beethoven, Bach, all of those great masters.
40 The reason that I think they—In fact, they accused me downstairs at lunch. I
41 was down there one Sabbath and they said, "Why do you like all this
42 European kind of music? You're black." I said, "What has that got to do with
43 what you like?" "Oh, you like white-ified music." I said, "Well, what's—?"

1 [They said,] “That’s Beethoven. We don’t listen to that. We listen to
2 spirituals and gospel.” I said, “Okay. But you have to understand that just
3 because my skin is dark, I can have other views of things, you know? If you
4 check my DNA, you’ll find that my father’s father was Dutch Irish and he
5 married an African woman. I have just as much genetically European
6 influence in my body as I do African. So why do I have to like black
7 music?”.

8 But that, see that’s one of the things. I think they’re getting away from
9 singing anthems simply because they don’t want to do anything that’s
10 considered white. That’s how prejudice I think they are. You don’t realize it,
11 but that’s how prejudice these people are. You know, it’s not just white
12 people not wanting black people in the congregation. It’s black people not
13 wanting white people in the congregation. Pastor Eisensie, who used to, I
14 don’t know if you ever knew him, but he used to have the church out in
15 Hempstead. He and his wife used to always travel with us when we went to
16 Jamaica. It was okay as long as he wasn’t preaching to you to some of these
17 people, but that’s how they draw the line.

18 Pastor Palegi, it’s a miracle they accepted him, because I called for, “Why
19 don’t you send a white pastor?” They said, “Oh, no. We don’t want a white
20 pastor here.” Well, Palegi is I guess. Well, he’s married to a black woman, so
21 I guess—I think she’s from Cuba, I think so. I’m not sure. But he’s Italian
22 and Chilean, so you would say he’s Caucasian. 20 years ago, they would
23 have never accepted that. It would not be possible, because I said to one of
24 the parishioners, “We need to get a white pastor here for the youth.” “Oh, no,
25 no, no. He can’t relate.” I said, “You’re talking about the Word of the Lord.
26 It doesn’t matter where it’s coming from or what the person looks like. If
27 he’s preaching the word of the Lord, it’s the word of the Lord. Who cares
28 what he looks like?” But that’s how some of the people are here today. I’m
29 not talking about yesterday. I’m talking about today. They can’t accept
30 something that is white, and that’s a reason why I think they get away from
31 singing all of those anthems by the great composers.

32 DW: Speaking about those composers, do you remember Charles Bradford going
33 to church here?

34 EM: Yes, I remember that. Right.

35 DW: He said that, when I talked to him about this period, he said to me that they
36 used to, as you’ve said, they sang Bach and these things. This was part of the
37 Harlem Renaissance, and this was saying, the Renaissance at least in the
38 church he said, but also here in this city and in society, was able to show,
39 “Look. We are just as good or better musicians. We are legitimate musicians.
40 Our worship is legitimate, and we can do the very best.”

41 EM: Absolutely.

1 DW: He said that they were trying to do this great music. It was within the
2 Renaissance vein, but this was a major evangelistic piece and statement to
3 the denomination and ruling white society.

4 EM: Right.

5 DW: What do you think about that?

6 EM: I think you're correct. I think we did the Verdi Requiem back in '72. That's a
7 great work—It's almost like a religious opera, *Dies ire*, *Sanctus*, and all
8 those things. The conference sponsored that. Very few people showed up.
9 They said we were singing music to the dead.

10 DW: But had it been done maybe 40 years earlier, maybe the reception would
11 have been different?

12 EM: It might have been, but when the transition was taking place where there was
13 the black power and Spanish power and Irish power, all that sort of became
14 discombobulated so to speak. Nobody came, nobody. That was a great work.
15 I mean, we did it with the Oakwood choir, Oakwood Aeolians. They
16 rehearsed in Oakwood. We rehearsed in New York. I was singing with the
17 Jan Robertson Chorale at the time.

18 DW: You went to Oakwood?

19 EM: No. I didn't go to Oakwood. I went to City College here in New York.

20 DW: How are you connected with Robertson then?

21 EM: Jon Robertson was in New York. He was going to Julliard at the time. He
22 was a child prodigy. He's still alive.

23 DW: Yeah. I need to talk to him.

24 EM: The Aeolians practiced and we practiced here, and then we came together. I
25 think the orchestra that we were using was the American Symphony
26 Orchestra, Leopold Stokowski's orchestra, but Jon conducted the orchestra
27 because of the chorus. When we came together, we were so well rehearsed it
28 was as though we had rehearsed with them many, many months. The critic of
29 the New York ... Well, it wasn't the New York Times. It was the Herald
30 Tribune at the time. He said the choir would have done justice to any Verdi. I
31 mean, we were incredibly good. The orchestra was okay, but he said the
32 soloists were not so great. He didn't think too much about the soloists. To
33 me, it was fantastic. I mean, I remember the music. I can still sing the Latin
34 without a problem.

35 Then again, in church we did Gounod, *Sanctus*, [sings] and the people said,
36 "Why are you singing white people's music?" because we sang it in Latin. If
37 we had sung it in English, it would have been more acceptable. The fact that
38 we used the Latin text, it was rejected and we were criticized.

39 DW: When you were a young boy then and teenager, did you feel this type of
40 prejudice between blacks and whites in worship then?

1 EM: No, because there were no whites here. It was just simply a black
2 congregation.

3 DW: Because as you related before we started recording, basically whites
4 wouldn't come here and blacks wouldn't go there?

5 EM: Right. I mean, well, you know, it was in Harlem. It's only within the last 10
6 years so to speak that whites have sort of come to this neighborhood. The
7 whites that come would go to the Cotton Club and so forth like that where
8 the black musicians would entertain them, but then blacks could not go there.
9 It's amazing. Back in the 30s and 40s, the black musicians would play for
10 white audiences, but there was no mixture there.

11 DW: Because there was still Jim Crow then.

12 EM: Yes, absolutely, absolutely. Consequently, this church was a black church.
13 You didn't think in terms of white people coming into the church because
14 very seldom did you see any white faces.

15 DW: When was your first experience in white worship?

16 EM: Well, the situation I recall that I mentioned to you about Pastor Dart, Archa
17 O. Dart, seeing my wife and I together. This is 1961, March of 1961.

18 DW: But then you actually didn't worship there, because they sent you away,
19 right?

20 EM: No. No, no. I'm talking about at Ephesus here, this guy Dart. When I was in
21 the military and we went to this church in Louisville, it was myself, Donald
22 Braxton, and Jerome Horn. We were like the three musketeers. We hung out
23 together. We just went to church in Louisville. When we got there, we were
24 told that we couldn't worship there simply because that was not our church.

25 DW: What year was that?

26 EM: 1957. The point is, I had never been treated that way in my life. I was 22
27 years old at the time, and I said, "What is going on here? I thought we were
28 Adventists," but that's not the case. It was even just before I got to Louisville
29 I was stationed at Camp Detrick, Maryland where we did all sorts of
30 research. I was the only black guy in this detachment, and two fellows came
31 in the dayroom. I was in charge of quarters this particular day, and in the day
32 room. There was nobody in the day room. I was watching the Yankees play
33 the Washington Senators or something. Before your time. You don't even
34 remember the Senators.

35 DW: No, uh-uh.

36 EM: These two guys came in, and the guy, I'll never forget the guy, Wayne Blue,
37 he was an Adventist guy from Nebraska, he sat in my chair. All the chairs
38 around, sat in my chair. He picks up my letters and he starts reading them. I
39 looked at him real strange. Then he said to his friend—I can see his friend's
40 face, but I can't recall his name. He says, "Oh, I don't like blacks, niggers,
41 anyway," and he flips the letters across the room. I didn't get upset when he

1 was reading the letters, but when he said what he said, I don't know what
2 happened to me. I tried to destroy the guy.

3 DW: Yeah, yeah.

4 EM: Consequently, the commanding officer was called, and he came in and said
5 to me, he says, "Look, I understand what you're going through, but you have
6 to be like Jackie Robinson." I said, "I can't be like Jackie Robinson. I can't."
7 I said, "I've never been treated this way. Nobody's ever did this to me. In 22
8 years, I'm now experiencing all this stupid prejudice kind of stuff." They
9 transferred me to Fort Knox, the United States Army Medical Research
10 Laboratory. It was okay, but then again they were doing all sorts of thermal
11 experiments, thermal stress experiments on humans. Don't frown.

12 Actually what it was, they were trying to acclimate human bodies to, say if
13 we had to fight the Russians in Siberia, I could wear light clothing like this
14 and not freeze to death. They would put you in a cold chamber for two hours
15 at 40 degrees. You know, you shiver. I thought you shivered all over at one
16 time, but you don't. You shiver in waves, and it becomes so violent that you
17 literally jump up off the table. When I told them I couldn't, I didn't want to
18 participate anymore and being an Adventist I'm not sacrificing my body and
19 so forth, they gave me grief and tried to send me to prison. That was in
20 Louisville.

21 Then after I got treated that way in the military, then when I went to try to go
22 to church, that just didn't set right with me. Fortunately I survived. I
23 survived simply because I was a good athlete. They had me on detail work,
24 just pick up cigarette butts and all that sort of foolishness. Then they
25 transferred me to the 6th Armored Cavalry. I don't know anything about
26 armored cavalry. I don't drive a tank.

27 They transferred me at high noon, and guys were out there practicing
28 baseball. The ball rolls up to me, and I say, "Chw" [sound of throwing a fast
29 ball]. A guy says, "You can throw like this? We want you on the baseball
30 team." I said, "Well, I'm on permanent detail." They went and talked to the
31 commanding officer, Major West. He said, "They want to send you on
32 permanent detail picking up cigarette butts and stuff like that." I said,
33 "Yeah." He says, "You're off that detail. You're playing baseball." I played
34 with Bill White, the guy who played first base for the Yankees, and he was
35 always kidding me.

36 EM: The Lord I think had been with me always, because I remember when they
37 had me just walking around picking up cigarette butts they had some guy
38 behind me with a gun. He put his gun down to look to see if I cleaned out all
39 the ashes out of the furnace, and I took the shovel. David, the shovel didn't
40 hit him. When it came down, I was like this. The Lord must have reached
41 down and grabbed that shovel, because there was no way in the world that
42 the shovel should not have hit the guy. I'm saying I tried to remain as
43 spiritual as I could even under those circumstances, but it became a little bit

1 disconcerting having being thrown out of a white church. Fortunately, when
2 we did find the black church it was a pleasant experience.

3 DW: I'm hoping to be able to compare what white worship was like to your early
4 experience. Were there similarities? Was there some differences? I was
5 curious when you actually ever experienced a white worship service.

6 EM: We did. We went to a church on 11th Street.

7 DW: In New York?

8 EM: In New York, 11th Street, and we weren't welcome there. They would let us
9 use the music facilities there, but they didn't allow us to attend the service. I
10 can't say that the blacks would have done the same thing because we've had
11 many—Before the conferences, before they got black conferences there was
12 only the white conference and so forth, so the white ministers would come
13 and they would preach and so forth. One thing I found disconcerting was that
14 if we would sing a spiritual let's say, they would say, "Well, when we get to
15 heaven, we're coming over to your side to listen to you guys." Really? I
16 mean, in the mind of the white ministers, there was going to be two heavens.
17 There was going to be a black heaven and a white heaven, and they're
18 coming over to our side to listen to gospel or spirituals or something like
19 that.

20 That still prevails. In fact, there was one white minister not too long ago, a
21 couple years now. He came over to Sybil's house for lunch because he was
22 in town. He made the comment that when we are translated, we're all going
23 to turn white. I mean, yeah, incredible. We're going to—I know, you have to
24 laugh at that, right?

25 DW: Brother, if you don't look like this [how you look now—Black] when I get
26 up there, I know I'm talking to the wrong guy.

27 EM: Yeah. I mean, just—You know, to have a comment that was made in 2013.
28 For that kind of comment to be made shows you that there still is a big
29 divide between the way black people worship and the way white people
30 worship, and there's got to be some—There's no bridge between the two.

31 DW: I'm curious then what may have been ... There was this racial tension back
32 then, but were there differences in the worship practices?

33 EM: No.

34 DW: With the type of music besides spirituals?

35 EM: No. I think the music, it was acceptable for us to sing mostly anthems. I'm
36 sure that's what they sang. I'm sure they didn't sing spirituals in the white
37 churches. That just didn't happen. That's why they would say, "When we
38 come over, we're going to come over to your side and listen," but it was still
39 the formal service was probably the same in both situations, both institutions
40 except that there was no mixing of the institutions. The only time we had a
41 mixture was when the white ministers came from the general conference

1 here. The reason that the black conferences developed is because the black
2 ministers could not get jobs, so they formed their own conferences.

3 DW: Right, yeah.

4 EM: They formed their own union. I don't remember what year it was, but it had
5 to be in the 80s. Calvin Rock was pastor here then. It had to be the 80s where
6 they wanted to have a union. They couldn't get union jobs, so they wanted to
7 have a separate society so to speak. Pastor Rock made the comment, because
8 I came that Sunday. It was a Sunday they were talking about this. I came to
9 church that Sunday to listen to what was transpiring, and Calvin Rock said
10 the only reason he goes to white churches is out of courtesy because they
11 can't preach.

12 I was so upset with the man, I wrote him a letter. I think he was president of
13 Oakwood at the time. I wrote him a letter and I said to him, "The fact that
14 people that you consider white people are being converted to Adventism by
15 white ministers, it's obvious that the Lord speaks through white ministers
16 just as well as he speaks through black ministers." He didn't like that. I said
17 to him, I said, "You know, it seems to me that you represent hell and
18 damnation to the Adventist movement if you're preaching that kind of
19 foolishness, because God does not know color, at least I don't think so. I've
20 never seen it." I said, "But you're making ... Because you're so angry for not
21 getting jobs, what you've done is sort of made this divide, this chasm that
22 can't be breached."

23 I'm saying that even though our worship service might have been sacred, and
24 reverent and so forth, I can't really compare it to white service because I
25 never really attended a white service. I used to go to synagogue with my
26 father, and that was fine. I felt comfortable going to the synagogue with my
27 father, but that would be the only service other than a black service that I
28 would go to, because I just never got a chance to go to a white church. When
29 I did start going to a church that was predominately white out in Hempstead,
30 Long Island, the whites disappeared. It became a black church. Now it's
31 completely a black church. Where the Caucasian people have gone, I haven't
32 got the faintest clue.

33 You know, it's upsetting to me. It's really upsetting to me. My wife of
34 course being a Catholic, she went to church. It didn't matter whether you
35 were white or black or Hispanic, you were in the church, and the priest did a
36 homily or something like that, and that was it. But when I got to the
37 Adventist church, I saw there was a complete separation of the worship
38 service. I did like the Catholic worship service because it was solemn like
39 the Adventist service used to be, but now it's become more of less a jam
40 session in my opinion.

41 DW: What about like the music? I don't want to make comparisons to black and
42 white. Do you remember what was the common hymnal that you sang out of
43 when you were young?

1 EM: Yes. It was a regular church hymnal. We used to use *Christ in Song*.
2 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). I brought that here.
3 EM: Yes.
4 DW: It may not have been that cover, but there's several ones.
5 EM: Well, yes. My mother had that. I was trying to find out where my mother's
6 copy went, and I don't know. It disappeared, and unfortunately she died.
7 Yes, we used to use this all the time. They don't use this anymore.
8 DW: Did you ever use it where ... Because he, Belden, wherever his name is on
9 here, says in the preface that you could take songs like this and you could
10 bend them over so that you could sing. This is long meter. Here, both of
11 these were long meters.
12 EM: Right.
13 DW: Would you ever sing a text from this page, this song to this tune? Do you
14 ever remember doing stuff like that?
15 EM: Well, I know that some of those words when I was growing up, I said,
16 "That's not what the tune was when we sang the other song." I guess they
17 used to do cross singing like that too, but this is a staple.
18 DW: Yeah.
19 EM: A staple of the church. They don't sing from this book anymore.
20 DW: Did you remember ever singing out of *Hymns and Tunes*? That was the 1886
21 official hymnal until 1941.
22 EM: I don't know.
23 DW: I didn't bring it with me.
24 EM: Yeah, I have ... My aunt, when my aunt died, I took her hymnal. She has a
25 *Church Hymnal* that's totally different from what is today.
26 DW: Do you remember this hymnal coming out?
27 EM: Yes.
28 DW: That's the 41.
29 EM: I remember this cover. Yes, I do. Yes, I do.
30 DW: How did the church respond to this hymnal?
31 EM: Fine, not a problem. They picked the hymnal. In the back, they would have
32 the readings, you know, which are here, right? I remember. Yes, we used this
33 hymnal on an ongoing basis. It's amazing. I think I have one of these at
34 home somewhere. This was standard repertoire.
35 DW: What about like songs here that weren't there [in *Christ in Song*, but not in
36 the *Church Hymnal*]? How did you feel about that?

1 EM: To me it didn't matter. I mean, at prayer meeting on Wednesdays, we would
2 sing *Christ in Song*.

3 DW: You'd still use this [*Christ in Song*]?
4 EM: Yes.

5 DW: After the *Church Hymnal* came out?
6 EM: Yes. We'd still use it. You know, it didn't matter as to us as we considered it
7 religious music, and we sang it.

8 DW: Who started the early youth church before the official youth church?
9 EM: The youth church came about under Lee, under Lee. Youth church under
10 Lee, because Rowe. I remember Elder Rowe, his brother used to always sing
11 the song "God's Tomorrow" da, da, da, da, da, dum. I remember he had a
12 bass player. He sang in the choir. He sang that.

13 DW: In the youth meetings, would you have sung out of this, this book, *The*
14 *Gospel in Song*?
15 EM: It's possible. I don't know. I don't remember really. A little bit before my
16 time. "Onward Christian Soldiers."
17 DW: This is '26 [*The Gospel in Song*].
18 EM: Okay.

19 DW: The *Junior Song Book* is copyright 1931.
20 EM: I mean, like the songs Onward Christian Soldiers, Shelter in the Time of
21 Storm. We sang in AY. Not AY, Missionary Volunteers we would sing these
22 all the time.

23 DW: What about like how these were accompanied? Do you recall the style?
24 EM: Straight up. Dum, dum, dum, dum, da, dadum. Bum, bum, bum, badum.
25 DW: Or would it be put into like a six-eight feel?
26 EM: No. It was-
27 DW: Da, da, da, dum, da, da, da. [singing "Onward Christian Soldiers" with a
28 12/8 style].
29 EM: No.
30 DW: Da, da, da, da, da, da, da, da, da.
31 EM: I think it was almost like four-four time. It wasn't changed. It was ... yeah. I
32 mean, I can-
33 DW: But maybe you didn't pay attention?
34 EM: No, but I know that. I can recall listening to the piano. It would do dum,
35 dum, dum, dum, da, dadum. Bum, bum, bum, badadum. Dum, bum, bum,
36 bum, bum [singing the written rhythm of the hymn]. That's how it was sung.
37 It was not any change in tempo or internal tempo or something like that. It

1 was just straight forward. This is four-four time. That's the way it was sung,
2 Shelter in the Time of Storm. It was sung directly from the book, the way it's
3 written. But now, this is totally different. I mean, if they would sing this
4 song, it's sort of jazzed up.

5 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

6 EM: They have to put the black flare into the music. They can't sing it the way it
7 was written because it's white-ified, so they wouldn't sing it the same. They
8 criticize me very often here, even Jeryl. She'd criticize me, you know. I
9 should be a classically trained musician. For instance, one thing she did do in
10 the service was to get the beat snapping her fingers. I said, "Jeryl, we don't
11 do that in church. We don't do that in church," but that's a black thing. Well,
12 you'll talk to her.

13 DW: While we still have these hymnals out, are there certain songs that you
14 remember singing that really stand out?

15 EM: Well, as I said just when I opened the book, the first two things that I saw I
16 remember singing them all the time in Missionary Volunteer.

17 DW: Maybe songs in *Christ in Song*?

18 EM: We sang always these songs in prayer meeting.

19 DW: But you'd use these in church too, right?

20 EM: We'd use it in church, but I know when I used to come to prayer meeting
21 with my father, and we always used *Christ in Song*. Always. It was a staple.

22 DW: What about do you remember certain hymns out of the Church Hymnal that
23 you would sing?

24 EM: Well, what can I tell you? We sang that one.

25 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). That's "Oh Zion, Haste?"

26 EM: We sang that. "Work for the Night" dada, dum, bum, bum, bum, da, dada,
27 dum, dum, dum. Sang that always, always. See, I can remember. When
28 you're saying these things, I'm going back. When I look at this, I can hear it
29 being sung, and it was simply sung because that's what we sang in the
30 Adventist church.

31 DW: Was there a certain theme that you sang about a lot?

32 EM: No. Well, the theme fit the message. In other words, during the offertory we
33 would definitely pick music that related to offering.

34 DW: I'm just wondering if maybe you sang a lot of songs about the Holy Spirit, or
35 did you sing a lot of songs about the Second Coming?

36 EM: Everything. I could say either, and, or.

37 DW: You just remember the message-

38 EM: The message.

1 DW: Being sung all the time.

2 EM: The songs, the songs generally fit the message that was being preached.

3 DW: Okay.

4 EM: That's how music was selected.

5 DW: Okay.

6 EM: Like for instance, if the pastor was going to preach about a particular part of
7 the scripture, the music was selected to bolster that kind of mood or thinking
8 or extension of what the song's about.

9 DW: When you mentioned earlier in our time here the music like fitting the action
10 of different things, would you sing at that morning prayer the special prayer
11 in the middle of the service? Would you sing before that or after that?

12 EM: Well, first of all there was always the opening song. Generally, the opening
13 song used to fit what the pastor was going to talk about. Now, it doesn't
14 really. It's just somebody selects a song.

15 EM: Then for the intercessory prayer, the song fit the mood and we would ... You
16 know, like for instance in this book it tells you, it says Hymns for Children,
17 and then it says Hymns for Sabbath School. That's what we would do. We'd
18 look for that section, and then we would sing the songs that related to that
19 particular mode of service. Yeah, okay. Early Advent hymns, sang that.

20 DW: "How Far From Home?"

21 EM: Yes.

22 DW: Did you sing "I'm a Pilgrim?"

23 EM: I'm sure it was sung. I might not necessarily remember that, but I'm sure it
24 was sung. This is great. Sang that.

25 DW: "How Sweet are the Tidings."

26 EM: Yes.

27 DW: It sounds like you really used the whole hymnal.

28 EM: The book was used, and when they did the scripture reading if they didn't,
29 they always took things from the back here.

30 DW: To do the responsive?

31 EM: Right, right. They did. They don't do that anymore. You see Sabbath day,
32 it's a responsive reading they would say, and they would read. See, now here
33 this tithing and offerings. If they were keying on that particular concept of
34 worship, they would pick something like that. Sound judgment.

35 DW: Do you remember the order of worship being at all different when you went
36 to another black church?

37 EM: No, it was the same, the same thing.

1 DW: They did the same thing that you did here?

2 EM: It was the same. Everything. The churches I used to go to very often, I used
3 to go to City Tabernacle, but it was just like being at Ephesus. The service
4 was exactly the same. The music was exactly the same. Now, the guy who
5 used to be the music director over there, Lloyd Chung, he left the church to
6 go somewhere else. You know, to another Adventist church if he could find
7 one, because they wanted him to now play gospel. He doesn't play gospel.
8 He's a classically trained organist. He says, "I don't play that kind of music.
9 It's not within my nature. I don't feel that kind of music." He's a tremendous
10 guy.

11 Now, yesterday when Simonson was playing, he's a good musician. I enjoy
12 his playing, except that I had told him I didn't enjoy what he was doing
13 during the children's story collecting money and stuff like that. I said that
14 was just not in keeping with Sabbath. I mean, you heard it. I don't know how
15 you felt about it. When they were playing, I looked over to see how you were
16 responding, but you were deadpan, you know, with your deadpan face.

17 DW: I guess I should be a little bit more enthused.

18 EM: But you weren't animated, because I wanted to see. I said, "How is he
19 enjoying that?"

20 DW: No, it didn't. It didn't speak to what the point was.

21 EM: But see, they do that all the time. It's what they feel like doing.

22 DW: Well, you know when I teach my worship leaders, this is the song that we
23 want to make children's story memorable for them, and teach them even in
24 the song that they're going up.

25 EM: Right, right.

26 DW: I mean, so one of the things that we changed in the last few years is we used
27 to have someone always play, but now we've started singing. Maybe they
28 used to play "Jesus Loves Me," but actually everyone singing it while they
29 go up I think helps shape their faith even more.

30 EM: They used to do that. I mean, they do that here too, but I just couldn't
31 understand why he was playing what he was playing because I don't see how
32 it related to what you were trying to make the kids feel.

33 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). I think it communicated very clear, but it may have
34 been communicating something different than what you desired to be
35 communicated.

36 EM: Right. I don't think it was. I mean, I didn't feel it. I don't know. The
37 children's story thing is—

38 DW: Did you do a children's story back then in the service?

39 EM: Well, years and years ago they didn't.

40 DW: Okay.

1 EM: I don't recall.

2 DW: Would announcements be in the service?

3 EM: That was one thing that was sort of changed. They would never have
4 announcements like announcing the 90th anniversary or the bus tour on
5 Sabbath. That did not happen.

6 DW: I have a bulletin and I don't think I have that in here. Well, here's an old one.

7 EM: Right.

8 DW: This was when I was here before.

9 EM: Right.

10 DW: We got worship in here, and then there was this thing.

11 EM: The welcome, announcements.

12 DW: Would you back in the 30s and 40s interject the announcements here, or
13 would have it come before the service? Because the church manual doesn't
14 tell you to do announcements.

15 EM: Right. In fact, they used to always have announcements, but I know a couple
16 of pastors ago, what they would do is make announcements between the
17 Sabbath school hour and the sacred hour. Then there was no more
18 announcements. But then of course I think when Jones was here, he changed
19 it I think.

20 DW: He put it in the middle?

21 EM: He put it before—After Sabbath school, they would make announcements.

22 DW: That sounds like something Jones would do. He wouldn't have it down here.

23 EM: Right. Then they sort of brought back this. It's ridiculous. It's so
24 disconcerting. I mean, I can see welcoming the visitors, but then you're
25 going to read announcements. It's just not appropriate. I've complained, but
26 you can see they do what they want to do. The thing that disturbs me most is
27 pastoral remarks. I mean, it's simply ridiculous. It has nothing to do with the
28 worship service. He gets up and talk nonsense. I told Pastor Blue it's just not
29 appropriate. Now, yesterday they did the same thing. Alvaro got up. Please.
30 You know, why can't we just, once the call—See, I believe, once the call to
31 worship is made, that's when the reverence begins and it should be through
32 the whole service. There should be no deviation, announcements, or that sort
33 of thing.

34 DW: It sounds like that's what used to be done back then.

35 EM: That's the way I experienced it. But now, like for instance yesterday, when
36 they made the presentation, the proclamation from the mayor or from the
37 borough president or whatever it was. What has that got to do with the
38 worship service? Who cares? That should not have been. We've had—I
39 remember Charles Rangel, who is one of the congressmen in this region. He

1 came and Pastor Blue, and I said something to Pastor Blue, I said, “Why did
2 you let him talk about black people being kicked out of housing and stuff
3 like that?” He said, “Well, I told him not to be political.” I said, “Why didn’t
4 you just stop him?” He should have just walked up and tapped him like,
5 “Brother Rangel, we can’t talk about that on the Sabbath,” but he didn’t.
6 He’s so politically connected.

7 I mean, that’s one good thing about Pastor Blue with respect to this
8 community. He’s connected, but you can’t bring that connectedness to
9 church on the Sabbath. You can’t be talking about housing on the Sabbath. I
10 don’t know if you agree with me or not, but I just can’t see where you’re
11 honoring the Lord by talking about those kinds of things on the Sabbath, but
12 that’s what they do all the time. They did it yesterday with the proclamation
13 from the borough president.

14 DW: It sounds like that there was a really profound understanding of worship in
15 your experience.

16 EM: Yes.

17 DW: This just has come up in all of your comments, and this desire to worship
18 God and make him first in the service.

19 EM: Right, mm-hmm (affirmative).

20 DW: I think that you have described the worship for me, and you’ve pointed out
21 the music and things. I just think it’s really great the things that you’ve
22 shared. I just have one more question unless you have other things that you
23 want to share?

24 EM: No. You ask the questions.

25 DW: It’s my last question for everybody.

26 EM: Okay.

27 DW: This recording I think and the transcript, just as you did for Jeryl potentially,
28 folks like yourself I think have an important legacy that you’re sharing by
29 getting this down. Making this recording or the transcript of it available to
30 the church can be a blessing to learn from the history of worship in the
31 church. Perhaps thinking of it as a legacy, what would you say to the present
32 and future generations that we can learn from your past experience in
33 worship and music? What is important for us to learn? What is your
34 concluding words you would want to leave us with?

35 EM: Well, I believe that your worship, whatever you do with respect to worship,
36 it should always focus heavenly, heavenward. If it doesn’t focus in a vertical
37 direction, then it’s not appropriate for worship. I wish you could meet my
38 eldest son. He’s 49 years old. He used to go to Altadena Church, and he
39 switched from Altadena to Temple City. He said because when he was
40 growing up in church, it was always a sacred moment. Once the Sabbath was
41 over, you didn’t buy nor sell on the Sabbath. You didn’t go to restaurants.

1 You didn't go out, break out your skateboard and so forth, which is he said
2 what they do at Altadena. He says, "I have four sons, and I don't want them
3 to believe that the Sabbath, you deviate from the Sabbath by going out and
4 socializing on the beach on Sabbath," so he switched to Temple City. He's
5 very spiritual. Everything. Everything, he prays before he does anything.

6 That's what I would say. Your focus should always be heavenward. If you're
7 doing anything that's not in adoration of the Lord, it's not appropriate. It
8 might not be bad. It's just like I said. I like jazz. If I go to a jazz concert,
9 yeah I want to hear jazz, but I'm not going to a jazz concert on the Sabbath
10 because it's not appropriate. I said to Jeryl, and I guess I hope she wrote it,
11 that as I said, the music, is it horizontal or vertical? Well, she has her own
12 views, so she can express her own views to you. But I said if it deviates and
13 it's not heavenward—

14 In fact, I should have brought it, because I still have the script that I wrote
15 out about ascension to heaven with music and so forth. I just always keep
16 these things on paper. My wife says, "Why you keep all this junk around?".
17 Because I just need to go back and renew some of my thoughts on these
18 things. I would say that everything that you do when the Sabbath begins, and
19 I said to my wife, "You know, Friday evening it was so quiet." I was saying
20 to myself, "All the other nights, the television is going, the radio is going." I
21 said, "But it's quiet," but that's the way.

22 We always had Sabbath worship. You know, my mother and father would sit
23 us down and we would take a song or something. My mother is big on this
24 book, and we would sing, and then we would say prayers, and that was it.
25 The radio was not played on the Sabbath. We didn't play records on the
26 Sabbath. My father just did not believe in that. But that kind of attitude
27 doesn't prevail anymore. It doesn't prevail anymore.

28 DW: Your testimony is much appreciated.

29 EM: I'm glad I could do it for you.

Interview Notes
Subject ID: EPH10614
Ephesus Seventh-day Adventist Church
Harlem, New York
October 6, 2014

1 Subject EPH10614 came to New York in 1947 from Augusta, Georgia. His
2 mother became Adventist in 1937. In those days, Adventists sang from three major
3 hymnals: *Christ in Song* (1908), *The Gospel in Song* (1926), and *The Church*
4 *Hymnal* (1941). At Ephesus, there was no difference with the congregational
5 singing to that of his earlier experience.

6 Choral anthem text came from Scripture, developing the themes
7 compositionally. The choir sang every Sabbath at Ephesus. Piano and organ were
8 used during the service. In Augusta, only the piano was used in divine worship.
9 Only sacred music was used, not music from other locations. In those days, music
10 upheld the church's doctrines and tenets of the faith.

11 The Negro spirituals tell a story, the story of the Black experience. They are
12 sacred. However, some are not appropriate for church. They were a way to
13 communicate among Blacks due to their double entendre. In the 30s and 40s,
14 Blacks did not have access to technology to understand their history and origins, or
15 know religion. Singing the spirituals shared this history. Today, there is not a
16 demand for spirituals due to upward mobility and easier access to history. Spirituals
17 have continued to be reinterpreted with their double entendre. They communicate
18 protest against Jim Crow, civil rights and gentrifications.

19 Black institutional loyalty stems from their ecclesiology. Their
20 understanding of church supersedes White racism. EPH10614 asked, "How will the
21 church stand in 20-30 years? Will there be racism? Will there be Adventism among
22 Whites? Many White churches and institutions have become Black or have shut
23 down."

24 Having different churches based on unique cultural differences is
25 understandable. This demonstrates freedom of worship. We also need the freedom
26 of acceptance, not being turned away from a place of worship based on race.

27 EPH10614 has a pale complexion, due to his mixed heritage between
28 Blacks and Whites. His great-grandfather was a White master. The master's
29 daughter was a slave, because her mother was a slave. So EPH10614's family was
30 treated differently. He had had some White experiences. He attended a Missionary
31 Volunteer meeting at the 87th Street German Church. In 1951-52, he was in the
32 military, stationed in Bordeaux, France. Though it was far, he attended a worship
33 service on Friday nights. A Black chaplain asked him to sing at the military chapel.
34 He was invited to lead the singing of "Old Rugged Cross." He directed the chorus
35 with his hand, and the chaplain loved it. The chaplain arranged for transportation to
36 take EPH10614 35 miles to a White congregation in Bordeaux. The pastor's wife
37 had gone to Atlantic Union College and translated for EPH10614. He noted that the
38 Bordeaux worship service was the same as in the States, even singing the same
39 hymns.

1 EPH10614 mentioned a book on artificial behavior which argues that
2 behavior and lifestyle are based on ethnicity and identity. “My heart goes out to the
3 church. I don’t want the church to die.” We have truth, but racism is preventing us
4 in the proclamation of the message. Caribbeans like to integrate, but Whites and
5 Blacks don’t integrate.

6 The architecture of Ephesus is “fantastic.” The balcony railing is lower,
7 allowing those in the balcony to feel closer to the lower level. A wooden angel
8 sculpture used to hang on the ceiling, before the church burned in 1969. People
9 would come just to see it. During the fire, EPH10614 requested the fire chief not to
10 destroy the windows. The chief gave the order and spared 95% of them. The
11 skylight in the sanctuary is a stained-glass image. The architecture promoted beauty
12 and richness, setting a warm tone for worship, helping foster reverence. The stained
13 glass brought color through the windows. The cushioned pews provided a
14 comfortable seat. Carpet runners stretched down the aisle. In the 30s and 40s,
15 everything contributed to the worship, even the architecture adding to the warmth
16 and closeness.

17 EPH10614 saw a theology of worship in all these things. He desired more
18 reverence in the divine service. There should be a respect for the sanctuary. How
19 churches are built contributes to how people feel in worship. There should be a
20 sense of “awe,” and “wow” in our spaces for worship. Still today, visitors will
21 admire the sanctuary at sunset.

22 I pressed EPH10614 as to whether this was a reverence for a place or for a
23 person. He stated that if a Christian is one in heart, one will have a closeness to
24 God, talking about what heaven will be like. The church structure ought to point
25 heavenward, as did the angel and as does the skylight. These state that God is still
26 on His throne. The more connection one has with God, the more reverence there
27 will be in the sanctuary.

28 EPH10614 desired change for the church today. The present generation
29 doesn’t see church the way we used to. They don’t see it as something special. I
30 asked, “Should they?” He said, “I think so.” Our architecture and attitude point
31 heavenward. The church should be set apart. Sneakers are sportswear. The church
32 should be above and beyond that. Set apart. We should adhere to the concept of
33 “sacredness.” Leadership can help promote the understanding of sacredness. First,
34 we must train the children, even at home, in the living room, playroom, and
35 kitchen. If in these spaces, then why not the sanctuary? We need to understand the
36 rostrum is a holy place. The whole rostrum is a sacred place where God speaks
37 through the minister to the people. We lack guidelines for today. In the 30s and
38 40s, the church did not have written guidelines, but values were actively taught.
39 These ideas point toward education. “The more you know, the more compassion
40 you should feel toward those who don’t.” “Where there’s unity, there is strength.”

Oral History
James North, Jr.
Recorded in the Christian Ministry Suite
Andrews University, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary
September 29, 2014

1 James North, Jr. (JN): I'm James North, Jr. [b. 1939]. I was raised in New York
2 City. My senior year in academy I used to travel to Brooklyn after school on
3 Mondays for lessons on the Hammond Organ—the big one with the full
4 pedal board. Graduated from Atlantic Union College with three years of
5 organ lessons, conducting class, and some vocal lessons. While there, I
6 studied two years with Dr. Melvin West, and one year with Dr. Stanley
7 Walker. Then I came to the seminary and took some more organ, two years
8 with Dr. Warren Becker. While here [at Andrews University]—It was later.
9 I actually took a class in music theory, but my background in music is that
10 my mother started teaching me to play the piano when I was six years old,
11 and her gift to me was that ... Two gifts. One was she taught me to sight
12 read and the second one she taught me a lot of music theory. I didn't know
13 it was music theory at the time, but that's what it was. All the chords, and
14 arpeggios, and transpositions and all those things were things that came
15 from her and the books that she used.

16 John M. Williams and Shaylor Turner were joint authors/composers of my
17 beginning books. I believe we had a book or two by John Thompason, but I
18 never took lessons from it. She taught me for about three years and she said,
19 "Well, I've taught you all I know. You're on your own now." Basically,
20 I've been on my own since then. I started playing for my dad's church and
21 then played for Academy Choir, and ... Where else did I play? Well, I came
22 to the seminary and I became the choral director and organist for the
23 Congregational Church in Coloma, [Michigan], for, I think, two or three
24 years. We went to a church choir music competition and won the
25 competition. I also accompanied and occasionally directed the Seminary
26 Chorus under the then woman director. I don't recall her name. Then went
27 out to Oregon and I had a youth choir, I recall, in Oregon and played the
28 organ for a few services here and there. Then we went into the Air Force.

29 I didn't do a lot of music in the Air Force, although I occasionally played
30 for weddings and funerals. In 20 years in the Air Force I can't recall playing
31 a lot of organ. I did play the piano quite a bit. Then after 20 years in the Air
32 Force I came here to the seminary to finish my Doctor of Ministry degree.
33 When I came, I became the Seminary Chorus pianist, under the direction of
34 Dr. John Baldwin for 10+ years. Since that time, I also played the piano and
35 organ for Seminary worship. After Baldwin retired, I led the Seminary
36 Chorus for about 12–15 years. I played for Pioneer Memorial Church and
37 several Sunday churches in the area. Congregational, Catholic,
38 Episcopalian, Methodist.

39 David Williams (DW): The whole gamut.

1 JN: Yeah.

2 DW: Did you say that you directed the choir when you were a student here?

3 JN: Yes. In the early 60s, there was a lady named Dr. Woods, who was the
4 director. She was in the music department and she led the Seminary Chorus.
5 I can't remember why or how now, but when she couldn't be with the choir
6 she'd ask me to direct it. I had had directing in college so I had a little
7 directing. Yeah, I did direct the Seminary Chorus on occasion. It was a
8 mixed chorus then.

9 DW: Going back to your older memories, what were the churches that you
10 attended? When did you attend them in New York?

11 JN: The first church that I have a memory of attending is the Ephesus Church in
12 Manhattan. My dad was one of the associate pastors, and my mother
13 attended there also. Let's see. After that, my mother and a group of her
14 friends started a company-

15 DW: A company?

16 JN: ... in the Bronx, which became The Bronx Church. Later, it became a
17 church ... We really went there because my mother couldn't ride the
18 subway. She had claustrophobia and so she couldn't ... My dad, when he
19 was ordained at Ephesus, was given a church in Brooklyn, which was then
20 called Brownsville. Now it's Brooklyn Temple. So she couldn't ride the
21 subway and he didn't have a car, so I went with her most of the time but
22 then sometimes I'd ride the subway with him. Then, when he got his first
23 car and learned how to drive and got his first car, then we all started going
24 to the church in Brooklyn, to Brooklyn Temple. But I still went to Ephesus
25 quite a bit because all my Academy classmates and schoolmates, most of
26 them, were there. One of the pastors' wives, a Mrs. Lee, had a group called
27 The Choraleers. Since I was interested in some of the girls, one who was
28 my Academy classmate, that were in the choir, and she knew that, so she
29 invited me to join the choir because I was good at reading music and loved
30 to sing, and some of those girls were in the choir.

31 Let's see. What else? Occasionally I went to City Tabernacle, but not very
32 often. It's 150th Street, between Amsterdam Avenue and Riverside Drive.
33 It's on the West side of Manhattan. It's right on a block of apartment
34 buildings, and the church is just squeezed in between the apartment
35 buildings.

36 DW: These memories of Ephesus when you started there, when does that start?

37 JN: Let's see. My dad was ordained in 1945, so I was probably six years old
38 then. My memories predate that a little bit, maybe a year or two. I have
39 some memories of that.

40 DW: Just being in church at Ephesus?

1 JN: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Mm-hmm (affirmative). The main thing I
2 remember about the worship is that it was long. We never got out of church
3 before 1:30 or 2 o'clock. Mostly it was closer to 2 o'clock.

4 DW: What time did it start?

5 JN: About 11:15, 11:30. Somewhere along in there.

6 DW: Two-and-a-half to three hours or something.

7 JN: Yes, and on Communion Sabbath we were in church until 4 or 4:30.

8 DW: Wow! At least you got a snack with Communion.

9 JN: No. I didn't. I was too young [to receive Communion].

10 JN: I don't know what I did, but I don't know if my mother took some food for
11 me or what, but ... All I know is that I had some Sabbath toys, little Tootsie
12 toy cars and on Sabbath she would take those to church, and while the
13 preacher was preaching I'd be down underneath the pew. We sat in the
14 balcony where we were out of the way.

15 DW: This is as you're facing the platform or one of the sides of the platform?

16 JN: Facing the platform we sat on the right-hand side. I would run my little cars
17 on the seat and underneath the seat. I learned how to be very quiet.

18 DW: Let me ask you a question about what you said a little bit earlier to clarify,
19 and then I'll come back to the churches, If I may. You said that your mom
20 gifted you by teaching you how to sight read.

21 JN: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

22 DW: Was this common practice among keyboardists, of sight-reading music, or
23 in the church tradition that you were growing up in was playing by ear more
24 typical?

25 JN: I don't know.

26 DW: Or as you grew up did you sense that this is what people did, is sight-read
27 music?

28 JN: I knew a number of church musicians who could sight-read, and I knew a
29 number of church musicians who played by ear. Now, those who played by
30 ear, I don't know if they sight-read also or not, but they pretty much played
31 without music.

32 DW: Was there then a difference in how the people played if they played by
33 notes or if they played by ear?

34 JN: Yeah. If they played by ear they put in their own chords, their chord
35 progressions and the chord structures were not the chords that were in the
36 music, in the form of music. Those who played by sight did some of both.
37 They would alter the harmonies on occasion, but pretty much they played
38 by rote. They played from the music.

1 DW: When are we talking now, as you're talking about these memories? Is this
2 the '50s?

3 JN: This would be from the '40s at Ephesus. The '50s in my dad's church in
4 Brooklyn. The main two places that I remember music was at Ephesus and
5 my dad's church. The Bronx church was actually ... We used the auditorium
6 of the Northeastern Academy, the day school that I attended when I went
7 into the Academy. They only had a piano, and I suppose ... As I recall, my
8 mother probably played for those worship services.

9 DW: Did the people view worship in the church different than at an auditorium?

10 JN: I don't know. Most all the programs that we attended were in the church.
11 Occasionally we went to an evangelistic meeting in some auditorium, but I
12 can't remember very many of those. Most of the Evangelistic meetings
13 were in the church on Sunday night. During that time I'm not sure how
14 people looked at worship in an auditorium, except ... Let's put it this way.
15 When my dad starting pastoring in Brooklyn, the church that he was
16 pastoring was very small and it met upstairs over a storefront. That was our
17 church. We had a large room for the main auditorium, a couple of
18 classrooms for the kids, and a couple of bathrooms. That was it.

19 DW: The platform leaders, would they behave differently or lead out differently
20 in that they were in this upstairs room, or an auditorium, or a church, in the
21 sense of a sacred space or not?

22 JN: That space became sacred on Sabbaths when we were there, and on
23 Wednesday nights. It was a little freer on Wednesday nights, but on
24 Sabbaths it was like being in a real church. It was a little noisy because
25 there were a lot of kids. That was the main reason it was noisy, because
26 when the kids started ... the kids crying, youngsters, and that kind of thing.
27 If fact, most of the Adventist churches I attended had a lot of kids and there
28 was always noise and crying at the worship services. That was just a given,
29 but mainly there was no difference between the attitude toward worship
30 whether it was in a storefront, or an auditorium, or in an actual church.

31 DW: Back to those musicians when you were talking about the harmony, what
32 type of chords would they substitute with?

33 JN: I remember Everyl Chandler(-Gibson) who was the organist at Ephesus
34 when I was growing up, and I don't know ... She would just alter the
35 harmonic pattern on certain verses. The altos in particular, sang harmonies
36 that were not in the hymnal.

37 DW: Is it like some phrases, depending on how the counter of the melody is, you
38 could play this phrase in a minor accompaniment? Or you could change
39 from a ... Depending on the position of the melody you could, instead of
40 playing a four-chord, you could play a six cord. That type of substitution?

1 JN: No. They didn't use minors. Only if the piece was written in minor. I can't
2 ever remember anybody playing anything in minor other than a ... There
3 were one or two hymns that were written in minor.

4 DW: Would there be sevenths or-

5 JN: No. No. Except that was considered to be irreverent at that time.

6 DW: Except for a dominant seventh.

7 JN: Yeah. Right, but sevenths and sixths were not used.

8 DW: What about in a final chord with a second in it?

9 JN: No. No. To my knowledge that's more of a modern ... More modern. I
10 learned that after I came to the Seminary and visited Melvin West. He told
11 me he was adding seconds to his final chords.

12 DW: What about like a neighboring blue note?

13 JN: There were some musicians who did that, and these were usually black
14 musicians who had some association with popular music. They would use
15 fifths and sevenths, but in worship it was not appreciated.

16 DW: Fifths? What do you mean fifths?

17 JN: You had your major triad and then the ... No, I meant the sixth. I'm sorry.
18 The sixth. Yeah.

19 DW: Oh, the sixth and seventh.

20 JN: Yeah. Mm-hmm (affirmative).

21 DW: They would use those?

22 JN: Yeah, mm-hmm (affirmative), but it was frowned on in the church. People
23 didn't like that, at least those who were trained musicians didn't like it, and
24 I'm not too sure about the other folk who didn't know anything about
25 music, but-

26 DW: Did you have a sense of that being appropriate or inappropriate at that
27 young age? You understood the community was saying, "We don't do this
28 in church."

29 JN: I'm trying to think when I came in contact with that. My early years at
30 Ephesus was strictly classical, and hymns, and there was none of that, as I
31 recall. In my dad's church in Brooklyn, the lady who was the main pianist
32 also played for Sunday church and so she had a gospel style of playing.

33 DW: What does that mean?

34 JN: Oh, my. It's a style where the music moves all the time and has a
35 swing/syncopation. It's a style that gospel singers would use, like Mahalia
36 Jackson and some of those folk who sang back then. A style that you
37 would ... No, you don't ... Were not in black Baptist churches today because
38 they're playing Hammond organs and that's a whole different style.

1 DW: Is it like turning it into a 12/8? Like a 4/4? So that you have a swing with a
2 triplet accompaniment?

3 JN: It wouldn't be a 4/4, but it would be with a definite swing. Yeah. You could
4 march to it or you could dance to it very easily.

5 DW: For example, maybe this is even helpful for me to understand. We just did
6 this down at Oakwood. I have the bulletin here. Yes. They sang, "At the
7 Cross" and put it into ... he called it 6/8 but it's actually 12/8 because it's
8 4/4, but with all of this rhythm these became a triplet figure. Two pulses
9 there, one, ta-ta-ta. That part of this gospel feel?

10 JN: Yes. That would ... Mm-hmm (affirmative).

11 DW: "Precious Lord" is in 9/8.

12 JN: Yeah. It would be the same kind of treatment. They would do that with all
13 the hymns, at least this lady at my dad's church and another younger
14 gentleman who also played. They played the same style, but they both
15 could ... Well, the man, the younger gentleman could play classical. I don't
16 ever remember hearing this lady play a classical.

17 DW: Now, at Ephesus would they add the swing to the hymns? Is that what
18 you're saying that was always done?

19 JN: They slowed them down. We were always saying, "Slower than our white
20 sisters and brothers did."

21 DW: Why do you think that was?

22 JN: There was more a sense of emoting, and there would be more rhythm to the
23 music when you slowed it down. But even at Ephesus, as I recall, Everyl,
24 she played the hymns. She didn't really play a gospel style but she did ...
25 We sang the hymns slower.

26 DW: If it's slower per melody note you have more time to have more figuration.

27 JN: Yeah.

28 DW: And so that was typical even at Ephesus?

29 JN: Yeah.

30 DW: You said your dad's church was in Brooklyn, and definitely there you're
31 saying-

32 JN: Oh, yeah. Yeah.

33 DW: But not the harmonies, but there were these gospel rhythms.

34 JN: Harmonies too. They weren't playing all the harmonies like they're written
35 in the hymnal. They were ... What's the word I want? Not arranging but ...
36 What is it when you adjust the music?

