

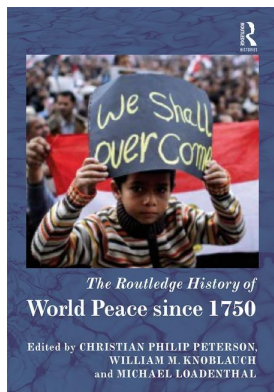
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### Apocalyptic Dissenters

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## APOCALYPTIC DISSENTERS

### Seventh-day Adventists and peace activism in the nineteenth century

*Abel Rios*

Standing before Methodist delegates in 1899, President William McKinley described his decision to take the United States into a war with Spain over the Philippines. While he did not know exactly what to do when “the Philippines dropped into our [the United States] laps,” McKinley stated that out of desperation he prayed for God’s guidance. The president’s options were as follows: He could do nothing at all, but that course would be “cowardly.” Or, he could turn the Philippines over to France or Germany, a decision he deemed “bad business”; McKinley could likewise simply let them govern themselves, but in a common late nineteenth-century Anglo estimation, they were “unfit for self-government.” Finally, the president concluded there was only one solution: To “educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them.”<sup>1</sup>

As the historian Susan A. Brewer argues, McKinley’s speech “summed up the key principled, pragmatic, and prejudiced justification of the president’s imperial policy.”<sup>2</sup> Many Protestant Americans shared these views, because just like McKinley, they tended to think of the conduct of US foreign policy in religious terms. The Spanish–American War marked a turning point in American foreign relations because the United States “broke precedent” in its acquisition of “overseas colonies” that US policymakers had no intention of admitting as states. For many Protestants, such a move put the United States in a stronger position to fulfill its “divine mission” of extending American influence