37 DW: Rearrange? They might be rolling the chords, having some passing notes or
38 arpeggiated things?

1 JN: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
2 DW: None of that's printed.
3 JN: Right.
4 DW: This is a pianistic playing. What about playing on the organ?
5 JN: None of my dad's churches had an organ. The only places that I knew that
6 had organs were City Tabernacle and Ephesus.
7 DW: Ephesus had the great, big pipe organ?
8 JN: Yeah, and City Tabernacle I think had a big pipe organ too. As I recall, both
9 played the same style of classical, more of a classical style, and they just
10 slowed the hymns down a little bit.
11 DW: Would the piano play at the same time as the organ in-
12 JN: At Ephesus, yes. There was a pianist named Homer Webb and I still can't
13 think of the right word when you change the hymn as you go along. I can't
14 think of the word. It's not composing, it's not arranging.
15 DW: Improvise?
16 JN: Improvising. Yes, yes. He was a tremendous improviser. Actually, the
17 organ led the hymn and he was doing arpeggios and just flowing all over
18 the piano out of his head. He was just doing this out of his head. He was a
19 tremendous musician. I don't know what training he had.
20 DW: How did that contribute to the people singing? Did it distract or promote?
21 JN: No. It seemed to promote it. Yeah, the folk enjoyed what he was doing on
22 the piano as well as what was happening on the organ, because he blended
23 well. There were no-
24 DW: This man is on the piano, not the organ?
25 JN: Yeah, he's on the piano. He was strictly piano.
26 DW: So the organ is leading, but the piano ... And he is doing these virtuosic
27 things at the same time?
28 JN: Yeah. I've never heard anybody do it like he did on the piano. It was just
29 fantastic.
30 DW: Wow!
31 JN: Where there were quarter notes, he's playing eighth and sixteenth notes.
32 Runs, and arpeggios, and all up and down the keyboard, and I have no idea
33 how he did that, but I will never forget it. Even as young as I was, that
34 sticks out in my mind. It was a contribution to the worship and everybody
35 accepted it that way and enjoyed it.
36 DW: Did he do solos at the piano?
37 JN: I don't think I ever heard him do a solo, but I'm sure that he could have.

1 DW: How would this relate to either him performing during the hymn, or did it
2 just feel like it was the people singing and he was just adding? Or would it
3 maybe take away from our concentration on singing and let's just hear what
4 he's doing while we're kind of singing? Do you know what I mean?

5 JN: Yeah, I know what you mean, but I think I was too young to be thinking of
6 all of that. Thinking back it just seemed like it all meshed together. I'm sure
7 that people were appreciating what he was doing, but it didn't seem to
8 detract them from singing hymns. Of course he did that ... He was able to do
9 that. We always had music during a prayer and he would be doing that,
10 doing the prayer very softly. It seemed to me to just be a natural thing in the
11 worship service, but it was something that you didn't find in other churches.
12 It was something special.

13 DW: Now, while we're talking about congregational singing, what was it like
14 then? Ephesus is a really growing church at this time?

15 JN: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

16 DW: I imagine it's probably full.

17 JN: Yeah. There was standing room only on Sabbaths.

18 DW: What was congregational singing then like, as a young person in there?

19 JN: It was very strong. People sang out of their hearts. Sometimes ... Once in a
20 while someone would lead the music, but usually ... At Ephesus they had a
21 choir every Sabbath, and so the choir and the organ really led the hymns,
22 and everybody just ... They just sang their hearts out.

23 DW: Would they sing the harmony that's on the page, or would they improvise
24 harmony while they sang?

25 JN: Both.

26 DW: Both?

27 JN: Yeah. Some people sang by ear, and so they harmonized what they heard in
28 the ears, and it was not always what was on the page. I didn't know this
29 then, but thinking back, yeah.

30 DW: You only remember hearing the harmony?

31 JN: Yeah. Then some people were reading the music, actually singing the parts
32 to the hymns, but of course-

33 DW: They must have followed the part writing in the hymnal for some of the
34 verses for them to sing that.

35 JN: As I recall, even when the organist changed the harmony, the people went
36 right on singing what was there.

37 DW: So there is some dissonance?

38 JN: Yeah, sometimes. Of course, the folk who weren't singing by note were
39 singing whatever they wanted to sing. It didn't make any difference what

1 the organist was playing, but I don't know that there were very many people
2 who did that. Most everybody were singing the melody, but you had a good
3 number of people who sang some harmony. A lot of altos, and basses, and
4 tenors.

5 DW: You said that the singing was strong. Can you describe that at all more?

6 JN: You take a hymn like, "Onward Christian Soldiers." I'm not sure how to
7 describe it, but they sang it in full voice. They were singing forte, and on
8 occasion a double forte.

9 DW: Were the children and teenagers singing?

10 JN: I'm guessing they were. I'm guessing they were, but I can't even remember
11 if I sang. I must have sung because we sang a lot of the same hymns, so
12 even as a small child I got to know some of them.

13 DW: You mean from the youth meetings to the church service?

14 JN: I'm talking about the church service because when I was going to Ephesus
15 as a very small child, there were no youth meetings that I remember. I was
16 too young to go to them. When I started going to my dad's church in
17 Brooklyn, this was when I was 13, 14, 15 years old. Well, maybe 10, 11, 12.
18 Yeah, the kids and the young people sang too. It was like a family. It was
19 small. There couldn't have been more than 50 people on a Sabbath.

20 DW: This is Brooklyn?

21 JN: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Yeah.

22 DW: How did the singing compare? Was it just numbers or was there a different
23 sense of devotion or investment in the congregational singing from a small
24 church to such a large church?

25 JN: The folk in my dad's church ... My dad had a gentleman in the church who
26 was a gospel singer and he would frequently lead the music. When he led
27 the music the folk really sang strongly and really ... He got people to emote
28 very strongly. When he wasn't leading they sang good, but it wasn't quite
29 the same. He had a strong ... A very nice strong voice, and he would sing
30 solos, and he even had folk crying. The folk would get happy when he got
31 singing. They'd be crying and jump up and shout.

32 DW: Would he sing some gospel songs?

33 JN: Yeah. Mm-hmm (affirmative). The song that I remember him singing most
34 is "Shady Green Pastures Falls." Whenever he sang that song people would
35 cry, and they would shout, and praise the Lord during that hymn. He only
36 sang gospel songs. I'm not sure which musical style.

37 DW: You've mentioned how people would give emotional expression during the
38 singing. You said that it was done through strong or loud singing. Were
39 there other ways?

1 JN: If it was like it was singing just before prayer, or prayers alone, then it was
2 soft, and after the prayer it was soft. We also sang for the Offertory, “We
3 Give Thee But Thine Own.”

4 DW: As a congregation?

5 JN: Yes. Mm-hmm (affirmative). That was sung some ... pretty strongly. Then,
6 of course, the Doxology it was always sung very strongly.

7 DW: At what point did you sing the Doxology?

8 JN: Usually after the Offering was taken up, and the deacons would stand at the
9 back, and the minister would raise his hands, and then everybody would
10 stand and they would bring the offering up for the prayer, and while they
11 were coming out we would sing the Doxology.

12 DW: What did this communicate to you as a young person doing that with the
13 Offering and singing those words?

14 JN: That the Offering belonged to God and we were praising God for these gifts
15 that he had given to us.

16 DW: Was the Doxology given a swing too? Or was that more straight?

17 JN: It was, as I recall, more straight. They sing a different tune in New Life here
18 and that’s totally different, but there we sang it just like it was in the
19 hymnal.

20 DW: Yeah, now there’s that one that starts like The Duke Street.

21 JN: Yeah. Mm-hmm (affirmative).

22 DW: Like a line or something, and then it does its own thing. It’s really beautiful.
23 Yeah, but so it was the Old Hundredth.

24 JN: The Old Hundredth. Right.

25 DW: You said songs before ... You mentioned the Offertory song, “We Give
26 Thee But Thine Own,” the Doxology, where there’s some other that almost
27 sounds then like service music, things that would be sung at certain points
28 in the service.

29 JN: Yeah. I guess we weren’t in any way having a liturgy like the Methodists,
30 or the Presbyterians, or the Episcopalians, but there were certain songs that
31 we sang every Sabbath at certain points in the service.

32 DW: What were those in those points in the service?

33 JN: The Doxology when they brought up the offering. I get mixed up.
34 Sometimes we sang ... In some churches, I think it was in my dad’s church,
35 we sang, “We Give Thee But Thine Own” when we brought up the offering.
36 Then the Doxology was sung at the beginning of the service, part of the
37 opening after the Invocation, I think. Then we’d sing the Doxology.

38 DW: Now, was there something before that invocation, an introit?

1 JN: Yeah, the pianist would play something. Now, in Ephesus the choir would
2 sing an introit.

3 DW: Like a composed thing [a composed work, like an anthem]?

4 JN: Yeah. Mm-hmm (affirmative).

5 DW: Not like, “The Lord Is In His Holy Temple” or something?

6 JN: Yeah. That’s probably it. They would sing that and the congregation would
7 join them because everybody knew it.

8 DW: This is when the ministers enter?

9 JN: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

10 DW: Would you do ... We have in the hymnal The Gloria Patri. Would you do
11 that?

12 JN: No. No. We never did that. I never heard that until I played for a Sunday
13 church. Yeah, I think that’s accurate. I don’t recall.

14 DW: “The Lord Is In His Holy Temple,” and there is probably ... I’m just trying
15 to think of the order of service. Then you had an invocation, and then you
16 may have sung the Doxology?

17 JN: Then ... No. Yeah. The Doxology and a hymn. There was a hymn, an
18 opening hymn somewhere along in there. Another song that we used to sing
19 for the prayer was “Be Silent.” That was a tradition. I remember that in
20 Ephesus.

21 DW: Before the prayer?

22 JN: Yeah. Mm-hmm (affirmative).

23 DW: Then what would be sung after the prayer?

24 JN: I can’t remember now. It was something out in the back of the hymnal. Let
25 me see.

26 DW: Would you do other types of prayer songs before prayer? Like “Sweet our
27 Prayer,” or “I Surrender All,” or is that more like a prayer meeting type of
28 song?

29 JN: That was more like a prayer meeting, but “I Surrender All” was common
30 for appeals. That was not a hymn that we sang as one of the hymns during
31 the service. That was an appeal hymn.

32 DW: Was there an appeal hymn and a closing hymn, or just that one hymn after
33 the sermon?

34 JN: As I recall at Ephesus there was an appeal hymn and a closing hymn,
35 because the appeals were long. They could run 15 or 20 minutes, to get
36 people to join the church, open the doors of the church, and calling people
37 to give their hearts to the Lord. Then when they came up the clerk would
38 have written down their names, and whether they’re coming up for baptism,

1 or for prayer, or that kind of thing, and they would read those names off.
2 Then we'd have the closing hymn.

3 DW: What were some of those common appeal songs?

4 JN: "I Surrender All." "Lord, I'm Coming Home." "All to Jesus I surrender."
5 Those are the three that stand out in my mind. Yeah, those would be the
6 three that would stand out in my mind.

7 DW: What was the type of songs that you would do for an opening and closing
8 hymn?

9 JN: It could be like, "I Sing The Mighty Power of God," or, "Onward Christian
10 Solders," "Blessed Assurance." They were usually lively hymns.

11 DW: Did the subject matter differ between an opening hymn and a closing
12 hymn?

13 JN: That I couldn't tell you. I don't know how the hymns were selected. Really
14 we had such a limited repertoire of hymns that we were singing the same
15 hymns quite frequently. We really did not have a large number of hymns in
16 the hymnal that I think we knew. There were some old favorites and
17 everybody always sang those ... the same ones.

18 DW: Now, you ... Probably did you use *Christ in Song* much? Or is it mostly this
19 hymnal.

20 JN: No. This was the hymnal [*Church Hymnal* (1941)] when I was growing up.
21 This [*Christ in Song*] is pre-me. My mother and my dad liked this hymnal
22 [*Christ in Song*], and whenever we had family worships at home we would
23 sing out of this hymnal.

24 DW: Would that be ... *Christ in Song* is the one you're pointing at here. Would
25 that be in the pew, though? Or did you only have-

26 JN: No, that was never in the pew, and probably before I was born it was in the
27 pew, and maybe when I was too young to know, but this [*Church Hymnal*
28 (1941)] is the only hymnal I remember from childhood.

29 DW: Do you recall singing songs then that weren't in the church hymnal? The 41
30 *Church Hymnal*.

31 JN: Not for worship. Not for the 11 o'clock service.

32 DW: I didn't know if they might say, "We have this little favorite in *Christ in*
33 *Song* and want to sing it because we all know it." That's not in this hymnal?

34 JN: No, I don't think so.

35 DW: It sounds like then when the *Church Hymnal* became adopted by your
36 Ephesus and other New York churches that became-

37 JN: Yeah, that was the worship song book.

38 DW: What about spirituals? Would you sing those as a congregation?

1 JN: Communion we'd sing, "Let Us Break Bread Together." There were times
2 we would sing, "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot." What are some others? "Oh-
3 oh-oh-oh, sometimes it causes me ..."

4 DW: Were You There.

5 JN: Were You there. Yeah. Mm-hmm (affirmative). Those are the ones that I
6 remember most of all.

7 DW: Those would be as a congregation?

8 JN: Mm-hmm (affirmative). The choir would sing them sometimes and
9 sometimes the congregation would sing them.

10 DW: Or you might have a soloist do something?

11 JN: Yeah, that could be, from time to time.

12 DW: How would that work in the service? Would a song leader just get up and
13 just start singing and include the congregation? Or, "We're going to sing
14 this old favorite." Because if it's not in the hymnal you can't mention it the
15 same way.

16 JN: Everybody knew the spirituals, so he would just ... This person would
17 announce it. An Elder or a song leader would announce that, and everybody
18 would just sing it. Other than that, other than spirituals ... Spirituals and
19 hymns were the only songs we sang. Now, in my dad's church in Brooklyn
20 we had ... The pianist was a lady who played for ... My dad had baptized
21 them and she played for Sunday church, and so she had a gospel style of
22 playing. What was I going to say? So we would sing some gospel music
23 from time to time, like, "Yes, God Is Real." "Yes, God is real, real in my
24 soul," and I remember other hymns that the gospel singers were singing
25 during that time.

26 DW: Did you sing something like, "Precious Lord?"

27 JN: Yeah. That would be one of them. Let's see. That's ... Yeah, "There Are
28 Some Things I May Not Know." That's, "Yes, God Is Real." What's
29 another one? I can't remember the other gospel songs, but the lady who
30 played for my dad's church had a large family and incidentally, her husband
31 played the violin for all the hymns. He was a very good violinist, and three
32 of their daughters had a trio and they pretty much sang gospel style, but
33 they were well known on the East Coast in the black churches, because they
34 sang really well.

35 DW: What was their manner of singing, and their harmonies and things?

36 JN: Their mother taught them the harmony, so it was harmonies that gospel
37 singers were using. They were all gospel harmonies, and when they sang a
38 hymn they sang it gospel style.

39 DW: Now, it sounds like there was more gospel at the Brooklyn church-

40 JN: Yes.

1 DW: ... or others than at Ephesus.

2 JN: Yeah.

3 DW: Why do you think that it was different at Ephesus?

4 JN: The larger churches had a much more formal worship service, and in fact in
5 the larger churches even gospel music wasn't sung a lot.

6 DW: Was it looked down upon?

7 JN: In some ways, yes, because those who taught us to worship and sing taught
8 us to sing the style that in many ways, like they were sung in white
9 churches, which is pretty much straight. But black people being who they
10 are emote a lot differently, and so some of the music got changed that way.

11 DW: When was the first time you remember experiencing worship in a
12 traditionally white church?

13 JN: When I went to AUC. That was the first time.

14 DW: What was different about it and what was similar about it?

15 JN: It would be similar to Ephesus in that the hymns had classical music. The
16 prelude and the postlude were all Bach and Handel, and those brethren. The
17 hymns would be more the great hymns, "Onward Christian Soldiers," "My
18 Jesus I Love Thee." Those kinds of hymns. At AUC they didn't sing some
19 of the hymns that we sang in a black church, like "Lord I'm Coming
20 Home." They would sing "All To Jesus I Surrender," but there was a
21 difference. There were some differences in the hymns that we sang in
22 church at AUC and in the white churches than in the black churches.

23 DW: Did it tend to be this rhythmic issue?

24 JN: Partly yes.

25 DW: That more 3/4, 4/4 instead of the 6/8 type of hymns?

26 JN: Yeah, that has historically been ... Although when I was growing up it was
27 less so than it is ... Much less so than it is now, but because when I was a
28 little fellow at least going to Ephesus, the services would have approached
29 the white service very closely, in some way, in music for example. Now the
30 preaching wouldn't. It would be totally different.

31 DW: How was the preaching so different?

32 JN: The minister was all over the platform. At times he was hollering and
33 screaming, and gesturing, almost like in some ways a theatrical
34 performance.

35 DW: Is that more theatrical than black preaching today in the Adventist Church?

36 JN: No. No. I would say a large number of black preachers preach the same way
37 today. That's historically been a black style of preaching.

1 DW: But some of the guys, the real figures of black preaching, seem much more
2 reserved than newer ones.

3 JN: That depends on where they are preaching.

4 DW: Where?

5 JN: Mm-hmm (affirmative). When they were preaching to a white audience
6 their style was different. When they were preaching to a black audience
7 they preached black style. They had two modes of preaching. In a white
8 church they would stand behind the dais. They wouldn't move all over the
9 place. They wouldn't holler and yell and do a lot of gesturing. It was much
10 more reserved.

11 DW: Now, did you ever go to a Baptist church or one of these other
12 denominations when you were a young boy?

13 JN: No.

14 DW: So you don't have a way to compare how your worship was.

15 JN: No. I don't know very many people who did, unless like this lady who
16 played at my dad's church who were musicians. I don't know what church
17 she was playing for, or what was the church that she came out of or what,
18 but I know that ... They made money doing that, playing for Sunday
19 churches.

20 DW: Because of segregation, though.

21 JN: Yeah.

22 DW: Did that issue of segregation and civil rights, did that come out in worship
23 in any way?

24 JN: Not that I recall. We just knew we weren't welcome in the white churches
25 and we didn't bother to go.

26 DW: Would white people come to the black churches?

27 JN: I can't recall ever seeing any white people in any of the black churches that
28 I went to.

29 DW: At this point there probably wasn't a practical need because the regional
30 conferences are now established in these memories you're talking about, or
31 having just been or leading up to ... So that you would have-

32 JN: The regional conferences were established in the mid-'40s, and I was seven,
33 eight years old about that time. Even though I didn't realize it, I was
34 attending a black church before it was in a black conference.

35 DW: As you look back on that, since we're talking about issues of race and all of
36 that, how do you think that these differences in worship could have been
37 contributing to the establishment of these conferences in terms of worship?

38 JN: I'm sure that that was a part of it, but the differences in worship was not, as
39 I can recall, a force in the establishment of conferences. The main force in

1 the establishment of conferences had to do with segregation and the fact
2 that our black brethren believed that they should be able to administrate and
3 hold positions similar to those held by whites. And they couldn't unless we
4 had black conferences. Then there was this experience in D.C. when this
5 woman went to Washington Adventist Hospital, and when they discovered
6 she was black they sent her to a hospital that would accept blacks. And she
7 died, and that blew the whole thing wide open.

8 DW: The reason why I asked this about worship in the conferences is Mervyn
9 Warren has mentioned that worship ... And all these factors you mentioned
10 are the major ones ... He saw that worship may have contributed from the
11 fact that ... Well, it wasn't just administrative but it was practical for the
12 advancement of the gospel that black ministers minister to black folk, and if
13 that's true, this way of relating has to do with culture and so then he's
14 saying that worship is part of that culture and-

15 JN: A black minister could not expect to get people to respond to his appeals if
16 he sang hymns the way white people sang them, and if he sang hymns that
17 the people didn't know, and they had to sing it in a black style otherwise
18 nobody would respond or they just didn't feel moved.

19 DW: So that the rhythm of the music contributed to this-

20 JN: Yeah. Mm-hmm (affirmative).

21 DW: Even though perhaps looking back on it, it sounds really tame to styles
22 today.

23 JN: Yes.

24 DW: There still is a rhythmic propulsion in music that contributed to its
25 emotional expressiveness and its response.

26 JN: That was just intuitive in black music. I would assume that the churches that
27 these people came out of sang hymns pretty much the same way. My
28 understanding is that black worship back in those days pretty much
29 approximated in some respects the white worship, because that's where the
30 worship came from.

31 DW: In terms of the order.

32 JN: Yeah, and even the style. For example, clapping was an unpardonable sin.

33 DW: You mean, not the style of music but the style of expressiveness in the
34 service?

35 JN: Yes. Today in a black church it is ... In a number of black churches. In some
36 of the larger ones it wouldn't be this way, but in a number of black churches
37 people clap to the hymns, or when a hymn is over and they feel good
38 everybody claps. There was no clapping in the black church in those days.

39 DW: Would they respond to it in some other way?

1 JN: "Amen!" A big, loud "Amen." Several of them, everybody would just say,
2 "Amen!" That was the response. Anything that was done in the church, that
3 was a response to it even if it was a concert in the church. It was only,
4 "Amen." Then, I guess they were trying to seek some other way so that
5 black people would express themselves. I remember they began to wave the
6 programs. They would rattle the programs but nobody would clap. Clapping
7 for some reason was anti-worship. It was considered to be secular and you
8 did that for people in concerts in the concert hall but not in a church.

9 DW: Does that have to do, then, with to whom it's directed?

10 JN: Yeah. The worship was directed to God so you didn't clap. You said,
11 "Amen." In a concert hall it's directed to the individual who performed, and
12 so you would clap.

13 DW: Today I observe, and it doesn't matter the ethnicity-

14 JN: No.

15 DW: ... but clapping goes both ways. But sometimes it's for the performer, but
16 sometimes they're clapping praising God.

17 JN: Yeah.

18 DW: I don't know what else to do, but I've got to tell the Lord and give him
19 praise with my hands.

20 JN: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Those of us who are raised in the "Amen" era have
21 a hard time getting used to clapping in worship, and I'm still not used to it
22 even though it's been done for years now.

23 DW: We didn't do it when I was a kid. Just really how late the changes are.
24 That's sometimes it's hard for me to do too. Some of those traditions have
25 been really lasting, and there's probably some churches nearby who still
26 wouldn't clap.

27 JN: Yeah. There are a lot of churches that wouldn't clap.

28 DW: I think that's insightful to think, as you said then, that the "Amen" is
29 directed to God.

30 JN: Yeah. That was the thinking, that the "Amen" was for church. If you had an
31 Evangelistic meeting in a tent or in a hall of some kind, the same thing
32 would hold true. They would say, "Amen." There wouldn't be any clapping.

33 DW: Was that because there are just so many church people attending, or even
34 the potential converts?

35 JN: I'm sure that the converts picked up on what the church people were doing
36 and didn't want to be different, didn't want to stand out.

37 DW: Or is this because they're from other denominations who also don't clap?

1 JN: It could be. It could be. Yeah. But a lot of people, a lot of blacks who joined
2 the Adventist Church came out of Pentecostal and Baptist churches that
3 were very vibrant, and their music was lively.

4 DW: So how would they express their emotion differently at that time? The
5 Baptist and the Holiness churches?

6 JN: The Holiness churches, of course, they shouted and jumped up and down.
7 They were very, very free in their worship. Baptists would be somewhere in
8 between. We had the African, Methodist, Episcopal and so they are very
9 formal. AME, AME Zion would be very, very formal and very close to the
10 mother denomination.

11 DW: Today now AME is much more expressive probably.

12 JN: Yeah, I would imagine so.

13 DW: Help me with this, then. Is the staid or more quiet worship and the black
14 church in that time as compared to today, is this because it's ... I hope I'm
15 not putting words in your mouth. Does it have to do with this white tradition
16 that blacks have been brought into? Does it have to do with a different
17 understanding as Seventh-day Adventists of worship than the other
18 churches?

19 JN: I'm not sure I'm understanding your question.

20 DW: Blacks are not being as expressive in worship in the Adventist church as the
21 other black denominations, and does that have to do with being part of a
22 conservative white tradition that is causing this?

23 JN: Mm-hmm (affirmative). It was because to some extent those who led
24 worship, the ministers, were trained by white people and so when they
25 styled the worship they styled it after the worship that they had been trained
26 to hold, and that style was very conservative, very quiet. I suppose blacks
27 being more emotional at least they would say, "Amen." That was about the
28 major difference.

29 DW: That's often a point, and you articulated it well, that's made. A question I
30 have then is, could it supersede the similarity in worship? You've talked
31 about some key differences but there is also a lot of shared similarity
32 between black and white during the period. Could that shared similarity
33 supersede ethnicity and have to do with shared doctrine, shared teaching,
34 then, about worship that would ... As a Seventh-day Adventist somebody
35 would worship differently.

36 JN: Part of our Adventist tradition comes out of statements by Mrs. White about
37 what is appropriate and what is inappropriate in worship. While there were
38 times when the early pioneers would shout, and fall out, and get smitten in
39 the spirit and those kind of things, as time went on they got away from it,
40 and Mrs. White had statements about reverence, and worship, and
41 quietness, and that the noise in worship was not appropriate. That, I think,
42 had a great influence. So when we were taught and we when we read about

1 worship those were things that stood out. The changes began to happen
2 during the '60s, when some black person coined the phrase, "Black Is
3 Beautiful," and blacks became to be proud of their blackness, and it became
4 a theme that you threw into the white people's faces. "Black is beautiful,
5 and so I'm going to do black. Whatever black is I'm going to do black."
6 And our black churches picked that up. A lot of them did. If it was black it
7 was great. If it wasn't black it wasn't good.

8 DW: Alma Blackmun makes the comment that it used to be stated in the black
9 church that as blacks we are Seventh-day Adventists, and over time and as
10 "Black Is Beautiful" became a key belief or view, then she said, "Now it is
11 common to say, 'I'm a black Seventh-day Adventist,'" which seems to put
12 one's ethnic heritage before the faith.

13 JN: In some respects, yes, particularly when it comes to ways of expressing
14 oneself. Music, clapping, dancing, shouting, those are expressions of that
15 black Seventh-day Adventist.

16 DW: What do you think are the pros and cons of that thinking?

17 JN: In my mind, because I'm more of a conservative, being black has
18 overshadowed worship in many places, and for example now there are some
19 black churches, they don't even sing hymns. They sing the modern gospel
20 songs, and spirituals, and those kinds of things. The hymnal is in the pew
21 but nobody ever hardly ever uses it.

22 DW: In an effort to only sing music that was composed by blacks.

23 JN: I don't know that there's an effort to do that. It seems just to have happened.
24 That's the way everybody thinks, and even if the minister doesn't think that
25 way he's got to go along with it or else he's gonna lose his church. People
26 think he's not relevant. I'm not comfortable with doing everything black. I
27 think it's not always worshipful to me, and it seems to be more an
28 expression of one's self rather than an expression to God.

29 DW: What was I going to ask? Do you then see ... I'm wondering, as you talk
30 about these differences in interpretations of many even the same hymns that
31 there's already a trajectory, a development in these first 50 years of the 20th
32 century that would contribute to some of these great differences, then, from
33 the '60s onward?

34 JN: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Yeah.

35 DW: There's already some embracement of some of those gospel rhythms you're
36 singing.

37 JN: Yeah.

38 DW: It makes me think, though, we didn't mention the 6/8 type of rhythm, but
39 would there also be syncopation?

40 JN: Yes. Absolutely. Yeah. Mm-hmm (affirmative). In Black Churches,
41 syncopation and 6/8 rhythm go hand in hand.

1 DW: Do you remember a pianist syncopating the accompaniment to the hymn?
2 JN: In my dad's church, yes. In Ephesus, no.
3 DW: They probably couldn't get away with that at Ephesus.
4 JN: No. Nuh-uh (negative).
5 DW: It's one thing to do 6/8. It's another to syncopate 6/8.
6 JN: Right. Yeah.
7 DW: There's quite a bit of diversity in New York, then, and I wonder if that's
8 typical of a lot of other congregations.
9 JN: I think in the larger cities, your larger churches ... No, I can't say that either
10 because I go to CPC in Alexandria, Virginia, where Henry Wright is a
11 preacher.
12 DW: Yeah. He just finished there.
13 JN: Yeah. They sing some hymns with Sabbath school, but they don't sing them
14 very well. But they have some choruses that somebody has composed, and
15 some more modern types of gospel songs that they really ... They sing
16 pretty nicely, and they have a good pianist, and they have drums. No, they
17 are not there for Sabbath school, so Sabbath school is pretty conservative.
18 DW: It sounds like even those ... How can I ask this? There was an
19 encouragement to, in perhaps some discrete ways, to have some ... To
20 emote during worship to say, "Amen," or to have some sort of emotional
21 expression in worship, but it seems that, as I talk to folks, that music today
22 is a different type of emotional response in worship or manifestation in
23 worship. Like there is a desire to be emotionally expressive in worship in
24 the past. Folks today say we're trying to be emotionally expressive in
25 worship, but what is the difference then? Is it a degree? Is it spirituality
26 that's different?
27 JN: I don't know that the spirituality is ... I don't think the sincerity is any
28 different, but the way of expressing it is much freer today than it was when
29 I was a child, when I was growing up. I think "Amen" just came into black
30 worship. I'm not sure from where, from slavery or what, but my opinion is
31 that nobody ever said anything that would have caused black people to feel
32 that saying "Amen" was not a good thing. I don't know where it came from.
33 I don't know the history of it, but that was something that was common to
34 all black churches, but not common in white churches, except maybe some
35 Baptist ... In churches in the South. That's just a guess, but I know that a lot
36 of Baptist worship in the South has similarities to black worship.
37 DW: Why do you think that there is discomfort by older black Adventists with
38 things like the drums?
39 JN: Because the drum in our day, and older blacks, the drum, the guitar, the
40 bass, these instruments are associated with dance halls and clubs, and a lot

1 of blacks who were not always Adventists, who was not anything before
2 that or attended clubs and dance halls, and when they came into church they
3 wanted to get away from that. They were converted, they're thinking about
4 music, and everything was converted, and the drum would take them back
5 to that and they didn't want that. I'm talking about experience. This is not a
6 racial thing, but there was ... At AUC one Sabbath Melvin West played Ave
7 Maria. No, not ... I don't know if it was a Sabbath or whether it was for a
8 chapel, but he played Ave Maria.

9 DW: The Schubert? Or the Gounod? Bach?

10 JN: Not the Gounod. The Bach, I think.

11 DW: Bach kind of-

12 JN: Ta-ra-ra-ra-ra-ra, ta-da-da-da,ra-ra.

13 DW: Yeah, that's the Gounod.

14 JN: That's the Gounod? Okay. All right. What is the other one? Ta-da-da-da-da,
15 at-da-da-da-da.

16 DW: Yeah, it has that background to it. The Schubert, Ave Maria ...

17 JN: Yeah, that's the Schubert. I forget which one he played, but we had a young
18 lady, a student in the congregation who had been recently converted from
19 the Catholic Church. I remember very well after the service her getting up
20 and going up to him and berating him for playing that song. She said, "I
21 came out of the Catholic Church and here I'm coming in and you're playing
22 Ave Maria." She was very upset, so he promised that he wouldn't do it
23 again, and that's the kind of thing I'm talking about.

24 DW: The association.

25 JN: That kind of association. Yeah.

26 DW: Let me change gear a little bit. Really, really great comments. Thank you.
27 At the Ephesus Church, at the Brooklyn Church, it seems like you had some
28 good memories there. Where was the pulpit?

29 JN: At Ephesus it has always been in the center. There have never been pulpits
30 on the side.

31 DW: Would people sing from the pulpit?

32 JN: Yes. Yeah.

33 DW: It wasn't just reserved for the preacher? Someone else can come up and
34 speak from-

35 JN: Let me think. Let me think now. You make me go back a long ways. Yeah,
36 there were solos sung from the pulpit. Sometimes at Ephesus there were
37 sung from the choir loft.

38 DW: Yeah, which is practical in that space.

1 JN: Yeah, but there were some from the pulpit too.

2 DW: If accompanied perhaps by the piano, which is down below?

3 JN: Yeah, or the organ. Either one, although singing down there you'd be
4 overcome by the organ, that sort of difficulty because of the space
5 difficulty.

6 DW: Was it different ... How did that compare to Brooklyn where the pulpit was
7 and how the musicians related?

8 JN: At my dad's churches, which for 15 years were all storefront churches, we
9 moved from the over-storefront to a storefront, and from that storefront to
10 another storefront. These storefronts were Sunday churches that we rented
11 from ... And then finally my dad found this Jewish synagogue and they
12 decided to buy it and they called it Brooklyn Temple, but it was
13 Brownsville before that. I don't know how the rostrum was arranged in the
14 synagogue, because I wasn't in there before we bought it, but all my
15 memories of it were that it was a regular pulpit in the center of the platform.
16 I'm trying to think where was the first place I went where they had the
17 divided ... It may have been here. I don't think that was true in AUC. We
18 worshiped in Macklin Auditorium because we didn't have a church then,
19 and the pulpit was in the center. All my memories growing up were of
20 single pulpits in the center of the platform. The reason behind that was we
21 were all anti-Catholic.

22 DW: Where the communion table go then?

23 JN: Down in front of the pulpit.

24 DW: On the main level?

25 JN: Down in front of the ... Yeah, on the main level. They would move the table
26 out and sit behind it.

27 DW: So you have this large pulpit and then just right in front of it down below is
28 the table?

29 JN: Yeah.

30 DW: I think I've gotten a few different reports of how the pulpit was treated.
31 Now, was the rostrum set aside as a holy place?

32 JN: Yes. They tried to keep kids from going up there and playing, and if kids
33 got up there and playing somebody got them down pretty quickly.

34 DW: Why do you think they didn't want people up there?

35 JN: That was where the Word was preached from, so I guess it was thought of
36 as a particularly sensitive ... I'm being careful about using "holy," but-

37 DW: Do you think they had this ... There's different conceptions of a sacred
38 space, like the thing is actually holy or is it just set aside? Some, I think, in
39 the church may think that the thing is holy, and others will say, "Well,
40 we're just setting it aside for right now, but it's just a thing."

1 JN: I would say that the view of the rostrum and the pulpit bordered on the holy.
2 We didn't want anybody up there doing anything that ... While the worship
3 was going on, only the folk who were leading the worship were up there.

4 DW: That was men. Right? Or would you have women up there?

5 JN: There were times when there were women up there. They were not elders,
6 but they would have women's day, and Dorcas day, what is now
7 community service, and those kinds of things, there'd be women in the
8 pulpit.

9 DW: Your musicians, and your chorus, and song leaders that could be men or
10 women?

11 JN: Yeah. At Ephesus, when I was a youngster, I cannot remember a man
12 directing the choir. There was a lady named Rose, Rose something. She was
13 also a bible worker and she had a beautiful voice, and she directed the choir.
14 I don't remember if Everyl did or not, but I don't remember any male choir
15 directors. I'm sure that after I left there that they probably had some male
16 choir directors, but I don't remember any.

17 DW: Why do you think that was? I just don't know the history. It seems that this
18 is typical, to have a lot of women leading music.

19 JN: Mm-hmm (affirmative), and I've wondered about that myself. Because even
20 here in the seminary when we have worship, it's usually women who sing
21 the solos, and very frequently you have women leading the worship, the
22 music and worship. I don't know why that is.

23 DW: I've wondered if perhaps, and especially back then, where it's men who do
24 elder and minister and all this, did that create a vacuum then that the men
25 have a trajectory for leadership and worship, that women have a role?

26 JN: Yeah, I think-

27 DW: I know that women have had a role, especially in the black church, in the
28 congregation supporting the ministers up front.

29 JN: Right.

30 DW: In the call and response of things. But I wonder then, was that with music
31 too?

32 JN: I suspect that that had a role. That was a very natural way for women to
33 express their talents, when they couldn't express them in terms of
34 preaching, and eldership, and those kinds of things, but the women were
35 Sabbath school superintendents, and head usher, and ... Well, not very
36 many. A lot of them were male when I was growing up.

37 DW: Ushers?

38 JN: No. Sabbath school superintendents and what we used to call "home
39 missionary" is now ... I can never think of the modern terminology for
40 home missionary work. I can't think of ... Personal ministry. We've always

1 had women Sabbath school teachers, although in Ephesus there were a lot
2 of men who were teachers. They had some scholars, and they were really
3 good teachers. I guess music was one main mode of expression that women
4 could ... it was open to them.

5 DW: Your teacher, Melvin West, said similar things. That it was mostly women
6 who were leading the music. In fact, he felt maybe ridiculed a little when he
7 was young, that here he is doing what the women do. Men aren't supposed
8 to play the organ, I guess.

9 JN: Yeah, there was that sense.

10 DW: Which is historically uninformed, but-

11 JN: When I was growing up most of the soloists were women. The choir
12 directors were women. Yeah, that was it.

13 DW: Let me shift gears. There is a question I wanted to ask you near the
14 beginning. You did describe when music was sung.

15 JN: Let me go back for a minute. I mentioned this fellow Homer Webb. He was
16 very effeminate. Very effeminate. As a kid I even noticed that. He was a
17 master at the keyboard but he was ... And I suspect that he was a
18 nonpracticing homosexual. Nobody ever said anything like that, but there
19 were nuances the way people looked when his name came up, but he held
20 his arms like the women would hold their arms, and movements that were
21 very feminine.

22 DW: Interesting.

23 JN: That would be a contributing factor to this idea that music was a woman's
24 field and men who were in that field were more effeminate. That was very
25 pronounced.

26 DW: Interesting.

27 JN: Go ahead. I-

28 DW: I'm wanting to know, did you experience in its great ... In this New York
29 area that you went to so many churches at a young age, did you know the
30 order of worship itself? The sequence of events to vary by church?

31 JN: I would say in the black churches the order of worship was fairly standard. I
32 think in most churches it came right out of the church manual, the longer
33 part of worship in the church manual. That's my thinking. I wasn't thinking
34 about that at that time, but when I think back on it most all the worships had
35 the same mode of worship.

36 DW: Was there anything out of order or striking about the order when you went
37 to AUC?

38 JN: No, except for the fact that the people who did music were trained
39 musicians, and the prelude, and postlude, and offertory, those kind of things
40 came out of classical music.

1 DW: But now they did at Ephesus too. Right?

2 JN: Some of the time. I think sometimes the organist played her own things. I
3 don't know if it was something she composed, or something that she
4 arranged, but it seems to me that some of the things that she played were
5 not printed music.

6 DW: That she just was improvising on a hymn or something?

7 JN: Yeah. Mm-hmm (affirmative).

8 DW: I'm just trying to discover if there was any sort of diversity in worship
9 practice.

10 JN: I remember the black churches, the ones that I attended, even our storefront
11 church, had the same elements as Ephesus. Some of the hymns would be
12 different. It seemed like in different churches they learned some different
13 hymns. There were some that were common, but there were some different
14 hymns. City Tabernacle, for example, was heavily West Indian and had a
15 West Indian pastor, and their choices of hymns were a little different from
16 the American black churches.

17 DW: Which was this church again?

18 JN: City Tabernacle, 150th Street.

19 DW: That's mostly West Indian?

20 JN: It has always been.

21 DW: Was Ephesus quite Caribbean as well?

22 JN: No.

23 DW: No?

24 JN: No. It has gotten very Caribbean. In fact, all of New York has gotten
25 Caribbean. I mean Adventists in New York.

26 DW: So Ephesus-

27 JN: Ephesus was all American blacks. There were a few Caribbean folk in there,
28 but it was mainly American black.

29 DW: See, now I've misunderstood because I think that people when they tell me
30 about the Caribbean influence they're thinking about today in Ephesus.

31 JN: I would say from about sometime in the '70s it began to change over. I
32 remember my mother asking, "Where have all the American blacks gone?"
33 This was true in Brooklyn, all over the place that churches were being
34 dominated by West Indians, Caribbeans. The blacks were going to the
35 South, Atlanta, places like that, I guess, and they were leaving New York.

36 DW: Do you know this by how people behaved and worshiped?

37 JN: What do you mean?

1 DW: Or you would just know where these folks were from?
2 JN: You could tell the minute they opened their mouths to talk.
3 DW: From Jamaica or something?
4 JN: Yeah. Mm-hmm (affirmative). That is the most visible difference. And the
5 hairstyles were a little different, but not all ... Not consistently, but mainly
6 the accent.
7 DW: Sure.
8 JN: The other thing was, the Caribbean people tended to be much more forward
9 and outspoken than American blacks.
10 DW: Well, now, see, J.K. Humphrey, wasn't he Caribbean?
11 JN: I don't know.
12 DW: I thought that contributed to his forthrightness in calling for conferences in
13 the '20s.
14 JN: It may have. I don't know. I never knew him personally. He apostatized and
15 died probably before my teen years. I believe Clifford Jones wrote a
16 dissertation and a book about his ministry and life.
17 DW: That's quite a bit before your experiences then.
18 JN: Yeah, I think-
19 DW: Were you aware of their group?
20 JN: He had a group there in Manhattan, not far from Ephesus, I think, but I
21 never had any contact with him. I don't know if he was Caribbean or not. I
22 know that there were some ministers in New York who were Caribbean. A
23 few. The pastor of City Tabernacle was Caribbean. Most of the other
24 pastors were American blacks, though.
25 DW: Do you think that contributes at all to how Ephesus is still today very
26 traditional?
27 JN: Yes, because the Caribbean folk is much more traditional than American
28 blacks. They were not involved in the black movement of the '60s, and so
29 their thinking is pre-'60. Now, they're changing.
30 DW: That's a significant piece. I hadn't thought about that not being present
31 here, missed out on this whole development of thought. Wow! Now a
32 second generation ... And it seems I observe the same thing with ... We have
33 a lot of Africans in South Bend, and second generation everyone ends up
34 being the same.
35 JN: Right. If you go into Nigeria, to a college in Nigeria (previously called
36 ASWA—Adventist Seminary of West Africa, now Babcock University),
37 and their worship today would be much like Ephesus was when I was a kid.
38 No clapping, "Amen," and they sing the traditional hymns. But gospel

1 music is coming into it because of the media, but they think much like we
2 did pre-'60, pre-1960.

3 DW: Really fascinating. I've asked you a lot of questions that perhaps have kept
4 us in places or may have caused you to talk about other things. Were there
5 some other things that were on your mind that seem significant to you?

6 JN: Let me look at the paper you gave me, because I just ... You asked about
7 position of people during the music. Back in those days it was whatever the
8 minister asked them to do. If they wanted to stand and sing, then they stood.
9 If they wanted to remain seated and sing, they were told and they remained
10 seated, and they remained seated and sang. Prayer was mostly kneeling.
11 What else is here? I talked about the hymnal. The hymnal was the only
12 thing that was used in worship. I brought these along. These were books
13 that were used at other times. This was the young people's song book when
14 I grew up.

15 DW: What is that? That was *Missionary-*

16 JN: *The Missionary Volunteer Songs.*

17 DW: I have one of those here.

18 JN: Do you?

19 DW: Uh-huh (affirmative).

20 JN: Right.

21 DW: What's the other one?

22 JN: *The Gospel in Song.* The Review & Herald published it. We used to sing
23 out of this in my dad's church. I don't remember us ever having this song
24 book, but we seemed to know some of the hymns that were in there. I don't
25 know how we knew them.

26 DW: Were they sung in divine worship, or were these at meetings, social
27 meetings, youth meetings?

28 JN: Youth meetings. Yeah. Of course, there's some in here that were in the
29 hymnal too, and it's called, "That Will Be Glory," is one of them. Then this
30 is another one, *The Gospel Melodies.*

31 DW: I have that one somewhere in here.

32 JN: It seems like we used this in the Bronx church when they started ... My
33 mother started that mission, that we used this *Gospel Melodies.*

34 DW: Now, would these be in the pews? Or distributed? Or how would these be ...
35 Or they were in a different room altogether then?

36 JN: I don't remember ever seeing this book, *The Gospel in Song*, in church. I
37 discovered when I found this book at home that there were songs in here
38 that we sang in my dad's church, but I don't remember ever seeing them out
39 of here.

1 DW: Or, could they have been in *Christ in Song*?

2 JN: That could be. Some of them might have been in *Christ in Song*. Yeah.

3 DW: Because it seems that most of this hymnody is gospel hymns as opposed to
4 the churchly vein of the whole stately type of things, which also is much of
5 *Christ in Song*'s corpus.

6 JN: Yeah, they're Evangelistic and gospel-type songs.

7 DW: Were there some major themes that seemed to be sung about a lot?

8 JN: Creation. Hymns about creation. Hymns about the greatness of God, "Holy,
9 Holy, Holy." We never sang a hymn like, "Immortal, Invisible, God Only
10 Wise." That was one we never sang. "The God of Abraham Praise," we
11 never sang that in the black church. But "Blessed Assurance," "Jesus Paid It
12 All," "What a Friend We Have in Jesus," "Jesus Saves," those were the
13 hymns that we liked.

14 DW: What about "The Sabbath" and "Second Coming?"

15 JN: Yes. Ta-ra-ra ... "Watch Ye Saints." There are three or four second [coming
16 hymns] ... "Lift Up The Trumpet," "Hold Fast Till I Come," those were
17 songs that we sang a lot.

18 DW: Sabbath hymns?

19 JN: Those were our Sabbath hymns.

20 DW: I mean, about the Sabbath?

21 JN: Yes, yes. "Don't Forget the Sabbath." There are several Sabbath hymns in
22 here that are not in the new hymnal. "Holy Day, Jehovah's Rest."
23 [Singing—] "Holy Day, Jehovah's rest, of creation's week the best, last of
24 all the chosen seven." "Day Is Dying in the West." "The Day Thou Gavest
25 Lord Is Ended."

26 DW: That's a beautiful hymn.

27 JN: That was a hymn that was sung more in West Indian congregations.

28 DW: That would make sense. That's really English-sounding.

29 JN: The reason I say that is because my mother had several West Indian friends,
30 and when we had Sabbath worship that was a song that they always wanted
31 to sing. We never sang number one, "Praise the Lord." This is not number
32 one in here [in the *Church Hymnal* (1941)]. I don't even know if it's in here
33 now, but I know we never sang that.

34 DW: Did you sing, "A Mighty Fortress?"

35 JN: Rarely. That doesn't lend itself to the black style of singing.

36 DW: That's interesting because it sounds like probably a lot of the Lutheran
37 chorales weren't sung.

38 JN: Yeah, that's true.

1 DW: The two that we've mentioned here are I think some of the most popular. I
2 think we could come up with a few others.

3 JN: "Jesus Savior, Pilot me," was one. Ta-da-da-da-da-da-rum, ta-da-da-da-da-
4 rum. Is that "Jesus Savior, Pilot me?" [Singing—] "While I draw this
5 fleeting breath, [inaudible 01:59:20], when I soar to worlds unknown, see
6 Thee on Thy judgment throne." Oh, "Rock of Ages."

7 DW: Yes, "Rock of Ages." You probably sang that.

8 JN: Yeah, we sang that. And then there was ... I don't know if it was in the
9 hymnal or not, but one was, "Throw Out the Lifeline." [Singing—] "Throw
10 out the lifeline across the dark wave, there is a brother whom someone
11 should save, somebody's brother, ta-da-da-da-da, who then will dare to
12 throw out the lifeline? Ta-da-da-da-dum. Throw out the lifeline." That's
13 another one.

14 DW: What about some of the early Adventist hymns that we sing ... You know
15 when we go for these Adventist Heritage Sabbaths? Would you sing any of
16 those? I bet you sang, though, Ellen's favorite hymn.

17 JN: "Jesus Lover of My Soul?"

18 DW: "Jesus Lover of My Soul."

19 JN: No.

20 DW: You didn't do that one?

21 JN: That does not lend itself to the black sense of rhythm. We're into 3/4, and
22 3/4 as easily goes into 6/8.

23 DW: Yeah, but it's already in 6/8.

24 JN: I don't know why, then. Which one was that?

25 DW: "Jesus lover of my soul," ta-ta-at-at-ta.

26 JN: No, I don't remember singing that. If we did it was rare. That's strange. It is
27 6/8.

28 DW: You never sang "The Ninety and Nine?"

29 JN: Yes. Occasionally. Yeah, occasionally.

30 DW: Or my, "Was The Title Clear?"

31 JN: No, no. I didn't even know that song existed. But some of Belden's hymns
32 we would sing. I can't sing of one offhand, but I know that there are several
33 of those that we used to sing. Do you know of the Second Coming?
34 Something with words like that.

35 DW: What about those prophecy songs of his?

36 JN: There is one, the one about Daniel and the [crosstalk 02:02:06].

37 DW: "Dare to Be a Daniel?"

1 JN: No. That was a Missionary Volunteer youth activities song. We never sang
2 that in church unless it was Temperance Day or something like that.

3 DW: Where it goes through the whole image and talks about-

4 JN: Yes, yes.

5 DW: I forget what the-

6 JN: "Down in feet of iron and of clay." The title is "Look for the Waymarks." It
7 was in the former hymnal and is included in the present one.

8 DW: And you would sing that in worship?

9 JN: Occasionally, yeah. Occasionally. Probably more like a Sunday night hymn,
10 Evangelistic type of thing.

11 DW: C. D. Brooks told me that Sabbath was pastoral and Sunday was
12 Evangelistic.

13 JN: Yeah, that's right.

14 DW: So Sabbath was for the people of God, and then Sunday is the people of
15 God doing ministry, gathering more.

16 JN: Yeah. Sunday night there was always an Evangelistic meeting, and very
17 different from Sabbath. You had a song service, a lot of singing, and some
18 songs were sung on Sunday night that we didn't sing on Sabbath. I can't tell
19 you which ones offhand, but I know that there was that difference.

20 DW: So the Divine Service did seem set apart?

21 JN: Yeah.

22 DW: How did the hymns ... You've given a lot of hymns now, and categories, or
23 topics, themes. How did this contribute to the spirituality of the church
24 then?

25 JN: Some of these hymns people sang at home, while they were washing the
26 dishes, and washing clothes and cleaning the house, they were singing some
27 of these hymns, so some of these hymns became part of people's lives. A
28 lot of them had family worship and they sang them for family worship, even
29 if they didn't have a piano. They just ... a cappella. The hymns were part of
30 people's lives, and some of them would do all the verses too. Like "Rock of
31 Ages" I was singing a few minutes ago. I practically know all the verses to
32 that and some of the other hymns, but I played them so much that-

33 DW: You've given so much. I only have one more question for you, unless you
34 have other points to share.

35 JN: No, I don't think I have anything.

36 DW: A question that's not on my question list, but I see your testimony here
37 today as not just helping me in my research, but that we're making a
38 recording and transcription to be for a legacy of what worship was like. And
39 so in that vein is my question. What would be your words of legacy? What

1 would you say to present-day pastors, worship leaders, and future
2 generations that we should learn from this history that you've been sharing
3 with me? About worship, or about the music and worship, something that
4 you would share with them.

5 JN: I think that the one thing that stands out in my mind is that just because it's
6 black doesn't make it spiritual or good. I think we got carried away with the
7 "Black is Beautiful" movement. It was good, because it gave us our self-
8 pride and we'd not be ashamed of our color, but we went so far that if it
9 wasn't black it's not good, and that's not ... So we don't sing a lot of ...
10 Black churches don't sing the hymns because they're white hymns, they're
11 not black hymns, and I think we've gone too far. We have a shared heritage
12 as Adventists that I think we shouldn't lose. I don't have any objection to
13 black culture, and that being a part of black worship in the Adventist
14 church, but I think there's a lot of shared hymnody and shared scripture that
15 we are losing in the black church because we've gone black. But if it's there
16 it's a real prejudice in the black churches, in some black churches, against
17 anything that's white, and that's very bad.

18 DW: And that's so, because it's the other way too.

19 JN: What we are doing hasn't always been that way. The white church is
20 historically that way, and in some sense we've crossed each other. The
21 white churches have adapted and adopted a lot of stuff that was traditionally
22 black and come to like it, while black people have gone anti-white. So while
23 our white brothers and sisters have broadened themselves we have
24 narrowed ourselves, and I don't see that as being helpful. Our children are
25 growing up and they don't know hymns. All they know is what I call
26 campground, camp-meeting songs.

27 DW: What is it that's in the hymns then that is important for the present and
28 future generations to sing them?

29 JN: The hymns tell stories. They follow a sequence. Each verse follows another
30 and so the hymn is a story in a sense. There are repetitions but we don't
31 have any hymns that are just repetitions. The repetitions are in the chorus,
32 and sometimes in a verse you'll have a phrase that's repeated in the—But a
33 lot of the music that we sing today is straight repetition and it doesn't do
34 much for me. Some of it is pretty, but in terms of message, there's no
35 message and they're not doctrinal. A lot of the hymns are doctrinal and we
36 get to reinforce our doctrines. Some or a lot of music that we sing today is
37 light music and it has no real doctrinal significance. Those are the things
38 that really bother me.

39 DW: Those are great encouragement. Now we have to listen. Thank you, Jim, for
40 sharing today.

Interview Notes
Cullen Phipps
Ephesus Seventh-day Adventist Church
Harlem, New York
October 6, 2014

1 The ministers in the past were older than those today. The people of the
2 congregation were hard working people, not professionals. Today the education
3 level has greatly increased. A person with a PhD interprets a sermon differently
4 than a hard worker or less educated person.

5 Today, Ephesus has many less young people in the church. For Sabbath
6 School, there was only one youth class today. In the 60s, the Youth chapel was
7 packed, even full in the balcony. There are also not as many large families today.

8 Around the year 1945, City Tabernacle was established on 150th and
9 Broadway. Before this, Ephesus was the only church.

10 Today, the choral abilities of the congregation have improved. There are
11 more professionals. The church overall has become more professional. Ephesus has
12 several choirs. The Senior Choir is comprised of mostly older persons, but also
13 some young people. The Collegiate Choir has college age people. Rosa Lee Jones
14 started a new choir, called the New Believers Choir. Jones was a Bible worker and
15 instructor. But overall, the Collegiate Choir is the best.

16 In the 1930s and 40s, there was not as much organizational structure. The
17 church had no music committee. The Nominating Committee elected the Director.
18 Today, there is a music committee, comprised of the Chairman, Choir Directors,
19 the organist and other musicians.

20 The anthems today are the same or similar to what it was in the 30s and 40s.
21 Directors selected non-sectarian music, singing the recognized anthems among
22 Christianity. Generally speaking, there is very little gospel sung or performed at
23 Ephesus, even today. In contrast, tour buses go to Sunday churches to hear Gospel
24 music. The typical anthems heard at Ephesus include, "The Seven Last Words,"
25 and the *Messiah*. Ron Liburd was our previous minister of music. EPH10614 was
26 also a minister of music.

27 The church sang spirituals in the 30s and 40s, but not a steady diet. There
28 was a limited number of spirituals, but a large number of great anthems. The radio
29 station, WFME Family Radio, played the anthems you would hear at Ephesus.
30 Anthems lent themselves to an efficient training of music, due to the written and
31 published tradition. On the other hand, spirituals must be learned by rote. But
32 spirituals receive a greater response by the congregation, because they affect the
33 attitude. They were tied to the Black experience. The choir sang the responses for
34 prayer and the introit. In the 30s and 40s, musicians volunteered. Some today are
35 paid. Pastor Peters involved the congregation in singing during his sermon.

36 The order of service included an opening and closing hymn. It was common
37 to sing hymns during the distribution at Communion, with the congregation taking
38 part in the singing.

39 Ephesus was ethnically diverse. It always had a mix of African American
40 and Caribbean. Phipps was born in New York. His father was Caribbean; his

1 mother was a Southerner. But the church, though diverse, was more American in
2 dress. Women did not dress as colorfully as other nearby churches. This is an
3 example of assimilation by those who were immigrants to New York. In fact, most
4 families immigrated to New York. J. K. Humphrey, former pastor of the
5 congregation, continued to come to the Sunday evening meeting, even after he
6 started his Sabbath-day Adventist off-shoot congregation. At one Sunday evening
7 meeting in the late 40s, the elder in charge recognized Humphrey and invited him
8 up to the rostrum. Phipps' father was a charter member of Harlem #2. At the split,
9 membership issue was institutional loyalty.

10 Phipps offered advice for the church today. The church should stay away
11 from extremes in music. Older folk don't go to the Youth Chapel due to its extreme
12 music. The church needs to distinguish between church music and rock music. We
13 can have change today, but we just need to avoid the extreme. However, the church
14 cannot legislate changes. Changes will be formed by the worship.

Oral History
Ernest and Annelle Rogers
At their home in Huntsville, Alabama
September 25, 2014

1 Ernest Rogers (ER): My name is Ernest E. Rogers. I was born in Memphis,
2 Tennessee, June 17, 1916.

3 Annelle Rogers (AR): I'm Annelle Martin Wright Rogers. I was born September 2,
4 1918, in Gadsden County, Florida, city of Quincy. I grew up on a mini-farm,
5 twenty miles on a twenty-acre land, three miles from the town. I attended the
6 schools in town. I attended Florida A & M College at that time. I went to
7 school and took a two-year teacher training course. I taught school two terms
8 and got married. I taught one term after I got married.

9 Soon after we got married, my husband had to go to the Army, World War II.
10 I joined him, gave up teaching. While we were there in the Army, Latham,
11 Georgia, we met some Seventh-day Adventist soldiers, and my husband was
12 in the same barrack with them, and while he was in the barrack with them,
13 they studied a Sabbath school lesson. He studied with them, and eventually
14 one of the soldiers asked, "Could we come to your house, and study the Bible
15 with you?" I suggested, I'd like to be intelligent along Biblical lines, not I
16 wanted to change anything. I thought I was fine.

17 David Williams (DW): What was your—

18 AR: Methodist.

19 DW: Methodist? Both of you were Methodist?

20 ER: Oh no, I was a Baptist, for one month.

21 DW: So then you did the Bible studies with them?

22 AR: Yeah, We did Bible studies, in fact, while I was in Florida, I was baptized in
23 the Methodist church when I was 12 years old.

24 At this time, I was about 24 or 25 by then and we studied the Bible, and of
25 course, the soldier who worked with us name was Brunelle, George Brunelle.

26 His wife was Blanche Brunelle. There were some other soldiers that came,
27 but anyway, I learned so much, and before we left the Army, and this is why
28 we left, World War II had ended. The older veterans could be discharged. The
29 younger ones had to have a job waiting for them to be discharged. The pastor
30 who baptized me was a graduate from Oakwood, and he contacted the
31 president at Oakwood, told him about my husband, his name was Herman
32 Wright. And to make a long story short, there was some negotiating done, and
33 we were discharged from the Army, and came to Oakwood. We hadn't been
34 baptized a year when we came to Oakwood. We were fresh out the water.

35 DW: What year was it that you came to Oakwood?

1 AR: 1945, and by then, I had a baby. The baby was four months old when I got
2 here.

3 I told her the other day, this week, I said, you know, I prayed to the Lord for
4 you. I said, Lord, if you give me a baby, I'll give that baby back to you. So
5 she say, Well, I taught at Oakwood for 25 years. She has her own business
6 now.

7 Anyway, as far as the music is concerned, I came out of the Methodist church
8 and we were a calm group. We used to kind of look down on the Baptists
9 with their loudness. So we were calm and the Adventist church was fine for
10 me, it was calm. We used to go to the Sanctified church as recreation, because
11 they was clappin' and whatever, so when we got to Oakwood, it was very
12 calm, and I enjoyed it very much.

13 DW: Okay, so it was because it was similar to your Methodist experience.

14 AR: Something like the Methodists, that's true.

15 DW: Okay.

16 AR: Very spiritual.

17 DW: Hmm. But now, when you say the Sanctified or Holiness church,

18 AR: Mm-hmm (affirmative)

19 DW: Was that a particular denomination?

20 ER: Yes, it's a particular ...

21 AR: Yeah, it's a particular group of small ... they'd have a small area where they
22 could have meetings, and we would go there and clap with them.

23 DW: Okay. So you enjoyed that too then.

24 AR: Yeah, to me that was kind of like fun, but when I went to church it was, we
25 sang "Praise God from Whom all Blessings Flow", and we would have a song
26 service, and on the fourth and second Sundays we'd have testimonies.

27 DW: In the Methodist church.

28 AR: In the Methodist church.

29 DW: Okay.

30 AR: And what would amuse me, we would say the Apostle's Creeds, we'd say the
31 10 Commandments every second Sunday. Someone would read, Remember
32 the Sabbath day to keep it holy. They start from the beginning, and we'd say,
33 Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law, all the way
34 through, but we never really thought about what we were saying. Then when I
35 became an Adventist I realized they are saying it, but they didn't really
36 understand it.

37 DW: So, on the second Sunday, in the Methodist church, you would recite the Ten
38 Commandments.

1 AR: Yeah, the Ten Commandments.

2 DW: Did you ever recite the Ten Commandments in worship in the Adventist
3 church as part of the worship service on a regular basis like that?

4 AR: No. What they do, some churches say the fourth commandments on Sabbath.

5 DW: Okay.

6 AR: I visit a lot of churches, and they do that in a lot of the churches.

7 DW: And how did, that's really insightful, the similarities to the Methodists. Now
8 you mentioned some things just now, how we didn't recite the same things.
9 Can you say anything at all about how similar or different was the order of
10 service in Methodist worship?

11 AR: Yes, it was different, because in Adventist church we would sing and pray
12 and read the Scripture and take up offering. In the Methodist church they'd
13 have a prayer meeting along with the song service. They'd sing at least three
14 or four songs and have three or four prayers before the preaching, and then
15 after they preach, they take up the offering. Here they always took up offering
16 before they preached.

17 DW: Hmm interesting. Why do you think that was different?

18 AR: People get in the habit of doing something. This group did it and the other one
19 did it, and maybe they'd be inspired by what the preacher said and give more
20 money.

21 DW: Okay

22 AR: Not only that, in the Methodist church, they'd have a couple of the deacons
23 would come up to the front and you'd walk up there and put your money in.
24 I've seen some people go up holding the dollar like that to let you see, I'm
25 putting a dollar in, but in Adventist church, they'd pass the plate around, and
26 they took up way more offerings in the Adventist church than in the
27 Methodist.

28 DW: Oh, did they?

29 AR: I said to Brunnelle once, we take up a lot of money. He said, you don't have
30 to give every time they pass the basket around, but in the Adventist church
31 the emphasis is offerings. You can rob the Lord, not only with tithe, but with
32 tithe and offerings.

33 DW: Now, Doctor Rogers, you said you were Baptist for a month?

34 ER: Well, when I joined the Baptist church, I started reading Adventist literature,
35 and I read about the Sabbath. Being young at that time, and very active
36 religiously, I went to my pastor, and I asked him about the Sabbath, and
37 without giving me an answer, he said, well, if you don't like what the Sabbath
38 is to you here now, you go and join some other place then. I said, well, that's
39 what I will do. And I left, because I felt that he didn't know, and he wouldn't

1 explain it to me. I didn't want to be under the tutelage of anyone who didn't
2 believe what he was teaching.

3 I told him that I would leave, and started studying with the Adventist group,
4 and when they came to the Sabbath, and it was explained to me, I joined
5 immediately. I told them that this was what I was looking for. I just wanted to
6 be sure that Saturday was the Sabbath because at that time I was just a
7 youngster, you see. It was exactly a month from the time I was baptized, I
8 became a Christian until I became a member of the Adventist church.

9 DW: So you came in under profession of faith? Or did both of you do that?

10 ER: No, I came in under baptism.

11 DW: Oh, you had to be re-baptized then.

12 ER: No, I was a Baptist, I was just a Baptist for a month.

13 DW: Oh, I got you.

14 ER: And I moved from the Baptist church into the Adventist church, and I was
15 given some background as to why. I was there for just a month, you see,
16 because the pastor would not explain to me the difference between Sunday
17 and Saturday as being the Sabbath.

18 DW: Hmm. Now, were you not religious before that then?

19 ER: Beg pardon?

20 DW: Were you not religious?

21 ER: No I wasn't religious before I became a Baptist.

22 DW: Okay.

23 ER: Then, when I became a Baptist, I was there for a month, but I was doing
24 extensive reading at the time.

25 DW: How did the worship of the Baptist worship compare to your Adventist
26 experience then?

27 ER: Oh, it was very different. They were loud, and very—had all kinds of
28 contortions in their worship, but when I came into an Adventist, they were
29 calm, and they were—They just had a normal common worship that was
30 appealing to all classes of people.

31 DW: Why do you think the Baptists were not calm, were so demonstrative in their
32 worship?

33 ER: Probably because, the church that I was in, they were made up of non-
34 intellectuals. They had come from a background where emotion took the
35 place of reason, and they were expressing their feelings and the way that they
36 felt, that this would give access to approach God, you see.

37 DW: Huh, that's really interesting. So, I'll restate that, that being demonstrative in
38 the worship would gain one better access to God?

1 ER: That is is my reasoning on it.

2 DW: What would they say that would, or do that would suggest that?

3 ER: Oh, they always talk about, thank the Lord for all of his goodness, and they
4 would praise God, he says. Just today he delivered me from such and such a
5 thing, and then they all just say, Hallelujah, praise the Lord. They were
6 coming through difficult times at the time. Struggling, and they felt that when
7 they got relief from some situation, it was a means of expression. I think that
8 that was basically just the reason for it.

9 DW: Now, you're saying that the Adventist didn't do that.

10 ER: No.

11 DW: So how would they give expression to deliverance that God has—

12 ER: In the Adventist church, like with me when I went there, I really didn't know
13 how to act. I had to become acclimated to their type of worship because they
14 were calm. You didn't hear amen, and if one said amen, you could see heads
15 turning, you see, to see from whence it was coming, and the person who was
16 speaking. They were just as much Christians, I think as those who were
17 demonstrative. It's just they had come up under a different system, and they
18 were expressing their culture.

19 DW: So, could you turn it back on the Adventists and say, maybe they thought that
20 they should approach God in the calmness, and that's how they got closer to
21 God?

22 ER: Oh, yes. They felt that you didn't, probably in the case of Elijah at the day of
23 worship, if you holler a little louder, maybe he will hear you. But he spoke in
24 a calm and convincing manner, and I think that that was probably the
25 philosophy of the people at that particular time, see?

26 DW: Can you tell me more about maybe what motivated Adventists, or what was
27 the prevailing thought for worship then? You're saying it was calm. So what
28 did they believe that they were doing?

29 ER: Well, I think that basically, Adventist ministers were trained ministers. Most
30 of the Baptists were men who just started up, and just said, "Well, the Lord
31 has called me to preach." And they come from an environment where emotion
32 played a great part in their worship. Whereas in an Adventist church, having
33 come from most of them were Oakwood graduates, and they brought their
34 calmness and everything was on a higher level. People started to thinking in
35 terms of their—They followed leadership, that's really what it was basically.

36 DW: And you're talking about Adventism following 1945, is that right?

37 ER: Yes, this was in about '32 or '33, around in that, 1932 or 33.

38 DW: Oh, that's when you became Adventist.

39 ER: I became n Adventist yeah, around when I was 17 years old.

40 DW: Oh, '33, as you're saying.

1 ER: Mm-hmm (affirmative)

2 DW: Okay. Was this the Oakwood church you came to in '33?

3 ER: Yes. Really, I came, I was in Memphis for three years, and then I left while I
4 was giving the mission story. One of the school teachers who was a very
5 gifted lady, she heard me giving the mission story, and she says, "You should
6 be at Oakwood." I said, "Oakwood, what is Oakwood?" She said, "That's one
7 of our schools in Alabama that trains young people who are interested in
8 religion and things of that nature." She says, "You ought to go. I'm going to
9 talk to your mother and see that we can't get you down to Oakwood. You
10 should not be in this environment." I told her I would appreciate it very much
11 if she would do so. I said, "But I don't have any money." She said, "Well, if
12 you are willing to go, I'll pay your tuition.

13 She went and spoke to my mother, and my mother said, "Yes, if he wants to
14 go." I was the only Adventist in the family, and she said, "If he wants to go,
15 we will be happy to let him go." She said, "Well you start getting ready now,
16 because it's almost time for school to begin. She packed me together, and I
17 came on to Oakwood. I was in the tenth grade at that time. I finished the
18 tenth, the eleventh and the twelfth, and at that time, Oakwood was just a
19 junior college, and I finished junior college here. After I finished junior
20 college, I went to Union College in Lincoln, Nebraska and got my bachelor's
21 degree, and after that I went to the seminary when it was in Washington DC,
22 and after that, I went to Michigan State University, where I picked up my
23 PhD there.

24 DW: What's your PhD in?

25 ER: It's communication. I studied theology at Oakwood, got my bachelor's degree
26 in theology at Union, and then studied Biblical languages under Dr. Lowsby
27 at the seminary. I finished the seminary in 1951. I taught, I started teaching
28 here at Oakwood in 1945.

29 DW: You were teaching before you finished the master's degree.

30 ER: Yes, right. You see, at that time, Oakwood in 1945, Oakwood had become an
31 accredited school, and they needed Biblical languages for the ministerial
32 training. I had finished Union, and I had only a bachelor's at the time you see.
33 They sent me to the seminary so I could become prepared to teach, and I
34 taught here in the Biblical language department from '45 til '79. 37 years.

35 DW: Where did you go to church in DC?

36 ER: I went to Dupont Park, DC.

37 DW: Do you recall any emphasis or importance made, you had just become
38 Adventist in '33 you said. Did they make any mention about the new *Church*
39 *Manual* that had come out in '32? Were you aware of this new manual?

40 ER: I was aware of the new manual, because I had never used a manual before. I
41 just came from the Baptist church into the Adventist church, and they had a

1 manual at that time, you see. That's when I first became acquainted with
2 church manuals.

3 DW: Okay. Before '32, we didn't have, as an official document, the order of
4 service. Was there any comment or discussion or adjustment from other
5 pastors, leaders that had the order of worshiping different, and now we are
6 trying to follow the *Church Manual*?

7 ER: Well, they usually followed the church manual at that time, you see, but now,
8 as you know, we have our own.

9 DW: Yeah, Oh, every church is very different.

10 ER: Yeah, they're very different now.

11 DW: We very much follow the statement at the beginning that says, "This is a
12 recommendation."

13 ER: That's right.

14 DW: Well, so what I'm trying to, my question is, I'm wondering if there was more
15 diversity in the order of worship and in '32, with the new church manual, did
16 this lead to more conformity in the order of worship, because now we have
17 the manual?

18 ER: I think there's more conformity to it now. I have one, *Church Manual*. I have
19 our bulletin now, and usually we follow the, [*Church Manual*?]

20 DW: So, it's seemed that in the '30s and '40s it was following the *Church Manual*.

21 ER: Just followed the *Church Manual*. But now, when I came to Oakwood, they
22 haven't deviated too much from what we have here now, you see.

23 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative)

24 ER: You have your introit, but there has been some changes. You have Children's
25 Chapel, and Music of Meditation, and people coming down to the altar, all of
26 this. This is all new.

27 DW: People didn't used to come down for prayer.

28 ER: Mm-mm, no.

29 DW: What would they do during that morning prayer?

30 ER: During that morning prayer, they would just kneel at the pew.

31 DW: Okay.

32 ER: That was the method at that particular time, but now there's an altar call.
33 People come and dedicate themselves anew to that Lord through the
34 dedicatory prayer that is given at that particular time, you see.

35 DW: Can you describe how the service used to go?

1 ER: As I recall, in 1932, you had the introit, where the ministers came in, then you
2 had the—They didn't have any affirmation of faith, so far as I know at that
3 particular time. Then they would have a song.

4 DW: An opening hymn?

5 ER: An opening hymn. And then they would have a prayer. Then they would take
6 up the offering, and the pastor would preach, and then they would have a
7 benediction, and we'd go home.

8 DW: Would you have a closing song?

9 ER: They did have a closing song.

10 DW: Now, you're talking about the Oakwood church now.

11 ER: Yes.

12 DW: Were there choirs back then in the '30s?

13 ER: Oh, yes. They had choirs, I'm sorry, I forgot to mention that. Dr. Dykes,
14 when she came in, she started the choir together. Then you had other great
15 musicians to come in after that, like Jon Robertson, and all these other great
16 musical minds. They came in and music expanded into something that was
17 worthy of listening to, you see.

18 DW: Dr. Warren just told me today about Robertson.

19 ER: Yeah, well, he's an outstanding musician.

20 DW: You said that in the '30s and '40s it sounds like worship order was

21 ER: It was a little different.

22 DW: Different from now.

23 ER: Yes.

24 DW: But was there diversity among the different churches, or were they all
25 following the same order?

26 ER: I really don't know.

27 DW: Okay.

28 ER: I couldn't say for certainty.

29 DW: Too universal of a question.

30 ER: That's right.

31 DW: Well, something similar, at the Oakwood church, what was the hymnal that
32 you used in the '30s

33 ER: I came here in '36, and they just had the regular hymnal, that's all I know.

34 DW: Was it *Christ in Song*?

35 ER: *Christ in Song*, the little, yeah. That's the hymnal that they had.

1 DW: Okay, did they also have in the pews *Hymns and Tunes*?

2 ER: I don't remember.

3 DW: You don't remember that.

4 ER: But I do remember the little—In fact, I had one. It's probably over in the
5 other house. I liked it. When the new ones came out, I didn't like the new
6 ones, because I was so accustomed to the little square ones. Well, it wasn't
7 square, more rectangular.

8 DW: You were experienced enough in the church by '41. What was the reception,
9 in your experience of the new church hymnal? It was called *Church Hymnal*.
10 Do you remember that one?

11 ER: Yes. At first, we didn't want to move from the rectangular type, you see, but
12 as we saw that it was going to stay, well we just accepted it, because we either
13 used that, or we couldn't sing at all. We couldn't join in congregational
14 worship. That was the official hymnal for the congregational worship.

15 DW: Did you notice a difference in musical expression as you shifted from *Christ*
16 *in Song* to the *Church Hymnal*?

17 ER: Personally, I didn't detect—there might have been, but I didn't detect any
18 difference at that time.

19 DW: In the '30s and '40s, what were the instruments used in worship at Oakwood?

20 ER: Piano and organ, that's all. We had ministers that would not allow anything
21 else other than the piano.

22 DW: Not a violin or trumpet?

23 ER: Oh, yes, some of them were used, but like drums and things of that nature
24 now, Ward would not permit it at all.

25 DW: Now Ward is a lot later.

26 ER: Huh?

27 DW: You said Ward?

28 ER: Yes.

29 DW: But he's much later, right?

30 ER: Oh, yes. He was in, my wife would know. That's why I had her here, because
31 she can recall dates and things like that very readily.

32 DW: But I'm sure that drums were not even brought up in the '30s and '40s.

33 ER: Oh, no. Usually we just had piano.

34 DW: Was it a grand piano, or an upright?

35 ER: It's a piano somewhat like we have back then. Grands were introduced later.

36 DW: And what was the organ? Did you used to have a pipe organ at Oakwood?

1 ER: Oh no, we didn't get a pipe organ until we moved into Moran Hall. At that
2 time, we just had these little—

3 DW: Was it a pump organ?

4 ER: No. Electric organ—

5 DW: Okay, like a Hammond or something.

6 ER: Yes.

7 DW: In the '30s and '40s, who led out in the music?

8 ER: Uzi Corsher.

9 DW: Was this a faculty member?

10 ER: It's a faculty member, yes.

11 DW: Not students.

12 ER: No students no. It wasn't. We just started having students working later on
13 when the younger group came in. Students just about participate in everything
14 now, even the worship services.

15 DW: So in the worship services, it used to be that the students weren't leading out
16 at all.

17 ER: No.

18 DW: Why do you think that was?

19 ER: I don't know. Maybe it was the old school that felt that you need experience
20 when you're worshipping the Lord, but round about the mid '40s and
21 everything, students started taking active rolls. Today we have students, and
22 they are very—they sound like experienced ministers. They are doing a fine
23 job in the religion department.

24 DW: We have some fantastic preachers come from Oakwood. What a tradition we
25 have from this school here.

26 We talked about the order of worship. One of the challenges I've had with the
27 Oakwood church is—well, for example, I'm looking also at the Takoma Park
28 church, and they have hundreds of church bulletins, but I don't have any of
29 that from Oakwood. The only source other than from talking to folks like
30 yourself for what happened in the worship, there's a couple church record
31 books that the archives has that Roberta Edwards occasionally gave some
32 descriptions.

33 ER: Dr. Warren would probably have that information because he wrote a history
34 of Oakwood [*Oakwood! A Vision Splendid Continues 1896–2010*].

35 DW: He's giving me a copy of that Sabbath.

36 ER: He has done in-depth research on the college and all the music and everything
37 else. I was looking at it the other day, and I said, "Now this is what you
38 should have."

1 DW: Okay, well that'll be a really valuable resource indeed.

2 ER: And he has it arranged by decades, you see, following the ideas that you
3 would like to have.

4 DW: How did the people behave or act during music?

5 ER: Very calm, but now, it is quite different. You could see 'em standing up now
6 and raising their hands and moving in all kinds of directions and things now,
7 because the music, the rhythm is changed, you see. In fact, if I hadn't know
8 what was back then, I wouldn't of known that this is the same church that I'm
9 in now so far as music is concerned. They have picked up—I don't know the
10 terminology for the various types of music.

11 DW: Now does it seem similar to what you experienced in the Baptist church of
12 long ago?

13 ER: I would say that right. I can't explain it. In fact, I just go because I have no
14 other place to go. We had several members to leave Oakwood and go to the
15 white church, because they could not stand the music that is being carried on
16 now, you see. The spirit of calmness and worshipful music and quietness, it's
17 all disappeared now, because that is the trend that is going on now. You have
18 your guitars and your bass drums and all of this. It doesn't seem like worship
19 now.

20 DW: What does it seem like now?

21 ER: It seem like you're having an exhibition. Some of us old-timers, we don't
22 appreciate it, but the youngsters, they go for it, and I guess that's why it is
23 done.

24 DW: What do you think, since you know theology, what do you think the calm
25 worship said about the beliefs about God?

26 ER: God says, in quietness—and when we have all this noise, you really—

27 DW: What does it say about who God is, that we would come in quietness?

28 ER: To me, the thing that, who God is, I really feel that God never—I couldn't say
29 never, because he rolled from Sinai.

30 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative) yeah, that was awesome.

31 ER: Other than that, everything seemed to have been in a subdued type of
32 atmosphere, and to me, that is the thing that I've been used to at Oakwood.
33 Back from the '30s up to the mid '40s everything was done on a quiet,
34 intellectual type of setting, but now, it's anything. They've brought in so
35 many different people from different sections of the state and of the world.
36 Here at Oakwood you have a demographic from all over the world, you see,
37 and they're bringing their customs and their music and everything into it.

38 DW: So their conceptions of worship have changed?

39 ER: Oh yes. So far as music is concerned. Ward was here as pastor for 22 or 23
40 years. He wouldn't even permit a tape recorder in the church. You couldn't

1 sing from a tape recorder, because it had a mixture of the world, jazz and
2 everything else in it, and he felt that, well, jazz belonged to the ballroom, and
3 not into the church, you see. This was the thinking of most of the people
4 during the time from the '30s up to the mid '40s, you see. We felt that all this
5 loud music, this jazz music and music that appeared to us not to be
6 worshipful.

7 DW: When did that music start coming in?

8 ER: It was around the late '40s and early '50s.

9 DW: What do you think was going on in the United States or the church or the
10 black church that would lead to this change?

11 ER: I think that usually, we pick up what the world gives us, and this was the type
12 of change for music in the world, and so they brought this change into the
13 church, because most of our students come from, as I said, various parts of
14 the world, and when they came, they brought that with them. It had some
15 influence upon the clergy, and quite naturally, it started seeping in. At one
16 while, we had over 3,000 members here at Oakwood, you see, because some
17 people liked the type of music that we had here, but now, you can't tell the
18 difference in the music here at Oakwood as you can in the churches in the
19 world, you see.

20 DW: Do you mean other denominations?

21 ER: Other denominations is what I mean, yes.

22 DW: But back in the '30s, weren't other denominations singing hymns?

23 ER: Yeah, but they were jazzed up at that time, yeah.

24 DW: In this calmness, what does this suggest about beliefs about the nature of
25 humanity or sinfulness? You said that God is a God of calmness, and he's
26 always communicating in Scripture. If we're to come in calmness, what was
27 the belief then about humanity, or for to come in a reverence, what does that
28 say about who we are?

29 ER: Personally from my point of view, I think that reverence manifests itself in
30 quietness. Especially, it is a sign of respect, and when one is not loud and
31 boisterous with all kind of contortions of bodies and things of that nature, to
32 me that isn't a good picture of reverence. He may do that outside of the
33 church, but when he comes into the church, I think that that should be left on
34 the outside, and God should be given preference in our demeanor.

35 DW: What's really profound here in what you're saying is how these worship
36 practices and the music in worship reflected, and how people acted in the
37 music, reflected how they thought they should come before God. You said
38 then that the beliefs have been changed today, so the music in worship is an
39 indicator of our perceptions of how to worship.

40 ER: That is it, in fact, even from the pulpit it is expressed, you see. Different
41 people have different ways of expressing themselves to God. In fact, it was a

1 rare thing to hear one say amen at Oakwood. When everyone said amen, you
2 could see heads turning as if people were run by a robot.

3 DW: Were these new converts who didn't understand that we don't say amen, or
4 why do you think people were saying amen now?

5 ER: With the new converts, that when it started coming in, because you started
6 getting people from every walks of life, you see. When they would come in,
7 they would bring their old culture along with them, and soon, it caught on.
8 Now everybody is doing it. I've never seen so many people, when they are
9 singing, if they like it, and they feel it, the first thing they do is they stand up.
10 When they stand up, they started clapping their hands and shaking their body.
11 To me, that isn't worship, but that's showmanship. They want to be seen.

12 But yet, I can't judge, because different people serve God in a different way.
13 To me, I've learned to accept it, and what may be an approach to God from
14 my point of view, may be a different thing from another person point of view.
15 This is how they grew up. This is how they worshiped God all their lives so to
16 them, that's worship. I've learned to accept it, but it was not tolerated back in
17 the '30s and '40s. They soon caught on, because when one would say,
18 "amen," heads would turn, looked like the whole church's heads would turn.

19 DW: How did worship then compare with worship in the white churches? Worship
20 at Oakwood compared to the white churches.

21 ER: In the white churches it was always a quiet spirit, a subdued spirit, a calm
22 spirit.

23 DW: How was that different than at Oakwood?

24 ER: Oakwood, same as the white.

25 DW: Okay, why do you think that it was the same?

26 ER: I think that probably is because of the environment that the students came
27 from in those days. They just brought their culture along with them, you see,
28 their actions, and their attitudes in worship an in ...

29 DW: Of quietness and calmness.

30 ER: Mm-hmm (affirmative) But now, as I said, round about the late '40s as we
31 enter into the '50s, when the music in the world began to change, that beat,
32 boo bop, and I don't know all these various types of music, but whenever they
33 came in, well, then it started seeping into the church. Some of us, by nature,
34 we are rhythmic.

35 We like music that we can tap our feet to, and sooner or later we could stand
36 up. Sooner or later we could start moving around, and now, this is the thing
37 that changes that I have observed in music, and to me, to some, that's
38 worship. That's worship, but to me, I think it's more or less, to me I think,
39 well, I say they just want to be seen. They want to show off. Then I thought
40 later, well, that's the way they worship God.

1 DW: To what extent did prevailing white worship culture influence black worship?
2 ER: To be honest with you, I don't know.
3 DW: Some have said that it was inherited.
4 ER: Yes. I've never went to white churches until I went to Union.
5 DW: Okay, and how did that feel from having been at Oakwood for your junior
6 college?
7 ER: There wasn't any difference, because we sang the same hymns, we worshiped
8 the same God, we were very calm in our approaches, and things of that
9 nature. I couldn't see the difference, you see.
10 DW: Okay, and then, how was going from Union to the Seminary in Du Pont Park?
11 ER: In Du Pont Park? It's the same thing, because as you know, if you, you're
12 there—No, you're in Michigan, but if you were in Washington, you will find
13 that most of the people in Du Pont Park are highly educated. They've been
14 among people of culture all their lives, and they just manifest that in their
15 demeanor. You don't find, what we would call the street music and the street
16 actions and the emotional outbursts, and all of these things, because they are
17 not used to it. They have grown up in a different environment.
18 DW: To what extent did our Adventist message play a part in the similarities in
19 worship between black and white?
20 ER: It has transformed our whole lives. As I said, I came from the slums. I grew
21 up among, what I've been describing as, and my folk were not educated, but I
22 did not follow the customs of my environment, because I had met some
23 Adventists and, being young, I tried to imitate what they were doing, and that
24 helped me in my development.
25 For others who came up in that environment, that's all they know, so to
26 worship God means that you got to show that you love God. You got to praise
27 him, you got to have some type of demonstrative activity to show that you
28 really believe God, and that God is going to help you. They've gone through
29 so many trials and temptations, and when they get to church, this is a time to
30 release it, and they release it in praise. This is what they call praise, and the
31 music that they have now is called praise and worship, where you have a few
32 come out, and they start to singing this, well, I don't know what—As I say, I
33 don't know the terminology for the various types of music now, but to me,
34 they think by loud singing, and things of that nature, you can move the
35 emotions of the people, and they would become more susceptible to whatever
36 you want to get over. To me, I don't like that.
37 DW: Is that manipulative?
38 ER: I think it is, very much so. Even in our preaching sometime, in our appeals,
39 for example, our present pastor, Pastor Byrd, he's an excellent preacher, but
40 in his appeals, he has music. Music with guitars and drums, and he has an
41 elevation of voice at times, and in his appeals, but he baptizes—No preacher

1 that has ever been at Oakwood, including Ward has baptized more people in
2 the short length of time that he's been there than he.

3 There isn't a Sabbath that he's here, cause he's on the board with the Voice of
4 Prophecy now, there isn't a Sabbath that he is here that you don't have
5 anywhere from five to ten people coming up ever Sabbath, but I would say—
6 In my thinking sometimes I say, well maybe it's all emotionalism, you see. It
7 could be, yet that is his style.

8 DW: How did the preaching compare back in the '30s and '40s?

9 ER: It was subdued, I should say, but they have always had emotion.

10 DW: How did black preaching compare to white preachers?

11 ER: Oh, white preachers, they just talk. There's no emotion. There is no emotion
12 to that, but black preachers are naturally emotional, and they project that
13 emotion, and the people expect that, and if they don't get it, well you haven't
14 said anything. They haven't worshiped, you see.

15 DW: Did some of that emotion, you said he was calm in worship, but would some
16 of that emotion you're saying comes out in the preaching?

17 ER: Oh yeah.

18 DW: In the '30s and '40s, would that emotion come out in how the people sang the
19 hymns?

20 ER: Oh yeah.

21 DW: In what way, how would, they're not saying amen or clapping or raising their
22 hands, how would they emote during singing?

23 ER: Their voices are different. You can see in their demeanor, there's an
24 expression of joy and appreciation. You can see it. It manifests itself. They're
25 saying, "Oh thank the Lord for all—"

26 DW: How did, then, I think that's significant, that the emotion is being channeled
27 differently.

28 ER: Oh yeah.

29 DW: So it's not just in a bodily manifestation.

30 ER: Oh no, it's in expressions, in expressions. You can see it. It is something that
31 is very visible.

32 DW: Where does that emotion come from? What's the source in the '30s and '40s?

33 ER: I think from the music, from the preaching, and black preaching, maybe not
34 like white. You haven't had the experiences and the difficulties.

35 DW: All right, so here's where I'm wanting to go. All right now you go here. Tell
36 me about this.

37 ER: Whites haven't experienced some of the things that blacks experienced, for
38 example, you are not watched and suspected every time you go round the

1 street. There is a certain respect that the officers have for you, but when you
2 go round the street, if you show any signs of progress, then police aren't
3 gonna stop you because you aren't supposed—They aren't supposed to do
4 that. So far as relationship with work and everything else, you have
5 difficulties, all types of difficulties that blacks have that whites never
6 experienced, and when one gets to church, this is the time when they can
7 release themselves, and express God, and thank him for his mercies. This is
8 the thing, and black preachers know how to appeal to that emotion, and they
9 can—"Nobody knows the trouble I've seen, nobody knows but Jesus." When
10 they can see a mother who's having difficulty with her children, when they
11 can see a parent over here that doesn't have milk to feed and food to feed
12 their children, you have debts and rent that you cannot pay.

13 All of these things come, when they come to church, they come with these
14 burdens on their hearts, and they preach to a person uplifting sermons so as to
15 make them feel that God is with them, and even though they are passing
16 through trials, everything is going to be all right, and they can leave with a
17 relief somewhat because their spirits have been satisfied. They have met God.
18 God has spoken to their heart. This is why sometimes I stop talking about
19 when they shout and when they throw their hands, because personally, I've
20 never experienced that, you see.

21 DW: Hmm, but you've experienced emotion in worship.

22 ER: Yes. I can feel, because before I became an Adventist I had difficulties and
23 trials. My mother—I came from a family of seven. Father dead, mother doing
24 all of the work. You had to get out and make your own. You folk never had
25 experiences like this, you see. When you come to church on Sabbath, and you
26 know what you have passed through, through the week, there's a feeling of
27 release that comes, and you can express that to God. Sometime you just sit
28 there and cry. Sometimes you said, when the preacher speaks about
29 difficulties and things, without thinking about it, you holler, "amen."

30 That touches you, we know, because that's an experience that he knows that
31 you are going through, that probably some of you in the white churches have
32 never experienced. This is why black worship is so emotional, because as the
33 old negro hymn says, "Nobody knows the trouble I've seen. Nobody knows
34 but Jesus." You never know the tension that's going on. You never know the
35 sadness. You never know the poverty strickenness that people are enduring.
36 All of these things come to play, and this is why I stopped criticizing and
37 says, well if they want to do that, let them do it. This is release. They come to
38 church. They find peace for their souls, and they express it and let you know,
39 and when one's holler amen, it means that that's my experience.

40 DW: But I thought you said that there wasn't saying amen's back then. Would
41 people people say amen's during the sermon in the '30s?

42 ER: Oh yeah.

43 DW: But not the same—

1 ER: No the same as it is now.
2 DW: But not the same as the Baptist church either?
3 ER: Oh, no. The Baptist churches.
4 DW: Now, what was the brand of Baptist that you were a part of?
5 ER: Missionary Baptist.
6 DW: And was she, what Methodist church did she come from?
7 ER: Babe, what Methodist church did you come from? Was is AME or CME?
8 AR: AME.
9 DW: Did you, at Oakwood, as a congregation sing the spirituals?
10 ER: Oh, yeah, we sang them all the time.
11 DW: Okay, so you had *Christ in Song*, and you had the spirituals.
12 ER: Yes, and quartets.
13 DW: And quartets?
14 ER: And choir, and things of that nature.
15 DW: What were some of the spirituals that stand out to you. You mentioned one
16 here. Are there others that you remember singing or hearing sung in church?
17 ER: Oh, yeah. "Nobody knows the trouble I've seen. Nobody knows but Jesus."
18 Babe, what are some of the spirituals that we sang in church?
19 AR: This is the hymnal that we used.
20 ER: I mean the spirituals, negro spirituals.
21 AR: Oh, the spirituals? You know, Oakwood is so sophisticated, until they didn't
22 bother too many spirituals. They, very sophisticated at that time, and they
23 were accused of, some of the younger people accused them of coming out as
24 white organization acting white.
25 DW: Who accused them of that?
26 AR: They would sing, "I got shoes. You got shoes. All a God's chillins got shoes.
27 When I get to heaven gonna put on my shoes."
28 ER: Oh yeah, I remember that.
29 DW: Yeah. I know that song.
30 AR: But, they didn't do a lot of spirituals.
31 DW: They did more, as you're saying, more white music.
32 AR: Yeah, and now, they have educated themselves, so they realize that—
33 ER: What's the name of some of these type of music that they sing now. You
34 know on Sabbath, when you have the praise choir, that called praise music.
35 To me, that's anything but praise.

1 AR: Actually, you hardly understand the words, because of the excitement.
2 DW: Today in the music.
3 AR: Yeah. When we have hymns, we sang these hymnals. Let's see, what did they
4 sing? September twentieth,
5 ER: Opening song.
6 AR: Praise Him Praise Him All Ye Little Children, God is Love. That was the
7 hymn of worship, but the praise song, they don't even name it in the program.
8 They'll flash it on the screen. In fact, last Sabbath the Aeolians sang, and I
9 was telling Margery if she'd come to church Sabbath, she wouldn't have had
10 to leave. She'd have enjoyed it, because she has come to Sabbath school and
11 church time she'll leave.
12 DW: Who is this now?
13 ER: One of our friends.
14 AR: A friend of mine.
15 ER: Because she couldn't stand the music. She's one of the upper types, and she
16 can't, she just can't digest the music, so she just goes home.
17 AR: She'll go to another church.
18 ER: Or to another church, yeah.
19 AR: They have several churches, and plenty of churches are like the old church
20 used to be.
21 ER: Now Oakwood used to be, what people couldn't understand, couldn't enjoy
22 the type of music that we are having now in our church they could come to
23 Oakwood, because Oakwood was known for its serenity of music, you see.
24 DW: You mentioned that worship music was sounding white. That when they
25 would come from Oakwood that they had just become white. Was this an
26 espousal of just white culture, or was there a shared theology that this is how
27 we should all, whether we're black or white, come before God?
28 AR: Well, actually, whites set up the university. The president was white. The
29 teachers were white. The students who came, were taught, and they developed
30 the culture. The church my daughter and husband and children attend to in
31 Dalton, Georgia, when they first went there, they were the only blacks
32 belonged to that church. They went to Dalton because they were sent to come.
33 The people in the community had been praying for a black doctor. They
34 didn't have a black doctor in Dalton, Georgia, and one of the doctors of the
35 church had a daughter at Loma Linda, and she told, "My daddy's coming to
36 town," He was a doctor too, "and he want to talk to you." He talked to him
37 about coming to Dalton. The only black doctor there. In fact, the churches
38 around there had saved money to give whatever doctor comes to build a
39 house. They didn't know it. And when they got ready and bought their first
40 house, they gave 'em this money.

1 They went to the Adventist church. They took a 17 month old baby with
2 them, and when he went to school, he was the only black child at school, not
3 only in his class, at the whole school, and when he finished twelfth grade at
4 Southern, you know, actually finished the eighth grade at Southern, other
5 blacks had joined. It was my prayer that he come to Oakwood to college, and
6 he did come for two years, but he went back to Southern. He likes Southern.
7 He liked a girl there. I was glad he got the Oakwood feel, because when he
8 got married, although he married a white girl, two of the black fellows here
9 that he met in college was in the wedding. So he did make some black
10 contact.

11 My son-in-law was the first elder there, and some of the congregation have
12 wanted a black preacher to be their pastor, so they hadn't gotten one as yet.
13 The one they have now is an evangelist, and he's very good. I enjoy him. So
14 with the black and white situation,

15 ER: I forgot about that. Our son-in-law Chuck, he's a doctor from a university in
16 California, Loma Linda, and right now, he is one of the local elders in the
17 church.

18 AR: When they don't have a pastor, he's an interim pastor.

19 ER: He's the preacher that preaches to the—it's all white—to the white
20 congregation. That's what I was trying to tell you, it's the environment in
21 which one lives and lives and grows. Now all of his children, they've never
22 been to a black church, you see, they've come up in the white church, you
23 see.

24 DW: So I'm wondering if the Adventist message at the time in the '30s and '40s
25 contribute at all to the similarity in the worship style between black and
26 white, or was it just ...

27 ER: It was the message.

28 DW: Or was it, there's the argument we could make about the message, or is it
29 prevailing white culture influencing black worship?

30 ER: I think it's the message more than anything else. To me it was the message.

31 AR: I think along with the message, it's the culture they were in. You don't get
32 cultures by what color you are, you get environment. That's how you get your
33 culture.

34 DW: That's the point you're making with family is they've been in this white
35 church, and this is their environment and their culture now.

36 AR: Mm-hmm (affirmative) and they have four children, my grandson and his
37 wife, and they go to same school, from elementary school of course, and they
38 are happy who they are.

39 ER: This is what I'm saying. It's environment and culture.

1 DW: I think it's both. I think it's both, and that's the thing that I want to be able to
2 nuance in my dissertation, how both are contributing factors to this. What is it
3 about the message then, that would unify or cause both black and white
4 worship to be similar and different from the other denominations during the
5 period?

6 ER: I think that the message that we have today is a message that brings people
7 together. With one blood he has created all nations of the world. It seems as if
8 Adventists are catching on to that now, you see. I can see that when we have
9 our committee meetings and things of that nature, blacks do not have to sit
10 back. Now they are an integral part, of all of these situations. We no longer
11 have all white administrations in high positions, we have blacks. We have
12 black union presidents. We had one black North American division president,
13 you see. In all high offices and everything else is come. Its the message that
14 has to do with it, as well as the culture. When you look at it from all these
15 standpoints of view.

16 DW: What about the message would make our worship back then calm as you
17 said? Is it the second coming, is it the sanctuary message, the Sabbath? What
18 about our message would contribute to this unique calmness or reverence?

19 ER: The thing that united us most—Go ahead Baby, you're fixing to say
20 something.

21 AR: What I was going to say about the message, the message is not only Sabbath,
22 and no pork, things like that. It's love of Jesus. And love, the type love that
23 Jesus talked about, like in first Corinthians, and Matthews five, the love in the
24 message is bringing people together. The love, because Christ say, you know
25 you're my disciples if you love one another. So we pray for that love, like I
26 was telling Sabbath school class, you pray for that love, cause you don't
27 automatically have it, but you have to pray for that first Corinthian love,
28 Matthews five love. You have to pray for it.

29 Bible says, you don't have 'cause you don't ask, and those who have tried to
30 get along without it, find they are failing, and they won't even be saved in the
31 Kingdom, care what color you are, if you don't love, and if you don't love the
32 white man because he did what he did for your fore parents, how you gonna
33 make it into the Kingdom? You're not gonna make it.

34 ER: That's the point.

35 AR: If he doesn't love you, he isn't gonna make it either. Love is the pivotal point.

36 ER: The basic criteria.

37 AR: So if we love them, then we don't have any problems loving people who's not
38 nice to us. Love your enemies. Bless those that curse you, good unto them
39 that hate you and persecute you, that you may be the children of your Father
40 which is in Heaven. Cause he sent his rain on the just and unjust. I think that's
41 the Adventist message. If we don't have that message, we're trying to get it, I
42 hope.

1 ER: This is why I think that the message—that is, it did it for me, you see. It is not
2 so much any culture or anything of that nature, it is the fact that Jesus says
3 that we should love our—

4 AR: Both of my grandparents were slaves, and they were children of slaves. Of
5 course, about slavery, they didn't talk about it that much, like I didn't talk
6 about segregation to my children. My daughter didn't know there was that
7 segregation until she went to Union College, because Oakwood didn't offer
8 psychology, and that's what she's interested in, clinical psychology, so she
9 had to go to Union for that. The other two graduated from Oakwood, and one
10 couldn't get nursing, she had to go to Loma Linda to get nursing.

11 I think it was a mistake that I sent her to Loma Linda so young, cause she
12 encountered the same thing, but they survived, graduated at 20 years old. She
13 psychology, she in nursing, and they went further with their education, of
14 course, but I just brought that in, but I didn't tell them about it, and I felt this
15 way, I didn't want to put any hatred in their hearts. What they don't know,
16 they don't have to respond to it, so they didn't know. They're living happily
17 now, without having that hatred in them, other than what they saw at these
18 Adventist universities.

19 ER: Basically, the message does that for you if you really believe it, and that is the
20 thing that has helped us in our relationship. I have no hard feeling toward
21 anybody of any race, because, with one blood, God has made all people of the
22 earth to dwell together. If you can look upon Jesus, and how he related to all
23 the other nations of the world, this is the pattern that he set for us, and this is
24 the thing that we follow in our thinking.

25 DW: I think that you've answered a lot of these questions. We just talked about so
26 much, and I appreciate your tolerating me pushing you on some questions
27 because I think that you—

28 ER: We appreciate it.

29 DW: You were able to go deeper for me. You know the thing that just to what you
30 were saying there, the thing that really has been growing for me, and a
31 blessing to me, you talked about the black experience, and as you said,
32 nobody knows the troubles. And then you talk about the love of Christ in
33 one's heart, and how deep this experience goes to one's entire being. I'm just
34 so, blessed, encouraged, but also challenged, because it doesn't seem that the
35 experience goes so deep among many whites. The depth of the experience and
36 the humility that's there is beautiful, and I wonder why. I wonder why there's
37 such a deep experience. Is it this long history of experience that has just been
38 carried down? Have whites just tended towards formality of religion?

39 ER: You can't get it through formality. You've got to have a deep, heart-felt
40 experience. That's the thing that motivates us, because we know that we've
41 got to see the Lord, and we can't see him with prejudice in our hearts, you
42 see.

1 DW: We talked a little bit about the spirituals, when you think of hymns that used
2 to be sung, either from the '41 hymnal that you got out or from *Christ in*
3 *Song*, are there, maybe not your personal favorites, but were there songs that
4 you remember singing a lot in church?

5 ER: Oh yeah.

6 DW: Are you able to list those?

7 ER: "There's Power, There is power, power, wonder working" ...

8 DW: "There's Power in the Blood"?

9 ER: That's, I was baptized when that song was sung, and I haven't forgotten it
10 since. That's my favorite song. Every time I sing that song, I think of when I
11 gave my heart to God and was baptized into this truth. Among all the other
12 songs that we sing, that is my favorite. It stands out most in my memory. And
13 in my experience. Babe, you have—

14 AR: Yeah, I have several. When I first came into the Adventist church and I
15 understood about Jesus coming again, I like that song. "Jesus Is Coming
16 Again."

17 DW: "Lift up the trumpet?"

18 AR: "Lift up the trumpet and loud let it ring." I like that song, and I like praising
19 the Lord too. "Praise Him, Praise Him, God is Love," because every day I
20 praise the Lord. The Lord has been extremely good to me, and I can't thank
21 him enough. I praise him all the time, and my prayer is, with all this goodness
22 he's been to me, I want to be good to somebody else. I like to share my
23 blessing and my goodness, and that's what I like.

24 And then we do our favorite Bible verses I like to give: "Oh that men would
25 praise the Lord for his goodness and for his wonderful works to the children
26 of men," and I praise him. I bless him, and I thank him for the parents he gave
27 me.

28 I thank him for my siblings and the Lord gave me two good husbands and so,
29 he's just been good to me.

30 ER: And he gave me two good wives.

31 AR: I thank him that I depend on him. I don't depend on man. I depend on the
32 Lord, cause man can't do a thing unless the Lord influence him, and let him
33 do it or whatever.

34 ER: A motivating drive, that's the black experience.

35 AR: I can remember when I was in college on a Sunday morning, somebody come
36 over the loudspeaker and they said a poem, and I never did forget the poem.
37 At the end of each stanza, and may I never live to see the things that others do
38 to me, because I really forget people what they do to me, and plenty of times
39 we'll have the tendency to do that. And I still like that. May I never live to see
40 the things that others do to me. No doing evil for evil.

1 ER: You say you had another question. You had two questions.

2 DW: My other question, and what you've just said is probably, would've been a
3 good answer, but I'll ask it this way. What you have shared with me today,
4 while it helps my research, because we're recording it to make the
5 transcription of this, this becomes a legacy to the church. I don't know if
6 you've been this descriptive about the way worship used to be, and so, you're
7 blessing future generations with your testimony. You both just gave these
8 beautiful testimonies. What would you say to the present and future
9 generations that we could learn the most from you, from this period we're
10 talking about? What could we learn about worship and music, if you could
11 say something to the current future generations about worship from your life
12 in the church and from back then. What would you say?

13 ER: Just accept the music as it comes to you, because it comes from the heart, I
14 believe, of each one that sings. Even though you might not like the tunes or
15 the rhythm of it, make sure that it expresses a true, deep love for our Lord and
16 Savior Jesus Christ. This is mine.

17 AR: Did you ask what would you say to the young people during now or the older
18 people who are listening to it? What was your question? I don't think I
19 understood your question.

20 DW: What would you say to the people living today and in the future, I mean you
21 have 96 years of experience in worship and music. What should we know
22 about worship and music that would help us worship better, from your
23 experience?

24 AR: Mm-hmm (affirmative) I told a friend this week, she mentioned she want
25 things like it used to be, and I told her things'll never be the way it used to be.
26 And what we do, we adjust, and if we have our connection with the Lord, it
27 won't be a hurting thing to adjust. Adjust. It isn't like it used to be.
28 Sometimes people think about what things used to cost, we'll never be that
29 cheap. You never made this much money before, so it's not going to be like it
30 used to be. Keep up with the old times, it's not gonna be old times, but learn
31 to adjust, and like my husband said, stay connected with the Lord. Some
32 people show it different from others. Some will pat the feet. When I used to
33 go to Sanctified church, I used to clap my hands, now at Oakwood, plenty of
34 songs I clap my feet. I clap my feet, so adjust if you can, and you can. Might
35 take some people longer.

36 DW: Hmm, beautiful. Well, you both have provided just a wealth of testimony.
37 What a blessing this is to me. I think you have really helped me understand
38 the way things were in my period. Each person I talk to has offered some
39 nuances of things that add more insight. This is why I talked to more than one
40 person.

41 ER: Oh yeah.

- 1 DW: I'm just deeply grateful for you both to take the time today, and talk to me.
2 I'm grateful too, because, while we continue to adjust, we have this beautiful
3 testimony to learn from, and there's some values for worship and music that
4 you've shared that I hope that as I teach our pastors at the Seminary about
5 these issues, that I think that these things you've shared with me, I want to
6 incorporate into my lessons.
- 7 ER: Yes. It's been an enlightening and a very present experience for me, just to
8 listen to you, and the questions that you ask, and the re-adjustment in my
9 thinking.
- 10 DW: All right. Well, thank you.

Oral History
June and Julie Simmons
Battle Creek Tabernacle
Seventh-day Adventist Church
Battle Creek, Michigan
March 25, 2017

- 1 June Simmons: My name is June Simmons. Shasky is my maiden name. I was
2 born here in Battle Creek at Nichols Hospital.
- 3 David Williams: You grew up in the Tabernacle Church then?
- 4 June: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
- 5 Julie Simmons: Her father and mother met because her mother was Dr. Kellogg's
6 [1852–1943] nurse, and her father was a nurse too at the Sanitarium. When
7 Dr. Kellogg used to ride on a bicycle by her house, she would put a purse
8 on a string out in the dirt road. Then, when he stopped to pick it up, she
9 pulled it.
- 10 June: Well, I was a dear girl.
- 11 Julie: Yeah. She was funny.
- 12 David: You told me a couple weeks ago, the first time you played for worship
13 upstairs you were five years old.
- 14 June: I accompanied my brother, he played his trumpet and I played piano.
- 15 David: Do you remember what you played?
- 16 June: No. It was probably a simple hymn.
- 17 Julie: Tressa Graichen, was a musician here. She took my mother, June, and her
18 mother, Helen Shasky, to Detroit to get my mother a Knabe grand piano,
19 because she has perfect pitch. So, Tressa picked out the best one for my
20 mother. Then Tressa also got a baby grand at that time. My mother started
21 playing at a very early age. Then accompanied everyone starting at age 5.
- 22 June: That was also my job. My paying job at Andrews.
- 23 Julie: She accompanied the pastors, attending Emmanuel Missionary College in
24 the pastors class. They were training people to become pastors. Part of their
25 training was music class. She would accompany, no matter what it was, for
26 everything at EMC also.
- 27 June: It was my paying job, little thing.
- 28 Julie: Because she had perfect pitch and she was in the choir, she sang in the
29 choir, the director would have her stand by him and then she would give
30 him the note to start instead of using the piano.
- 31 June: When we went to travel.
- 32 David: That's really great when you're singing an acapella piece.

1 Julie: Huge choir. I mean, biggest in the county.

2 David: I can imagine then, June humming a note the audience can't hear and then
3 the choir comes in perfectly in tune.

4 Julie: Right.

5 June: Fun.

6 Julie: Here, she was also in a trio called the Sweethearts of Battle Creek, because
7 the school burned down when she was in the eighth grade. So, they raised
8 money by singing to build the new school. Then she was in the first class to
9 graduate from the new school here at Battle Creek Academy. As far as at
10 church, tell him about Elder [Taylor] Bunch.

11 June: His picture is upstairs. Very formal and always dressed formally. In other
12 words, nothing out of place.

13 David: Did he wear a tuxedo?

14 Julie: No. Elder Mills wore tails and Elder Moon wore a tuxedo.

15 Julie: What else about the church service that when Elder Bunch was the pastor
16 and you were little, when you were born.

17 June: Well, he was very formal. I thought. Everything was not out of place in any
18 way. He was so intelligent and did not put on airs.

19 Julie: Was the room quiet? Or respectful?

20 June: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

21 Julie: Nobody was whispering and talking, were they? What was the music like?
22 Did they have organ?

23 June: Maybe not at first. They sang, "Praise God, From Whom all Blessings
24 Flow," every week.

25 David: It sounds like the worship service was very formal?

26 June: Yes. Didn't bother me a bit.

27 David: How was it in terms of feeling like you could engage with it as a young
28 person?

29 June: I always had high respect for him and his family. That's just the way I was
30 taught. Everyone seemed to be that way.

31 Julie: During that time with Elder Pingenot there you played the piano and there
32 were the strings. Didn't they have the strings?

33 June: Yes. They always had the strings.

34 Julie: For church and for vespers?

35 June: And Elder Pingenot was one of the strings.

36 June: When we had vespers, they would usually play for vespers. At least one
37 number.

1 David: Like, a special music.
2 June: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
3 Julie: You also had prayer meeting on Wednesday night. You'd go to that.
4 June: Yeah.
5 David: Would the strings play during the congregational singing?
6 June: No.
7 David: Just doing special music.
8 June: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
9 David: Same in the divine service?
10 June: If they were able to.
11 Julie: They played at her wedding too.
12 David: How did the formality of worship back then compare to worship today?
13 June: The pastors today are so much different than they were then. The Ministers
14 back then were kind and everything. But they were very much more formal
15 than now. They always came and visited the families. Not just because they
16 were sick or something, they would all come and visit at different times,
17 visit the family. Which was nice.
18 David: Today, I hear a lot about how pastors don't visit very much.
19 June: They all seem to like to visit our house because we like them and they knew
20 it. They would bring their families, we would go and visit them too.
21 Julie: My grandma would donate suits and shoes or anything they needed, too, to
22 different ones. Any pastor. They were a very giving family and tried to help
23 them, the pastors, their families.
24 David: Now what about Cyrus Simmons? What was his relation to you?
25 June: My husband.
26 Julie: and my father.
27 David: Okay. He was involved with music too?
28 Julie: My great [grandfather], Judge Cyrus Simmons, first wrote an album of
29 songs and things. He is the one that started religious liberty for our church
30 in Knoxville, Tennessee. My grandmother, that married Cyrus Simmons II,
31 which my father was Cyrus Simmons III, attended church here when Ellen
32 White was here. She was young and she saw Ellen White. She would come
33 here to see her every week.
34 They had a Sellers pony farm and they donated the land here for the water
35 wells for Battle Creek. That's how we have water here now. There's a rich
36 history.

1 She worked at The Review and Harold across the street and saw Ellen
2 White. I thought that was pretty neat.

3 David: Yeah. This is your grandmother-

4 Julie: On the Simmons side. My father, Cyrus Simmons III, his mother, Lulu.

5 June: My husband and his brother were identical twins. Exactly the same.

6 Julie: He was in administration at the Sanitarium, both of them, but not at the
7 same time. When it was the Fieldstone building and when President
8 Johnson was here, he was there. Yeah, we've been here for a lot of history.

9 Her mother was friends with J. C. Penney. And he taught her that when
10 you're eating, if someone salts their food—he always took his employees
11 out to eat and if they salted their food before they tasted it he would not hire
12 them because that means they jump to conclusions. I've been taught that my
13 entire life. I know, you don't want to salt your food, until you taste it.

14 Helen Shasky, my mother's mother, of course, gave bible studies to Will
15 Keith Kellogg, the brother of John Harvey Kellogg [W. K. Kellogg was the
16 founder of the Kellogg cereal company]. She gave W. K. bible studies at
17 Gull Lake, because we lived out there. Her mother also wrote songs. That's
18 why H. M. S. Richard wanted her songs at camp meeting here in Michigan
19 whenever we had it. She raised my mother and her brother, musically. He
20 played the trumpet, she played the piano but also my mother was in Trios
21 and they performed and my grandmother would write the songs.

22 Then when, because my grandmother was Doctor Kellogg's nurse, she was
23 taught how to have a boy child or a girl child. So, she told my mom and her
24 brother how to have girls. She wanted to have a trio. We were born
25 purposefully to sing, to have a trio. My mothers name is June. Then there
26 was Jill, Joy and Julie accompanied by June.

27 Then we would sing the songs my grandmother wrote for H. M. S. Richards
28 and for all these things. But back when my mother's trio was on television,
29 it started back then too because they were friends with everyone out there in
30 California and they started here first.

31 June: The first ones. Yeah, on TV.

32 Julie: Right. Who was the pastor then? Who was the one that spoke on there?

33 June: Elder A. H. Johns and Choir Director Mr. Van Horn. Also, Elder Johns
34 always had a 4 o'clock Sabbath meeting where he would answer questions.
35 Everybody went and wanted to go because it was so interesting to hear the
36 answers.

37 Julie: Everything that was pretty much started around anywhere in our church was
38 done here or with them or the family as far as the music.

39 David: Very influential.

1 Julie: Yeah. It was. We were very fortunate to be raised the way we were and who
2 we were around.

3 David: Did the family have influence in the music in worship here?

4 Julie: Yes. It was very respectful and, again, when Erma Jane Cook was in charge
5 forever, until she left, there was never allowed anything like they do now.
6 As far as a more modern music. We'd never allowed that and if anyone
7 played the piano that way or anything, they were not allowed to even do it.
8 Then when she died or left town, before that, then after that all that crept in.

9 David: What has that done to the church then?

10 Julie: It made it less ... people didn't want to be there. It made the attendance go
11 down.

12 June: Erma Jane was very, very strong in that.

13 Julie: Right. She reflected all these other pastors and people that were that way.
14 We had very Godly people, that's what you mean.

15 June: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

16 Julie: They were close to God and led that way. Anyway, we were very fortunate.

17 David: Sounds like the Tabernacle church has resisted a lot of the contemporary
18 thrust for a long time.

19 Julie: Right.

20 David: But what I'm hearing from a lot of people that it started to come into the
21 worship here.

22 Julie: Some. Now, it's better.

23 David: It used to have more in recent years than lately.

24 Julie: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

25 David: What does that way of worship say about how we should approach God or
26 who he is?

27 Julie: We need to show him honor. The style ... Like, if we sing a hymn it stays in
28 our mind all week and it helps lift us up. It's mentally better for us-

29 June: True.

30 Julie: ... then just repeating a word over and over which doesn't mean anything. A
31 few years ago a pastor would try to go along with the crowd and bring more
32 people in, he thought. But, it didn't. It just made them go away. Trying to
33 be like the world doesn't make you better.

34 David: Do either of you recall in your experience and maybe it's too often but I like
35 what you said about the music is to help you in the week. Have you ever
36 had an experience where we sang a hymn at church and now you're singing
37 that later?

1 Julie: Yeah. We do that every week, we remember it. Always.

2 David: Are there hymns that maybe stand out in your mind that we sing a lot back
3 then?

4 Julie: When Les Isles would lead, it was very special. We sang a lot of good
5 hymns. To me it's important that what we do isn't something that isn't
6 right. Our church needs to be doing what's right. It influences others. They
7 think it's okay if we do it. And it's not.

8 David: This church is very influential.

9 June: Right.

10 Julie: Right. We represent the beginning and what it's supposed to be. If they see
11 us doing something that isn't the way it was, they think it's okay and it
12 isn't. Now things are getting better.

13 Today I thought the music was good with the girls upfront singing hymns. I
14 told them that as worship leaders that's what we should be doing. The other
15 ones are afraid if they don't do the other things that the young people won't
16 want to come but they do. They need to learn what's right, I think. Not what
17 they want versus what the hymnal has in it is good. It drives you to God.

18 David: Let me just ask some questions about your piano and music making if I
19 could.

20 June: Okay.

21 David: You play by ear it sounds like?

22 Julie: She can read music.

23 June: I read music.

24 David: But you read music too, you do both.

25 Julie: Of course.

26 June: Oh, yeah. I always have.

27 David: Who led the congregation in singing?

28 June: We always had a choir leader, a director, Van Horn and then Foote.

29 David: Which instrument accompanied the congregational singing? The piano or
30 organ?

31 Julie: The organ. Or both. They usually did both. Didn't they?

32 June: First it was the piano. Then when they got the organ, I'm just trying to think
33 how long ago that was. Forever.

34 David: It used to be the piano.

35 June: Then they changed the organ until we got a better one.

36 David: Would you play the piano for the congregations singing?

1 June: Yeah, when we had Friday night meetings. We used the piano.
2 Julie: The pictures I have are of you playing the piano and someone else playing
3 the organ and these big choirs.
4 June: That's what they have. Always had Frank [Foote].
5 Julie: That's what they always had was a choir until just recently because the
6 choir didn't like sitting up there and wanted to be with their families. Now
7 we just do special musics instead. But we always had these huge choirs and
8 the piano and the organ would play at the same time.
9 June: Yeah. And the choir loft was full.
10 Julie: Right.
11 David: Oh, okay.
12 Julie: Huge.
13 David: With the anthems that the choir would sing.
14 Julie: Back when you're talking about, we had the San and the school, so we had
15 a lot of people here because of the hospital.
16 June: Yeah. But before that was the big—
17 Julie: Fieldstone Center. Oh, the big federal center.
18 June: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
19 Julie: Yeah. She used to run around in there too. Right?
20 June: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
21 Julie: When you weren't supposed to, during church. During church, she went
22 down in the tunnel. There's a tunnel between the San and the federal center.
23 David: Playing hooky.
24 June: Whatever.
25 Julie: Then go up on the roof where they used to exercise and watch them do that.
26 David: That's great. I was asking about the hymn playing, you would accompany
27 the hymns for the congregation.
28 June: Oh, yeah.
29 David: How would you do it? What's written there in your hymnal?
30 Julie: Yeah.
31 June: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
32 David: Or would you play around it?
33 Julie: No.
34 June: We always had our hymn books.

1 Julie: They played exactly what was written.

2 David: Do also do what's just written, I know there's other ways because I'm a
3 pianist too. Would you do the bass in octaves?

4 June: Just what was written.

5 David: Or just the four-part harmony that's written?

6 June: No, we would always use the accompaniment for everything.

7 Julie: Everything was followed by the way it was written. They did what was
8 right.

9 David: What would the perception be of the musicians if someone were to just
10 improvise?

11 Julie: No one did.

12 David: Or add things.

13 Julie: No one did.

14 June: If there were anything improvised, they were not thought of as being part of
15 the church, in a way.

16 David: Because there's an understanding that music should follow what was
17 written there?

18 Julie: It did.

19 David: Okay. It sounds like it gave respect to the composer and the expertise that
20 was put into that composition.

21 Julie: Right.

22 June: Did you see the way his mouth turns up when he says these things?

23 Julie: Yes.

24 June: It's nice.

25 David: When you accompanied your brother, you said with the trumpet, would this
26 have been printed in the bulletin? I'm wondering if I could go and look.
27 Maybe I could find your name. I have bulletins from '31 from the
28 Tabernacle. I have a few from the Dime Tabernacle that have been given to
29 the Center for Adventist Research. I think they used to be here at the vault
30 and then were given over. Some are missing. But, I have hundreds.

31 See this is so valuable for you to describe, that you followed the music in
32 the hymnal. It tells me the manner in which the music was done.

33 June: The only choir leaders that we had, were certain ones. Some were never
34 chosen because they were swingy.

35 Julie: What I remember is we always prayed the Lord's prayer, always. Every
36 week. To me, as I was very little—I mean we're talking born—it meant
37 everything to me to have her mother and father and my cousins and my

1 mom and my dad and everybody around me. All in that same row, saying
2 that together. That meant everything to me.

3 David: Was that at that main prayer, maybe to conclude the prayer.

4 Julie: Every time, every week. Until just recently.

5 David: What about for you? When you were young, did you do that?

6 June: Yeah. I was young at that. And we sang, “Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God
7 Almighty.”

8 Julie: It’s been that way. I think that’s what I’m trying to say. Is that the things
9 that we did until—I don’t want to say who, but let’s just say in the last—I
10 don’t know, 20 years maybe. Before that, every single thing we did and the
11 order that we did it in was exactly the same as it was from day one here.
12 From Ellen White. Everything was always done the way it was supposed to
13 until about the last 10, 20 years. I don’t know what it was. Then all of the
14 sudden they tried to change everything to be like everybody else and it
15 didn’t work. So, now they’re trying to go back to it. I didn’t like that. Of
16 course.

17 June: Well, you understand.

18 Julie: When you’re brought up a certain way and you’re taught what’s right, you
19 don’t want to stray from that. Then other people come in and they’re not
20 from here and they think you should do this other and it doesn’t work, then
21 you just want them to leave and put it back the way it was.

22 When Bruce Moore was our pastor, he tried to do that. To put everything
23 back to the way it was supposed to be. He’s the one that you should really
24 talk to. Harold Moore and his mother Virginia Moore were in the choir,
25 they would know. He was our pastor, he was born here and came back and
26 became a pastor here for a long time and he just retired. His wife just died
27 too. You could ask, if you could talk to him, if someone can give you his
28 phone number. He would be an excellent interview. He actually keeps
29 everything. So, like you, he would have everything from—he knows more
30 about anything than anybody else. Bruce Moore.

31 David: Well, that’s something. He grew up here and then became pastor. So, he
32 really has a vested interest in the church

33 David: What about when you were a little girl, what did the congregation sing out
34 of? *Christ in Song*?

35 June: At first, we did. That’s all we had. Then came our big hymnal.

36 David: *The Church Hymnal*.

37 June: The hymnal was a little smaller, but we had *Christ in Song*.

38 Julie: We have all those.

39 June: Then *Junior Song Book*. That was for the kids.

1 David: How did you respond, and how did the church respond to getting the new
2 hymnal? The '41 hymnal, after *Christ in Song*, how did that transition go?

3 June: I think it was probably a big change, you know, to most people, but it was
4 good.

5 Julie: They preferred the *Christ in Song*.

6 June: I would think, back then, they did.

7 David: What was different or special about *Christ in Song*?

8 Julie: That it was familiar, the songs.

9 June: Well, they liked it because it was part of their upbringing. Because there
10 wasn't anything trite about it.

11 Julie: Right. That's the word. Music should not be trite. It should be right. Our
12 songs in the hymnal mean more. They have a message.

13 David: I think you're talking about triteness in relation to new music today. What
14 would you say to the church today about worship and music that we can
15 learn from the way it was?

16 Julie: Be reverent.

17 June: That's true. Use words and music that reach the heart from our hymnal.

18 Julie: In my impression, the people that wrote the songs were inspired by God and
19 we should respect that.

20 June: True.

21 Julie: And not try and do it ourselves and be not led that way. You know what I
22 mean? There's nothing wrong with what we have.

23 June: No. What have you learned in this—

24 Julie: Process.

25 June: —And since you've been asking or writing, what do you think of what we
26 think?

27 David: The church is always changing. Every decade actually has change and it's
28 challenging. What is profound to me, as a musician and I really like what
29 you said earlier about singing the songs after church in the week.

30 Julie: Oh yeah, we do that every day. We hear them in our heads.

31 David: This just continues-

32 Julie: That's the holy spirit.

33 David: ... mm-hmm (affirmative). My research has just shown that, over and over.

34 June: Really.

35 David: That the divine service hymns would go home with us and they are songs
36 that people can sing. They bring cheer and comfort with all of life's

1 challenges. The keynote of it, if you will, that I've found is that we
2 experience a relationship with Jesus through song. It's shown in the hymns
3 and in the shared experiences that Jesus is coming soon.

4 As we sing, we are anticipating that day and joining the host of heaven that
5 are singing now but in anticipation of being with them. This has continued.

6 June: He's putting it right.

7 Julie: Boy, I hope you write that down. What you just said. That's exactly right.
8 That's correct. Now I feel good.

9 David: This identity of second coming and love of Jesus, is ubiquitous, across
10 everyone I talk to and in all the data I find. That's really at the heart of
11 Seventh-day Adventism, its spirituality, and it's fostered in music.

12 Julie: The Holy Spirit works through those songs and that's why they are brought
13 to our minds during the time it encourages us, it gives us hope, through the
14 whole week. That's what the service should be, is something that helps us to
15 get through to the next one.

16 That's how he works through us. If it's not a song that was sent by the Holy
17 Spirit to someone, then those songs don't do that. They aren't bringing
18 glory to God. They're just trite. They're just being like a word over and
19 over and over and it doesn't mean anything. For some reason, the hymns,
20 they just stay within us. Then we are able to be in a different level.

21 David: Beautiful. Thank you for sharing with me.

Oral History
Subject ID: TP8714
In their home, Silver Spring, Maryland
August 7, 2014

1 David Williams (DW): It sounds like you two have a lot of memories even at the
2 Takoma Park Church, but even at your own church, that's valuable for me.

3 Subject 1 (S1): Anything you want to ask us, go right ahead. If we can help you. I
4 have some things for you. Of course, this was war time. We saw the soldiers
5 coming in. Every week, somebody would take them all home.

6 DW: Take them all home for Sabbath lunch?

7 S1: Always. It made for an interesting group, because they were from all over
8 the country. This was what war time looked like.

9 DW: And Subject 2, you were in the service? Which branch?

10 Subject 2 (S2): Army, medical corps.

11 DW: And you're a doctor?

12 S1: No, he's a railroad engineer.

13 S2: Railroad locomotive engineer.

14 S1: Southern Railway.

15 S2: We ran freight trains out of Washington down to a little place in Virginia
16 called Lynchberg.

17 S1: [Hands me a photo] That was the organ in the Takoma Park Church. That
18 was taken in 1946. That's Dale Cornor. He's now deceased. Later on, he was
19 an organ builder.

20 DW: What type of music would he play?

21 S1: Only hymns, and—

22 DW: So I can take this?

23 S1: Yes. He played our organ a lot. We have another organ now.

24 S2: That was my understanding. De Araujo would be able to tell that.

25 S1: That was all during the 40s. As long as I could remember, that was the
26 organ.

27 DW: Was that the only instrument that accompanied the singing?

28 S1: No, we had, I believe, a Steinway, a grand piano. You could ask [Francisco]
29 de Araujo, but that was a Steinway.

30 S2: In the 40s, and we were married in 1946. In the 40s, early 40s, George
31 Semlar Rapp was the pastor. He membered us. And he wore a tux with tails
32 on Sabbath. When he would sit, take his fingers and flip the tails up off the
33 seat.

1 S1: He conducted the service all with his finger. There was a telephone beside
2 him. The worship was quiet, and so he didn't say, will the deacons do so and
3 so. He would either telephone them or gave them a hand signal.

4 S2: It was almost as if he had a word language between him and the head elder.
5 He would just sit up there and put up two fingers or whatever, and the head
6 elder knew what he was talking about. They had a sort of a finger code
7 between them. So he could sit on the platform and run that whole service.

8 S1: When the people came on the platform, it was usually quite a parade, 4 or 5
9 people. I don't know why they had so many. But that was it. There was a
10 hush that fell over the church. Everybody kept quiet. I don't recall any
11 children going up and down the aisle, like they do now.

12 DW: You mentioned that when they came onto the platform, this hush.

13 S1: And they all knelt.

14 DW: Who, just the elders?

15 S1: All of them.

16 DW: All the congregation?

17 S1: No. The people on the platform. Everybody else bowed their head. I mean, it
18 was a hush. I don't recall a woman ever being on the platform, it was all
19 men.

20 DW: Was there music playing during that time?

21 S2: I don't remember that.

22 S1: Later on, they would sing a hymn like, "Into My Heart." But not at that time.
23 I don't recall. The organ played.

24 DW: Played softly. Not a congregational song.

25 S2: The point we were making is that Elder Rapp was in control of everything
26 that went on. Complete control.

27 DW: I saw a form of a bulletin. I've looked at all the bulletins from this time that
28 we have from this time. We have hundreds of them. But in 1926, there was a
29 run-sheet, like a schedule for Sabbath School. It even showed how long each
30 segment of Sabbath School was to run.

31 S1: Isn't that interesting. Sandusky[?] may have done that.

32 DW: Do you know if they were mindful about those things at that time? About
33 even in the service?

34 S1: Oh yes. I don't recall somebody hot-dogging the sermon and going way
35 over. Do you?

36 S2: No.

37 S1: I mean, they sat down at the proper time.

1 DW: What was the proper time?

2 S1: I would say a little after 12:00, wouldn't you?

3 S2: Yes.

4 S1: I mean, it was unheard of to go to a quarter of 1:00 or something like that. It
5 was very nice—you know, our generation. You oughta read the book on the
6 generations. I have one here. We were the oldest generation. But that
7 generation was used to order, because a lot of people had been in the army.
8 But it was order. And now the Millennials. The church is really going to
9 change now. The generation after ours, they have a sense of entitlement you
10 wouldn't believe, the boomers. The Millennials, they are so smart and so
11 computer savvy.

12 DW: You were making the point about order with Pastor Rapp.

13 S1: All of them had that. C.S. Longacre. I remember him. They all had that order
14 and they all had that measured step when they came on the platform. There
15 was never any talking between the pastors who were sitting up there. They
16 just didn't do it. I think that infused the sense of reverence throughout the
17 congregation. With all this hubbabaloo that we have now, I think that's why
18 the congregation gets so...

19 S2: My thought on that is, if you see the two pastors, the senior pastor, the one
20 who is going to do the sermon that sabbath, if he is talking to the man on this
21 side, and he's talking to the man on this side... If they can talk, everybody
22 else can talk. That's my thought on it. They should not. One of the pastor's
23 that we had a few years ago at Takoma, was constantly talking. You would
24 see him laugh. He would turn over and talk to one on this side. Should not
25 be.

26 DW: That reverence. Was there an understanding of the people of what that
27 meant?

28 S1: What would they always say? "The Lord is in His holy temple." Yes, yes.
29 I've seen Frank de Araujo stop a concert because somebody was talking.
30 And that's right. When a choir is an integral part of the service, it's as
31 important as the sermon. I mean, a choir is important. There shouldn't be all
32 this restlessness.

33 DW: Because of God's presence there? The Lord is in His holy temple?

34 S1: Well, the Word says to sing unto the Lord. It's a form of worship. I think that
35 a church doesn't have music, is... I'm amazed at some of these smaller
36 churches that have good music.

37 S2: If we really express ourselves, you would think we were very conservative.
38 But S1 and I have always felt that if you were in the White House, you
39 would not talk. You would be on your best behavior. But yet, when we get in
40 church. When I was a kid growing up, my mother used to clean the
41 Alexandria church. And my sister and I would go and help. We would do the

1 dusting and so forth. My mother would not let my sister and I up on the
2 platform.

3 S1: It was sacred.

4 S2: We never went up on the platform. She did because somebody had to. She
5 did the work up there. But that was like a most holy place.

6 S1: Today kids run across the platform.

7 S2: Today it has changed so much, that you see running and so forth. In Park
8 church, kids running. I have actually reached out and caught one by the hood
9 of a jacket, saying, "Hey, look, slow down. This is God's house." You know,
10 real soft. No rough stuff. Just soft.

11 S1: The pastor and the choir director control what goes on in that church. I think.

12 S2: And that's one of the reasons why S1 and I and the members always enjoyed
13 George Rapp. And there were a lot of pastors, too. Fenton Froom was like
14 that.

15 S1: He had a beautiful tenor voice. And he was there during the 40s, right? He
16 was a young man. He sang for MV meetings. Missionary Volunteer. There
17 was a lot of talent. But there's enormous talent in the Seventh-day Adventist
18 Church now, musically. Very, a lot of beautifully trained people. Really.

19 This is true. One of the chaplains said during the War, give me the list of people
20 coming in who are Adventist. How many Adventists do you have? Because
21 he said, they can either blow something, or play something or sing
22 something. Dale Cornor went all over Europe with the army division,
23 playing the organ for Sunday services. Adventists were known back then as
24 good musicians. But they're nothing now compared with how they are now.
25 I am amazed with what I'm seeing and how well trained they are.

26 DW: Could you throw a percentage of the number of people in the congregation
27 who could read music back then? Did most have a sense of what was
28 happening in the hymnal?

29 S1: Oh yes. Oh yes. We had special music. It was a choir or a soloist. Sometimes
30 a violinist. I don't recall too much brass as soloist. But it was always
31 talented. I don't ever remember somebody starting off key. Or, I call it "hot-
32 dogging it," when they add extra notes and hold something real long, and
33 you think...

34 S2: In [19]43 and '44 S1 was in nurses training at the Washington Adventist
35 Hospital.

36 S1: And it was training back then. It wasn't education.

37 DW: When you were there at the Hospital getting your training, you would come
38 down to Takoma Park, not the Sligo church?

39 S1: No. Sligo wasn't finished until 1945. We were the first class that graduated.
40 You know, they were strict back then. We either had to go to the San[itarium]

1 church]. If we had permission, we went up to Takoma. But we went to the
2 San church. It was the same there. It was very—We met in the gym, because
3 they later built a church. It was quiet. I mean good music. The music was
4 always good. If a soloist sang, they might sing “Open the Gates of the
5 Temple” or they might sing a hymn. It was never—its different now.

6 DW: You mean it was good in the quality, the artistry?

7 S1: Yes, the artistry was good.

8 DW: But are you also meaning the style of music was in good taste?

9 S1: Yes, it was more conservative. Frank de Araujo, well Frank was later, but
10 boy he did some very difficult stuff. I mean, they would do the Messiah, or
11 the sopranos soloist would sing I Know My Redeemer Liveth. Now when
12 one of the performers perform, they will say a phrase ten different times. It
13 goes on and on and on. And then everybody shouts Amen and Hallelujah
14 afterwards. It doesn’t mean it was less. It appeals to this generation. And we
15 have got to appeal to this generation or we are going to lose everyone.

16 DW: You mention that some songs today are repetitive. But the others were trying
17 to say something?

18 S1: Oh yeah. You know a lot of the hymns. We have to remember that during
19 sad times that my mother and father died, hymns were very comforting. I
20 don’t see much of this music today that would...and the young people don’t
21 these hymns. They don’t know them at all. So there’s an element of... [the
22 new music] appeals to them.

23 DW: What do you mean that the hymns were comforting?

24 S1: “Abide with Me.”

25 DW: Are you addressing the context of war?

26 S1: Yes. I was doing a rotation at Children’s Hospital in DC on June 6, 1944.
27 That’s when we invaded Normandy. It was the first day we went. There were
28 about 15 different nurses programs from all around there. We met in a big
29 hall, and we stood in a circle. And they announced the war, “The War has
30 started.” General Eisenhower came on. And almost everybody burst into
31 tears, because they either had a father, a brother, an uncle, or a boyfriend. I
32 mean, everybody was affected. And all day long, they played hymns on the
33 radio. “O God Our Help in Ages Past.”

34 DW: Did they usually play hymns on the radio?

35 S1: Oh no! and some people, after a little while said, “This is so somber!” But it
36 was a very somber time. We lost a lot of lives that day.

37 S2: Your study is going up to 1944. Those war years really started about ‘38 or
38 ‘39. So there’s about 5 years that’s going to be war years. And I think that
39 did affect the music of the church.

40 S1: Oh yeah. Oh yeah.

1 DW: Can you expand on that more? How you saw the war affect worship? In
2 church, were they selecting music to address this issue?

3 S1: No. But we sang hymns, but the prayers were always for the war effort.
4 “Bless our men in the service.” “Bless the President.”

5 S2: In their prayers, they would pray for food stamps.

6 S1: One man prayed for gas because we were going on an outreach. Give us
7 stamps. Give us gas. [laughter]

8 S2: You had to have stamps for everything. Stamps for flour. Stamps for shoes.
9 You couldn’t buy a pair of shoes if you didn’t have a stamp.

10 S1: It was just different than today.

11 S2: Those years—

12 S1: were hard!

13 S2: —overshadowed everything. Not only church worship. It overshadowed
14 everything, your whole life. The streets were darkened. Lights were not on.

15 DW: Did that give you a different purpose to go to worship?

16 S1: I would think so.

17 S2: Either you had a brother, or an uncle, or somebody that was overseas.

18 S1: And the servicemen in the audience reminded you. They were all in uniform.
19 They would pray for them. I don’t mean that everything was grimm, but
20 there was no candy.

21 At the San[itarium] my first year we only had 3 days off. On Sabbath, you either
22 worked 7-1, 1-6, or 6-11. No body complained because they said there was a
23 war on.

24 S2: During those years, after I was discharged out of the army, they gave us a pin
25 to wear to show you were a veteran. If you didn’t have some type of pin on,
26 people see you on a bus, they would say, “You look healthy, why aren’t you
27 in the army.” The pin kinda said that you were a veteran and that you had
28 been in the service. You looked at a young man, “What’s the matter with
29 you? Why aren’t you in uniform?”

30 S1: Everything changed in the ‘60s. When Barbara was in Penn State. We visited
31 a church. There were students there from the universities. A lot of young
32 people. When they walked in the door, the pastor gave them something to
33 do. When they had the service, they sang contemporary music. Then, all of a
34 sudden, at 11:00 o’clock, that organ boomed and the service completely
35 changed. So there was something for everybody. I noticed that Andrews
36 University does that. They have contemporary and they have the other. I
37 believe in having something for everybody.

38 Another thing about Takoma. On 13th Sabbath, it was a big deal. The kids
39 all came up in the Sabbath School. The mission story was a big deal. I wish

1 they would get back to this. You would know what the project was for the
2 13th Sabbath. It was double dollar day. It was a concrete project. That was
3 how you raise money.

4 DW: What was the effect of having the General Conference leaders there?

5 S1: Respect.

6 S2: We emphasize that we were the headquarters church. People would come to
7 Washington, DC, to sight-see and so forth, from all over the country. They
8 wanted to come to the headquarters church. It hurt when the General
9 Conference moved to [US] 29. And we lost the Review because we lost a lot
10 of our members. That was the start of it. We started, maybe 1100-1200.
11 Down to lower than a membership of probably 250. Something like that.
12 Attendance probably lower than that.

13 S1: Excuse me honey, do you remember when some of the ministers were here,
14 there were chairs in the aisle. That was long after the General Conference
15 moved.

16 S2: We had several pastors that really filled the church [before].

17 S1: Halvorsen.

18 S2: We were broadcasting at that time. Every other Sabbath we were on the air,
19 broadcasting over WGTS right from the Park church. Up on the rostrum, on
20 the pulpit, it said, "On air." When that light came on, you knew you were
21 going out over the airwaves. Somehow or another, we lost that. Now the
22 Sligo church broadcast their sermon every Sabbath. We alternated with
23 them. We one week, Sligo the next.

24 S1: I don't remember during the war years. The church was poor though. I mean
25 the people didn't have...the people dressed kind of plainly. You couldn't get
26 shoes. But the church offerings. We didn't have any big problems, did we?

27 S2: You know, back when you said that the General Conference was there, right
28 across the street, there were times when you would have fifteen to twenty
29 ordained pastors from the GC, that if you had one man become sick and
30 couldn't preach that Sabbath, you had a sea of men that could step up on the
31 platform and give the 11 o'clock service right at the snap of your fingers. It
32 was different.

33 S1: I thought there was some elite-ism among the brethren. If you worked for the
34 Review, you were a worker. If you worked for the General Conference, you
35 were a "brethren." That's how some of the people who worked for the
36 Review felt.

37 DW: Did that come out in worship and their presentation up front?

38 S1: Did you ever see a worker give a prayer?

39 S2: That was a feeling, maybe.

40 DW: So the GC's leadership had quite a bit of control over the worship?

1 S1: They were the hierarchy. Sure. I don't know if you dare say that.

2 DW: Was there was a sense that the Takoma Park church was maybe the model
3 for the rest of the denomination to follow?

4 S1: Yeah, would you say so? People thought it was special. Let's say it that way.
5 I don't know about "model." It wouldn't have been in the Midwest. It
6 wouldn't have had the organ maybe. Maybe had a pump organ. There was
7 more money in the Takoma Park Church.

8 S2: You and I are not talking about the organ before '44. We are talking about
9 later on.

10 S1: Well, S2, I remember from '41 to '44.

11 DW: Well now, before then, in '41 came the *Church Hymnal*. Before then,
12 officially the hymnal was *Hymns and Tunes* [1886]. Did you sing out of that
13 or did you sing out of *Christ in Song*.

14 S1: *Christ in Song*. Is that *Christ in Song* [being shown the hymnal]?

15 DW: Yeah, the little narrow one.

16 S1: Yeah.

17 S2: Yeah.

18 S1: That had a lot of hymns in it. Some people felt badly that their hymns did not
19 make it into the new one. But you know.

20 DW: But in the divine service, I think in Takoma, it was *Hymns and Tunes*.

21 S1: Yes, *Hymns and Tunes*. No, that's not right. It was *Christ in Song*.

22 DW: Like your church in Alexandria, it was probably *Christ in Song*?

23 S1: No, Alexandria had a new hymn book. You realize, David, that the hymnal
24 saved the Review and Herald in a time of financial distress. They weren't
25 doing well back then. Of course, when they bought out this hymnal, it gave
26 quite an infusion of cash.

27 DW: Which one now?

28 S1: The new one that we use now. I call that the new one.

29 DW: Oh yeah, the '85 hymnal. 1985. *The Seventh-day Adventist Church Hymnal*.

30 S2: When did this one come out? 1985.

31 DW: And you are saying that one helped the Review?

32 S1: Yes.

33 S2: I do know that when this hymnal that we are using now came out, that the
34 committee that was putting this hymnal came here to Takoma and met in our
35 church center for several days, putting new things together from this area. I
36 think they met several places across the country. Didn't they?

37 DW: Yeah, that's right.

1 S2: Well they were in the Takoma Park Church Center for several days.
2 S1: We sang out of *Christ in Song* in Takoma during those years. Well they
3 wouldn't have put out a new hymnal because it was war time.
4 DW: What was your reaction to the hymnal in '41? *The Church Hymnal*.
5 S1: It's all we knew.
6 DW: When you were younger, you were using *Christ in Song* and *Hymns and*
7 *Tunes*, and then came the *Church Hymnal* in 1941. Do you remember them
8 introducing that?
9 S2: No I don't.
10 S1: No. Excuse me just a minute. I will show you what we sang out of. It is here
11 on the piano, the unused piano. Well my daughter played.
12 S2: You played too.
13 S1: I wasn't talented. Where's that *Hymns and Tunes*? Are they going to have
14 another hymnal now?
15 DW: I don't know. I think that it would be good. I think that the medium for it
16 may change or maybe more versatile. Online, on devices. I think having a
17 book and corpus that has gone through committee, both reviewed musically
18 and theologically is needed.
19 S1: Well now, the big thing is projecting it on the screen.
20 S2: Did the *Church Hymnal* go from '41 till the next?
21 DW: Till 1985.
22 S2: 1985. That long! When do you think the next one will be out?
23 S1: This is the one we sang out of.
24 DW: Yeah, *Christ in Song*. I know that book.
25 S1: You know that book? This is old! But I couldn't bear to let it go. It's kinda
26 like a Bible. You don't want to destroy a Bible.
27 DW: And this was your personal one?
28 S1: I probably bought it later. I don't remember. You could tell its pretty well
29 worn.
30 DW: Yeah, I have several of these now.
31 S1: That's what we sang out of. There were a lot of hymns in there.
32 DW: There were a lot, a lot of hymns, and you could match up different tunes with
33 text.
34 S1: Yeah.
35 DW: Did you have some songs that you thought you sang a lot?

1 S1: The kids departments would sing “He Lives,” “The Master Calls for You.”
2 Things that they don’t know now.

3 DW: Those were in the youth meetings? Do you remember certain types of songs
4 in worship?

5 S1: I don’t. I remember at the San[itarium Church] we sang “Lord in the
6 Morning Thou Shalt Hear My Voice Ascend.” You know it was all the
7 doctors who attended. It was no hierarchy for Washington Sanitarium
8 Hospital. But that was also war. All the young doctors were gone. So it was
9 mostly elderly doctors who were conservative. You know, the age makes a
10 difference. That was the root cause of some of the problems between the
11 nurses and the doctors. During the war, we [nurses] did it all. And then when
12 they all came back home, they would say, “Do this, do that.” And we...
13 [laughter]. You know, you put down your own tubes and stuff. And they
14 were telling you what to do. And it kinda raised your hackles a little bit. But
15 that all calmed down. Things have cycles.

16 This thing with women’s ordination will either calm down, or we are going to lose
17 a lot of money. My friends, the women I know professionally, are putting
18 their money in a special fund and not giving it. I don’t do that. The church is
19 going to really feel it. You have to remember that 50% of the church is
20 women. The older women would not do it.

21 DW: So in worship, you said that women were never on the platform, but to sing
22 probably?

23 S1: Maybe like somebody who was in the General Conference. There was a
24 woman that was Sabbath School—Plummer? I think her name was. Or
25 somebody like Josephine Covington Edwards. Some of the women that
26 would, they might speak. Not speak the sermon, but say a prayer or make an
27 announcement. They were Dorcas leaders and all that good stuff.

28 DW: Can you tell me about congregational singing?

29 S1: We sang just like we do now. Opening Hymn. We all stood. Closing hymn.
30 It was vigorous. Everybody sang.

31 DW: Was there a song leader?

32 S1: Well the choir would tell us when to stand. When we didn’t have a choir, one
33 of the pastors would. You always had a signal to stand. It wasn’t one of
34 these—You always had a signal to stand. It wasn’t one of these, like you see:
35 one gets up, and the other gets—It was orderly. In the MV meeting, they
36 had a leader. Elder Froom, he had a good voice.

37 DW: This wasn’t the scholar?

38 S1: No, the son. But he is passed away too. He was conference president in
39 Takoma, and he was also pastor at Takoma Park during this time.

1 S2: Well, he was pastor at Takoma Park, and then was chosen to be conference
2 president. So that was the office. Then after he was conference president, he
3 came back to Takoma Park.

4 S1: I was always aware of how many pastors have such good voices. You know?
5 It seems to go with the territory. Most of them really sing well.

6 DW: Well, I guess, if they are in church all the time, they have some practice.

7 S1: Well, I think the Lord kinda blesses them. Whoever trained them, they would
8 always start out on the right note.

9 S2: Back, a few years ago, I was on a search committee for a new pastor at
10 Takoma Park. Do you know how long we searched? 11 months. To get a
11 senior pastor. We made a number of calls. I made a lot of calls myself. To a
12 number of people. West coast. State of Washington. Different places. But 11
13 months, finding somebody that would come. And if I said, "Takoma Park."
14 Well no. If somebody asked you what church you go, you go anywhere in
15 the world. Anywhere around the globe. And go to church. And people, "So
16 where you from?" "Takoma Park." They'd know exactly. But you know, it's
17 a name well known. But 11 months...

18 S1: Well they have a pastor now. Henry Wright. And he has a beautiful speaking
19 voice.

20 S2: See, he came here from Alexandria. Alexandria church was down almost...

21 S1: They call it Community Praise.

22 S2: After we left, it went down, down, down. So he built it back up to where
23 having two services.

24 DW: And they call it Community Praise Center.

25 S1: Its very affluent church. African American, completely.

26 S2: The sign in front of the church, a big huge sign, said, Community Praise
27 Center. I had some feelings about that. So one of the presidents of Potomac
28 came to see us one Sabbath, or one day. Called and wanted to see us. Asked
29 me, "What can I do to make you feel better about the Alexandria Church?"

30 S1: S2 was in charge of raising funds and helping to build the church.

31 S2: One thing you can do is put the name, Seventh-day Adventist, back on that
32 sign. Community Praise Center doesn't tell what church it is.

33 S1: Sounds like Pentecostal.

34 S2: On the sign there now, it says Seventh-day Adventist.

35 S1: Underneath. That's nice. Because its doing so well. I'm so pleased.

36 S2: I am too.

37 S1: Two services, packed.

1 S2: We pray that Henry Wright will be able to do the same thing to Takoma
2 Park. Bring it back.

3 S1: I remember in Takoma, somebody said to me, "Getting many more African
4 Americans, you know that?" And I said, "Yeah, but their money's green."
5 There's a misconception that they are poor. That is not true in this area. If
6 you work for the federal government and your husband works for the federal
7 government, your income is about \$100,000. That's not poor. And we are
8 getting more and more here.

9 S2: And they retire with good pensions. 80% of their salaries.

10 S1: Real good. So that is a misconception. And here, you buy the place
11 [retirement home], and you pay \$3200/mo. upward. And there's more and
12 more African Americans, because they can afford it. Their pensions are
13 good. CPC is an affluent church and that really makes you feel good. DW, I
14 believe that God blesses the Adventist church. More so than most people
15 realize. Don't you? I mean, you go past the Adventist churches, they all look
16 lovely, the people have cars. I mean, you go past some of these Sunday
17 churches, and people just... There's a difference. I think God blesses this
18 church. In the church you cannot tell who has it and who doesn't. The
19 wealthier Adventists are conservative. They live in the same house they
20 always have.

21 This is off the subject, but the most important thing a new pastor can do is to visit
22 the elderly people all at once. When he comes in, he should know who they
23 are, and 1, 2, 3, 4. See them all. If he goes to one, and waits too long, there's
24 a telephone call to so and so. "Pastor came to see me." That's his base. If he
25 visits them, that's his base. One thing, you pick up a little bit of money,
26 because some of them hold it until somebody comes to see them. We've had
27 that happen. We used to do visiting. And we've come out with envelopes full
28 of money. "I've been waiting for somebody to come and see me." That's
29 reality.

30 S2: S1 and I visited, a few years ago, a young man in Alexandria. He wasn't
31 married. Single. He said, "I'd like to give you my tithe." We said, "Okay,
32 we'd be glad to take it." He went back into his bedroom and came back. And
33 he gave us his tithe for three months. Three envelopes.

34 S1: A psychologist was counseling up a woman minister from another
35 denomination. I don't know how the elderly people are going to take a
36 woman. She was advised, "Go see them all." And she came back later and
37 said, "I've been well received in the church, but I saw all the elderly people."
38 I know you should see your elders first. See those elderly people. There's no
39 excuse for it. Because a public health nurse can do 8 interviews in a day.
40 And that's hands on. So you know, they should use their telephone, group
41 them, and take them one after another. It only takes 20-30 minutes. Its very
42 important. Those are the things they don't teach you in seminary.

43 DW: Yeah, unfortunately, visitation is not emphasized by many.

1 S1: And it is so important for the elderly.
2 DW: And its crucial for the whole church.
3 S1: Oh it is. And it doesn't take that long. Well, with a big church, you couldn't
4 do it. You know, you hear the Democrats and the Republicans saying, Play
5 to your base. Well your base is the elderly. We're the ones with the money.
6 They're not all poor. There are misconceptions about the elderly.
7 S2: We had that happen right at Takoma Park. It didn't go over too well with the
8 senior pastor. We had a pastor who came here from England. And he was the
9 treasurer, more-or-less. And he did a lot of visiting of the elderly. On his way
10 home in the evening. He wouldn't get home till 8:30 or 9:00. I don't
11 advertise that. He would just visit, visit, visit, visit. After a while, he got to
12 be more popular than his senior pastor. He was doing all the funerals, this,
13 that, and the other. He was visiting, so people got to like him. He made
14 friends. Its not good for the associate pastor to become more popular than a
15 senior pastor. It wouldn't go to well.
16 S1: Well for your work, do you have to fund raise for your choir?
17 DW: I will need to. That's something that I will do more of when I am full time.
18 S1: Well, de Araujo raised funds. He had a contingent from Potomac, which is
19 affluent. He taught piano and always included one of his students doing a
20 solo of really nice great music. A non-Adventist student of course. Their
21 parents would come, grand parents, aunts and uncles. And so he would get
22 quite a bit of money. I mean, it can be done. Some people will give for music
23 when they won't give for anything else. Some of your choir members will
24 underwrite things. The ones you least suspect.
25 S2: I told the General Conference men a long time ago, when the Conference
26 was there in Takoma Park. We had a lot of the secretaries. The old ladies.
27 Some of them never married. All they ever did with their money is put it in
28 the bank. When they got elderly, they were well off.
29 S1: One of the stockbrokers asked me where all these old Adventist women got
30 all their money. Well we've been to some of these meetings with my broker.
31 And some of the most vociferous are these little old ladies. They will say,
32 "I'd like you to address why you did this to this stock." You gotta watch
33 these people!
34 S2: We went down to Georgetown one night. One of the biggest restaurants and
35 biggest hotels in Washington, Four Seasons, down on M street in
36 Georgetown. That night there was an older lady there. She had an old bonnet
37 on and in tennis shoes. I'll tell you, she stood up and asked very important
38 questions that night. They were good questions.
39 S1: She had inherited her papa's money.
40 S2: She was right up on the front row. She wanted to know how her money was
41 being spent.

1 DW: You told me about some of the people who were at church, like GC officials.
2 There were also military servicemen. I'm also looking at issues of race. In
3 your experience, at Takoma Park or Alexandria, was the service—
4 S1: Segregated.
5 DW: It was segregated. Ok. Was there a difference between black and white
6 services? Did you ever go to a black service in those days?
7 S2: Yeah we did. In Alexandria there was a black church, separate from our
8 church. There isn't now.
9 DW: Was there a difference in the service there?
10 S1: They said amen real loud.
11 S2: Our daughter did a concert there, and played the piano.
12 S1: No, she played a hymn and was 6 years old. When she finished, there was
13 this loud amen that made you jump.
14 DW: Did they not say amen in the white churches?
15 S1: Well we said amen, but it was quiet. In Takoma Park, when a black preacher
16 first started the sermon, some worshipers said, "Preach it to 'em, brother!"
17 DW: Would they say something like that back then in a black church?
18 S1: I don't know, because I only went to one black service back at that time.
19 DW: Would there be some dialogue between the congregation and the preacher?
20 S1: Oh yes.
21 DW: Was there a difference in the music though?
22 S1: I think they sang hymns.
23 S2: I don't remember.
24 S1: I think their harmony was a little different. I remember though, in Takoma,
25 you could hear the altos and the sopranos, tenors. You don't hear that in the
26 other churches in the congregation. We went to a memorial service here
27 yesterday, and I heard no part singing at all. None.
28 DW: Yeah, in some denominations, some traditions, it's just unison.
29 S1: I don't think they read music. No, I didn't hear any part singing. You always
30 hear it in the Adventist church, well usually.
31 DW: I'm guessing that what you heard at their church wouldn't have been a jazz
32 harmony, but maybe an improvised harmony?
33 S1: Yeah, well I really can't say. But the African culture has a different kind of
34 harmony.
35 S2: Does Andrews University have two church services?
36 DW: They do.

1 S2: Is there any difference between the music in the first and second service?
2 DW: Yeah, I think they started doing that about 10 years ago.
3 S1: You hear them praise, the young people get up and all.
4 S2: The service we listen to hear...
5 S1: It's in-between.
6 S2: It may have been 4 months ago.
7 DW: It's not clear what the date is.
8 S2: If we are sitting here in the winter time, we look up here, and they are
9 celebrating Easter. The service always has a number on it.
10 S1: I think about the offerings. You know, Pastor Dwight Nelson makes an
11 appeal to the radio audience at the end of everything. He asks for funds. But
12 you don't know what percentage of what goes to the music or something like
13 that.
14 DW: I think that it is all going to the operation.
15 S2: Dwight Nelson is very well known in the denomination. We feel that he talks
16 more about the second coming than any other pastor that we listen.
17 DW: He does talk about the second coming, doesn't he?
18 S2: Somehow or another the other pastors get away from that. We like that.
19 S1: Yes, he is great.
20 DW: Back to my question about race, though I would like to come back to the
21 topic of the second coming. Was it just the time times that you lived in that
22 things were segregated?
23 S1: Yes.
24 DW: Well, perhaps that played a part in it. Would you have felt comfortable with
25 black worship? Or would they have felt uncomfortable in white worship?
26 S1: I don't remember any black people in the Takoma Park church. We also
27 remember the first black person baptized in the Alexandria church. The
28 president of the Union came over because he thought there would be trouble,
29 because some of the people in Virginia were—said they have their own
30 churches.
31 S2: We had had an evangelistic effort that was paid for by the Union. And one
32 black person came in. Was taking Bible studies and wanted baptism. And
33 word got around, back to the Union somehow, that there were people in the
34 Alexandria church—
35 S1: Its true!
36 S2: They did not think that—there was a black church over on Dewitt Avenue,
37 and they thought that maybe she ought to [go to that church instead].

1 My family had gone to the Alexandria church. We didn't have any feelings about
2 blacks at all. But several families did. So that Sabbath that this lady was
3 baptized, the Union president was in front of the congregation, just in case
4 something happened.

5 S1: Nothing happened.

6 S2: Usually at a baptism, they vote a person in right there. Nothing happened.
7 But two or three families had feelings. I understand that people who have
8 gone to Andrews, that the African Americans do not even mingle or
9 associate with the Caribbean blacks. Is that true?

10 DW: Yeah, because those of the Caribbean were very much colonialized. And we
11 have the sheer numbers.

12 S2: Same way in Takoma Park church right now.

13 DW: Right, there are a lot of Caribbean.

14 S1: They have contrasting views of worship with American blacks.

15 DW: Yeah, as I talk with people, there is tension there. The numbers of slaves and
16 the long history of racist laws in this country make the African American
17 experience different. That's what they tell me.

18 S1: Our Potomac conference paper has a lot of black pictures and stuff. But look
19 what they do. "I'm a lawyer for American Airlines." They have big jobs.
20 Real big. Easily surpass many whites. They have good jobs in this area.
21 There's a couple judges. That was in CPC. They come over from Baltimore.
22 And there's school administrators.

23 S2: Here in Riderwood, we have dining rooms, four different dining rooms. And
24 we at tables, sometimes we sit at a table with 7 people. We are amazed at
25 who you sit there with. You keep conversation. People don't mind asking
26 you sometimes, well, where did you live? What did you do? It comes out. "I
27 was a judge in Baltimore."

28 S1: "I started computers." They're not poor.

29 S2: We had a man at our table and he was absolutely quiet, but he was always
30 leaning over, listening to the conversation. One person at the table asked
31 him, "How long you been at Riderwood." And we got him talking. Come to
32 find out, he was a full professor. He had been in school in Paris.

33 S1: Five languages!

34 S2: He had been at a big school, university, in Italy. Had 3 or 4 different
35 languages. And he sat there as quiet as can be. You'll never know here who
36 you are having dinner with.

37 S1: And of course, everybody is here for a reason. Feeble. See, the Alzheimers
38 are in a different building.

39 S2: We've seen a lot of things, but we've only been here two years.

1 S1: The Lord has blessed S2 and I that we could live here. We didn't want to
2 give up our home, but I had a fall. This is the hardest decision you will have
3 to make. When you give up your home. When we are here, we feel this is
4 home now. And they have a lot of services. Doctors are right here in the
5 building. They are all Gerentologists. And there is a swimming pool and a
6 fitness center, beauty parlor, and a bank, all right here. They have
7 transportation.

8 DW: You both have been very helpful to me today. You've given a lot of really
9 good descriptions of the worship and things that I hadn't heard, and that's
10 really great.

11 S1: I wanted to show you the platform of the Takoma Park church. That's the old
12 church.

13 DW: [Looking at the photo] Is this your wedding?

14 S1: Yes.

15 DW: And that's Rapp marrying you?

16 S1: Yes. I gotta tell you about the platform and baptism. For baptism, they pulled
17 up the platform and it was on eye level. Deaconesses would hold up the
18 "modesty" blanket.

19 S2: You know how the wet clothes stick to you?

20 S1: They would wrap it around the person and they would go out this door. They
21 would come out on the platform and then go out this door. And that was the
22 baptismal pool.

23 DW: And this is in the old church?

24 S1: This is what the pews looked like. These were the ten commandments. That
25 was done by T. K. Martin. That "Come unto Me." And he won a prize for
26 the best religious painting.

27 DW: Did you recite the ten commandments in worship?

28 S1: No. But they were very prominent. Have you seen that picture of Christ
29 holding out his hand. It's in the foyer. He painted that in 1936. That's the
30 original painting. Of course, the Review and Herald went after that.

31 S2: Well he worked for the Review. But he painted that picture for the Takoma
32 Park church.

33 S1: And he won the prize at the Chicago World Fair. That's the truth.

34 S2: The Review made 2 or 3 different efforts to get that picture away from the
35 Park church, because they thought they owned it because he worked for
36 them. But he painted it for the Takoma Park church.

37 DW: This is really great to see and know that you had your wedding at the old
38 church. Did you have piano and organ in the old church?

39 S1: Yes. A grand piano.

1 S2: Dale Connor played the organ for us.
2 DW: Oh, it was this organ [a photo given to me].
3 S1: That was the organ. The piano was a grand piano.
4 S2: That organ was still at the new church until we got the one we have now.
5 S1: We had a non-Adventist organist. He had a PhD in performance. That's
6 recent. Before, the organist was not paid. I don't think anybody was paid. I
7 don't think the church treasurer wasn't paid. I know they weren't. In
8 Alexandria, when we were there, the whole time we built that church, there
9 was a huge payroll. It is a big church. The treasurer was not paid.
10 S2: The organ that we have now is from Ohio. They service it. They service it
11 every 2-3 months.
12 S1: That's why we had to get money for the organ.
13 S2: When you have an expensive organ, you have to keep the temperature and
14 humidity of the church at a certain level.
15 DW: That's right, for its tuning and mechanics.
16 S2: They would come to Takoma and stay 2 or 3 days servicing that organ.
17 S2: I'll tell you, when Elder Rapp married us, I don't remember anything he
18 said. But he said, "Lord, do not give this couple any more of the world's
19 goods than it would be good for them to have." And I thought, "Man, what
20 are you saying?"
21 S1: He gave us enough.
22 DW: Praise the Lord.

Oral History
Claude and Jocelyn Thomas
In their home, Huntsville, Alabama
September 25, 2014

1 Claude Thomas (CT) [1932–]: I was born in New York on April 30, 1932. I grew
2 up as a New Yorker, went to school at City College and from there worked
3 as a social investigator for New York City and a parole officer in New York.
4 From there I went to Oakwood to be Dean of Men and ultimately became
5 Dean of Students and Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology
6 teaching marriage and family.

7 I retired in 2000 and have been ever since. My wife and I carried on
8 marriage seminars throughout the country and overseas in the Caribbean
9 from 1972 until we retired. We started that at Andrews. We have been at
10 Oakwood and then Andrews. We've been to Loma Linda since I became ill
11 with cancer. We've been in those three major environments in terms of
12 worship and music. We have some broad exposure in that area.

13 Jocelyn Thomas (JT) [1939–]: I'm a preacher's kid. I grew up in a Seventh-day
14 Adventist home. I have a West Indian influence as well, because my father
15 was from Jamaica. Both my parents and my one brother are deceased. Our
16 family was very close knit. We both took piano lessons, by the way. We sang
17 in choirs and quartets. I lived with my parents until I married my husband.
18 We've lived in all parts of the United States, except the west. We have
19 relatives in the west, but I didn't grow up there. The majority of my growing
20 up was in the Midwest. I went to school at Union College for a nursing
21 program. Then I went south and northeast. That's where I met my husband at
22 the time. Our home was a home that was full of love and music and we
23 played games. My dad was a very fun man and I enjoyed that.

24 I enjoyed church as a child growing up. We went to prayer meeting. I looked
25 forward to prayer meeting. I looked forward to Sunday night meetings. In
26 those days, they had church on Sabbath: Sabbath School, main service, and
27 then MV, or Missionary Volunteers, what it was called in those days, and
28 then Saturday night social. It was my whole life. Then Sunday night again
29 and then Wednesday. My brother and I helped my father run the slides in the
30 projector for his evangelistic meetings. It was really a lot of fun. My dad
31 bought an Ampro projector, I'll never forget it, a movie projector. We
32 showed nice movies, the Bobby Breen movies and Black Stallion. I don't
33 know if you know any of those. Church was my life away from home, all the
34 way through. Of course, I've always gone to church school, except two years
35 when we were in Kansas City, there was no church school that they allowed
36 Blacks to attend. The white church school wouldn't accept us. My dad
37 begged and pleaded, but they wouldn't let me attend. I'm glad because I
38 don't want to be where they don't want me, so I was glad of that. I spent two
39 years in public school. Then we moved to where Daddy developed a church
40 school system in Kansas City so it was really very nice.

1 I directed the Cradle Roll division when I was single. I was involved with the
2 young people from the Cradle Roll up.

3 Let's see, music: we belonged to choirs, we did trios. I was in trios in
4 college, high school. We did the Messiah and all those big musical things
5 that you do in church. We just had a lot of fun with music and with the
6 church. Ingathering was a big thing, we went out singing, caroling. I
7 remember: my brother and I, and my two cousins, male and female, so two
8 boys and two girls. When the four of us were at Union College at Christmas
9 time, we would go out caroling. We went caroling in the richer
10 neighborhoods to raise money for ourselves to go back to school. It was
11 really a lot of fun. It was cold. We went out to Denver, which is beautiful at
12 Christmas time. The city of Denver put on beautiful decorations all over the
13 city. When we went caroling, we would go to the door, ring the bell, and if
14 you see someone coming, then you just start singing "I'm Dreaming of a
15 White Christmas" or "Silent Night." Folks would bring us in, give us
16 cookies, and we'd sit around the piano. We had a lot of fun with music. We
17 enjoyed that outside of the church as well as in the church.

18 When I was in college I sang in a quartet with three of my brother's friends.
19 In fact, we still have an album. One of the members of the church in Denver
20 paid for us to produce the album. It was red plastic. I still have that record. I
21 thought it was pretty good back in the day.

22 Music was a central part of our lives growing up, but it has evolved into
23 what it is today. In Jamaica, it was more of an English or British style of
24 music. Jamaicans sang the hymns with a different beat or rhythm than the
25 Black beat in America. They sang hymns and songs in the hymnal that we
26 don't sing over here. While their songs are still in the hymnal, I've noticed in
27 our churches here in North America, that we sing certain types of songs,
28 according to the various races people. To me Jamaican hymn-singing
29 sounded more in a British style. I don't know the words to use. We sang
30 hymns, but today, I don't know that the young people know hymns that
31 much. They have another style of music. Things have evolved to where we
32 are today, and we'll talk more about that later, but that's who I am.

33 Our kids grew up with music for worship. One of our older sons would get
34 the younger kids, he'd play the piano, have 4-part singing, and they'd
35 perform for us. It was plenty fun for us.

36 David Williams (DW): Let me ask some questions just to help me understand
37 where you were at when things were taking place. In the '30s and '40s,
38 where were you going to church?

39 JT: I was born in '39 so I don't have an experience with worship and music in
40 the 30s. I was born in America. My life is interesting. I was conceived in
41 Jamaica and born in America. My mother came home to the States to be with
42 her mother, and then went back to Jamaica. She did this for each of her two
43 children. Up until age 7, I was in Jamaica. My dad was the pastor of the

1 largest church in Jamaica at the time. He pastored about 30-40 churches at a
2 time, and the lay people there did the work. The pastor, the senior pastor,
3 went from place to place to do baptisms making his rounds. The laypeople in
4 Jamaica were very, very active. The pastor had to baptize and do marriages
5 and evangelistic services and that sort of thing. The lay people were active.

6 CT: I grew up in New York and went to the Bethel church in Brooklyn. After
7 that, I went to church on the West Side in New York City. I also belonged to
8 Ephesus in Manhattan, on the West Side of New York where the conference
9 office was. But generally, in New York: Manhattan and Brooklyn.

10 JT: You could live in New York City and travel to the Bronx to go to church
11 every week. That's what people did using city transportation. They can live
12 next door to church and travel to another borough.

13 DW: For my dissertation, I have selected the Ephesus Church. I'm looking at
14 Ephesus and Oakwood and then Takoma Park and Battle Creek. You have to
15 make some choices. That was interesting that you have a connection to
16 Ephesus during that time.

17 CT: I belonged to Ephesus for quite a while, starting in the '50s. I was married in
18 '53 and was a member of Ephesus.

19 DW: How would you say the church services compared between Brooklyn,
20 Harlem, and the West Side, in terms of either the order of service or the way
21 music was used?

22 CT: Order of service was pretty much the same. I don't remember any significant
23 differences. A Black church has a pretty standard order of service. Following
24 Sabbath School was the 11:00 a.m. Divine Service. Between Sabbath School
25 and Divine Service was the home missionary period, talking about the
26 missionary work activities of the church.

27 JT: I remember Sabbath School vividly and I remember Dad pastoring at the
28 11:00 hour. I don't remember the "in-between" as well. I remember there
29 were very active people in their missionary endeavors and they would
30 demonstrate that. It had to be that time in between Sabbath School and
31 Church.

32 CT: Then of course, the next significant service was in the afternoon, the
33 Missionary Volunteer. Today it is AYS.

34 CT: The elements of Divine Service included: Opening song, choir involvement.

35 JT: The coming out of the pastors, the deacons walking in, and the pastors
36 coming out on the platform.

37 CT: Their promotions, prayer, offering. They also did announcements during the
38 divine hour, promoting various aspects of church activity. There was always
39 heavy promotion of the church school at sermon time.

40 JT: Also, talking about the church family, someone is missing, or a death in the
41 family, or anything that relates to the church, family, or church school.

1 Tithes and offering were collected before the sermon. Then there was always
2 special music just before the pastor would speak, preparing the worshiper for
3 meditation on the Word.

4 CT: Various people and groups did the special music: sometimes the choir,
5 sometimes various soloists, that kind of thing. And we always had a director
6 of music leading the music in the service. At Ephesus in those days, it was
7 laypersons. They were not paid, no. They were not paid but some of them
8 were professional musicians but they volunteered their services for the
9 church on Sabbath. The church in Brooklyn, Bethel, was the largest Black
10 church, African-American church. Most of it was very professionally
11 oriented in both Ephesus and Bethel. They always had a person to direct the
12 music services. Men directed the overall music programs of the churches.

13 JT: Didn't they have a female for the children and the young adult? Mama
14 directed the new believers choir.

15 CT: She had one of the choirs.

16 JT: One of the choirs, yeah. I'm saying there were men and women, but
17 predominately men.

18 CT: But she did not direct the music program of the church. We had several
19 choirs. They always had an adult choir. The lady she was mentioning had a
20 choir made up of new believers. She was also the bible worker of the church.
21 As she would bring them in, she would enter them in her choir. That was a
22 very well known, well received choir in the Ephesus church. There have
23 always been youth choirs, children's choir, that kind of thing. There were
24 always small groups singing—quartets, trios, duets—that kind of thing.

25 JT: That was the era of quartets and trios.

26 CT: Music was a very significant part of the church experience in those days.

27 JT: Especially for the young people. You're in a sharp group that had a good
28 sound, you want to be a part of the choir or upcoming group. It kept you
29 close to the fire of the church. Involving the young people helped them
30 belong. When they grow up in the church and are involved, we say, oh
31 that's—, that's our boy, that's our girl. It helped them have a vested interest
32 in the church.

33 DW: You mentioned a lot about the vocalists and vocal groups. Would there be
34 instrumental groups?

35 CT: Back in in those days, however, we didn't have instrumental groups. We
36 didn't have string quartets or wind symphonies in the African American
37 church in those days.

38 JT: But if you went over to the West Indian church, the West Indians believed in
39 their children learning violin. Most learned violin. That was a very important
40 instrument. Even when we came here to Oakwood, the young people that

1 were playing instruments were people extracted from other countries,
2 Caribbean countries. They really believe in instruments.

3 CT: Piano and strings.

4 JT: The Ephesus church had a lot of Caribbean influence. We call it the Jamaica
5 of America.

6 CT: All of the African American churches in the big cities, especially in the east,
7 had a very significant Caribbean influence because when they came over
8 from the island, they would locate in churches along the east coast,
9 especially in New York.

10 JT: New York had more opportunities and had more ethnic lifestyles. There
11 were pockets of various ethnicities. You could get the food and music of the
12 culture from which you came.

13 CT: In New York, there are many universities. These people were very education
14 minded. They strove to get a good education and then stayed in those
15 centers.

16 The Caribbean influence in New York and at Ephesus, pushed the church
17 toward a more Caribbean style of worship than what was done by African
18 Americans, in the sense that it was very hymn and anthem oriented. When
19 there was not a choir anthem or a congregation song, the music was
20 performed in close harmony, but in those days very little gospel. Back in the
21 '40s and '50s, you didn't hear a lot of gospel. But the music was very
22 harmonic.

23 JT: The choirs were singing anthems and cathedral sounds. That was the big
24 thing.

25 DW: Help me understand the anthem. A lot of people tell me about the anthems.
26 Since you sung in choirs, maybe you would know. Were these contemporary
27 of the time, like American composers of anthems? Were these the classic
28 great composers like a Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Bach, or Handel. You
29 mentioned the *Messiah*, like that type of music?

30 JT: I think it was a broad range of styles and genres.

31 CT: I agree. There was a good European influence in the anthems that were
32 chosen, as well as an American influence.

33 JT: Also, for the Caribbean people, and the more educated, the higher form of
34 music was important. When you came to worship in those days, it was not
35 about the feeling of the music, but its form and quality of composition.

36 CT: Music was so highly valued because it kind of represented the divine.

37 JT: Even now at our church in Oakwood, even in 2014, when the Aeolians come
38 on, you know we have the groups for the young people that sing
39 [clapping]—all that—but when they sing a song of anthem-type quality,
40 there's an awe. It's profound. It does stir the intellect more than the body.

1 CT: "The heavens are telling."

2 JT: When it's done well, oh my, it puts you into another world. You can see
3 God, you can see him on his throne, when it's done well, and that's what it
4 does. Then when you want to excite the person, music can do that too. I see
5 less and less of that quality music today, and I miss that.

6 CT: I miss it very much, too.

7 JT: It elevates you. I really miss that. Unfortunately, I've lived in both worlds
8 and this is where the young people are today. It's about feeling good. I'm not
9 putting down the music, I'm just saying—

10 CT: It's more emotional.

11 JT: Yeah, it's more emotional. That's where they are today, I think.

12 CT: Now, even the anthems use quite a lot of emotionality, but they weren't
13 sensual. The music performed by the Aeolians is emotional, but not sensual.
14 They have a tremendous range. One of their strengths is their broad range.
15 More recent music is sensual in the sense that you can really dance to it.

16 JT: We're not saying sexual, but sensual, using your senses. You feel within
17 your body. You can feel sad. For example, some Black American music
18 expresses suffering. We've come through a rough time, but some of our
19 music can put you right back there. Whereas my experience has been that
20 some of the music in some white churches does not reach that part of me. It
21 just sounds like they're reciting a song. The music sounds victorious, or like
22 we're going somewhere. But when I want to get in that mood—Lord I've
23 been down and help me—Black music gets me there. It is music of our
24 experience, expressive like the Blues.

25 CT: As a musician, we call it soul. It really touches your heart.

26 DW: That is something that makes the spirituals unique is that they came from the
27 real experience of Black Americans. There's not many other people groups
28 that have a music that tells such an experience. It tells their story and it's
29 profound.

30 JT: It's profound. They are a significant contribution to music history. Now, I
31 didn't hear spirituals in Jamaica. When I was there, I don't recall any
32 spirituals. But I did hear a certain music in Jamaica. I do remember there
33 were groups of people. I could hear them in the night as a little girl in my
34 bed. They're singing and it's almost like a wail. I can hear them moaning.
35 What is that music called? I forget what they called the music.

36 DW: Are they singing the blues?

37 JT: No, no, no. It wasn't the blues. I didn't hear any blues in Jamaica. They had
38 reggae and all that in Jamaica. But that's modern stuff, I think. Spirituals
39 didn't become part of my experience until I returned to the States. Beginning
40 in the late 40s in Kansas and Missouri. There they sang the spirituals and
41 hymns. All the Black churches are familiar with spirituals.

1 CT: At Ephesus and Bethel, they sang the spirituals. Soloists, small ensembles,
2 quartets, trios, duets, choir, and congregation too, the whole gamut. Just like
3 how a hymn would be used by different ensembles and the congregation.
4 And of course, we sang hymns as well. Black Adventist churches sang not
5 only the Adventist hymnody, but also the spirituals.

6 DW: Okay. Do you recall, either of you in that time, using *Hymns and Tunes*
7 (1886) in worship or is it just *Christ in Song* (1908)?

8 JT: *Christ in Song* was a book in Jamaica. Yes, *Christ in Song* was the book.

9 CT: I remember that too at the beginning. Then as they published other
10 songbooks, such as *Gospel Melodies* (1944), we used that in MV meetings
11 and others gatherings.

12 JT: There was another book for MV.

13 CT: Primarily, yeah. They just got the *Melodies* primarily at MV. But they did
14 not use that for the church service, the regular divine service.

15 DW: Now, the official hymnal was the 1886 *Hymns and Tunes*. In 1900/1908
16 Frank E. Belden published *Christ in Song*. Then in 1914, the General
17 Conference passed a law that you must not use *Christ in Song* in Divine
18 Worship, but must use *Hymns and Tunes*. Then the next official Divine
19 Service hymnal is the 1941 *Church Hymnal*. But everyone was using *Christ*
20 *in Song*. The only church that I see that used *Hymns and Tunes* until the
21 *Church Hymnal* was the General Conference Church, Takoma Park and they
22 followed the rules.

23 JT: That's right, they had to use it.

24 DW: Everyone else was using *Christ in Song*.

25 JT: Were they saying that something was wrong with *Christ in Song*? All the
26 music wasn't written by Seventh-day Adventists in the *Church Hymnal*. The
27 hymnists were not all Seventh-day Adventists.

28 DW: I think there's a little bit of censure on Belden, and also probably trying to
29 promote solidarity, uniformity within the church, insisting that we follow the
30 same beliefs through the same musical expression, even though a hymnal is
31 very diverse, of course.

32 JT: Right, of course.

33 DW: James White did the same thing with his first hymnal when he encouraged
34 the "little flock" to no longer use their other denominations' hymnals, just
35 use our hymns.

36 JT: Because the message may be a first day message.

37 DW: They wanted the Adventist message.

38 JT: I can understand.

1 CT: There was quite a lot of discussion in the early 1900s anyway with Ellen
2 White and her influence in the church, as I remember. She argued a great
3 deal about the introduction of that which was more related to dancing and
4 physical expression, more than the intellectual response to heavenly
5 influences. She made quite a distinction between the two and would argue
6 against so much of the visceral type of response in worship. She argued
7 greatly against that which would make us more like the world, in those terms
8 in those days.

9 JT: Because the 11 o'clock hour for me then and even now is one that is
10 supposed to lift you up to see God, not for my enjoyment necessarily, but it's
11 to take me above myself to where God is. Other hours, such as AYS or some
12 other time could be for my enjoyment, but not at the 11 o'clock hour. We
13 couldn't even walk on the platform back in the day. That was only where the
14 ministers spoke. Now we do everything on the rostrum. That was sacred, up
15 there was sacred. Now they call it the stage, which sounds like a theater. The
16 rostrum was holy. You just didn't go stand up behind the podium. Now
17 we've moved that out altogether. We had large pulpits, but now those are
18 gone. Now everyone sits on the main floor. Back in my childhood, the
19 ministers sat on the elevated platform. Today, they all sit down front and
20 walk up and down to the podium.

21 CT: They had a space for the choir, a section for the elders to sit behind the
22 rostrum, and then a space for the ministers to speak from the pulpit. That was
23 a sacred spot up there, no one else walked up there, and that was part of the
24 form of worship. It was considered holy, sacred.

25 JT: It may have been for practical reasons, but it was sacred. To stand in that
26 pulpit was awesome. The architecture communicated some beliefs back then.

27 CT: Such as the sanctity of the rostrum.

28 DW: Was there holiness in the platform itself, or was it just reserved in our mind,
29 set apart for a certain use?

30 CT: I think set apart. The construction was *not* part of it.

31 JT: The wood was not, there was not holiness in the wood or the table. But it
32 was there where, the one who was standing between us and God, stood.

33 CT: Speaking or singing for God.

34 JT: I remember some churches where the announcements and all that was done
35 down below, and the pastor, when he spoke, stood up above at the pulpit.

36 CT: When there were soloists, they sang by the choir.

37 DW: I think we're getting to the heart of it. The pulpit, the rostrum, was for the
38 proclamation of God's word as interpreted by the pastor through
39 illumination. Was the pulpit for the proclamation of God's Word?

40 CT: That's right. The pulpit itself was set apart from the rest of the podium, such
41 as that used by the choir.

1 JT: One of the churches, more than one of the churches that Dad pastored, the
2 place where the preacher stood to actually deliver the Word was separate
3 from the rest of the rostrum. It stood by itself. Sometimes it was in the center
4 and other places it was to the side. The preacher could step up to it. It might
5 have been the English influence in the construction of the building.

6 CT: It might have been the English influence.

7 JT: Right, of the construction of the building.

8 CT: You always saw that kind of thing in the Presbyterian churches, the Church
9 of England, the European kind.

10 JT: But see, the podium was considered as sacred, because that was where the
11 preacher was going to talk to you about God from the Bible.

12 DW: I really like that you said that it was set apart for special use and that it
13 wasn't in the fabric of things themselves.

14 JT: It's what you did there that made it sacred.

15 CT: Even the soloists who preceded the spoken word would sing from that spot.

16 JT: He or she was introducing you to Christ, setting the stage for you. The music
17 then had to be representative of position for which the place stood. They
18 were music ministers.

19 DW: Some today, some of the younger generation, criticizes the older generation
20 for the concept of sacred space. They say the older generation believed that
21 the holiness was in the material, like wood and carpet. Therefore, they reject
22 the concept of sacred space. Do you think you have been misunderstood by
23 them?

24 CT: I don't think the younger generation or today's generation has any concept of
25 setting things apart for other use. The apartness is just not part of their
26 thinking.

27 JT: It could be that in this society and in the world, especially in the United
28 States in North America, everything is available. You don't have to wait to
29 get a cell phone, you can have it now. A five-year-old can have the latest
30 smartphone, or whatever. I can't even afford it, but parents will buy them
31 that. There's nothing to look forward to. You get it at five or eight or twelve,
32 so what's the big deal? The Divine Service is the same way. It's a place. You
33 wear whatever you want to wear, "I'm just going to church." I was taught
34 differently. I was taught the concept of holiness.

35 It's a very fine stratagem of the enemy. It is fine-tuned, because the music is
36 one of the most powerful, if not the most powerful, languages there is across
37 the whole world. It speaks across the world in different languages. It goes
38 beyond the barrier of languages, it reaches the soul. When you put the music
39 to the word, I might not hear the word, but that music will get that word
40 down in there subconsciously and you're gone and I know why. Lucifer was

1 a musical creature in heaven and he certainly would use his gifts to destroy
2 me.

3 CT: Music can open your mind to anything.

4 JT: I think what Daddy is saying is that this generation doesn't understand that.
5 Some of them will get it, and I pray they will. That's the Holy Spirit's job.

6 DW: Let me tell you, in my study, I've looked at these old hymnals. I have heard
7 pastors my age or a little older say, "The church hasn't had a theology of
8 worship." But as I look at the hymnals and hear you talk, you have quite a
9 profound understanding of worship.

10 JT: Who are you worshipping? Do we know who this is? Only to the amount that
11 He will let us know, that he reveals to us. Oh, my! At Oakwood University—
12 we're retired—but they bring back the retirees for what they call the
13 colloquium, three days of very good information. It starts off the three days
14 with a spiritual focus. This last colloquium, one of the pastors from the area,
15 Pastor Snell gave the devotional thought. It was very good. You might want
16 to talk to him at the First Church. The last day, it was a fun day. They took
17 us to the Space and Rocket Center.

18 We spent the day there and one of the attractions there is the IMAX theater.
19 They took us into the universe. All the information that they gave you, spoke
20 about the Creator. Just to see that little spot there, Earth, and to know who
21 created it, He knows them all by name. That's who I'm worshipping. But He
22 thinks about me, little Jo, He loves me. He got one across from me. When I
23 looked at those stars, how mighty he is and then how humble he was to come
24 down and be like me to save me. That's awesome. For me, worship takes me
25 there. But you have to get to know him, it's not just singing a song or
26 preaching a sermon. You have to get to know who you're talking about and
27 then that gives power. Oh my, brother. I get hot when I start thinking of God.

28 CT: That's why the Messiah has been such a significant experience.

29 JT: For some people today, it's a performance. But for Handel, that wasn't a
30 performance. The Lord inspired him with that music. That was a gift the
31 Lord gave him about Himself.

32 CT: A worship experience for him.

33 JT: Oh my, my, my, my, my.

34 CT: He conveyed that through his music. People still respond to that music,
35 especially older people. For the young people, it's more and more
36 contemporary. That which the whole world enjoys.

37 JT: Being here at Oakwood, we've lived through several generations. I don't get
38 on the subject of music, just people. Because to me, whatever you listen to, if
39 it helps you to be drawn closer to Christ, I'm fine. I don't discuss it. I'm not
40 an authority on music. But if I see your life being drawn closer to Christ and
41 wanting him to come, then whatever you're listening to is great for you, it's

1 all right with me. But if you're praising the Lord, whatever method you use
2 and your life speaks something else, then something is wrong with your
3 music for me. That's where I am, because God is the originator of music,
4 sharp chords, musical refinements, and whatever. That comes from Him. We
5 did not create it, music is something that's given to us. It didn't come from
6 us, it came from God.

7 DW: Let me shift gears a little, if I may, back to some particulars. Do you
8 remember hymns that were sung a lot in church? Or ones that you sang at
9 certain points in the service?

10 JT: "What a Fellowship," "Have Thine on Way Lord," "Lift up the Trumpet,"
11 "Redeemed," the original Redeemed.

12 DW: The fast one.

13 JT: Redeemed, how I love to proclaim. [singing]

14 DW: Yeah.

15 JT: Today they sing the slow one—

16 DW: Redeemed, how. [singing]

17 JT: La da, da, da, da.

18 CT: That was the popular one.

19 JT: That's the current one. That's the way it is now I think. Anyway, those of the
20 hymns. "Have Thine on Way Lord," "Sweet Peace," "The Gift of God's
21 Love." In the Black church, "What a Fellowship" is a very popular one.
22 When you go to Andrews, it's like their singing the songs that we don't sing,
23 it's a different tempo. Have you noticed that, David?

24 CT: It's a different sound.

25 JT: It's a different beat. Are we the 4/4 time? I'm not musical with all the music
26 terminology and all that. In the Caucasian churches, I hear more of a
27 European sound, different from the African American sound. Ours has more
28 of a different tempo.

29 DW: You're saying the difference is in the selection of hymns, or with the style in
30 which they are performed?

31 JT: It's not how they're doing the hymns, they're different hymns. Even when I
32 was growing up, the choice of hymns were different. For example, we might
33 sing 272, they might sing "One Precious Born Oh Lord I Seek." Songs we
34 never sang in our church, but they're still in the hymnal. Do you get what
35 I'm saying? "Beautiful Valley of Eden." We would sing, "There's a Land
36 that is Fairer," that's 4/4 time, this is 6/8. It's something to do with the time.
37 "Oh, day of rest and gladness." There's a certain beat to it. Black churches
38 tended to select hymns differently than Caucasian churches, based on
39 differences in meter.

1 CT: Today, when we sit in the predominately Caucasian service, it's quite
2 different.

3 DW: What about in the '30s and 40s? Do you remember going to a White service
4 then?

5 CT: Frankly, racism was a big thing in those days. Very few Blacks went to
6 White churches in the '40s. That was a very unique experience.

7 JT: In the '50s, I went to Union College all four years. You could count us, this
8 color on your hands. There's nothing wrong with it, it's just a different
9 culture. And there are different meters in the different churches. Different
10 cultures favor different meters.

11 DW: I'll tell you, my experience which is not very long, but I sing all the meters. I
12 know that for a fact. I have my preferences. It depends at what point in the
13 service. I think about the hymns differently than most. Hymns of praise are
14 usually probably in a 4/4 time. But there is Hymn #1 is 3/4, "Praise To The
15 Lord." "Rejoice You're Pure in Heart" is 4/4. "All Creatures of Our God and
16 King" is 3/2. The doxology, "Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow" is
17 in 4/4.

18 JT: That's a traditional song. I don't think it has to do with the meter. That's
19 another traditional thing that we used to sing in church, we did that routinely.

20 DW: I think that having a serious music program at a church diversifies the
21 breadth of hymnody, but also the types of hymns. At Southern, they were
22 probably going to sing more of the Hymns of Praise and more of the classic
23 Protestant hymnody. I didn't observe that university church sing as much,
24 songs like "Marching to Zion" or "There's a Fountain." But that doesn't
25 mean that just down the street at the Little White Church, they're singing
26 those other ones every week.

27 JT: See, we sang those types of songs. I think we sang the same the thing.

28 DW: But I think it has more to do with the size of church and the music program. I
29 think that Ephesus or Oakwood, the church may do some of these more
30 grand hymns than your smaller churches. I find that if you go any small
31 church, it's just about the gospel. And we, as an Adventist people, sing
32 gospel hymns. Another thing about gospel music and gospel hymns, such as
33 "I Surrender All" or "More About Jesus." In the smaller churches, these
34 types of songs prevail throughout the service, or hymns about the second
35 coming.

36 JT: What about the young people in those little churches? What do they sing?

37 DW: I don't know. Today I think that for most young people it's contemporary
38 music.

39 JT: I know this last year in the fall, we went to the main service in the large
40 church at Loma Linda. We went to the early morning service. Then after that
41 we went to another building for Sabbath School. I remember one young

1 pastor got up and said, thank you all for allowing us to come into the main
2 sanctuary, because it's a different order of service. I told Jackie we should
3 have stayed and listened to one of their services so we could compare it.
4 There was a difference in worship, for a totally different group gathered for
5 worship for the 11 o'clock hour. The old timers finished their service at 9,
6 and like the rest of them, we only stayed for Sabbath School which followed
7 the first service, and then we went home. The young people took over at the
8 11 o'clock hour.

9 When I was a child, we all did everything together. We did services together,
10 we did socials together. Grandma and Grandpa were at the socials. It was a
11 big family. In those days, back in the '50s. We did everything together.
12 Grandma would be out there trying to skate or whatever they were doing or
13 playing games. Everybody was there.

14 CT: It was more communal, more communal.

15 JT: The technology today of course, also helps to separate us. We're very
16 separated today. Back in the day, the divine hour was where everybody came
17 together.

18 DW: Speaking of separation, leads me to come back to segregation. Among early
19 Adventists, Blacks and Whites worshiped together. By the time they had
20 separate services, after about 1910, they continued to worship similarly. The
21 later gospel music had not yet come into the church. Adventists were later
22 than other denominations in introducing it. How did race and segregation
23 then affect or contribute to differences as they developed in your experience?

24 CT: Well, to begin with, the Black experience in our country did not totally
25 evolve out of the European influence. It evolved out of our particular
26 experience. It had a more African influence than Europe. Plus, we were
27 primarily ostracized from the Caucasian experience, generally. Our mutual
28 experience derived out of what we knew, having been acculturated outside of
29 the Caucasian world. Our music indicates that even in our worship. We
30 would find the Caucasian experience a very somber one. In some cases, you
31 would find some of people even saying it was boring, lacking what we call
32 soul. But there was something lacking. We would go to a white church and
33 there was something lacking in the music. I can't help but think about in
34 terms of my total experience, you know. I've been there in the '30s, not so
35 much in the '30s because we didn't go to white churches. Somewhat in the
36 '40s but whenever we were exposed to worship in the Caucasian churches, it
37 was very different. It was just very different. We would sense it immediately.

38 JT: Let me see if I can help you to understand what we mean. Now, it was the
39 '70s when we went to Andrews, right?

40 CT: Andrews in the '70s, yes.

41 JT: Right, right. He was in school there. I remember sitting there in church for
42 the 11 o'clock hour. We were going to have a baptism. The curtain opened,
43 the pastor concludes the baptismal blessing, "In the name of the Lord," the

1 person is baptized, ya da ya da, and the curtain closes. The baptism is over. I
2 remember some of the grad students who had studied theology at Oakwood,
3 saying—

4 CT: Kids who had graduated from Oakwood.

5 JT: “Wow, we’ve got to do, ‘Take me to the water, praise the Lord.’” But at
6 Andrews, it’s quietly done.

7 CT: There is no richness. It was unscripted.

8 JT: It’s not the matter of richness, it’s rich for you. Do you know what I mean?
9 Dwight Nelson puts a little more fire to it and a little more soul to it. But you
10 see, even at Loma Linda, the pastor is very quiet.

11 CT: The worship is segmented in separate sections. Somebody sings and
12 something happens.

13 JT: It’s fine. You have to get used to it.

14 CT: The organ makes a total change and they have their congregational hymn.

15 JT: Today, at Loma Linda, it’s very controlled by the organ.

16 DW: Does the music control things at Oakwood too?

17 JT: No, because someone will stand up and tell you what’s going to happen. It
18 was very rich. I’m not downplaying it, it’s different. You’re asking for
19 differences, it’s different. I could get used to it, but I had to be there a while
20 to get used to it and it has a beauty of its own. You come over here, I don’t
21 enjoy all of this either, but it has a beauty of its own. Either one can go to an
22 extreme. But you’re dealing with a lot of different people from different
23 cultures and backgrounds. I know God has his own culture, but I reach Him
24 through mine.

25 DW: Now back to the ‘40s. How did people express their experience and their
26 emotion in worship? Was it through clapping or singing?

27 JT: Amen. You don’t clap. Amen.

28 CT: No clapping, no clapping.

29 JT: No clapping. That was almost like a sin.

30 CT: Amen.

31 JT: Amens.

32 CT: If you were really moved, maybe hallelujah.

33 DW: Did you say amen as much as people do now?

34 CT: We don’t say amen that much now, there’s clapping now.

35 JT: We clap now. But they do say amen, though.

36 CT: Some people do, but mostly it’s clapping now.

37 DW: Because I’ve heard that even the amens were quieter back then.

1 CT: Not in a Black church.

2 JT: Maybe some other Blacks had that experience, I don't know.

3 DW: You know, all people are different and have different experiences.

4 CT: If you went to the Caucasian churches in the '40 and some places even now,
5 you don't hear loud amens. Sometimes you hear none at all as the preacher
6 makes his points and things. You hear very little response.

7 JT: Until he's finished. After he's going out, they tell you that was beautiful. If
8 you're upfront, you didn't know if you did well or not.

9 DW: You're right. You don't know if they're still breathing.

10 CT: They just look at you.

11 DW: The emotional experience came out through amens. It's different than today
12 in the Black church. There's a lot of demonstration in worship.

13 JT: They stand up.

14 DW: You didn't do that then.

15 JT: No, no, no.

16 DW: How did it come out then, in say the congregational singing, that made Black
17 worship in the '40s still unique or distinct from white worship then?

18 CT: I would think the very fact that you heard anything at all. You heard distinct
19 amens in the Black church where in the white church, you hear little to
20 nothing.

21 JT: Back then, he's talking about back then.

22 CT: I'm talking about back then.

23 DW: How was the congregational singing back then?

24 CT: In the Black church, it has always been very spirited.

25 JT: Rousing.

26 CT: White church, very calm. A really kind of intellectual thing. They sang the
27 song. You heard more out of the organ than you heard out of the
28 congregation. More the impress of the music for me came from the organ. In
29 the Black church, it's from the people and their emotional response to what
30 they were singing. That was one of the great differences that I experienced.

31 DW: Did we talk about instruments? What instruments did you have in church? I
32 think we talked some about that you didn't have strings, but piano and organ.

33 JT: No drums.

34 CT: By and large it was piano and organ.

35 DW: How did they play? Did they play what was printed on the page?

36 CT: Primarily.

1 DW: Or was there improvisation around that?

2 CT: It depended on the song.

3 JT: If you had a musician that could da, da, da, da perfect what's written on the
4 page, that I found more in the European Black church service. There's
5 something very unique about people that come here. They come here from
6 all over the world to Oakwood. They have a touch when they play the piano
7 that's unique. It's amazing. They've got it, they've got that thing. I can't
8 describe it other than that.

9 CT: We are less scripted.

10 DW: Now at Ephesus was it very scripted?

11 CT: Depending on the song or the message that was being promoted.

12 DW: For example, when I was at Ephesus last month and I was at Oakwood last
13 month. I thought that Ephesus was virtually identical to the Caucasian
14 worship that I grew up with.

15 JT: Really?

16 DW: By and large. Things have changed. There was a gospel song before prayer.
17 A woman sang a spiritual for a solo. But there they had the up and down in
18 the order of service, and when the congregation sang, that was almost
19 identical.

20 JT: Did you hear any amens?

21 DW: There was some applauding.

22 JT: Okay, that's what they do now.

23 DW: There were amens but a lot of people didn't applaud during the applause.
24 This is very, very different than Oakwood, which is much more free.

25 JT: You have in that church, you have a lot of West Indians, Caribbean. Which
26 goes back to that European background or influence. That's what's up in
27 New York mainly.

28 DW: Are there other things that you feel that you haven't had the chance to share
29 about your memories about worship and music?

30 JT: Growing up, church was the major part of our week, everything centered
31 around church. Our fun was there, our spiritual life was there, we chose our
32 mates, we had boyfriends and girlfriends there, it was all church. Good food
33 there, work together there, we did everything. Church was the central point
34 of living.

35 CT: It was more communal.

36 JT: I don't know that it's that way today because we're so separated and so big
37 sometimes. The youth are there and the old people over here and then the
38 middle-aged group is there and the young marrieds are there. We're more
39 separated.

1 CT: You find that kind of thing more in the smaller churches in smaller cities,
2 that kind of thing. When we went to the major centers of Adventists, it was
3 more ritualistic versus communal. There was a way to do things and a time
4 to do things. Everything went according to script as I keep saying.

5 JT: My picture of Jesus today, who went to the synagogue as his habit was, he
6 just seemed to have gone like everybody else. He would get up and read or
7 you might get up and read.

8 CT: Anybody could get up and read.

9 JT: I think of a little church here in this area where the dad is up doing
10 something and the little boy runs up and sits on his daddy's knee and sits on
11 the platform by his daddy. It reminded me of back then when I'd get my
12 picture of Jesus and go to church and we'd greet each other and then
13 somebody gets up and starts reading. It's not heavy. It's not so scripted, I
14 guess. It's more relaxed.

15 DW: If there was something that you could say from your earlier experiences of
16 what worship and music was that you wish the present and future
17 generations could learn from your experience, what would you say for the
18 recording?

19 JT: You know I'm a sanguine so I jump up first. I would say that I would like to
20 see whatever worship program that's presented that takes me closer to God.
21 Not me, I don't want to see me, I want to see Him. I don't want to just have a
22 good time, I want to have a good time in Him. I want to see singing and
23 music all say He's coming again, get ready, He is coming. I want to see that.
24 The lesson this week is awesome. They read the *Desire of Ages* and the
25 *Great Controversy*. It's awesome, but we, as an Adventist people, are
26 sleeping. We're having a good time but we're sleeping as far as what it's all
27 about. That's what I would say about my worship experience. I guess for our
28 older generation to go into a service where the young people are in charge,
29 sometimes it's painful. I'm sure for them it's boring when they come on our
30 side. If somehow, the magic could be done that it's not about you and it's not
31 about me, it's about Him. If you could get that going in whatever venue that
32 we use, we'd be on our way to glory, boy.

33 CT: I think my word that would encompass a lot of what she's saying, I would
34 wish that the generation today would accept and really understand the
35 sanctity of worship as a kind of out of this world experience. When the choir
36 really hits it for me, you can almost hear the angels singing in glory as they
37 sing holy, holy to the Lord. Even with all the noise they make, there's a
38 sense of holiness and sacredness that comes through to the heart. You're
39 lifted up. In today's world, it's like you bring heaven down to where you are.
40 It's like them enjoying it with you, you don't see God per se. Like we bring
41 God down to our level.

42 JT: There are times when Jesus was on the earth, in other words that divinity
43 flashed through, this is God here. It's not a man, this is God. I remember my

1 father, my father was a fun man but if we were having a social, he'd get in
2 there and do marches and have fun, *but* you could tell he was the minister.
3 There was something about him, you could pick him out that he was the
4 minister. I always admired that about him. Today, I can't tell that some of
5 our pastors are ministers.

6 CT: Their collars are open, no tie.

7 JT: That's a trend now.

8 CT: It's a very contemporary thing, he's one of the boys.

9 JT: There was something about Jesus that you could tell that he was Jesus, even
10 as man. When he would stand up and read, the folks took an extra look. It
11 wasn't like David read or Joe read, it was something about Him when he
12 read.

13 CT: It's all encompassed in the sermon that was very dear to us by Elder [C. D.]
14 Brooks. He has a sermon he preached recently, "I want my church back."
15 He's in our age group. That was his message, I want my church back. He
16 was talking about the kinds of things we were referring to in the '40s and
17 '50s, the early days of our lives when the sanctity of church was there. It
18 wasn't like a theater. There was no applauding and what have you, that kind
19 of thing. The music was very distinct, from contemporary music of the day
20 like it is now, you can tell the difference. When you walked in, there was
21 kind of a hush. You knew you were in a church. If there was talking of any
22 kind, it was very discreet, very quiet, a kind of anticipation for what was to
23 come. That was distinctly different, where we've come from as we come into
24 worship. You almost knew that you were in the divine presence of God. You
25 don't get that today. You don't get that today.

26 JT: I just wanted to add, one of the problems I find here for us at Oakwood is
27 that we do not have, I don't know if they do at Andrews, and I know they
28 possibly do at Loma Linda, our church is for everything. You don't have
29 major auditoriums where the university can go on the other days of the week
30 for rallies and different things, we use our church for everything. It can't be
31 holy one day and it's a rally place the next day. It confuses me. It would
32 confuse a child or a young adult because in this place, that's our main place
33 where everybody gathers.

34 I know at Henry Wright's church, they just moved him, but when he was in
35 Alexandria, his auditorium for 11 o'clock hours closed, locked, you couldn't
36 get in. You went to other rooms in the building for Sabbath School. Sabbath
37 school, that's to study. When it came time for the 11 o'clock hour, he opened
38 the doors and you had a different aura going in than versus where we're over
39 here, we're talking over here. In our church now, we all talk in Sabbath
40 School. You have to be quiet, it's kind of different, it's difficult to separate
41 those two. That might be part of it. The building that's used, it's hard to turn
42 it on and off. Young people are real today, they don't turn on and off. If you
43 can do this one day, they can do it any way. They'll bring it all together.

1 I know in heaven there are angels that just bow all the time, that's all they're
2 doing is bowing before this holy God. They veil their faces, brother David.
3 Hey girl, how are you doing? I'll see you tonight. That's us. God is going to
4 fix it though, God is going to fix it. He's going to save us. He promised me
5 that he's going to save us.

6 CT: When persecution sets in, it's going to be different.

7 JT: Oh, brother. We won't be having these discussions. We may be in a cave or
8 in somebody's home.

9 CT: The church will be a place of refuge, a place of peace, encouragement, and
10 hope. There won't be any having a great time like we have now. We almost
11 have a party at church now. A very different kind of thing. We're not coming
12 out of anything. We bring what we've come out of with us when we're
13 coming to church. Any type we come out of is reinforced in the service.
14 There is no line of true distinction. I think that's what Brooks was referring
15 to in his sermon. I sum it all up in his words, we've lost the sense of
16 sacredness of the church.

17 JT: In our dress, in our deportment, in our music, in how we speak, we've lost
18 that.

19 CT: God is just one of us. God is one of us. Like I heard a comment from the
20 desk not too long ago, he would talk about JC and the boys. Jesus and his
21 disciples, JC and the boys. That's the kind of mindset very often you get.
22 He's just one of the boys. There are times when the other breaks through
23 depending on the pastor or the minister who is preaching. The church can get
24 very hushed like when Brooks comes, and Cleveland used to come, when he
25 was alive [C. D. Brooks passed away in 2016]. Well known ministers that
26 the congregation had high respect for and even when they would come, you
27 would bring out the choir that projects that majestic sound. They even have
28 different choirs for these preachers who emanate this serious side of worship.
29 Henry Wright comes and says to the church, "Don't make the singing and all
30 that kind of stuff you're doing take precedence over the message."

31 JT: We all come from different experiences and backgrounds, different cultures,
32 but we all strive to rise to God's culture. One day this will be achieved when
33 He comes to take us home to live with Him eternally. Praise God. That will
34 be some kind of music there.

Oral History
Subject ID: TP10914
In their home, Takoma Park, Maryland
October 9, 2014

1 Subject 1 (S1): Okay. I grew up in North Carolina. I was born in 1921. In 1925 we
2 moved to different places in North Carolina. Finally we ended up at Glen
3 Alpine. It was a little community there that's several people actually from
4 Wisconsin. Came down there and started the school. Mr. Port was the
5 mainstay for that area. He was a very fine person. He had known my father
6 in Wisconsin. He's the one that got him to come down from there to help
7 him with setting up the school and all. That's where I went to church school
8 for 8 years.

9 I was 14 years old when I finished school there. I didn't go right away to a
10 different school. I just stayed home and worked with my father. We had a
11 small place there. My older brother went to Pisgah school in North Carolina.
12 That's near Asheville. He broke his arm and he was discouraged and he
13 came home. The next thing we knew he was gone. He got out on his own.
14 That was a hard thing for my folks to take. For all of us, for that matter. I
15 was four years older than he was. He went out on his own and we didn't see
16 him very much. Once in a while he'd come back by.

17 Then I helped my father, we got a new place and built a house. I did some
18 work there with him. It was a small school there. My mother taught church
19 school. I worked with my father. Did a lot of woodwork. Woodcutting and
20 all of that. We cut our own wood and built our school. We built a church
21 there also.

22 I was 15 before I went to school any more. I went to Pisgah when I was 15. I
23 missed a school year between each because my father needed help. We had
24 eight brothers and sisters there. It was a difficult time. I enjoyed the work
25 and school at Pisgah. I worked on the farm and ran the tractor and did a lot
26 of work there. I only finished three years and then the army says, well if you
27 haven't finished high school, you need to come in the army. So I went to the
28 army in November of 1942.

29 Spent three years in the army. When I came back, my father had fixed the
30 house up a little better. It was a struggle for them.

31 David Williams (DW): Where did you serve in the army?

32 S1: First we went to Abilene, Texas. There was a camp there that I stayed for
33 three months. It was basic training. When I was 21, we moved back to
34 Campbell, Kentucky, at that time it was, and we took training there. I took
35 medical training in the hospital there. Then in, I guess it was near the
36 summer of that first year, we were moved out west. Went to Fort Ord,
37 California. Spent about three months there training for amphibious landings.
38 We didn't know where we were going.

1 I got along quite well. They were very good to us. I didn't have to carry a
2 gun. I didn't want to carry a gun so they gave me that privilege. We spent up
3 until August there. It was from May to August. Then we got on another
4 [bivouac 00:06:49] and I didn't know what was going to happen then, but we
5 went to San Francisco and got on a big ship and they sailed us out to Adak
6 first in the Aleutian Islands. We stayed there about two weeks getting
7 everything together with the other people that were going with us on this
8 mission. We sailed for Kiska Island and I spent about six months there.

9 I worked in the field hospital. We set up a hospital and took care of our own
10 people. We found that there were no Japanese on the island. That was the
11 good news, but before that happened they sent rangers from one end of the
12 island to the northern end for about 20 miles. They found no trace of anyone,
13 but one dead Japanese. They came back. Somehow the infantry was guarding
14 our stay. They didn't remember to give a password and so the men that were
15 coming back didn't give a password like they should have. The infantry
16 started shooting at them. There were several killed in that skirmish.

17 We had to carry them down to the bay and put them on the boat, put them on
18 the ship. That was a bad thing. Fortunately, they found out before too long it
19 was our own men that were coming back. We stayed there, we got a hospital
20 in tents. Took care of all those that were wounded, and the sick. A lot of
21 people were sick because it was different climate, we weren't used to.
22 Anyway, we stayed there until February of that year and then they shipped
23 us back to the United States.

24 We went in first to Seattle area. Then we moved on down to ... Let's see.
25 Colorado, lower part.

26 DW: Colorado Springs?

27 S1: Yes. A little below that. I can't remember the name of the-

28 DW: Fort Carson?

29 S1: Fort Carson. That's right. It was Camp Carson at that time. That's where we
30 stayed for about three months. I got a pass to go home because I hadn't been
31 home since we going into the army. I got home and spent maybe ten days
32 and they give me a call. Says if you want to stay with your unit, you'll have
33 to get back here. Move out. I went back and they moved to Camp Kilmer,
34 New Jersey. Waited there for a little bit and then they put us on a ship,
35 shipped us over to—not France. It was—I can't think of the name now.

36 DW: Belgium or the Netherlands?

37 S1: No. It was not far from England. We went by train down through the
38 countryside. It was full moon. You could see everything. Beautiful. We
39 landed near Birmingham, England. We stayed there for a few nights and we
40 moved on down to southern England. We were there for about three months
41 I guess. Took some training. Then the time for the invasion came. We were

1 sent up to middle England. I can't think of the name now, but it's hard to
2 remember all these names.

3 S1: We took care of the first casualties coming back from the army. They were
4 in France. That's where we landed there.

5 DW: The casualties from D-Day?

6 S1: Yeah, from D-Day. We took care of them for about three months and then
7 they shipped us over to France and we set up a field hospital unit there, took
8 care of them. During that time it rained a lot. We were slushing around in
9 knee-deep mud. Anyway, that was an experience I won't forget. We stayed
10 in France for about 15 months, I guess it was altogether. We were the last to
11 come out of there because we were the youngest going in. My brother was
12 over there in the field artillery. He had joined in 1942 in the early part of that
13 year, because that's when we were involved in the war. I never got to see
14 him. I wrote to him, got a letter from him here and there, but he was always
15 not within reach of where I was.

16 We were there 15 months and we took care of the 101st Airborne Division
17 casualties. That's what we did. 1945 we came home. We got into New York
18 on Armistice Day. Came to New York. Then we went to Kimler again for a
19 few days. Then they shipped me down to Fort Bragg again. That's where I
20 came in to the army. North Carolina. I was really glad for that day.

21 I enjoyed a lot of things, and they were very good to us. I did everything that
22 I needed to do. I could work in the hospital and helped those who needed
23 help. That was a good thing.

24 DW: Then when did you come to Takoma Park?

25 S1: That was in November when I got home. 16th of November I got out. Got on
26 the bus, came to Pisgah. I had two brothers that were in school there. I went
27 and asked about them and nobody knew where they were. They had taken
28 off I guess before I got there. They took off and they went back to where we
29 lived. That's where I saw them. I went on home and I was glad to be home.
30 My parents were all very glad to see us.

31 I stayed there until about, I guess it was in January. About the 19th of
32 January, I decided to come up here to find work. I found work at the college
33 mill. They said to me, if you're going to work in the college mill, you have
34 to enter school here. That was something I hadn't planned on, but that's what
35 happened. In the fall of that year, 1946, I started school. I went through
36 college. I hadn't finished high school but I took a GED test and went on.
37 From there on, I've been here.

38 I worked in the mill for 10 years after I graduated. Then I came to the
39 General Conference and I got a job there with computer work. That's what I
40 did all the time I was in the work here.

41 DW: When did you two [Lowell and Betty] meet?

1 S1: We met in '46.
2 DW: Here in Takoma Park?
3 S1: Yes. My sisters lived right up here. A lady that had an apartment in her
4 house, she rented to them. I had two sisters living there. That was Lura and
5 Dorland. Lura was the youngest—No. Next to the youngest girl. Dorland
6 was the oldest sister. She was the older than I.
7 Subject 2 (S2) [b. July 23, 1923]: Dorland.
8 S1: Yeah. I got a room there where they were staying. I stayed there I guess until
9 June, July, something like that. I got another place down near this college
10 where I didn't have far to go. Then in August 15, we were married. I had met
11 her before. She didn't remember.
12 S2: I don't.
13 S1: Anyway. I remembered her very well. I'd been here working with my father
14 at Fort Meade. They were building that fort there.
15 DW: Subject 2, did you want to share anything about yourself?
16 S2: Well, I was born in Lake Ariel, Pennsylvania, to Harold and Selena
17 Whitman. My mother was from Newfoundland and she was Episcopalian.
18 The group of Seventh-day Adventists came over there and held meetings.
19 Conception Bay, Newfoundland. It was close to where she had an aunt that
20 lived and her aunt got sick, and so she said to her brother, "Can Selena come
21 up and spend the summer with me? I've been awfully sick and I need help."
22 Her father, he was a sea captain on a fishing boat. In fact, I have a picture of
23 him upstairs. He said yes, she may come work with for you this summer.
24 She went up to spend the summer with her aunt. In the evening she heard
25 this music down. Come in, they saw a tent go up and she heard this singing,
26 and she says to her aunt, "May I go down?" Her aunt says, "Well, are you
27 sure it's going to be okay?" She said, "It seemed like a lot of people going
28 in. They all seemed nice." So she said, "All right. You may go down." It was
29 a Seventh-day Adventist group from America. They were holding meetings.
30 My mother went every night and was baptized at the end.
31 DW: What year was this?
32 S2: Well, she came back to her aunt and her aunt said, "You know your father's
33 not going to like this. He's very staunch in his religion." When she went
34 home, she wouldn't work on Sabbath and her father wanted to know why.
35 They weren't allowed to go to school much. They had to learn to cook, knit.
36 She did everything. She made quilts, she knit, she made all our clothes.
37 He said, "You're not going to go to church on the seventh day. Sunday is the
38 Sabbath." She said, "No, I'm going on Sabbath." She had a stepmother. Her
39 mother died when she was three. He got a rope and started to beat her. The
40 stepmother stepped in between them and she said, "You're going to kill her."
41 He said, "Well, she's not going to church on the Sabbath." Then she went

1 back to the aunt because he had hurt her, and the aunt went right to the
2 authorities and told them, and so they took her away from him. Said that he
3 couldn't have her anymore.

4 The man that had the meetings was HMS Richards. Was it?

5 S1: No. She came here and met HMS Richards.

6 S2: Who was it that—?

7 S1: It was somebody else. I can't remember.

8 DW: This was in Newfoundland.

9 S1: Yeah.

10 DW: What year was this?

11 S2: My mother was from Newfoundland.

12 DW: Do you know what year this was?

13 S1: Your mother was 16, wasn't she then?

14 S2: She was 16. I was born in 1923.

15 DW: I'm asking because my great-grandfather went to Newfoundland, but I think
16 it was in about '28 or something. His name was Harold Williams.

17 S2: My older sister's born 1918.

18 DW: He was an evangelist.

19 S2: Okay. What was his name?

20 DW: Harold Williams.

21 S2: Was he an Adventist?

22 DW: Yeah. An Adventist evangelist.

23 S2: In Newfoundland?

24 DW: Uh-huh. He started the radio there.

25 S2: Oh.

26 S1: When your mother was 16-

27 S2: When she left.

28 S1: Yeah, but when she came here, she was probably 17.

29 S2: Probably.

30 S1: Then she worked for a lady up there, took care of her, and that's where she
31 got her start.

32 S2: Pennsylvania. Scranton was close by. She went to an Adventist church there.
33 She sewed and cooked and did everything for them, and that's where she met
34 my father. His father was from England and his mother was from Germany. I

1 was just trying to think. Maude Whitman was my grandma's name, wasn't
2 it?

3 S1: Maude Whitman, yeah.

4 S2: My grandpa was Harold George, same as my brother. She met him and then
5 they were married. In the first world war he worked in the shipyard.

6 DW: He was Episcopalian.

7 S2: Well, his mother was. Then he had become an Adventist because of my
8 mother. He accepted the truth and they were married. She tried to get his
9 mother, tried to go to church. My father's sister and brother wouldn't let her.
10 She wanted to go but then she died. I went to her funeral. I was just a little
11 girl, maybe three years old.

12 Clark Summit, Pennsylvania, and Scranton. They're both real close together.
13 During the world war my father worked at the shipyard in ...

14 S1: New Jersey.

15 S2: Yeah. Clark Summit, was it? New Jersey?

16 S1: No, Clark Summit was in Pennsylvania.

17 S2: That's what I'm talking about.

18 DW: Which war? The first war?

19 S2: The first world war.

20 S1: No. Second world war.

21 S2: First. You were in second. The first world war was my father.

22 S1: Okay. You're right.

23 S2: My two sisters were born. They're both older than me. After the war, they
24 decided to move up to Pennsylvania. Lake Ariel was the name. There was a
25 lake there. Had a little church school there. My two older sisters went there
26 and when I got six years old, I went there. A one-room church school with a
27 potbelly stove and an outhouse. We had a bucket of water and we all drank
28 out of the same dipper. The whole school got measles at the same time. Then
29 we all got mumps.

30 Anyway, out in Pennsylvania it was a little potbelly stove and an outhouse.
31 We didn't have paper. We had Sears and Roebuck catalogs. That bucket with
32 the dipper and we all drank out of the same dipper. When one came down
33 sick, the whole school got it, of course.

34 DW: You got a lot of days off from school, I bet.

35 S2: Yeah, because we were all so sick. My sisters and I all had measles at the
36 same time.

37 S2: Then my father, the house, they made an academy there. Lake Ariel
38 Academy. My mother and father built the house we lived in. You know that

1 swing on the front porch? My dad made that before I was born. We brought
2 it down when we moved here in 1936, my dad and mom. My brother says
3 the house we lived in, he brought a paper to me recently, it was a Sears and
4 Roebuck. They bought it in pieces.

5 S1: Put it together.

6 S2: Mom and Dad built their own house. He made the swing. He made the boat
7 too. Canoe and a rowboat. I was wondering if the swing was from the
8 catalog or he just made it. I've never found that out.

9 We had this house. I can still see it. The swing on the front porch. This
10 academy opened up, Lake Ariel Academy, and they wanted the house. My
11 dad's house. They debated and debated and finally he said, they kept after
12 him, they wanted to start—this was going to be the dormitory for—

13 S1: Students coming.

14 S2: Yeah, the students of the academy. So he gave them the house. Then we
15 moved into a rented house and we lived there. We walked quite a ways to
16 church school. The snow sometimes would be five feet thick, but it would be
17 plowed and we walked down the road, we couldn't even see above the snow
18 banks.

19 It used to get very cold. We had a lake and it froze real deep and we'd go up
20 the hill from our place and go down sledding. Go right out on the ice. Then
21 we lived in the rented house and then work got very low. My dad was a
22 carpenter, builder. We decided to come down here in 1936. He drove down
23 here with a trailer and the swing and what furniture. I have the kitchen table
24 and chairs on the back porch they brought with them, and a little desk in the
25 basement, the roll top they brought with them that somebody gave them
26 when I was a little girl.

27 When I was two, I was a crybaby. I cried all the time. They didn't know
28 why. One time my mother said, "I think they're about fed up with it," and
29 she said I screamed and screamed. They went to bed one night. I never slept.
30 She said finally I went to sleep this night and they were so thrilled to think
31 I'd go to sleep. My crib was in their room and I had just turned two. They
32 woke up in the morning and I wasn't up yet, so my dad went to work. They
33 were all happy. My two older sisters were fed up with me too, I think.

34 When I did wake up, my left eye was closed. It scared Mama half to death.
35 She said, "Open your eye," and I couldn't open it. She got in touch with my
36 dad somehow. We didn't have a phone but the neighbors had something and
37 he came right in and took me to Dr. Bang. I still remember.

38 He said, "Can she walk?" I could walk and I could talk, but I couldn't open
39 my eye. He said he didn't know. He'd never heard of anything like it, and it
40 would probably never open, but I wasn't crying anymore, so she took me
41 home and worried about it and within a couple months my eye came open,

1 just all of a sudden. He didn't know why. They took me right back, he says,
2 "I don't know."

3 From then on it went closed every year, twice a year. Terrible headaches. I'd
4 been blind in that eye since birth. I've never seen out of it.

5 Right now I have macular degeneration in my right eye. My doctor I go to, I
6 just had a shot yesterday. I get a shot every month in my right eye because
7 I'm losing my sight there. It's hard to get a shot every month, but I make it. I
8 don't say a word, I take it. They said the eye will never open, but it did open.
9 It'd go closed every year, maybe towards spring. It'd go closed and I'd have
10 the terrible, terrible headaches. Always.

11 Still do. My sisters had headaches or bad eyes. My two older sisters and a
12 younger brother. He lives here in Maryland. He's married and has two
13 children.

14 Then I met Lowell up here. His two sisters lived up the street. I went to
15 Pisgah, one year at the academy. My eleventh grade. Before that—

16 S1: I wasn't there that year.

17 S2: He wasn't there that year, but his two sisters were. I came home and my eye
18 was closed for two months down there, so I never went back to school again.
19 That was it. His two sisters were here and they came to see me all the time,
20 and I had them down to eat and I'd go up the street with them. Then one
21 night they called me up and said, "Will you come up and eat with us
22 tonight?" I said yeah. They didn't tell me their brother was there.

23 I went up and ate with them and here was a handsome, black, wavy-haired
24 blue-eyed man. They said, "This is my brother." There's a picture of when
25 he's in the army, behind you.

26 DW: Oh yes indeed. Look at that. Yeah. Good-looking man.

27 S2: They always walked me home. That night after we ate, they said, "Lowell,
28 we're awful tired. Would you walk her home?" It was just up the street here.
29 Not too far from here. So he walked me home, and then he asked me if he
30 could see me again. I fell for him instantly. Love at first sight, if there is such
31 a thing. It was.

32 That was in what, Lowell? What month was that, February?

33 S1: March. Maybe March.

34 S2: March. We were married the next August. By Arthur L. White. Mrs. White's
35 grandson. Right here in front of this window.

36 S2: We're still here.

37 S1: We were poverty stricken.

38 S2: Immediately.

39 S1: I had nothing.

1 DW: You own this house then?
2 S2: Yes we do. Well, my folks rented it. This house is 101 years old. My folks
3 rented it. My father got colon cancer. He died, how old was he, 66?
4 S1: He was 63.
5 S2: 63 when he died. He died in this house. Upstairs.
6 S1: He died in 1955. We were here 9 years before he died.
7 S2: My mother worked at the hospital. She wasn't a nurse or anything. Her
8 father would never let her—The children, the girls could never go to school.
9 They had to learn to knit, to sew. She knit, she crocheted, she made all our
10 clothes. She learned to do that at a very early age.
11 She stayed here with us after my father died. We were renting the house and
12 the man wanted to sell it. You can tell the rest now.
13 S1: Well, your father died in '55. I said, we'll just rent the house until we can do
14 better. We paid the rent and her mother lived here. She helped a little bit
15 because she was working then at the hospital.
16 S2: I kept my mother. She stayed here.
17 S1: 1963-
18 S2: You wanted to sell it.
19 S1: I was working at the General Conference then and the man that owned it, he
20 says, "I'll have to see if my mother left it to me." He didn't know because he
21 was-
22 S2: His mother had died.
23 S1: His father had died and he had left the Adventist church for some reason. I
24 don't know why. He was certainly a fine man. He did us very well.
25 S2: He was so nice to us.
26 S1: We bought the house from him and he said, "Well, just keep paying your 95
27 a month."
28 S2: Just like the rent.
29 S1: "When it's done, it's yours." After I got done working at the GC, I got a
30 raise and I was able to pay more. I asked him about it. He was in Kentucky.
31 S2: He wanted to sell.
32 S1: He says, if you can afford it, that'll be all right.
33 S2: He called us.
34 S1: I paid him ... changed it to 125 a month so I could get it paid off.
35 S2: Tell him how we did it. He said, "You kids have been so good, I'm going to
36 do everything. You won't have to do a thing. You will be charged for

1 nothing. Just your rent every month.” He paid everything you had to pay to
2 have it switched and changed.

3 S2: He said, “You kids.” He always called us “you kids.” I can still hear him.

4 S1: Yeah. He was very good to us.

5 S2: He said, “You clean out the attic.” His mother’s stuff was up there.
6 “Anything you want, you take. If you don’t, just get rid of it.” He was very
7 nice to us, but he had left the truth.

8 S1: His mother died in, was it ‘63? I guess that’s when she died, wasn’t it?

9 S2: Yeah. She did.

10 S1: That’s when he said, “I want to sell the house.”

11 S2: So we bought it.

12 S1: I says, “We’d be interested in it,” so we talked it over and he made
13 arrangements.

14 S2: He did everything. He went to Rockville, he did all the work. We didn’t have
15 to do a thing. Just give him the money each month. Lowell said to him just
16 before—what year was that?

17 S1: I started paying a little more.

18 S2: He wanted to pay more so we’d get paid off quicker. He said, “You sure you
19 can afford it?” We said yeah, he said okay. We got it paid off quicker than
20 usual.

21 S1: I got it paid off about the same time I retired. A little before. Two years
22 before. It was good for us.

23 S2: We’re still here. The house is 101 years old.

24 DW: Let me transition you if I may. You came in ‘36 and you were going to the
25 Adventist church here.

26 S2: Yeah. We went to the Washington Sanitarium Church.

27 DW: Okay. You didn’t go to the Takoma Park church.

28 S1: Not at that time.

29 S2: Not then, no.

30 DW: When did you start going there?

31 S1: It was in 1983—

32 S2: The San church closed.

33 S1: The hospital wanted that building. They needed that. We said “Well, we
34 have no other place.” He says, “Why don’t you join the Park church?”

35 S2: It was Sligo. It was between Sligo and the Park church. The majority went to
36 Takoma Park all together.

1 DW: In the '40s when you came, you weren't going to the Takoma Park church.
2 S1: No. In 1946 I joined the San church after we were married.
3 S2: We were married in '46.
4 DW: Okay.
5 S1: We went to the San church until '83. Then they wanted that building so we
6 made arrangements and we moved over to the Park church.
7 S2: We're still at the Park church.
8 S1: It's mostly black now but we get along fine. They're nice people. No
9 problem.
10 DW: I was there about a year ago and there's a lot of nations there.
11 S1: Oh yes. There is, yes. A lot of nations there.
12 DW: Tell me what worship was like at the Sanitarium church. Back in the '30s
13 and '40s.
14 S1: When I came there in '46, they had elder Westfall there at that time. You've
15 probably heard the name. He stayed about a year after that and then there
16 was another pastor. What was his name?
17 S2: I'm trying to think.
18 S1: The one that used to live down there on Carroll. I can't think of it either now.
19 Anyway, he was a fine man and we enjoyed his services. Then he retired, I
20 think. Then elder Quackenbush came. Elder Russell Quackenbush. He was
21 our pastor for quite a long time. It was about 1970 I think he retired. Then a
22 younger man came. He stayed until we moved, actually.
23 S2: This hospital wanted the building.
24 S1: Will Eva was his name. Elder Eva's son. He had the San church until we
25 went to join the Park church, and he came up there with us too at that time.
26 He was there for about a year or two and then he got another church, another
27 assignment, and went to that. We had very fine pastors all the way.
28 DW: Maybe I can ask something a little closer to home. You were telling about
29 your experiences in the war and I wonder, how did that impact you then
30 when you came to worship when you got home? Did you feel that your
31 worship when you got back here was different after seeing what you had
32 seen? Have you given thought to that?
33 S1: It wasn't much different because when I came back from the army, and
34 thought what was the church like, they had built a new church in Morganton
35 at that time and I only went there for about a month, I guess. A month and a
36 half.
37 DW: I guess I'm wondering, did you have a greater desire to worship perhaps?
38 S1: Oh yes.

1 DW: Like thankfulness.

2 S1: I was thankful, yes, and I appreciated having a church to go to, because in
3 the army I was by myself. When I was, a day off, I just went out into the
4 countryside and I found a family that were Adventist. Not far away. They
5 were French. They spoke French, not English, and I went over to their house
6 a lot of Sabbaths. Spent time with them and I learned to understand a lot of
7 French but I never really was fluent in speaking it. Fifteen months, you
8 know, you get something but it wasn't enough to help me to be able to
9 understand the language very well.

10 It was nice to go over there and visit with them. I could talk to the kids. They
11 had two children at home. A girl and a boy yet. They had a business near
12 Paris so the father was up there most of the time. They had a country home
13 down there where we were. It's about 100 miles from Paris. I enjoyed
14 visiting with them and got along real well with it.

15 DW: How did they worship compared to worship in Carolina? Or even here in
16 Takoma Park?

17 S1: I think it was much the same. Only thing was their language, and it was a
18 little difficult to get a lot out of it but I did. I understood quite a bit and
19 enjoyed going with them to church. The children were going to school over
20 there near Switzerland. There's a school there. I can't remember that name
21 now because I never-

22 DW: Cologne?

23 S1: Yes, that's it. I never saw the place. We never got out very much and I didn't
24 get to go very many places. Some of them did. They'd put in your name and
25 if it was drawn, you'd get to go on a trip. I never got one of those.

26 S1: Some of them went over to Switzerland. I didn't get to go there. I never got
27 out of France after we were there. I was there 15 months until we got on the
28 ship to come home.

29 DW: Did you ever go to the old Takoma Park church when you came back here?

30 S2: We went there Friday nights. MV meetings.

31 S1: Yeah, we went there Friday evenings mainly. For folks who were members
32 of the San church and she was also—

33 S2: They didn't have Friday night meetings.

34 S1: No. They didn't have them over there so we'd go over here Friday evenings.
35 We enjoyed that very much.

36 DW: How was that service compared to the Sabbath morning service?

37 S1: It was more for the youth.

38 DW: Did they do different things in the service?

39 S1: What did they have in the service?

1 S2: When?
2 S1: When we went there for the Friday evening meeting.
3 S2: Friday evening?
4 S1: Yeah.
5 S2: It was all, mostly young people.
6 DW: What did you do in the service?
7 S2: They did a lot of singing and preaching. It wasn't exactly like church in the
8 morning but it was very interesting. We always enjoyed it.
9 DW: Maybe not as formal?
10 S1: No, probably not. They had guest speakers once in a while. It was interesting
11 to have them come in.
12 S2: We went Friday night too.
13 DW: Do you remember, what did you sing out of? What songbook or hymnal for
14 the MV meeting?
15 S1: You got one of them there?
16 DW: Oh you got one. I actually have some hymn books in my car, but you may
17 have them.
18 S1: We did have them. We've been looking through stuff and deciding what we
19 need to get rid of because we won't be here forever. It's so hard to give away
20 things when you use them a lot, but we don't sing a lot now because we have
21 no young people with us.
22 S2: What year did we go with the Park church?
23 S1: '83. 1983.
24 DW: They would have been using the *Church Hymnal* and then switched in '85
25 when the present hymnal came out.
26 S1: This one says founded 1830.
27 DW: '50. Oh, the Review and Herald. Uh-huh. That one came out in '41.
28 S1: That's right.
29 DW: You used *Christ in Song* in divine worship at the San church, it sounds like.
30 S2: Yup.
31 DW: Okay. That's very interesting to me because the Park church, even the old
32 Park church, was using *Hymns and Tunes*.
33 S1: Yeah.
34 DW: At least in the bulletin it shows that. I've talked to a lot of people of your
35 generation and they all say *Christ and Song* is the hymnal that everyone
36 used.

1 S1: Yeah.

2 DW: Were there any favorite songs that you remember singing in *Christ and*
3 *Song*?

4 S1: I don't recall but I could look through and I could tell you what I can
5 remember. Let's see. "Christ or Barabbas." I remember that. A lot of them I
6 can't think off of hand. "Shall You, Shall I." I remember all of these if I see
7 the names. Drifting Away from the Savior. Not so much some, but more for
8 others. "Nailed to the Cross." "Whosoever Will," I remember that.
9 Whosoever Heareth. Shout About the Sounds. Send a blessed tiding all the
10 world around. Mm-hmm (affirmative).

11 DW: That's amazing to me that you sang these hymns. It was quite a while ago
12 and you recall the name immediately. How important were the hymns in
13 your Christian experience back then?

14 S1: I think they were very much a part of our worship. It added to our spiritual
15 growth.

16 DW: In what way? How did they add to it? Perhaps it's obvious but it's good for
17 me to ask those kind of questions.

18 S1: "Whiter than Snow."

19 S2: I remember that.

20 S1: That's a very good song. "Dare to Do Right."

21 S2: We have all those books somewhere.

22 S1: It just speaks out to you.

23 S2: We sang a song last Sabbath in church.

24 DW: What kind of memories come back when you've looked at some of these
25 hymnals?

26 S1: They're good memories. I think it's very good. I always appreciated that we
27 had that opportunity in our home to know that all of these songs are good
28 and the Bible is very important.

29 S2: My folks, we always went to church, Sabbath School. I was raised that way.
30 That's the way we've always been.

31 DW: What was the place of music in worship in those days? Is that a weird
32 question?

33 S1: I think it was very important. It was always a lot of singing. We had a lot of
34 singing in our churches back home. We went to Glen Alpine Church until I
35 was 15. Then we moved down farther away, on the other side of Morganton.
36 Morganton was about 7 miles from Glen Alpine and then another 7 miles to
37 the place we moved to. Anyway, we always enjoyed the singing. I did.

38 DW: How did the congregation sing? Like, how would you rate their participation
39 in the congregational singing?

1 S1: I think everyone in the congregation usually, everyone was singing this.
2 DW: Would they sing the melody or do harmony?
3 S1: I'm not too good at that kind of thing, but my father and mother were both
4 good and that helped a lot.
5 S2: They sang a duet in college, didn't they?
6 S1: Yeah. In their school. They went to Madison College in Wisconsin. That's
7 where they met. My father's parents, I don't know whether they were
8 Adventists before but I think they became Adventists after the two boys, they
9 were the youngest of the family. They had three sisters that were grown and
10 married before they even thought about getting married. They were younger.
11 DW: How did the singing compare between say Pisgah or your other small
12 churches? The San church and the Takoma Park church? The early Takoma
13 Park church.
14 S1: I don't know. I guess they always had a lot of music. I can remember that.
15 They were very good.
16 DW: Did the San church have choirs and things, or was that more a Takoma Park,
17 big church type of thing?
18 S1: They didn't have choirs. No, they didn't. They didn't have choirs in our San
19 church.
20 S2: The Park church does.
21 S1: Yeah. We had at the time, a lot of the patients came down from the
22 Sanitarium. They'd come down there for the worship service. That was the
23 one reason that we were over there. Then when the hospital needed the
24 space, then that ended. A lot of people came down there.
25 DW: What about instruments? What kind of instruments were played in church or
26 to accompany the singing?
27 S1: The piano was the main thing. I don't think they had much other. Once in a
28 while somebody would play a special piece on saxophone. It was very good.
29 One of the members of the church was very good with that. Byron Steele.
30 Played the sax.
31 S1: Yeah. I guess he's still living, still going to church up there. He lives near
32 Hagerstown, Maryland.
33 DW: What was the relationship between the music and preaching?
34 S1: They always had music and then you had a good sermon.
35 S2: They had a choir too.
36 S1: Did they have a choir?
37 DW: Where was this at?
38 S1: San church. I guess they did, didn't they?

1 S2: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

2 DW: If I may ask about the worship. Just a few other things, if I may. How did the
3 people, the congregation, actually during the worship? Perhaps postures in
4 worship or their actions in worship. I don't want to put words in your mouth.

5 S1: I think that it was all very reverent.

6 S2: They all sang. It's very good at the Park church.

7 DW: Would they get up and dance and clap?

8 S2: No.

9 S1: No. Never.

10 DW: How would they give affirmation to things during worship? Would they at
11 all?

12 S1: Amen. A lot of amens.

13 DW: There were amens?

14 S1: Oh yes.

15 DW: Okay.

16 S1: A lot of a good thought in them.

17 DW: Would they stand for scripture reading or would you be seated?

18 S1: Seated.

19 DW: Some churches today have you stand for that.

20 S1: I know that they have us stand now up here, but we never had that before.
21 That's something that's come along with our new pastor, I think.

22 DW: Yeah. I think that maybe different veins of the church, even conservative
23 veins, have you do it. Maybe to show attention or something.

24 S1: Possibly. I don't know. It is new to me. I've never seen that before in our
25 church.

26 DW: Why was reverence an important point to have in the worship then?

27 S1: It was always. Always we tried to be reverent in church.

28 DW: What or who was being revered?

29 S1: I guess it's the congregation. People that come to church. There was not a
30 whole lot of interruption. Some places you get a lot of interruption. I don't
31 know. I don't really feel that that's necessary. I think that they should be
32 reverent. If there's something good, Amen, that's fine. I know that some
33 places, they have a little more excitement. They raise their hands and clap
34 their hands and all that, but we've never had much of that in the Park church.
35 They have one lady there now. She's in the choir and wherever she is, let's
36 say it's something that the preacher says, she's got her hands up there. That's
37 alright, if she wants to do it.

1 S2: She doesn't make any noise. She just waves her hands.
2 DW: Why do you think she raises her hands?
3 S2: Where did she come from, Lowell?
4 S1: Somewhere over in the Ukraine.
5 S2: I think it's probably where she came from that they did, or something. She's
6 the only one in the church that does it.
7 DW: What do you think that she thinks she's expressing when she does that?
8 S2: I think she's saying that she enjoys it or she agrees with it.
9 S1: That's a good point or something, and she raises her hands.
10 DW: Is it an act of praise for her?
11 S2: I think so. I think it is.
12 S1: Yes, I think so. She is a very fine woman. She's a good friend.
13 DW: Was the reverence though, did that have to do with something about your
14 thoughts toward God?
15 S1: Yeah. I think so.
16 DW: What was that about?
17 S1: You're reverent because it's His house and you're listening to the sermon
18 which is about Him. It all has a part in that.
19 DW: The sermon, was that the key or main part of the service? You were there to
20 hear the sermon primarily?
21 S1: Yes.
22 DW: Not necessarily to sing the songs, but singing the songs were important.
23 S1: Yeah.
24 DW: Why was the sermon and the scripture so important in worship in those
25 days? It could be today too.
26 S1: It's expressing your faith in the Lord. Every one of us, we have that
27 reverence in our mind. We want to express love for Christ in our reverence.
28 DW: By hearing the Word, you're reverencing Him and being obedient to him
29 then?
30 S1: Yeah.
31 DW: That's really beautiful. I wish that I could go back in time and experience
32 worship then, because it sounds like it was energetic or strong singing, but
33 also reverent. You were there for a purpose, to hear a Word from the Lord.
34 S1: That's right.

1 DW: Beautiful. You both have given a beautiful testimony about your own
2 experience. I know I've asked you lots of questions about worship that
3 maybe you haven't thought about, but that gives me just a glimpse of what
4 worship was like then. As we've been recording this here, my research and
5 your testimony here, this I think gives a legacy to the present and future
6 generations. In that vein, what would you say to the present and future
7 leaders in our church or congregation, the church? What can we learn from
8 these early experiences of worship? Of the '30s, '40s, maybe '50s. What can
9 we learn from then that would be meaningful for us today in terms of
10 worship and music? What is a closing word you would like to give about
11 worship and music?

12 S1: Whatever we have to contribute should be to lift up Christ. If we don't do
13 that, then we aren't really giving Him the praise that we need to. We need to
14 realize how much we need the Lord in our life. All of this is part of it.

15 DW: Do you have any thoughts, Subject 2?

16 S2: I was trying to hear everything. I enjoy worship very much. Something else,
17 we have 3ABN. We listen to it a lot.

18 S1: That's been very helpful to us too.

19 S2: Very helpful. We hear our Sabbath school lesson every Thursday night. We
20 have prayer meeting Wednesday night. We go to church Sabbath and we
21 come home, all afternoon this 3ABN.

22 DW: What a blessing.

23 S2: We love it very much. Like it a lot.

24 DW: Do you have any advice for the church about worship?

25 S2: That's a hard question.

26 S1: I always think of it as a time to give praise to God for all of His blessings to
27 us.

28 S2: As a child I was always taught to be reverent and never whispered in church.
29 Just the way I was raised.

30 S1: Yeah.

31 S2: We always go, if we're not sick. We go. I never miss it unless I'm in the
32 hospital.

33 S1: Sometimes it's easier to listen to the TV because you can hear every word.
34 Up there sometimes you can't hear it all. It is hard.

35 DW: It's a real blessing to take just a little bit of time from you and learn from
36 you. I really appreciate you taking this time.

37 S1: I appreciate your coming.

Oral History
Lovey Verdun
At the Oakwood University Church
of Seventh-day Adventists
Huntsville, Alabama
September 25, 2014

1 Lovey Verdun (LV) [Jan 22, 1928–]: My name is Lovey Ruth Davis Verdun. I am
2 the sixth of nine children. There were five boys and four girls. I grew up in an
3 Adventist home. My parents became baptized members of the Adventist
4 church at about 1920. I remember that date because my oldest brother I'm
5 told was two years old and they became Adventist. My early beginnings was
6 in the Berean Seventh Day Adventist Church in St. Louis, Missouri. We lived
7 in East St. Louis, Illinois. We were really living in the Lake Region
8 Conference territory or Illinois Conference, whichever. My membership was
9 always in the St. Louis church.

10 I remember some of the earlier ministers, Abney, Mosley, Delette. In fact,
11 Elder Delette baptized me when I was 14 years of age. As I said, I grew up,
12 all I'd known in practice is the Adventist church. I came up in Sabbath
13 school. I don't remember cradle roll but I remember Kindergarten. Of course
14 the junior Sabbath school, what they called Missionary Volunteer society.
15 One of my brothers was the leader of the Missionary Volunteer society and
16 my mother who was an avid reader of the Spirit of Prophecy, the Bible, any
17 books that were written, they used to have the missionary book of the year I
18 think back in that time. We always read that. She was very good at keeping
19 all of us children busy and present to help my brother, to assist him.

20 We learned the memory verses, what they called morning watch verses I
21 think it was every week and he was an excellent leader. His name was Leon
22 Davis. He was a minister also in the Adventist church. He was more of an
23 organizer and leader. He was over the youth work out at Northeastern for
24 quite a while and then he went to the Union Conference. I don't remember
25 now what the name of it was.

26 At any rate, getting back to my story. I was a nervous little girl child but for
27 whatever reason the leaders would give me parts for programs and I
28 remember investment programs and 13 Sabbath programs. They would
29 always give me little parts to speak. I had no problem learning them, I knew
30 them. My family, all the brothers and sisters, parents knew that I knew the
31 stories but then I would get up there when it was time to recite it or tell it and
32 just look out at the audience, especially if I looked at my mother and I would
33 just cry. I never was able to tell the part that I had learned.

34 I remember the first time that I did go through with one of the parts. The
35 name of that part for an investment program was either 13 Sabbath or
36 investment was, The Model Church. I'll never forget it. The Model Church. I

1 can't tell you what it all says but I remember that was the name of it and I
2 said it. My voice was just trembling and shaking the whole time but at least I
3 got through it. I think I understand why they were trying to help me to be a
4 public speaker because later on in life in the church I was a leader myself in
5 Sabbath school and in the young people's meetings. I just thank the Lord that
6 he bore with me and bore with the people and helped me to get through that
7 nervousness.

8 I remember probably in the academy I actually gave a mission story I think it
9 was at a youth congress up in New York. I stood in front of all of these people
10 and I was perfectly at ease and perfectly comfortable. What I learned was that
11 if I knew my part I would not be as nervous. Anyhow, getting back to ... I
12 mean continuing. What I remember, I remember the people. I remember some
13 of the people that were at our church at that time as I was a kid growing up. I
14 remember Mrs. Peavy and Mrs. McKinney. Of course it was a lot more of
15 them. I think I was still at home when most of them died.

16 I may have been away because one year, my ninth grade in school I went to
17 Chicago and attended Shiloh Academy for one year. After that one year I
18 came to Oakwood. I graduated from Oakwood Academy and came back for
19 college. I skipped a year because I told my mother I was tired of studying.
20 She let me stay home for a year and came back and then graduated from
21 Oakwood College in 1951. '51 takes me up to past one year of your study.
22 What I remember about the songs, actually I didn't remember all of them, I
23 remember some of them but to refresh my memory I have three books here
24 with me. I have a *Church Hymnal*, which I think I saw 1941 was it? Yes, this
25 is 1941 it was copyrighted. I went through and just wrote down some of the
26 songs that we used to sing [listed at the end of the oral history].

27 David Williams (DW): Did you use this hymnal a lot in your early experience
28 then? '41 or was it more *Christ in Song*?

29 LV: I remember *Christ in Song* book. I think we sang out of *Christ in Song* when I
30 was younger.

31 DW: Okay.

32 LV: When I was younger. This, as I said is '41. Then I have one that's '41 that's a
33 little bit larger than this and well worn so that may have been the one that I
34 used mostly. I went through [the interview questions] just this morning and
35 wrote down the names of songs that we used to sing a lot and I'll just mention
36 the names of some of them.

37 DW: Yeah.

38 LV: I stopped writing names and just wrote numbers so we'll see how that will
39 work out. Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God Almighty, There's a Wideness in
40 God's Mercy, Don't Forget the Sabbath, Now the Day is Over, Abide with
41 Me, Day is Dying in the West, Heaven is Touching Earth with Rest. Lord, in
42 the Morning Thou Shall Hear, God Be With You 'Till We Meet Again, Praise
43 Ye the Father, The Lord Bless You and Keep You. These are some of the

1 little choruses that choirs used to sing. The Lord is in His Holy Temple, Let
2 All the ...

3 DW: Earth Keep Silence.

4 LV: Earth Keep Silence, Before Him, Hear our Prayer O Lord, Look for the Way
5 Marks. This is one that I definitely remember because this has the story of the
6 statue in Daniel 2 I think it is. How Sweet Are the Tidings, Give me the
7 Bible. I have a lot of numbers, page numbers. I stopped writing the titles of
8 the songs.

9 DW: You said that the choir, are you talking about in St. Louis or are you talking
10 about here at Oakwood?

11 LV: Mostly what I'm talking about now is St. Louis.

12 DW: St. Louis, okay.

13 LV: My memory of the songs.

14 DW: Of these songs.

15 LV: I might also get confused of in my mind of the early memories. After I
16 graduated from college, I went back home and lived and was an active leader
17 in our church for 10 years. A lot of these songs we used to sing then too.

18 DW: Let me ask some questions about these songs if I may but let me ask you first
19 about the worship service itself. That will hopefully contextualize these. Do
20 you remember the order of service in your St. Louis church and do you
21 remember the order of service here at Oakwood when you were in the
22 academy?

23 LV: Okay, in St. Louis, what I remember is that it was vastly different from what
24 church is today, what worship services are today. The ministers would come
25 in on the platform, they would kneel ...

26 DW: Would the congregation kneel?

27 LV: No.

28 DW: They would pray you said?

29 LV: They would pray silently on the platform. They may have been speaking, the
30 ones on the platform could hear but it wasn't ... I think they mostly just
31 bowed. They probably had prayer before they came out. They would bow on
32 their knees, facing the audience and have a prayer then would get up and then
33 there would be ... I can't tell you exactly what they were saying but probably
34 a song that was sung at the beginning of every Sabbath service. What I
35 remember is that the ministers were very dignified. I remember Elder Webb.
36 He was Adolphus Webb. He was tall and stately.

37 DW: He was in St. Louis?

38 LV: Yes. All of the ministers, each of the ministers were very dignified. Their
39 mannerism caused you to respect them. I think people looked up to them. I

1 know I did as a kid. Then when they would get up off their knees they may
2 have sung this song, The Lord is in This Holy Temple, Let all the earth keep
3 silent. They had a streamer across the front of the church behind where the
4 choir would stand and sing that said, the Lord is in this holy temple. I think
5 that's in Exodus or something like.

6 DW: Habakkuk, Habakkuk 2.

7 LV: Oh, Habakkuk? Okay.

8 DW: 2:20.

9 LV: All right. What I remember, and we set with our parents in those early years
10 my mother had a lot of children but one or two was right on the side of her
11 and the rest were there beside them. I remember leaning my head on my
12 mother a lot of times and getting a little nap as a kid. The songs that we sang
13 were what I would call gospel songs. It told a story. It helped us to remember
14 what the doctrines were without just sitting in a class going over the
15 doctrines. We sang the gospel songs.

16 DW: How do you think the music contributed to that of learning those doctrines
17 then? Have you given any thought to that?

18 LV: The music means a lot. The music meant a lot because I think it's easy to
19 remember music and the words to the music rather than just learning a verse
20 from memory. I think the music had a lot to do with the atmosphere, with the
21 worship. The services were pretty quiet. There wasn't a lot of — In my mind
22 I don't remember a lot of amens. I remember there was one lady, her name
23 was Sister Walker Lee. Sister Walker Lee sat in the front on the right hand
24 side of the pulpit, not that she was at the pulpit but that was just the side of
25 the church. Sister Walker Lee, out of a members, I don't know what the
26 membership was. My guess would be 200 or more and out of that group she
27 was about the only one that would say amen. Her words were, "Amen now."
28 Seemed like I wrote it down. I think she would say, "Amen now." Or
29 "Amen." It was some saying that she had. She was about the only one that
30 said amen. It was just quiet. She was always responsive to what was being
31 preached.

32 DW: Was she a life-long Adventist do you know?

33 LV: I knew her in my childhood. I don't know exactly how long she was there.
34 She was there in my childhood.

35 DW: Was this typical of other churches that you ever attended that people didn't
36 give many amens?

37 LV: I think so. I think that was how they were taught and that's how the people
38 were. Of course they were out of Baptist churches and Pentecostal churches
39 and whatever other churches they came in from.

40 DW: They were taught when they became Adventists to be quiet in church?

1 LV: I don't know if they were actually taught that or if they learned it when they
2 came to the church to see how the members behaved. To tell you the truth, I
3 seem to remember that some ministers began to teach that our black churches
4 were following the white behavior. I don't know if you ever heard this or not
5 and that they felt that they needed to teach us black people how to react in a
6 normal way, which was to say amen and which was to be looser, more like
7 they felt like people should act. That's when, I remember this, that's when the
8 behavior of the members became more vocal, more responsive to the
9 preaching and the singing of the songs probably changed during that time.

10 DW: When was that do you think?

11 LV: Actually, that started happening after I was ... I'm trying to see if I was
12 working here at Oakwood. I started working at Oakwood in 1974. I think it
13 was around that time or later. Around '74 or later.

14 DW: Sounds about right.

15 LV: Mm-hmm (affirmative). The behavior, the responsiveness of the members
16 began to change about that time. It seemed that you were more spiritual and
17 more worshipful when you were standing and clapping. I remember when the
18 folk used to just waive handkerchiefs. If they were in a program ... That was
19 before I married so that was before '62. They would have programs and the
20 members would waive napkins. Have you ever heard of that? Handkerchiefs
21 or the programs that they had the program in their hand?

22 DW: I think I've seen it, yeah. Maybe even saw it on a movie or something.

23 LV: I remember those days. It was no clapping. We did not clap in church. I was
24 born in ... I didn't get to do that. I was born in 1928 in East St. Louis, Illinois.
25 When somebody sang or gave a speech or whatever and the congregation
26 really, really enjoyed it and wanted to let the performer know it we would just
27 waive either a handkerchief or if we had programs we'd just waive the
28 program. There was no clapping.

29 DW: What did the clapping ... was that understood then that you don't clap?

30 LV: Yes, yes. It was understood.

31 DW: Would people mention it in church? This isn't what we do.

32 LV: No, I never heard anybody talk about it. I just knew we didn't clap.

33 DW: What do you think that said about worship or the worship space or maybe
34 about God that you wouldn't clap?

35 LV: At that time, I didn't think anything about it but in retrospect as I see how
36 behavior has changed in worship in our Adventist churches, even the
37 preaching styles and all I personally I think a lot of it has come from our
38 leaders probably attending and this may or may not be true but this is how I
39 see it, attending other services or watching other preachers on television and
40 the services on television and then being told by one of our respected
41 preachers, pastors, and leaders that we should follow our own tendency for

1 expression, that things change. As different generations grow, come up in the
2 church ... That's when we talked about how it evolved but I just see the
3 change that we have today which is so different from what it was.

4 I'm not supposed to be talking about this that much but I sit in church now
5 and I remember one while I was still an observer, I was just there looking and
6 wondering what has happened.

7 DW: What were they doing here?

8 LV: Well the songs number one changed so we weren't singing these gospel songs
9 teaching us what the Bible says and prophecies and Sabbath worship and all
10 of that. Then once I remember praying and said, "Lord, maybe I'll just listen
11 to the words of what they're saying," because they were not the hymns that
12 we used to sing. I'm really talking more since in the 80s and forward. Your
13 study is before the 50s. What I'm doing is showing the change that I've seen
14 since the 50s and up to the 50s and then afterwards. I've just seen that change
15 and here at my church, I remember when the music changed to more of the ...
16 I don't know what you call it, I guess gospel songs. I would sit and just
17 observe just because I didn't feel that it was my worship.

18 After a while, I thought, "Lord, let me just listen to the words and maybe I
19 can get something from listening to the words of these choruses and songs."
20 Even today I really don't know a lot of music, the words to the music that
21 they sing. I just sit there and listen. Let me just put this in now. My
22 spirituality and my devotion comes more from my own reading and studying
23 and praying. I can come to church and I feel some of the spirit of worship but
24 my own spiritual growth and my own relationship to God and how I am to
25 relate with others comes from my own study and prayer life.

26 I come on Sabbath for the fellowship because you're supposed to go to
27 church, we're supposed to fellowship. The Bible says, "Forsake not the
28 assembling of yourselves together," so I come, I don't miss church. I'm here
29 every Sabbath. I come on Wednesday nights. I do feel something sometimes
30 in those services but as I said most of my growth and spirituality and belief in
31 God comes from my own personal study.

32 DW: In the past, when you were young did the corporate worship on Sabbath have
33 a bigger contribution to that?

34 LV: Probably.

35 DW: Are you seeing a contrast or a change in your own experience that how the
36 Sabbath corporate worship, it's place in your life has changed to today?

37 LV: Yes, yes it has changed and 10 or 15 years ago or more, probably more I
38 probably would not have said that I get more from my own personal study
39 than I do from worship. That's the change that —

40 DW: What about the church in general that you've observed? Is your experience
41 with the personal devotions and spirituality being the backbone of your
42 experience, was that similar for others in the older period in contrast to today?

1 Do people come to church expecting to have the core of their spirituality in
2 the service that takes place?

3 LV: I can't say what other people are thinking, feeling or what involvement they've
4 had in their religious experience. Sometimes I look over the congregation at
5 the people when songs are being sung and when things are being done, that
6 change from when we grew up. Some of them don't sing the songs and some
7 just look like they're there because I guess habit. This is just my observation.
8 Then of course some of them really get into the music. I'm wondering,
9 "Where'd they learn it? How did they learn this? Why do they know it and I
10 don't?" I don't know probably from AY meetings that was not attending.
11 Here again, we're talking about more current than back then. Your question
12 was more current.

13 DW: Can you describe what it was like to experience congregational singing in the
14 older period, in the 30s and the 40s?

15 LV: I'm thinking of young people's meetings more so than church worship, than
16 the Sabbath worship service 11:00 hour. The music was spirited. We knew
17 the songs, we sang them each week. People participated and when they sang
18 songs it was spirited and reflective. When you're singing about just over the
19 mountains and the promised land and you're nearing home that's what you're
20 really thinking about. We sang the songs.

21 DW: How was the spirit of singing compare, contrast from your youth meetings to
22 the divine hour?

23 LV: Really, I'm trying to remember the divine hour services. When I was
24 younger, kid during most of this period I probably went to sleep. Then I was
25 in the ninth grade I was in Chicago and I really don't remember and I sang
26 with the youth choir, junior choir, whatever it was. We were very
27 enthusiastic. That group was very enthusiastic. We had a good director and I
28 remember the last Sabbath that I was in that youth choir in Chicago at Shiloh
29 academy I knew I was going home shortly after that and I just had a good
30 time at that rehearsal with singing and jovial. I remember that. It was not
31 disruptive it's just that I just seemed to have a different spirit knowing that I
32 was getting ready to go home. The leader was very good. We sang and I can't
33 even remember some of the songs that we sang at that time. I was 15 then.
34 That was at Shiloh Seventh-day Adventist Church in Chicago, Illinois. Elder
35 Harvey Kibble was the pastor that year. His children, Harvey and Herlin and
36 Marie and seemed like there was another boy.

37 DW: The youth meetings you're saying, these are your hymnals for the youth
38 meeting?

39 LV: These are couple of the books that we had for the young people. This is
40 *Singing Youth*. It's called *Singing Youth* and this was printed, let me see if I
41 can get a date here. Nope. They don't have a date on that. Let's see if there's
42 a page in between there. Nope. No, they don't have a date in this one. Used it
43 during this great event of 1960 it says of North American Youth Congress.

1 This is your music souvenir of the North American Youth Congress festival
2 of the Holy Scriptures. As you use it during this great event of 1960 may you
3 sense new and deep meaning of the spiritual poetry and words and music. The
4 Young People's Mission of Volunteer Department of the General Conference
5 of Seventh-day Adventist. That's as close to a year that you would get for
6 this one.

7 DW: Gospel melodies, that's older?

8 LV: This one, you know what? I'm not sure because the date is not in here.

9 DW: The print looks older of the music.

10 LV: I'm sure it's it. Three and four. These are some of the books that we used,
11 "We have an anchor that keeps the soul steadfast and sure while the billows
12 roll. Throw out the lifeline." "I am coming, Lord. Coming now to thee. Wash
13 me, cleanse me in the blood that flowed on Calvary," and "Just as I am
14 without a plea that thy blood was shed for me." As children, these are songs
15 that we sang. The gospel was really reinforced not just in the spoken word but
16 in all the songs that we sang. "I will follow thee my Savior where my lot may
17 be." They used to sing this when they would baptize. I remember this one.
18 They would sing this when they baptize.

19 "I will follow thee my Savior where so 'er my lot may be. Where thou goest I
20 will follow. Yes, my Lord. I'll follow thee. I will follow thee my Savior, thou
21 didst shed thy blood for me. And though all men should forsake thee by thy
22 grace I'll follow thee."

23 "Is your all on the altar," Elder Webb used to sing this as a solo. "You have
24 longed for sweet peace and for faith to increase and have earnestly, fervently
25 prayed but you cannot have rest or be perfectly blessed until all on the altar is
26 laid." Then the chorus would ask the question, "Is your all on the altar or
27 sacrifice laid? Your heart does the Spirit control? You can only be blessed
28 and have peace and sweet rest as you yield him your body and soul."

29 DW: He would do this for solos at your St. Louis church?

30 LV: Yes. Berean Church in St. Louis. He was our pastor.

31 DW: Did he come here? Was he pastor here?

32 LV: I think he did. Seemed like I've seen this picture downstairs as one of the
33 pastors.

34 DW: I think so. Maybe he sang that song here.

35 LV: It's possible. I know that he was also the pastor of the Ephesus church in New
36 York I think.

37 DW: Oh, that's it. That's it.

38 LV: His brother was a pastor too I think but he was also a residence hall dean here
39 at Oakwood, his brother was. I didn't know his brother that well.

1 DW: These songs from *Gospel Melodies*, and the songs in the youth meetings,
2 would you sing some of these same songs in the worship service, the divine
3 hour?

4 LV: Yes, yes.

5 DW: There wasn't much distinction or was there that you would say, "These are
6 youth songs and we don't sing these in the church service."

7 LV: Actually there was another book that I had that *Missionary Volunteer* I think
8 it was called. *Missionary Volunteer*. A lot of those songs were fitting for
9 outdoor events and bonfires and things like that. Some of the songs, maybe
10 they sang them in the—some of those songs would not be appropriate for the
11 11:00 worship service. They were for outdoor outings.

12 DW: What do you think made them inappropriate for the worship service?

13 LV: Well, if I could remember what some of the words were you probably would
14 be able to answer that question yourself. What were some of those? Let's see,
15 *Missionary Volunteer*, they sing that kind now up and down with the
16 Abraham. Father Abraham. They sing those now. I don't think some of them
17 because they were for outdoor—you associated them with your socials and
18 not with worship. It was in the *Missionary Volunteer* book.

19 DW: You were mentioning that when the ministers would come in and then you
20 would sing the Lord is in this holy temple, or maybe another song that they
21 would do each week in the divine hour.

22 LV: Yeah, down here even. Let's see, when I came down here first and the
23 academy was 40. It was in the 40s. That would be within your study here.
24 40s. I can't remember. Did you ever hear the song, "Smile, Smile, Smile?"

25 DW: No.

26 LV: [singing] "There's something quite peculiar about this world of ours.
27 Sometimes you live in sunshine bright. Sometimes you live in showers. If you
28 would keep happy when things are looking bad just lift the corner of your
29 mouth and make believe you're glad. Smile, smile, smile and keep right on a-
30 smiling." I remember the song but I forgotten the melody now. Smile, smile,
31 smile and clouds will pass away. Where did they go from there? Smile, smile,
32 smile. It's better far than pining. Soon you'll see the sunbeam stealing down
33 your way. Those are some of the songs we'd sing in the young people's
34 meeting.

35 DW: It's a little bit more practical. Maybe not quite as doctrinal.

36 LV: "My Old Kentucky Home" is in this book. That would not be worship. This
37 would be outside, bonfires and things like that.

38 DW: Yes.

39 LV: "America" and "America the Beautiful," "Star Spangled Banner," "Taps."

1 DW: With the worship service some of these songs you have now dear Lord as we
2 pray? I think did you have that or hear our prayer O Lord?

3 LV: Hear our prayer O Lord.

4 DW: When would that be sung in the service?

5 LV: That would be a song that was sung right after the prayer, the intercessory
6 prayer. I don't remember all these different prayers broken up like that when I
7 was a kid growing up. We'd come in, they'd sing a chant and have a prayer
8 and we'd sit down. Choir would sing. There may be a solo or something and
9 then the preacher would preach. [tone transitions to today:] We have a lot of
10 music at our church now because our pastor likes to sing. During a certain
11 part of an intercessory prayer we'd sing choruses which are appropriate for
12 getting ready to worship because you focus on what the words are saying. It
13 puts you in a prayerful mood. After the prayer you're going to sing one or two
14 more songs. He will.

15 DW: This is here not today.

16 LV: Yeah, I'm talking about it right now.

17 DW: Now you probably sang an opening and closing hymn?

18 LV: Yes, yes.

19 DW: Was there other congregational singing or was that it?

20 LV: You'd sing the opening and closing hymn and the congregation would also
21 join in with a chant after the that opening prayer.

22 DW: Like, Hear our prayer O Lord.

23 LV: Right.

24 DW: When the ministers entered, the Lord is in His holy temple, would everyone
25 sing?

26 LV: Yes, yes.

27 DW: Okay. What were the instruments like?

28 LV: Piano mostly. I don't remember if we had an organ back at the Berean church
29 or not but probably did have an organ. We had two or three ... We had two
30 professional musicians in our church. That was their career teaching at a
31 school I guess it was. We should get some good music from them. I was the
32 young people's leader at that time and I would have them giving programs. I
33 would ask them to give a program that I would use as a fundraiser on a
34 Sunday afternoon.

35 DW: This was when you had gone back to St. Louis ...

36 LV: After graduating from college.

37 DW: Okay, in the 50s.

1 LV: Yeah, that would still be in the 50s because I graduated from college in 1951
2 and went back and I was there for 10 years. '51 through '61 as a college
3 graduate. We had the student professor Roy Terry—G. Roy Terry—was one
4 of them and Stanley Henderson was one of them. Professional musicians.
5 Then we had other musicians who were pianists at the church and who were
6 very—I remember that they were very good musicians.

7 DW: What do you remember about their playing that really stood out to you or in
8 their musicianship that stood out?

9 LV: Well, I remember Mary Thompson was one of our pianists. She was really,
10 really—they were hymns but she played them with—I don't know how to
11 describe it, but she was an excellent musician and her music, you just sang
12 along and if she gave a little interlude in between the verses and all. She was
13 Mary Thompson—Mary Spencer Thompson.

14 DW: Is this when you were much younger in the 30s and 40s?

15 LV: Yep, that would be, yes.

16 DW: She may do an interlude between verses you're saying.

17 LV: Between verses.

18 DW: This was probably improvised?

19 LV: Right. Wait a minute now. It would just be part of the music in the book
20 pretty much.

21 DW: Would they play just what's on the page or would they add notes?

22 LV: She could add notes. She could add notes. That why I remember her being an
23 excellent musician. She was very comfortable on that piano. She knew what
24 to do with that piano. As a kid, this is when I was younger but I just
25 remember that she was one of the ... I don't even remember another pianist
26 for the church. I just remember her. That was when I was young.

27 DW: Can you describe any more at all what she would do with the keyboard?
28 Would she have rapid flourishes or ...

29 LV: I'm not a musician.

30 DW: I'm not using the technical terms.

31 LV: Okay, you're trying to help me to understand. Yes, she could ... I'll use the
32 term ad lib and you can put it in your musical terms. Oh yeah, her hands were
33 going the whole time she was sitting on that piano bench with the song if we
34 were singing.

35 DW: Do you think that she would incorporate some of the popular styles of the day
36 in her accompaniment? Like harmonically, jazz sounds or blues sounds?

37 LV: No, I don't see her doing that.

38 DW: Maybe modifying the rhythm?

1 LV: I don't know, I don't remember if she was modifying the rhythm or if she was
2 just ... She probably added some notes of her own. Now that I remember her
3 niece was a pianist too. Her niece was one of the other pianists at the church.
4 Ida Whitfield—Ida Whitfield Ford. She lives in California. She married Dr.
5 John Richard Ford who was a medical physician.

6 DW: How did her playing of music affect the participation of the congregation?

7 LV: We sang. Well, I was a kid but they sang.

8 DW: Did they respond more or about the same to maybe people who just played
9 what was in the hymnal? I'm just wondering, did she enliven the spirit of it.

10 LV: She definitely had the folks singing with the music. I'm trying to think if they
11 even had who a chorister was in those days. I don't even remember. I don't
12 remember that.

13 DW: You said the chorister. Would that be male or female or did it matter?

14 LV: That's what I'm saying, I'm not remembering. I think the pastor probably or I
15 guess if they had a choir—they did have choir directors because we had
16 choirs participating in the services. Maybe the choir director was the one that
17 the people were following.

18 DW: Okay, okay.

19 LV: I'm not positive who was leading other than the pastor. I can't remember if
20 they had a chorus or what we have. What they call them nowadays? The
21 praise team. We did not have praise teams in those days.

22 DW: Just the single song leader.

23 LV: Right.

24 DW: Did the congregation, they always used the hymnal?

25 LV: Pretty much for the music. For the congregational singing.

26 DW: Could the congregation read notes then?

27 LV: I would think some of them were. I would think that some did because there
28 were other—I remember Sister Dewap that used to sing special music. My
29 brother, at some point who had a beautiful tenor voice, Jesse would sing solo
30 parts with the choirs.

31 DW: What kind of music would the choir sing?

32 LV: Anthems. I was trying to remember what songs did they sing. Songs from the
33 hymnal. I remember one man, his last name was Thomas had a beautiful bass
34 voice and there was one of those songs that they used to sing that the bass had
35 a prominent part in the music but I can't remember the songs now.

36 DW: Would they sing more recently composed anthems or would this be from the
37 classical tradition of Beethoven or Bach?

1 LV: I wish I could remember some of the songs that they would sing. One of them
2 had something to do about the sheep. The sheep and the basses would just
3 ring out with their part. You know how you have these hymns. They would
4 have different voices and different times singing but I can't remember the
5 names of them.

6 LV: [singing] Da, da, da, da. Da, da, da, da, da, da.

7 DW: Oh, "Seeking the Lost."

8 LV: "Seeking the Lost." "Seeking the Lost" was one of them that I remember
9 where the bass really had to ring out on that song. Yes.

10 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Indeed. What about singing the spirituals in worship?

11 LV: They sing spirituals ... I'm sure they did. They were closer to slavery than we
12 are now. I'm sure they did sing spirituals. I'm not remembering any right
13 now.

14 DW: You're thinking about at the Berean Church.

15 LV: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

16 DW: What about at Oakwood?

17 LV: Now, when I came to Oakwood, Elder Mosley was over the male chorus.
18 They sang spirituals a lot. They probably mostly sang spirituals. They were a
19 recruiting group for the school because they would give programs on
20 weekends and whatever to recruit students. My brother, the one that I
21 mentioned earlier with the tenor voice, he sang with them. When he came to
22 Oakwood and they heard his voice, he knocked one of the singers out of his
23 position.

24 DW: Oh, because he was better.

25 LV: I don't think that man ever forgave him.

26 DW: Oh no. Well, you've got it or you don't, huh?

27 LV: He had a beautiful [voice]. My mother was a pianist. My mother was a pianist
28 and my mother got a male group together at the Berean church when I was
29 younger, younger but I remember that she did that and by her being a
30 pianist ... I don't remember her playing at the Berean church. I remember her
31 playing a lot at some of the other churches where they were members. They
32 asked, there was a group of members at the Berean church who were asked to
33 go to the North—I think it was the North Side Church to get it started. The
34 new members they had a revival or something there and they started a new
35 church. My mother and father were asked to go over to the—that let you
36 know they were staunch members Adventist—they were asked to go to the
37 North Side Church to help build that church up and to help train the new
38 members and all. They never went back. That's where they were when they
39 passed.

1 What happened is a little trivia here, since we grew up in the Berean Seventh
2 Adventist and we would go back home to visit and we'd go to the North Side
3 Church, our hearts were with the Berean Church. We would go to Sabbath
4 school at the North Side Church and then go to the Berean church. We did
5 that for a long time. Then after a while people at Berean, you didn't really get
6 to know them that well with new members and folk that you knew in your
7 childhood were dying out so then we were comfortable with going to St.
8 Louis to visit and just staying at the North Side Church.

9 DW: If I may, with the questions about the spirituals, did the congregation ever
10 sing the spirituals? Congregationally?

11 LV: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

12 DW: Here they would?

13 LV: Here at Oakwood?

14 DW: Or in St. Louis.

15 LV: We sang spirituals as a congregation, yes. One almost came to my head
16 that—to my mind that we always. “Down by the river.” Those spirituals we
17 used to sing and I can't remember any of the names. “Walk together
18 children.” “Don't you get weary.” We sang a lot of them, I'm just not
19 remembering them now.

20 DW: Would one of the platform leaders just suddenly lead you in that or is that the
21 morning hymn or the opening hymn or something?

22 LV: I don't remember those begin the morning hymn. I'm not sure when we
23 would sing the spirituals because they didn't sing a whole lot of songs in
24 between the opening song or the choir song and the closing hymn. They
25 didn't sing a whole lot of songs during that time. At that time I should say.

26 DW: Okay.

27 LV: Choir sang one or two songs. Congregation opening song, closing song.

28 DW: Then those responses or those short ...

29 LV: The responses.

30 DW: That's interesting that the congregation would sing the spirituals. What do
31 you think that by singing the spirituals, I'm trying to make this a really broad
32 question, what did maybe those songs embody in terms of values for the black
33 church during that time?

34 LV: Well, it kept before us our fore-parents, forefathers. My grandmother was a
35 slave. My great grandmother was a slave.

36 DW: Where was that at?

37 LV: Virginia. I think they were from Keysville, Virginia. I didn't know her from
38 Virginia, I knew her from East St. Louis, Illinois because my mother, my
39 mother was born in Mississippi. Her parents were born in—Her mother was

1 born in Virginia. What I remember is that—Did I say my mother was born in
2 Mississippi?

3 DW: Yeah.

4 LV: Wahalak, Mississippi. You won't even find that on the map, that name on the
5 map. Wahalak, Mississippi is where she was born it was out in the country as
6 I understand it. Then she moved to Laurel Mississippi. They moved to Laurel,
7 Mississippi. That's on the map. I forgot where I was going with that. My
8 father was born in Alabama. Bessemer, Alabama. That's still on the map.
9 That's about 14 miles outside of Birmingham.

10 DW: Okay. Your mother's mother who was a slave?

11 LV: My mother's grandmother was the slave. What we're looking at is Jenny.
12 They called her Jenny. That's my great grandmother Jenny. Then my
13 grandmother, Mary. My mother Viola. My great grandmother Jenny was
14 very, very dark skinned. She had a baby by the master's son. She looked like
15 an Indian. Her child who was my grandmother was ruddy complexion. My
16 grandmother married a dark skin. He was part Indian. Their children were all
17 ruddy. None of them were dark skinned. My mother, in fact I had a young
18 woman visiting my house the other day and we were looking at pictures. She
19 looked at my mother, she said, "Is she white?" [laughter] I said, "No, she's
20 not white."

21 My mother was fair skinned. My father was dark skinned. My mother's father
22 was dark skinned. My mother's mother was—She wasn't really what you'd
23 call fair but ruddy complexion. My grandmother's mother was very dark. My
24 grandmother's mother was very dark but her father was white. All I can say is
25 white. I don't know whether he was Irish, I don't know what he was. I could
26 go back I think another generation and he was ruddy complexion. His name
27 was Sank. Sank Reid. R-E-I-D.

28 DW: You have a very meaningful connection to the black experience in the United
29 States then with slavery. Did that experience play a part in how you
30 worshiped or how you appreciated worship?

31 LV: That experience, I was a kid but I have one memory, one visual memory of
32 my great grandmother, the dark skinned one who was in slavery. One
33 memory. We lived in East St. Louis and that was about two miles from our
34 home in East St. Louis which was on one of the main thoroughfares. Actually
35 it was like a highway outside of where the people were living going south.
36 My mother's mother and two brothers lived in what we called Golden
37 Garden. That was the outskirts of East St. Louis. We lived in East St. Louis. I
38 remember when we used to visit them often because that was my mother's
39 mother and brothers. My mother was the only girl in the family.

40 One time when we visited them my grandmother and those that lived there
41 with her, one time when we visited her my great grandmother walked from
42 the back, around the house to the front and that's the memory that I have of
43 her. She was tall and thin and very dark skinned. That's the one memory that

1 I have of my great grandmother. I knew my grandmother real well because
2 my mother visited often.

3 DW: Maybe I can shift it just a little. I do have a few questions about Oakwood but
4 I'll come back to that. Did you ever experience in those years worship in a
5 traditionally white church?

6 LV: During my childhood I don't remember but when I went back after graduating
7 from college, now and then our church would give a young people's program
8 at the white church. The churches were there but they were separated and we
9 didn't really worship together. Then sometimes they would come over and
10 bring a program. That was the only contact in worship that I had with the
11 white people. I don't think we had any white people going to Berean at that
12 time.

13 DW: Did you know of or maybe even in those youth meetings experience a
14 difference or a similarity in how people worshiped?

15 LV: It was similar. In those days, we were worshipping like the white people taught
16 us. I remember people from the General Conference, if I thought hard enough
17 I could probably could remember the man's name. The General Conference
18 used to send somebody I guess from the General Conference down to our
19 church sometimes and he would speak. I remember one pastor, one white
20 pastor that I think I heard him myself. I don't think it's from hearsay. He said
21 when he got to heaven he was going to go over on the black side so he could
22 hear the black folks sing. Have you ever heard anything like that before?

23 DW: Mm-hmm (negative).

24 LV: Yeah. His name started with a W.

25 DW: Wilson?

26 LV: I'm trying to think if that's ...

27 DW: Neil Wilson?

28 LV: No, it wasn't Neil Wilson. I think they had changed by that time. This was
29 way back. I have to give some thought to that and see if I can remember that
30 man's name. That was a Carl B. Haynes who I think was very prejudiced I
31 think. I could be mistaken. That's not the same one that came to our church
32 and said, yeah when the minister said when he got to heaven he was going to
33 go over on the black side to listen to the colored people sing because he liked
34 how they sang. You'd never heard that before.

35 DW: What do you think he was saying? What made the blacks sing differently?

36 LV: Well, people were segregated. The whites and the blacks didn't really
37 associate that much together and they weren't worshipping together so he
38 would come to the church as a representative of the General Conference I
39 guess he was and he liked how we sang and so he said when he gets to heaven
40 he's going to [laughter]

1 DW: I just want to try and ... How are the people singing then? What do you think
2 attracted to him about the singing?

3 LV: Well, I think it was more the tone and the sound that he was liking and maybe
4 they were singing the spirituals then. I really don't remember what they were
5 singing. I just remember ...

6 DW: Do you think it could be the attitude the people brought to the singing?

7 LV: Could've been the enthusiasm. Could've been. I think it was more the
8 richness of the voice. I don't know. That's what I think it was.

9 DW: That they had a quality of their tonal production that was very beautiful.

10 LV: Probably like that today still. The tone of a white person's voice may be
11 different than the tone of a black person's voice. You think or not?

12 DW: You can hear it even when you talk to someone on the phone, right?

13 LV: I didn't know who you were. I didn't know what I would see when I met you.

14 DW: Okay.

15 LV: I really didn't. When I saw you I had to keep looking because you had your
16 head shaved. I said, "Is he white, is he—What is he?" [laughter] There's some
17 people at this church now what look like you. The shaved head and light skin.

18 DW: I just have to embrace my baldness.

19 LV: Since it's here, let's enjoy. I see you keep this though [a beard].

20 DW: Yeah, I have to put the hair somewhere.

21 LV: Right, right, right. Looks nice too.

22 DW: Thank you. Let me just ask a few questions about Oakwood from your
23 experience. How did the order of worship compare to your St. Louis church?
24 Was it similar? Were there some differences?

25 LV: When I first came it was similar except probably the music may have been
26 more professional.

27 DW: The order of service was ...

28 LV: Pretty much the same.

29 LV: Eva B. Dykes started the Aeolians. She was the choral director. I sang under
30 her one year. When I auditioned for it, I didn't pass because I didn't know to
31 tell her I'm an alto and I'm singing. I remember the song, "Face to Face with
32 Christ my Savior" that I tested on. I didn't do well on that so she didn't bring
33 me into her choir. It was later when I was singing with the group and she was
34 directing at that she heard my alto voice and she didn't know it was me. I
35 remember us ladies, it was a ladies group and she asked, "This one, is that
36 you? Is that you?" Passed over me. "Is that you?" Trying to figure out who
37 was singing it. All of them said no. She said, "Who is that singing that alto?"

1 All of them said, "Lovey." She had no idea that I could sing like that. The
2 next school year she invited me to join her choir.

3 My senior year I sang with the college choir. It was out of pride that I sang
4 with them. Let me share that with you quickly. I liked how the graduates
5 would get up from their seats with the graduating class when it was time for
6 the choir to sing and get up and go on the stage and sing. That's pride.

7 DW: You wanted to go up there?

8 LV: I wanted to get up from my seat and go up to the choir and sing in my robe. I
9 was able to do that.

10 DW: The girl who used to be nervous going up front, right?

11 LV: The girl who used to be nervous going up front was proudly walking up there
12 in her cap and gown in her senior year of college to sing before that vast
13 crowd.

14 DW: Do you remember Dykes maybe sharing some values about worship and
15 music in her ministry or music ministry with you? Some things that she left
16 with you.

17 LV: I was impressed that with her standing in society and at this college that she
18 was very humble person. If you didn't know that about her you'd never really
19 know it. I also had the privilege of somehow impressing her in some way to
20 communicate with me once I graduated from college. I think she sent me a
21 card once she was over in Brussels she was somewhere. She sent me a card
22 and you know how that made me feel that this professor remembered me and
23 thought that much about me to do that.

24 She was dating a man that lived in St. Louis. She never married but she was
25 dating a man that lived in St. Louis. He was a medical doctor. His name was
26 Phillips. I don't remember his first name but Dr. Phillips. She would visit my
27 Berean church when she would come to St. Louis to visit with him and he
28 would come to church with her. He never joined the Adventist church and I
29 think that's probably why she never got married. He would come to church
30 with her. In her coming to my hometown church that's probably how she got
31 to respect me and know me more and communicate with each other off
32 Oakwood's campus. That was nice. That was nice. That did a lot for my ego.

33 DW: Beautiful. Maybe could you talk about her expectations for music for the
34 choir for worship?

35 LV: She was meticulous. She made sure we knew the music before we sang it
36 publicly, whether church or wherever because she would take us over and
37 over and over and there was one song I remember that had a lot ... I think it
38 was mostly just amen. She wanted to make sure we knew that song before we
39 performed it. We knew it long before we ever sang it it public. That's how
40 much she wanted to be sure we wouldn't mess it up. All the words were was
41 amen. You probably know a song like that.

1 DW: Amen [singing Sidney Poitier version]
2 LV: Not that one.
3 DW: No.
4 LV: It was an anthem.
5 DW: Oh, okay.
6 LV: The one that we sang was now that you said that that's messed me up with
7 trying to remember what the other one was. It was a difficult song because the
8 different parts would come in at different times and places and you just had
9 to—We did not sing with music.
10 DW: You memorized everything.
11 LV: Memorized everything. This is how she directed. I remember one time she
12 couldn't remember because she didn't have lots of papers anything up there.
13 She asked me, I was standing in front of her. I was an alto and she says,
14 "What's the next song?" She was very good. Of course she taught English as
15 well as music as well as being over the choir I guess as well as music too. I
16 liked her a lot because her spirit was so beautiful.
17 DW: Do you remember Roberta Edwards?
18 LV: Yes, I worked under her. She was the registrar here at Oakwood. I was a
19 student worker under her.
20 DW: The only records I have of worship of the church here. I can't find any
21 bulletins and the only books I have are from it's called Church Record.
22 Church Records from '42 to maybe '47. She was the clerk and she would
23 occasionally in these books, she's usually just talking about membership
24 issues. Either baptisms or an occasional dis-fellowship. Even less frequent in
25 the book she gives a description of the worship service. She mentioned the
26 Aeolians and that's why I brought it up.
27 LV: I think it was Dr. Eva B. Dykes that started the Aeolians, and then Johnny
28 Pierre Louis also directed the Aeolians I think. He was in the music
29 department here after some time and the somewhere in there Alma Blackmon
30 directed. Then there was a Ricky Little I think directed them. Vivian, Vivian,
31 Vivian's the last name. Her husband. John somebody also directed them, the
32 Aeolians.
33 DW: They were the church choir during your high school/college years?
34 LV: Actually it was a college choir.
35 DW: They were the more specialized ensemble?
36 LV: They were the ones that gave the concerts and traveled off campus and gave
37 the concerts, the Aeolians.
38 DW: Okay. How often here at Oakwood would you have a choral anthem for
39 church? Was this every week?

1 LV: Yeah, I think they did special music, I would call it special music rather than
2 hymns although Lloyd Mallory was one of the choir directors and there was a
3 hymn that they both would sing, have the choir sing which was good.
4 Whether I remember it or not I don't know.

5 DW: You would have solos or vocal solos for special music sometimes or would it
6 just be choir?

7 LV: Now we're talking about ...

8 DW: Here at Oakwood or at your St. Louis church.

9 LV: Up to 1950? You know what I'm remembering is that for communion, which
10 we're going to have communion this coming Sabbath. When I came down
11 here to work I had a friend, one of the ladies I graduated from was a singer,
12 vocalist and she had me singing in a trio with her for communion services. I
13 don't ever remember singing at the 11:00 service. At that time we would do
14 the special music for the communion service. Mineola Dixon and Lovey
15 Davis Verdun I was. I was married then. I forgot who that third person. I
16 think that third person changed at different times.

17 DW: For communion you would have a special music during the distribution. You
18 wouldn't have the congregational song?

19 LV: They would have a congregation song but they would also have probably
20 during the time that they were distributing because that's done differently
21 now than what it was then.

22 DW: How would they distribute it then?

23 LV: Then?

24 DW: Yeah.

25 LV: Pass the bread out first and go through that and you pass the wine out.

26 DW: Oh, and do they do it all at once here?

27 LV: They do it all at once. You get the bread and the wine at the same time. Then
28 within a minute of your eating the bread then you drink the wine. You leave
29 the cup on the back of the seat where they used to come around and collect
30 them.

31 DW: Oh, as part of the service? Not after the service and clean up?

32 LV: As part of the service they'd come around. As soon as your finished then they
33 would come around and you'd put the cups back in there. Now you just leave
34 them because you throw them away.

35 DW: Oh, and they kept these little cups?

36 LV: They may have been little glass cups at that time.

37 DW: Oh.

38 LV: They may have been. I know they plastic now.

1 DW: They even have ... some of them little crosses in the bottom and you drink
2 that and then you see the cross.

3 LV: See the cross. Oh, okay.

4 DW: They're really special. I think that you've spoken on just some fantastic
5 things and you've pointed out so much.

6 LV: I'm glad, I'm glad.

7 DW: Did you feel that the church communicated anything about what to believe
8 about worship?

9 LV: You know what I remember right now? Dr. Rock when he was president and
10 he pretty much knew I was more conservative than some others. Let me put it
11 that way. Apparently he was getting complaints about the music that was
12 coming on the radio station. WOCG. He had me to listen to ... He asked me to
13 listen to WOCG for couple of days, different times, I forgot what times of the
14 day he wanted me to listen to and I did listen for him and I remember that the
15 report that I was to give him would be conflicting probably for him because I
16 grew up on hymns and what they were playing at Oakwood in those [days].

17 DW: When was this?

18 LV: This would've been when I was a worker here. I came down here to work in
19 '74 so it would've been as a worker that he had so that's way past the period
20 that you're dealing with. He was getting complaints about the music that was
21 being played. I also remember, what is that song about Naaman? The song
22 about Naaman getting baptized? Naaman when he was told to look—The
23 song is about when he was told to go to Syria to see—Was it Syria? He had
24 leprosy.

25 DW: Leprosy. He had to go wash in the ...

26 LV: Naaman had got leprosy. To go and wash in the river. You know that song.

27 DW: I know that story, I don't know if I know a song about it.

28 LV: Oh, there was a song that the congregation listened to some of them would
29 get the rocket on that song. I remember that I think it was Dr. Rock banned
30 them from singing that song at Oakwood because it go so jazzy. I haven't
31 heard it sung in a long time but they used to sing it quite a lot. The
32 congregation got into that song and if my memory serves me correctly I think
33 it was banned from being sung at Oakwood for a while. Can you imagine
34 that?

35 DW: Amazing. You've compared a lot of between then and now. Are there some
36 beliefs that if you can make it more toward maybe theology or values that the
37 church used to hold back then about worship and music what would those be?

38 LV: There used to be discussions quite a lot about music and the evolution of
39 music in the Adventist church. I don't hear any of that now. People just take it

1 in stride. If your leader wants that then that's what you get. Eurydice
2 Osterman, you heard that name?

3 DW: Yeah, I know it.

4 LV: She's written books, at least a book or two on music. I've never read her
5 books but I don't really know what her theology or what her comments are
6 about. I know she sees the difference now but how she really feels about it I
7 really don't know. She's our organist on Sabbath. She's in the rotation.
8 Jimmy Wilson and Eurydice—may have some others. There was discussion
9 when I first came down there they discussed it a lot but it seemed like it was
10 nothing to stop the tide of changing to the gospel. I don't hear discussions
11 about it. They just do what they do. On Sabbaths we have several choirs and
12 they have different styles of music and so I just sit there and I listen to them
13 and either I like it or I don't and service moves on.

14 DW: Some of the comments you made about how worship used to be. It sounds
15 like reverence was a really strong value or belief.

16 LV: I would say so, yes. Reverence.

17 DW: Maybe the Lord is in his holy temple—Is reverence the thing that was
18 achieved or was it just silence?

19 LV: That's an interesting question. I think it was more reverence.

20 DW: What is it about worship then that they were trying to teach back then that we
21 should be reverent?

22 LV: Quiet, reverent, listen.

23 DW: What does it say about God I guess or about who we are?

24 LV: That he's not noisy and he's organized and respected.

25 DW: I think that's really beautiful. This is my last question for you: You've already
26 left a legacy here with this recording helping us know how things were with
27 your testimony today but from what you've shared about what worship used
28 to be like, what would be some advice you would give to the present and
29 future generations that you would like us to learn from worship in the 30s and
30 40s?

31 LV: By comparison now in my mind there's a lot more performance and being
32 more aware of the performer and their behavior than actually promoting God
33 and worshiping Him. Now that's me because right now by comparison I
34 rarely sing in church. Sometimes when I realize, "Okay you're ..." We have
35 hymns. We sing hymns for the opening song and the worship song but I don't
36 know, I just rarely sing. I don't know whether it's because I'm older and
37 don't want to exert that energy, I don't know. [laughter] As compared to
38 singing all the time because I was a singer, groups.

39 DW: That's really ironic isn't it that you've said that here today that they sing more
40 songs today in worship and yet you're saying that you sing less.

1 LV: Yeah, because it's the type of songs. The more singing that I'm speaking of is
2 either before the intercessory prayer and after the intercessory prayer and by
3 that time the congregation has had an opportunity to come down to the altar
4 so you have people that are down at the altar and you have some of us in the
5 audience that stands. I usually stand during all that singing and the prayer and
6 then after the prayer you sit down and the people go back to their seats.

7 It's those choruses or what do they call them, I don't know the little choruses
8 I'll call it where you have the more singing but in the traditional sense of
9 worship you have the opening songs still. We rarely nowadays here sing a
10 closing song because they've sung during the appeal. They've sung during
11 intercessory prayer so when the sermon is ended that basically is what ends
12 the service when that because it's been appeal, singing, and appeal. The
13 person who would give the benediction, when the benediction is said then
14 you're finished. The service is finished.

15 Now back in the earlier years there was always a closing song.

16 DW: What was the function or purpose of this closing song do you think? Or
17 maybe the subject matter of a closing song? What was the topics that would
18 be sung about?

19 LV: I don't remember the songs, the hymns. We talking about the 50s, up to the
20 50s. I don't remember the songs.

21 DW: Would they be just about the sermon or would they be about the mission of
22 the church or maybe second coming?

23 LV: The music back in those days was more the mission, about Jesus. I'm trying
24 to think, yeah, they did have a closing song. They always had a closing song.
25 That was up to the 50s we're talking about, right?

26 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

27 LV: Yeah, I was down here. I went back home to my hometown church in 1951,
28 but I was away from there from mostly from '42 maybe. '42 through '51 I
29 was either in Chicago or down here.

30 DW: Okay. Thank you so much for taking time for this. This has been really
31 wonderful.

32 LV: Good.

Interview Questions
Answers and Side Notes in Italics

- 1 8. What was the position of the people during the music? How was the
2 congregation involved in the music and worship? Sitting? Standing? Kneeling?
3 Hands raised? Little to no physical movement?
4 *It's the truth too* [likely goes with question 11 below]
5 9. How did people respond to the music?
6 *Quietly*
7 11. During the worship music, what were people's attitudes about themselves, God,
8 and the world?
9 *Prophecy*
10 17. What did you believe about worship at that time?
11 *The Lord is in His Holy Temple*
12 19. How would you critically and theologically assess the worship and music
13 during the period?
14 *The Gospel*

Hymns Cited by Lovey Verdun
From *The Church Hymnal* (1941)

1	Holy, Holy, Holy	73
2	There's a Wideness in God's Mercy	65
3	Don't Forget the Sabbath	653
4	Now the Day is Over	52
5	Abide with Me	50
6	Day is Dying in the West	51
7	Savior, Breathe an Evening Blessing	49
8	When Morning Gilds the Skies	43
9	Lord, in the Morning	39
10	God be with You	35
11	Praise Ye the Father	9
12	[The Lord in Zion Reigneth]	7
13	[We Gather Together]	8
14	[Come, Thou Almighty King]	3
15	[Before Jehovah's Awful Throne]	1
16	The Lord Bless You and Keep You	695
17	The Lord is in His Holy Temple	699, 703
18	Hear Our Prayer	688
19	[Glory Be to the Father]	689
20	Look for the Waymarks	671
21	How Sweet are the Tidings	669
22	Give Me the Bible	655
23	[He Hideth My Soul]	651
24	[Showers of Blessing]	652
25	[To God be the Glory]	647
26	[Praise Him! Praise Him!]	645
27	[This is My Father's World]	646
28	[The Name of Jesus is so Sweet]	643
29	[We are Nearing Home!]	642
30	[We're Marching to Zion]	640
31	[Glory Song]	641
32	[I Have a Song I Love to Sing]	638
33	[Jesus Saves]	637
34	[Redeemed! How I Love to Proclaim It!]	635
35	[One Thing I of the Lord Desire]	634
36	[Higher Ground]	631
37	[Brightly Beams Our Father's Mercy]	628
38	[Bring Them In]	625
39	[Throw Out the Life Line]	624
40	[Rescue the Perishing]	623
41	[Sowing in the Morning]	621
42	[Watchman, Blow the Gospel Trumpet]	619

Oral History
Melvin West
Sunnyside Seventh-day Adventist Church
Portland, Oregon
September 18, 2014

1 Melvin West (MW) [1930–]: I am Melvin West. I have spent my life in music
2 from an early age. When I was six, living in Southern California I can
3 remember sitting in my grandmother’s gravel driveway facing the bumper of
4 her Chrysler. I say Chrysler because in those days the Chryslers had these
5 rather massive vertical grills. I considered those the pipes and, of course, the
6 bumper was the keyboard. What was even more significant for me was to
7 ride inside the car because inside the car those were the bench front seats
8 days and I would play with one hand up there and it was all through the day.
9 Went about 6 inches below that in the back seat was a bar for the backseat
10 people to grab onto, it went all the way across. I had a two manual organ in
11 the backseat.

12 I can recall that as we would go ... Of course I was always in the back seat.
13 My grandparents, I lived with them. My parents were in Wisconsin, this
14 particular time, finishing up school work. My grandparents would be driving
15 me and I would be playing and I would look at the car next and wonder if
16 they could tell I was actually involved with a musical endeavor. I can also
17 remember going to the Pomona, they had a big park, city park and there was
18 sort of a shelf for a stage and there was a guy playing a Hammond organ. I
19 didn’t know a Hammond from a hole in the ground but I knew it was the
20 hand organ. I told him I said, “You know? I’ve one of these at home,” I said,
21 “The pipes are just all over the place.” Of course, he could tell that I was full
22 of prunes but I was absolutely engrossed in music. I have to hasten and say I
23 have no idea why.

24 My mother was very talented. She sang I don’t know that she played the
25 piano. My dad all through his life and my life, as far as we happened to live
26 at the same time, he went to every program I ever had anything to do with,
27 sat on the front row, and read his Reader’s Digest. He was always very
28 supportive but he knew nothing about music. My mother did but I have no
29 idea where I got this business of an organ. I don’t know where I got that. We
30 didn’t have a church that had one. I think the Arlington Church the little
31 town next to Riverside it may have had a Hammond, I don’t know.

32 My grandmother also had a rooming house and one of her roomers was an
33 organist. She asked my grandmother if she could take me downtown
34 Riverside to one of the churches, I don’t remember which one, and I could
35 play the organ. Of course, I hadn’t even had piano yet but I sat there at that
36 organ and picked out the Dvořák “Going Home,” theme. I thought I had
37 entered eternity. Eternity was made up of a really fine organ and so ...

1 When I was 13 somebody went to my parents and said, “You know? You
2 really ought to give him organ lessons because he is so talented he is going
3 to learn quickly and he would just as easily learn bad things as good things.
4 Peddling for instance, fingering, et cetera.” My folks did that. They
5 immediately started me taking lessons and I went from there. My love of
6 church music I don’t know that I, as a child, whether I thought of it as church
7 music but that’s what interested me, that kind of genre.

8 Then, I went to an Academy. The sad thing, as far as I’m concerned, is that
9 as I look back on my Academy teachers ... You’re going to have to be really
10 discerning is what I’m going to say next. I don’t want to hurt anybody’s
11 feelings but the fact is I never had any good instruction in the Adventist
12 church period. I got my BA degree at Andrews, the guy that I took lessons
13 from could crochet much better than he could play the organ. We students
14 used to say that his forte was playing with a full arm from the hand to the
15 elbow on the keyboard all at the same time.

16 Anyway, it took an experience going on beyond that. During my senior year
17 I was asked to come to New York City and be the organist for the R. Allan
18 Anderson meetings which were held in Carnegie Hall every Sunday
19 afternoon. I used to say that Rubenstein got to play there once a year and I
20 got to play every Sunday afternoon at Carnegie Hall. Anyway, so I got
21 permission from Andrews to take the first semester of my senior year in New
22 York City. I went to Columbia University, I also learned then how to study.
23 That’s something else I hadn’t done very well at in. I got good grades but
24 they came easy for me.

25 Again, then I was really close to great music. I lived a half a block from St.
26 John the Divine in New York. In fact, I have said, on this coming stint at
27 Spencerville, my plane on Sunday doesn’t leave until 5:30. I would love to
28 go to church at the National Cathedral in the morning. I’m just drawn. That’s
29 what draws me. I have played some services in England, I did a whole week
30 of evensongs at Worcester and I did the Sunday morning service at
31 Worcester which, it was a real thrill for me.

32 In fact, one of the interesting things was that as the man who’s going to
33 preach goes up into the pulpit I’m supposed to improvise a big reed fanfare.
34 Whoa! That’s the only thing they told me. I decided I was also going to re-
35 harmonize the stanzas which I did. In fact, there was a row of priests just
36 probably 3 feet from the end of the organ. As I would do the re-
37 harmonization some would turn around, look at me with a very happy,
38 blissful look that I thought, “Well okay that turned out all right.” At least
39 they weren’t ready to shoot me.

40 That was my background. I have been a church organist ever since I was 13
41 until now. I’m not playing in church for more than just one reason but it’s a
42 chore to come here and to fight the driving. That’s 17 miles from my house
43 to here, that’s 34 total, and that gets a little bit old. Of course, I’m 84 and that
44 has its way of reminding me, my body reminds me quite frequently. I’ve

1 been really concerned and I know that in this church people complain
2 bitterly over the fact of having to “sing” this “rental music,” I’d call it, that
3 the church gets.

4 It’s put up on the slide but there’s no music, it’s just words. If you don’t
5 know the piece in the first place the absence of music is a problem. Now, for
6 some people if you had the music up there and they’re going to get through
7 it. They don’t know music, they can’t read it. It doesn’t make any difference.
8 I’m associated with folks in this community that do know music and they
9 feel like they’ve been taken advantage of to have these things up there and
10 it’ll say ‘Opening: Call the Worshipper,’ who knows what? It’s a lot of
11 repetition of words but it’s in a style that is soloistic and that doesn’t help.

12 David Williams (DW): Make the contrast for me for music when you were young
13 and tell me about how did the general congregation understand or read
14 music. How is the church music different then? You said that today it’s
15 soloistic so what was it like then?

16 MW: Hymns. I don’t remember being in church and having music that wasn’t
17 attached to the hymns in the hymnal.

18 DW: That was for congregational singing or for solos or-

19 MW: Both.

20 DW: Ensembles?

21 MW: Not much in the way of ensembles. Where I was, I was actually born in St.
22 Paul, Minnesota but that’s not where I lived. I lived about 70 miles straight
23 east of there in Wisconsin in a little bitty town. We had to drive 25 miles to
24 church in Menomonee, Wisconsin. This doesn’t help the music cause but one
25 of my best remembrances of church then was since we had to go through
26 snow et cetera to get church I was hungry before church was over. We had to
27 leave early enough to get through all this stuff. Mother would take me
28 downstairs, that church still exists, she would take me downstairs, put me up
29 on some kind of a cupboard, and feed me cold oatmeal. That was the regular
30 Sabbath routine, Mel would get his cold oatmeal.

31 I would say, the church was a farm community church. I only remember the
32 hymns and, in fact, I don’t remember having anything ... I had to make any
33 kind of a decision either liking it or not liking it. We simply had hymns.

34 DW: What was the type of instrumentation then?

35 MW: An old piano that might or might not be in tune. Never an organ, for me.

36 DW: When did you first experience the organ in church then?

37 MW: Believe it or not I think my first experience was at a funeral. I went with my
38 grandmother, I was seven at the time, went with my grandmother to this
39 funeral and it was, in fact, held at La Sierra University. It was held in HMA
40 [Hole Memorial Auditorium], they had an organ in there in those days. They
41 have a fine one now but the early one wasn’t fine. It all fit. It’s the same

1 thing I heard on Sabbaths. In those days, nobody had a set of drums or
2 anything of that type.

3 DW: You would have the piano and, maybe, at a bigger church you might have an
4 organ. Is it because of money? They probably had their piano and it was out
5 of tune.

6 MW: The church that I remember the most ... There was Menomonee, that's when
7 I was a little teeny teeny kid but following that it had been Arlington,
8 California which was just not too far from Loma Linda. It had something, I
9 don't remember just what, of an organ. I'm trying to think. I can't be specific
10 about that. There was an organ. At Loma Linda, I can remember also when I
11 was very young, at a single digit age, going through Burton Hall. I heard for
12 the first time 'Give of Your Best to The Master' which is one of our hymns
13 still in the hymnal. That hymn just did a number on me as just a kid. That
14 was just fabulous. I have to admit-

15 DW: What did that hymn tell you or how did that impact you?

16 MW: Musically. There was something about the way that the harmonies flowed,
17 that's what struck me. As I recall, the original thing that really interested me
18 was the harmonic structure and that's as a little itty bitty kid. That may be
19 why to this day I enjoy as, hopefully, tastefully doing something with the
20 hymns. I like to modulate before a last stanza and then have the congregation
21 sing in unison, nothing stronger than a unison, and just lift the roof. I'll
22 change chords. Again, it was harmony that gave it the best.

23 DW: I'm just thinking off the cuff here. What do you think this is saying about
24 worship when you change the harmony or when the people are singing in
25 unison? How does that contribute in a different way to their worship?

26 MW: It's the strength of the presentation. If you get people in this congregation,
27 we'll say, that don't know the hymn the first few times they go through it it's
28 disaster and I will not change harmony in those circumstances. What I will
29 do is play the melody. I just did a snatch of, what's that hymn? It's in our
30 hymnal. You know the hymn?

31 DW: Yeah.

32 MW: That lends itself to a tuba an octave low just magnificently. I don't want to
33 change the harmony. The guy that did that he did it just fine and so I don't
34 fuss with that. It's the hymns like 'What a Friend We Have in Jesus' you got
35 about three chords that take care of that one. I'll do something different but I
36 don't want to do it in a theatrical or a sloppy way at all. I've done it for so
37 long I don't know how to say it but I really try to be controlled in what I use.

38 DW: It sounds like you have several principles, at least, in your music ministry at
39 the organ that seem to be guiding you. That the harmony can create interest-

40 MW: Absolutely.

- 1 DW: Contribute to the grandeur of it that maybe helps the people direct their focus
2 on God and His greatness. Am I putting words in your mouth?
- 3 MW: Yes and another thing if you change harmony they have to sing unison. I can
4 make a congregation go from in, say, one or two measures at most and if I
5 start then changing the harmony, boy they get to unison real quick. It's nice
6 to hear a choir sing something that's obviously in harmony. They can't just
7 all sing unison all the time. There is nothing, in my judgment, that is stronger
8 from an impact on the person mostly in the spiritual world than unison
9 singing.
- 10 DW: Does that contribute or suggest this value of corporate, being the body, or
11 singing altogether?
- 12 MW: Yes and by singing unison they are singing altogether. Everybody is doing
13 the same thing. Particularly, if you ... I should show you what I'm talking
14 about sometime in terms of taking them from flowing out of a stanza and
15 then gradually building, and building, and building until you come to a chord
16 that is automatic, in their minds, what comes next. Of course, there's nothing
17 like a five seven chord. If you lead them off on a secondary dominant to the
18 sixth degree of the scale, I'm sorry, they're not going to know where on
19 earth to start. I make it a practice to lead them directly to the point of
20 singing. I put a nice big fermata over that chord and then they just come in.
21 People still talk about the worship experience at Walla Walla College after
22 the new church was built and after the new organ was put in.
- 23 DW: When was that?
- 24 MW: 1963. It was, at the time, the largest organ north of San Francisco and West
25 of Salt Lake. The church seated 2600 so it wasn't just a matter of size, the
26 size of the organ was necessary too. There was something about the worship
27 of that time. We would have students leave, go to the mission field, go out
28 into the world, come back to the college and say, "You know? The one thing
29 that we remember the most and meant the most was the church service." I'll
30 tell you that's powerful when you have students that the whole time that
31 you're working there, you're working toward that end. To make an
32 experience and, we'll say in this case obviously, a spiritual experience.
33 Really powerful. Anyway.
- 34 DW: You mentioned hymns, when you were young. Would there be a prelude, or
35 postlude, or offertory? Was that based on hymns? Would that ever
36 incorporate the literature?
- 37 MW: Off and on hymns. I think it was off and on hymns because we would not
38 have the kind of person in our congregation that was trained, we'll say, to
39 play the piano and therefore have access to other things that could be used.
40 That's the only thing I remember, were hymns.
- 41 DW: Would they play just from the hymnal or would they improvise at all?
- 42 MW: Mostly from the hymnal.

1 DW: What was the manner in how they played?
2 MW: Very conservative.
3 DW: What does that mean?
4 MW: Not too many frilly notes, just play what's on the page.
5 DW: A quick tempo or ..?
6 MW: No. I'd think of it as dragging.
7 DW: What did that do to the experience of people, you think?
8 MW: As a child, let's say, from 3 to 6 these are the Menomonee, Wisconsin years
9 I didn't begin to have judgment as to what's going on or why. I couldn't
10 really answer that I could put some words to it but ...
11 DW: Now, what hymnal did you use?
12 MW: *Christ in Song* would've been one.
13 DW: Did you ever use *Hymns and Tunes*?
14 MW: No. That was past.
15 DW: I don't know if you're aware, I'm sure you are, of the General Conference
16 saying in 1914 that *Christ in Song* was not to be used in divine service-
17 MW: Oh my sakes. I'm not aware of that.
18 DW: Perhaps in response to Belden and his leaving the church, I think, perhaps
19 too maybe to create some unity in the church. Just, for example, Takoma
20 Park Church, in my period, always uses *Hymns and Tunes* in the divine
21 service but I can't find anyone else using *Hymns and Tunes*. It would make
22 sense the General Conference Church is following their edict. You always
23 used *Christ in Song*?
24 MW: That's the only one I remember. The other hymnal came out in what, '41?
25 DW: Right.
26 MW: I think that hymnal came out in '41 and we used that when that come out.
27 *Christ in Song*, I think, was still around but, obviously, not used as much the
28 new hymnal.
29 DW: They still print *Christ in Song*. You can get your souvenir edition.
30 MW: Amazing. I've got two *Hymns and Tunes* that I've had the covers redone. I
31 say redone, as much of the old cover is there as could be usable. I remember
32 my dad, he was a high school business teacher but, he would find himself
33 preaching on Sabbath because it was a district church maybe the minister
34 had four churches and he couldn't get there more than once a month.
35 Somebody's gotta preach because people will be here at church so my dad
36 would be up in front and preach. I have his notebook, just amazing. He did
37 something, stay here, that I remember most clearly. [inaudible 00:27:43]. He
38 would stand pretty well beside his notes. From what I remember is that he

1 would [inaudible 00:28:03—showing some king of motion] but he'd look at
2 his notes. He kept talking the whole time. I can hear him as clear today as-

3 DW: Was he nervous?

4 MW: I would imagine he was nervous. It wouldn't surprise me at all, he was just
5 plain nervous. Oh dear. That was the visual part to the sermon.

6 DW: Would he choose hymns to go along with the sermon?

7 MW: I doubt it. I don't know how the hymns were chosen, I was too little.

8 DW: Do you remember with *Christ in Song* with that long format was it still the
9 practice that you could fold over and sing text from a another page to another
10 tune-

11 MW: Oh no.

12 DW: To line up the meter? You never did that? Okay.

13 MW: No. Man that's ingenious actually.

14 DW: They had two columns-

15 MW: I remember that.

16 DW: You can mix and match if you knew the meters.

17 MW: I'll be switched. I'm glad to know that. I did not know that. I know that we
18 do that, I've done that through the years. I can remember in Lincoln,
19 Nebraska I was very anxious to have their spiritual world augmented a bit
20 and I wanted to sing 'Love Divine' to HYFRYDOL which just works fine
21 and they said, "Ha! We can't do that. Nobody will sing. Who knows that
22 tune?" I said, "Come to church, you'll find out." The whole church sang it.
23 Don't ask me where they got it. I don't know where they got it. Maybe they
24 were all converted at the same time from who knows? First Christian Church
25 but they sing it just beautifully.

26 DW: I think it's easier.

27 MW: Of course, it's only five notes except for that one note at the end that goes
28 one note higher. Oh dear. I can remember a composition class. In my
29 Masters we were asked to do something making use of only one note at a
30 time and the class we just rumbled something terrible and the teacher said,
31 "Just a minute." He didn't say another word. He went to the piano and he
32 started playing. That is like HYFRYDOL. Only one note goes out of the five
33 note range. Well anyway.

34 DW: Amazing.

35 MW: I've done a lot of choral arranging. Choirs are just in my system, in my
36 church system. I just love the choral.

37 DW: Do you remember there being many choirs?

1 MW: No but this is later. This is when I got into my early teens. When I was 14 I
2 was accompanying the Messiah. That was in our church in Lodi, California
3 and, yeah, we had a choir. We had a big choir. The years before, I don't
4 remember any choir in my single-digit youth.

5 DW: That's probably in the '40s when you're doing the Messiah. Would the
6 Messiah be done in church or just like a Vespers?

7 MW: No it was like a Vespers. They might do one of the choruses in church but it
8 was a Vespers.

9 DW: Would they do other types of anthems and things in church?

10 MW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). Lodi was pretty up-and-coming in terms of music.
11 They had a strong music department at the Academy. I didn't study organ
12 there, I studied organ at the University of the Pacific in Stockton. Even that
13 teacher was ... You'll appreciate this. By senior year, I told you about that in
14 being in New York City with R. Allan Anderson, going to college there, and
15 so forth I studied with Claire Kochi. One day she said, "Have you heard of
16 the eight little preludes and fugues of Bach?" I said, "Oh yeah. I did those
17 many years ago." She says, "We're going to do them again." I'm a senior in
18 college getting ready to play, of all things the Reubke 94th Psalm on my
19 senior recital. I'm going to butcher it, I should say, on my senior recital. She
20 had to start me from scratch. It made me mad, not at her. It made me mad at
21 all the years of study I had done and gotten virtually nowhere. Anyway.

22 DW: I understand, I went through a similar thing but that's my experience.

23 MW: It's so frustrating. That's why when I went to Walla Walla I was asked to go
24 as chairman of the department and, of course, organ would be my specialty
25 although I taught classes too. I was determined that the students in my care,
26 all of the students whatever their performance medium happened to be, were
27 going to get good instruction. They were going to be able to graduate and go
28 out and take their GREs, not only pass them but not have to go on for
29 Masters and do a whole bunch of make up. I was just absolutely filled with
30 that idea because I knew what I lacked as I went through my educational
31 experience. I felt it was unnecessary to do that. You can have good
32 instruction.

33 I taught history of music. I loved history of music and I always started with
34 the arts. Let's take a Bach fugue. If I can show them a building that is a
35 Baroque building that has all these strands that make up this particular freeze
36 or who knows what? They can understand a Bach fugue much better after
37 they see what that is like in the Baroque period. Now, here is what it's like
38 when it goes through here. I really, really enjoyed that.

39 Theory was just like eating my Wheaties. I understood it and every class
40 period I had the kids go to the board, they couldn't all get to the board but as
41 many as we could get up there and say, "Okay, we're in the key of B major. I
42 want you to write three chords and I want you to start with the dominant
43 seventh of the sixth scale step." Then, of course, we get to the diminished

1 sevenths, and on, and on, and on. I loved to teach and that is one reason, I
2 think, maybe the kids did as well as they did. They seemed to enjoy the class
3 though they knew it was hard but anyway.

4 DW: While the Baroque period has all these frills there's still complexity in more
5 recent art music or as may be, to use words you've said earlier, good music
6 in contrast to music today. In good music there's still complexities in the
7 harmony and the counterpoint. In distinction then with new music, in your
8 opinion, what does that suggest about—when you use it in worship—what
9 does it suggest about who God is or how we should come to Him?

10 MW: Just off hand without having thought of that any sooner than now God, He is
11 of course the author of all that is and the complexity of His creation is simply
12 mind-boggling. It doesn't make any difference where you start with it
13 whether it's a mother duck with seven little babies behind going across a
14 street, a street with cars on it, and they have the world stop. Somebody stops
15 them, have the world stop, and watch this precious thing go across. The
16 beauty of those ducks and the little ducks, the beauty of the world, the rings
17 of Saturn and all, talk about complex. With the complexity so accents the
18 dissonance that what you're getting is ... you're not getting the beauty part,
19 or you're not sophisticated enough, or haven't studied enough to understand
20 the beauty aspect.

21 Then, I guess, I'd have to say if I were an organist of a church where that
22 was a significant issue it would be my responsibility to try to solve it. Solve
23 it by how I played, solve it by having some Sabbath afternoon Vespers. I
24 have long wanted to have an evensong or have a program at Vesper time that
25 was new hymns, I've got several new hymns in our hymnal, and do
26 something. We're not in church now, we don't have to worry about whether
27 we do or don't know it. Let's assume we don't know it because I've labeled
28 this thing brand-new music, brand-new hymns and learn them. I've had great
29 success with that, the people relate to it well. You take 460, "Thirst. . ."
30 [sings tune]. Right off the bat is a one seven if I'm not mistaken. Fine. You
31 come up with several chords of that nature throughout there.

32 Then there's Peter Cutts, I love Peter Cutts' harmonizations of hymns. That's
33 the wrong one. Peter Cutts, the hymn tune is I want to say BIRABUS. 356,
34 "All who love and serve your city. All who bear its daily stress." Do you
35 know this hymn at all?

36 DW: I don't think I do. Uh-uh, look at that.

37 MW: I would like to play it for you. Wayne Hooper was in Seattle when Harold
38 Lickey and I were going to do, I think, it was the Hymn Festival and we
39 planned to do this one. Wayne said, "You're going to do that?" He said,
40 "Nobody knows that. Who's going to want to sing that?" It worked well.
41 Two weeks later Wayne gave me a call. He says, "Mel, you ruined my sleep
42 for two weeks." He said, "I can't get that hymn out of my head." He said,

1 “The melody is just perfect, the chords,” and he said, “They just were ...” I
2 want to play that. May I do that?

3 DW: Please.

4 MW: [Plays hymn 356, as written. At “All who cry,” West holds the chord,
5 saying] Like that one. It just melts it. [West finishes the hymn, and plays it
6 again, this time, instead of ending on a minor chord with a 9-8 suspension,
7 he finishes with a 9-8 major chord].

8 DW: Beautiful.

9 MW: Now, maybe I ruined your sleep for two weeks. The melody is lovely but
10 when all of a sudden you come, [plays the chord again], that's a jazz chord.
11 Anyway. I think that when people get past the unknown ... That's what
12 scares people for the most part. They don't know something and so it's an
13 enemy right off the bat.

14 DW: Now, those type of chords used to be an enemy in the church and we had
15 statements saying not to have those in church.

16 MW: Ok. [Starts playing “What a Friend We Have in Jesus” with jazz harmonies.
17 Plays a couple lines of the hymn.] Talk about honky-tonk and some people
18 like that. They get that from evangelistic meetings. Bach doesn't have a
19 chance in evangelistic meeting. I think that's cheap. I think the way that
20 chord is used in there is not cheap because it happens along the way, if you
21 hear what I'm saying. It's not just sticking out like so. Harold Lickey and I
22 did a program one time in which he's trying to say, say, we have a round top
23 here every known piece of music in the world is on that top. Now, I'm going
24 to start here with my finger and I want to go the other side and not to be
25 touched by the stuff that I shouldn't be touched by. Let's say, [plays “What a
26 Friend” with the harmonies in the hymnal]. That's pretty straight. Now, he
27 said, “Can we allow just a little bit more?” I would do [plays it again with
28 some changes of the harmony and passing tones]. Ooh there's a chord. He
29 said, “Well, let's soup it up a bit more.” [Plays again in a more jazzy style.
30 While play, West says,] I don't play this stuff well. Now he said, “What's
31 your pick? What's your pick of these four styles or whatever? They're all out
32 there on this a little bit, there's four we've chosen. How do you feel about
33 it?”

34 They said, “We could handle the first one real well,” and she said, “The next
35 one, maybe, that's okay.” All of the octaves which I can't do. He said, “I can
36 tell you don't accept that one.” “No, that's not appropriate.” How did we get
37 there? We started pretty simple and then we ... I should play a ... I often play
38 the doxology when I first sit down at the organ. Here it is. [plays OLD
39 HUNDREDTH with new harmonies]. To me, the harmony it obliterates the
40 real meaning of the doxology. Now, I can fuss with that up there but I know
41 good and well that if we were to sing the doxology here, which we don't, I
42 would get a lot of negative comments on doing it with ... these are just

1 dominant sevenths is all which is the way I've strung them together that their
2 back itches. Does it make any sense?

3 DW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

4 MW: I think that it's this chord that Peter Cutts puts in there, that does not bother
5 me. Every known mutation of sound, of chords, of vision, of whatever, God
6 understands and knows. We don't know them. We may think, "Oh God
7 wouldn't like that." Do you know the other one next to 460? It's right across
8 the page. No, before, [459] 'As the Bridegroom to His Chosen'? This is
9 another Peter Cutts. [Plays the hymn].

10 DW: Beautiful.

11 MW: That is simple. There isn't a single chord in there that is like the other one
12 but it's surprising. [playing the opening chords:] There's a five nine, seven, I
13 think that's a nine. No, more than that. eleventh. 7, 9, and 11, there's your
14 13. Yes, I think, that you can. However, you're going to have to have an
15 audience ... I think you have to somehow judge your audience. Don't try to
16 pull on them all your years of going to school and all this, that, and the other
17 thing you can do. I did have one fella when I was first, I was just newly
18 married, I was teaching at AUC, and in Takoma Park Church I was on the
19 piano no less. He came to me after church and he said, "Well, young man
20 you know how to play but I have a suggestion. You need to learn how to do
21 it without so much dissonance." Interesting. Bam! I still use dissonance. Do
22 you feel any answers coming from me on that business of the chords and
23 how far would/should you go?

24 DW: It was interesting that you said that God has given ... blessed people in their
25 thinking about music, or writing music, that music has expanded in such a
26 way. Just to play devil's advocate with you then some would say, well see
27 then we're using this broader palette in new music today.

28 MW: If you use a broad palette and you stick on it some of the rhythmic things
29 that literally destroy what else you are doing. You may be fine with your
30 palate until all of a sudden you've got five drums out here, and you've got
31 five soloists, they each got their own mic, and they're doing their own
32 choreography.

33 DW: Now, that's very interesting. Several factors have changed it sounds like, that
34 it's become a performance by a solo or an ensemble. Even in your
35 illustrations at the piano, I think, some of that may be attuned by experience.
36 As you were saying, you have to judge your congregation but the later
37 examples rhythmically and harmonically sometimes didn't make it as clear if
38 I were to be singing along. While as solo music I can very much appreciate
39 all of them but as it became more complex it became more difficult if I were
40 imagining this whole place singing together. Which seems to go back to your
41 congregational value of everyone being able to sing together and making it
42 very clear.

1 MW: Yeah, I think, the congregation's important and just because they have to be
2 led. I can recall years ago someone, they weren't Adventists, it was
3 something I was attending. He said, "As a leader don't get too far in front of
4 whom you're leading because they will get you all confused with the enemy
5 coming at you." There's that element.

6 DW: Yeah certainly that makes sense. Maybe I can ask you a different line of
7 questions if I may? Just trying to come back to some of these that I have and
8 you've answered most of these [questions on the question sheet]. Were you
9 aware that the denomination had only put out the church manual's Order of
10 Worship in '32? I say that because-

11 MW: In '32?

12 DW: 1932.

13 MW: That's the last?

14 DW: No, that's the first. Do you recall ... you're familiar with the long and short
15 Orders of Worship in the manual, I'm sure.

16 MW: I'm not really.

17 DW: Maybe you can compare this. Was the Order of Worship similar in your
18 early memories of, say, the '30s and '40s to the '50s and '60s? Did the Order
19 of Worship stay similar or was there some flexibility, you could move this
20 order, this element somewhere else or drop it altogether?

21 MW: I'm trying to think when I graduated from Academy. It was in 1948 so I'm
22 trying to think. In those days I was not in the driver's seat. I was playing
23 because I was talented and I was doing whatever. I don't say that to pat
24 myself on the back but my talent got me busy. I was the last person chosen at
25 ball games. I hated to go out to recess and be a nobody in sports. I was a
26 nobody in sports.

27 What I was doing, I was accompanying the voice students in their lessons, I
28 was taking piano lessons from Vera Watts, and I was trying to learn
29 something from her. I was so busy with music that the only free time I recall
30 having was when my mother and I would spend summers in Yosemite. We'd
31 spend, at least, a month or more camping at camp 11, right where the trails
32 all started and I went hiking all over Yosemite all by myself. I wouldn't even
33 take anything to eat because I didn't want anything in my hands. I wanted
34 freedom. I was busy and I was busy doing sissy things. "He plays the piano."
35 I never was able to accomplish anything in sports.

36 DW: You said "sissy things" was it mostly women who played music in church?

37 MW: Yeah. I don't recall a single man. Maybe a singer would be a man but I don't
38 recall anybody else being a man. Now, of course, I look back at that today
39 and say how one sided, that's crazy. This guy over here, Mel West, who
40 can't do anything at basketball he could play circles around anybody here.

1 The latter part didn't impress me. The first part impressed me and gave me a
2 marvelous inferiority complex.

3 DW: Interesting.

4 MW: Do you relate to that at all?

5 DW: Yeah. I remember when I was in Academy when they were all at
6 Rec[reation] or intramural sports I was at the church practicing. In grade
7 school I was good at my sports because it was during school hours but I
8 would practice after and when I hit Academy my after-hours was still
9 practicing so I don't have those intramural experiences. I can still keep up
10 with the grade school kids but not the high school kids.

11 Maybe ask my question a little bit differently. Did you notice a similarity
12 when you attended different Adventist churches? Was the liturgy the same?

13 MW: I would never have thought of liturgy.

14 DW: Or Order of Service?

15 MW: Order of Service. I don't think they were far enough along to even think of it
16 as liturgy but yes it was the same. You'd have the doxology. I don't ever
17 remember a church without a doxology in those days.

18 DW: Was that at the beginning?

19 MW: Not necessarily. It may come at offertory time which is buried down in the
20 middle of the service somewhere.

21 DW: Did ever come after the sermon?

22 MW: No. That'd be a great place to have one.

23 DW: In Ellen's day it did.

24 MW: Oh isn't that interesting?

25 DW: In fact, one of her experiences in Australia, and I've looked at Orders of
26 Worship, this was a common Methodist thing as well but, she describes one
27 of her favorite worship experiences. That she had finished preaching on John
28 3:16 and then they sang the doxology and it was very moving.

29 MW: I can see that.

30 DW: It's the same tune we sing today.

31 MW: Yeah? Oh boy.

32 DW: Yeah.

33 MW: I will admit I always tried to get them to do it in the [Sings OLD
34 HUNDREDTH in the long and short note version, SDAH 695] What's the
35 word I want?

36 DW: Just like [in] the [Genevan] Psalter.

37 MW: What you call that? Yeah, Psalter.

1 DW: It's the Psalter's meter and now they've made it all straight.

2 MW: Yeah, I like the Psalter. In fact, you take a hymn like 'O God, Our Help in
3 Ages Past' Psalter just is huge help for getting your breath. Anyway.

4 DW: Maybe you can tell me did you have a sense of value that the church or your
5 congregations had about music? What did they believe about music then?
6 Not what you believe today or even what you showed me but what was the
7 place of music in worship?

8 MW: I remember reading that as a question and I don't ever remember it being any
9 issue that anybody talked about. It was something that you did. You always
10 had a special if possible-

11 DW: That was probably hymn based.

12 MW: What's that?

13 DW: That was probably hymn based.

14 MW: Often. In fact, I can't imagine it being otherwise. It was hymn based. You'd
15 have your hymns that would be sung, you might have several hymns sung at
16 the first, and one after the sermon, and maybe one at the end, whatever. I
17 never ever felt that I was encountering the same kind of service order
18 anywhere else. Not that what we had was all that different it's just that I
19 didn't ... Personally, I wasn't sensing any enrichment by having changed the
20 order of things. It's pretty, pretty basic stuff. I still, to this day, am shocked
21 that I got into music, got into church music. I don't know how.

22 DW: Now, it sounds like some of your experiences in the '40s the music was
23 getting more complex with having the choral anthems and things. Were
24 views of music and worship, you think, changing then?

25 MW: I suppose. It was more, I think, a matter of what's available. We've got a
26 choir here that frankly would curl your hair. Do you have hair? Said the old
27 man without hair. It's awful. The choir sounds simply terrible. It happens to
28 be conducted by the same guy that plays the organ so terrible. He does his
29 best. The group of people that sing are just very faithful non-singers. It's sad
30 to listen to them. Of all things, the director insists that they sing a cappella.
31 Oh joy. It's bad enough in harmonies that people understand but he'll get
32 some contemporary things out there that are just wicked and they're singing
33 a cappella. I'm sorry that does not work.

34 DW: Wow. Okay. Maybe I can switch gears. I know your time is precious.

35 MW: I'm enjoying this.

36 DW: Do you remember the ethnicities present in worship?

37 MW: Our world was a white world. I don't even know ... It wasn't until I was a
38 senior in college at Andrews. I went to Chicago with the choir, I was in the
39 choir in those days, to Shiloh. Went to Shiloh, to church, we put on the
40 music but we got the reaction on the part of the audience. I'll never forget in

1 Sabbath school I was sitting about this far from a lady, I didn't know her, but
2 somebody up in front from the pulpit said something and she went,
3 "Mmmm!" She just came right out, that's how she felt about it.

4 DW: That she liked it?

5 MW: I wasn't quite sure. I think mostly yes but they expressed themselves all the
6 time.

7 DW: This was probably what? In the early '50s?

8 MW: Mm-hmm (affirmative). That'd be no later than '52 because I left college in
9 '52 and got there in '50.

10 DW: That's your first experience with Shiloh?

11 MW: That was my first experience at Shiloh. I haven't been to any others. Number
12 one, I have never been without a performance job and that's been in white
13 churches. I never had weekends off, that was unheard of. The opportunity to
14 go to a black church or any church other than when I was playing for just
15 wasn't there.

16 DW: They were very expressive in worship?

17 MW: Oh my yes. That one shocked me. I think I turned and looked at her
18 wondering if she was okay.

19 DW: Do you remember then was there ... it sounds like a vocal way of emoting in
20 worship. Did they clap or have other bodily movement?

21 MW: I don't recall any clapping there at that time. As you well know now that's
22 my one Sabbath experience in a black church and I've never had one since.

23 DW: No but that's very telling and very helpful because it sounds like it stands out
24 in your experience.

25 MW: Oh it does.

26 DW: Can you describe, anymore at all, of how the contrast was between maybe
27 how whites in your experience behaved in worship?

28 MW: For instance, during the time of Martin Luther King I don't think it had to do
29 with his funeral but I remember seeing the choir in the church. It's a wonder
30 the church didn't come off its foundation. They were moving. Then you turn,
31 the camera pans the audience and they're not standing nice and still, they're
32 really moving but that's the way it is.

33 DW: That's like a TV experience you're talking about or a recording?

34 MW: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

35 DW: How were the people in Shiloh, did they move with the music?

36 MW: I don't recall that that much. In the first place, during Sabbath school we
37 didn't do anything therefore this woman that was close to me that was shock
38 enough and she did it again. The other rest of the time I was involved singing

1 in the choir. That doesn't impress me. I'm not recalling any motion. I'm just
2 sure I haven't seen a black choir on TV that wasn't moving.

3 DW: Now, let me share a little with you and maybe this is interesting and maybe
4 you could comment. I know you were part of the committee for this hymnal,
5 right? I think Alma Blackman she was on the committee, right? She
6 lamented the fact that the '41 hymnal had not included any spirituals. In the
7 1980s it wasn't just Adventism that starts incorporating the spirituals we
8 weren't unique in that, others did it. Could you maybe share some of the
9 thought process or maybe your understanding of the history as to why we
10 wouldn't have had spirituals in the '41 and why we did now in the present
11 hymnal?

12 MW: I don't really have an answer for it but I do have something to say. That
13 hymnal was put together in an extraordinarily fast pace.

14 DW: This '84 hymnal?

15 MW: Yes, the '84. Wayne Hooper would send me 100 hymns and he'd say,
16 without the words, "I want you to check over from a theorist's standpoint is
17 it correct? Any parallel fifths, parallel octaves, whatever? Take care of that."
18 He'd say, "Try and get it back to me by return mail." 100 hymns and I'm
19 supposed to go through that thing with a fine toothed comb and have them
20 back to him by return mail? No, that just didn't happen. I was very careful
21 and then I still missed. 'Mighty Fortress' is an example. There's a C natural
22 that belong somewhere in there and wasn't in the first printing. Wayne told
23 them, "Don't print a single hymnal after you reach 50,000 because there will
24 be mistakes." They said, "We can't stop. We have so many orders for this
25 thing we have to keep right on going." Of course, I don't know-

26 MW: 506. ["A Mighty Fortress"] If you look down the very bottom, and you look
27 in the last phrase do you have anything written in there? Your count four
28 should say, "One little word shall fell him," 'one' is not in print it is in ink in
29 this one because it didn't make it. 'His' didn't make it. Oddly enough, the
30 congregations they sing it. The hymnals that didn't have it they sang the
31 words because they'd done it so often but that's an example. There is one, I
32 think, it's 80 Jerusalem.

33 DW: This must be a later edition.

34 MW: Yeah, that of course does happen. Okay the second page of the ... and it is in
35 the first measure and it's in a C sharp as a second alto. C sharp would be part
36 of the key signature, that supposed to be a C natural.

37 DW: Yeah, this one has a natural. Yours doesn't.

38 MW: Does it?

39 DW: Look at that.

40 MW: This is an earlier one. For that reason, Wayne wanted to be sure we got it
41 right in the *Review & Herald* said, "We got to keep on printing them." My

1 point, again, is speed. The speed with which they addressed everything. We
2 went through the hymnal.

3 [Lowell] was high up in the general conference. I don't know just exactly
4 what role he had but he went to the big boys and he said, "You folks have
5 not given this hymnal committee any recognition." The hymnal came out in
6 '85. We must've started in '81, at least, or so. It wasn't until '83 that we got
7 the go ahead. For us, it was the finishing time. We had been at it a long time
8 and a Lowell said, "You must give them some support." "Okay, okay, we'll
9 give them support but they've got to have it ready for the 1985 General
10 Conference." It came out in '85 and we were all breathless because we'd
11 worked very hard. In spite of the things that got left out that shouldn't have
12 been, mistakes in the actual printing, or whatnot that's an exceptional
13 hymnal.

14 I took it to a Church of Canada. What is their church up there? Something,
15 one church there. I took it to a friend in Edmonton and it was in the
16 wintertime. I don't know what I was up there for, I was up there for some
17 reason to do with the organ. He had it overnight and gave it back to me the
18 next day. He said, "This is the finest hymnal I have ever seen. You have
19 everything in there," and he said, "You represent the new hymn writers." We
20 got Fred Kaan, and Timothy Dudley Smith, Fred Pratt Green, you got these
21 guys. The Lord, I'm sure, probably he was busier at that time than any other
22 time including creation of trying to get this thing to go through and to be as
23 helpful. You just demonstrated that we still have hymns in there that even
24 people of great training, and interest, and all, don't know.

25 The other pastor here, he's a good friend of mine. He came to me one day
26 out at the north end of the church and he said, "Mel, when did this hymnal
27 come out?" "1985." "Don't you think it's time for a new hymnal?" I said,
28 "No." "Well, why?" I said, "There are all kinds of hymns in this hymnal that
29 have never been used." I said, "There's a whole hymnal left in that one that
30 we got to extract and use," and I said, "It is your fault. You ministers are the
31 ones that call the shots."

32 I said, "If you would have a meaningful time for singing," I said, "Is there
33 anything wrong with teaching? Can we have a time for singing? There's a
34 hymn in there it's just perfect for the close. It's just nobody knows it. Well
35 okay we'll sing it in the morning in the time for singing and by the end of the
36 service it will still have some recollection or you'll have that hymn every
37 Sabbath for one month. That learns, that gets people, and people like what
38 they know," I said.

39 DW: That's very insightful. I appreciate you saying that. I wanted to ask you
40 about the hymnal and your thoughts on a new hymnal and so that's-

41 MW: There are just wonderful things in there. I sit down and I play it at home on
42 the piano and I think, "Boy, that one got in. We thought it ought to be
43 included but, you know, I've never yet heard it sung in church."

1 DW: I have two more questions for you, if I may? One is a small question back to
2 your early experience. When people sang, in your experience, what was their
3 posture? Did they sit, stand, did they ever kneel?

4 MW: I think it was a standing, that's what I'm remembering.

5 DW: Did they stand for other parts of the service? Like for a Scripture reading?
6 [West shook his head]. No.

7 MW: Again, that's my faulty, single-digit age.

8 DW: Kneel for prayer?

9 MW: Oh yes.

10 DW: For the morning prayer?

11 MW: Yup.

12 DW: When the elders came in and the preacher during the introit and they knelt,
13 did the people kneel then?

14 MW: I don't recall that. I know that the introit it was a hymn from the hymnal. The
15 ministers knelt up in front. I don't recall that the congregation did.

16 DW: The singing was a standing posture so that they could probably phonate
17 well?

18 MW: Yeah, I suppose. I don't know. That's just the way they did it.

19 DW: My last question really doesn't have to do with any of the interview
20 questions but more about if you could say something to the church, to
21 pastoral musicians, church musicians, or worship leaders as a legacy
22 statement what would you say to us who are leading worship today?

23 MW: Oh wow. I'm thinking of facets to the question. I think, there needs to be a
24 variety within reason, a variety of format. Here, I would like to see a variety
25 of sermons. For instance, Loma Linda ... Do you ever listen to Loma Linda?

26 DW: Every once in a while. It's been a long while.

27 MW: That man, Randy, he feeds my soul. My wife feels the same. I'm so taken
28 with the way he is able ... and he is talking on something very simple. I don't
29 know any sermon that he has gotten into it in such a way that you'd have to
30 spend all afternoon and most of Sunday trying to figure it out. No, he is just
31 down to earth and right smack where I need it. I think Dwight [Nelson] is
32 similar, very different style but, I think, there has to be ... when it comes to
33 music, I think, there's got to be a mixture of something that is either familiar
34 or sounds familiar and something that, if it's going to be contemporary, it
35 better be partaking of the quality that you'd like to see in something that you
36 want to hear. In other words, don't just do a contemporary thing and say,
37 "Well, that was done by Peter Halleck of the Seattle Episcopal Church."

38 It's got to be thought about but, I think, it should be thought about and do
39 something a little different. Bow to the children, everything here is children.

1 I get bored with that. I'm not a child, I may act like one but ... well anyhow.
2 Our church has become sort of entertainment which I'm not very happy
3 about. Of all things, this is where the familiar comes in, last Sabbath we had
4 an unfamiliar first hymn and we had an unfamiliar closing hymn. Now, take
5 the music off of it the words were what the preacher wanted. It's like a
6 soufflé that collapses before you expect it to. It needs help, it needs some
7 learning so have some learning in the process of edifying your church better.
8 You can do it with three hymns at the first in a little thing called "time for
9 singing" but don't just get up.

10 Again, the choir guy he gets up and he says, "[gibberish]." What number was
11 that? Nothing said about the hymn, nothing said about the fact that it was a
12 black hymn, or who knows what? Just say something about it. Particularly,
13 the hymn that you know they don't know. You do this with animals. You
14 want that animal, you hold something that you know they're going to like
15 and then depart from there. I think, familiarity is necessary but if you do all
16 really esoteric stuff you're going to lose them. They're going to immediately
17 call you high church and they don't know what they're talking about, and
18 say, "It's high church. We're going somewhere else."

19 I don't know if that tells you anything. You can do contemporary, Aria of
20 Flor Peeters. Do you know the Aria of Flor Peeters?

21 DW: Mm-mm (negative).

22 MW: It's a beautiful piece of music. It's great as an offertory if you need one that
23 long, fine as a prelude, it's just lovely music. It's got some interesting chords
24 but they're not really even dissonant chords. I'm very attuned to choir and I
25 just wish that instead of the choir coming in and simply slaughtering an
26 anthem, I wish they could come in, and do an anthem that they could
27 actually handle, and then do a choral preparation for prayer, for the main
28 prayer. You know the name Hubach?

29 DW: Mm-mm (negative).

30 MW: Paul Hubach he was a pastor at Walla Walla College Church when we first
31 moved into the church. He asked me to write something for choir, compose
32 something for choir that took account of people kneeling for the first yea,
33 however, many seconds and then go into the choir part itself. I wrote this in
34 such a way that it's just sort of like an extended introduction to it. I think it's
35 called 'Psalm 5' maybe called 'The Prayer' but it was intended to give an
36 aura while people are making noise, they're making noise getting down,
37 maybe they bump a hymnal that falls on the floor, or who knows what? Then
38 all is quiet and the choir starts. It's a beautiful ... On the other hand, have you
39 listened to Loma Linda enough to know what they will do, particularly, for
40 response after prayer?

41 DW: No.

42 MW: Their knees already hurt because sometimes the prayers are rather long and
43 then the choir sings an anthem. People are still kneeling, they're still hurting,

1 and they got to go through a whole anthem. I find that very insensitive.
2 People are human beings and these knees hurt, particularly, if it's not on a
3 carpeted floor so I'm sorry that we Adventists, believing in prayers, we don't
4 have kneeling rails. Oh boy, that would sure get the brethren up. Anyway.

5 DW: These are great comments and great advice. It's been really great. Thank you
6 for taking the time to share all these memories.

Oral History
David Wrate
Battle Creek Tabernacle of Seventh-day Adventists
Battle Creek, Michigan
March 25, 2017

1 David Wrate [1928–]: I’m the fifth child in a family of eight. There were eight of
2 us, three girls. My dad and mother graduated from Battle Creek
3 Academy. I don’t think it was 12 grades, I think it was 10 grades at that
4 time. They got married and started a family. Came to the Tabernacle
5 Church and I don’t know why, but as I understand, they left the baby
6 carriage in the basement of the Dime Tabernacle, which burned, because
7 they lived just a few blocks south of here.

8 After the church burned it seemed that there wasn’t room for all the
9 people that had gone to the Dime Tabernacle and they were kind of
10 crowded so my parents were involved in starting the church in
11 Urbandale. After a few years, well at the time that I was born, they had
12 started a church in Bedford. That’s only about seven or eight miles from
13 here, Urbandale and then Bedford. That’s where my dad had been raised
14 in the Bedford area. They started a church up there and I don’t
15 remember any other church until ... Well we came and visited the
16 Tabernacle on special occasions.

17 I married a gal that was a classmate. We graduated in 1946. I became
18 somewhat disenchanted with the church. I had my name taken off of the
19 church books, because I was not too happy with it. One of my friends
20 came and said, “You know Dave, you ought to come back to church.” I
21 said, “Why?” He said, “Well you just need to.” I felt the need anyway. I
22 attended a few times, and before I bailed out, I had been able to sing in
23 the choir. We had a quite a time. Frank Foote was the director.

24 David Williams: I’ve spoken with Charles.

25 Wrate: Yep that’s his oldest son. When I came back I went to Frank and I said,
26 “Can I sing in the choir?” He said, “Yes we’d like to have you.”
27 Probably you’re talking about music and relationship with the church,
28 that probably did more for me than any one minister. Learning the songs
29 and singing the songs. One of them, we each year, would go to camp
30 meeting at Grand Ledge and Frank was the director of the choir for the
31 camp meeting almost every year. Then general conference was held in
32 Cleveland Ohio and we trained to sing two numbers for General
33 Conference. He was very insistent that we get it just right with the
34 speaking and all of the emphasis and so forth. That was a highlight of
35 singing with the choir.

36 Williams: What year did you come back and rejoin the choir? Do you know
37 around what year that was?

38 Wrate: Probably about ‘78, ‘79, ‘80, right in there.

1 Williams: You were saying around soon after you were married, you left the
2 church?

3 Wrate: Let me see, maybe about '70 I decided I didn't want to belong to the
4 church anymore.

5 Williams: You're talking about being gone maybe a ten year span or something,
6 really quite late it sounds like.

7 Wrate: Right.

8 Williams: You said you were married in '46?

9 Wrate: '47. We graduated in '46. We were 19 when we got married.

10 Williams: High school sweethearts.

11 Wrate: Yep. I went to Andrews one year after '46-47 and we got married July
12 15 of 1947. To go back to college to get some college I decided to go to
13 a business school here in town, because we are going to have a baby.
14 For me to be able to do that because my dad was a factory worker. He
15 never helped with—well he helped a little bit through high school but
16 not much financially. It's my responsibility to pay for my own college
17 whatever. I worked at the Veterans Administration Hospital from 11 at
18 night to 7 in the morning and went to school from 8 to 4:30, six nights a
19 week five days a week.

20 Williams: Let me go back if I may. Just so that I'm hearing you right. You said
21 that for one of your older sisters, your parent's baby carriage had been
22 left in the Dime Tabernacle, and it was burned up in that fire, without
23 the baby.

24 Wrate: That was my oldest sister. Her name was Glenna.

25 Williams: Your parents were members of the Dime it sounds like.

26 Wrate: Mm-hmm (affirmative)

27 Williams: Did they ever share with you what the church or worship was like in the
28 Dime?

29 Wrate: No. They had eight kids.

30 Williams: Now this church is built in what '29?

31 Wrate: The 30s. '28, '29, '30.

32 Williams: After the fire where are they worshipping then?

33 Wrate: I don't know where they went locally. Whether they had services in
34 other churches or where they did have them. My parents having that
35 many kids, they didn't want noisy kids in those places so that was one
36 of the incentives, as I understand, to go and start a new church in
37 Urbandale. My folks bought some ground and built a house out there,
38 about a mile from that church.

1 Williams: Are your parent's responsible for starting that church or is there a group
2 of people?

3 Wrate: Helping. I don't know who the other people were that were responsible
4 for it. My dad was pretty much responsible for the Bedford Church.
5 When the membership got down to nothing virtually ... Well when they
6 moved out there my grandmother lived right next door to this building
7 that was some kind of a hall, two story building. The church was on the
8 second floor and on the first floor there were two school rooms. They
9 had a ten-grade school there, two teachers. We lived right next door. As
10 kids grew and families moved away from that area, the church went
11 down to virtually no kids. My parents went back to the Urbandale
12 church and about that time I went to this one because I got married. She
13 drafted me.

14 Anyway, the church that they build in Urbandale or put together, well
15 they did build it yeah, was too small. They went out north of Urbandale
16 a little ways and bought some more ground and my dad was
17 instrumental in helping get that built. Not physically but in ideas and
18 church board and all of that kind of stuff.

19 Williams: You probably have memory at the Urbandale Church in the late 30s?

20 Wrate: Not much. We went to the Bedford Church and we were still going to
21 the Bedford Church when I started at Adelpian Academy. After one
22 year, I came back to Battle Creek Academy. My folks were going to
23 Urbandale because the Bedford church had dwindled down to nothing.

24 Williams: How did the worship and the spirit of it compare between Bedford,
25 Urbandale, then coming to the Tabernacle?

26 Wrate: I was a kid in Bedford so many of the sermons were the elders or
27 whatever at the church. Of course, music was kind of rough. I'm not a
28 musician. I'm a lover of good music like Julie [Simmon]'s singing
29 today and her mother playing the piano. Her mother of course has
30 perfect pitch. I guess that can be a real problem because when I hear a
31 sound that isn't right I go, "Ooh." That's why I do feel so strongly about
32 the music we have here at the church because it's almost all
33 professional. Almost all of our music that we have is semi-professional.
34 Then of course we have [Robert] Buddy Houghtaling tonight that has
35 recorded quite a few songs. He was the one that put together the music
36 for 3ABN kids. I'm critical of not good music. Of course, we sang the
37 Messiah which to me is very beautiful because I was thinking about one
38 of them yesterday. "Surely, He hath borne our griefs." That's a very
39 touching one. We always kidded each other. If we're going to sing the
40 "Amen Chorus," do you think when we get through we should say
41 amen?

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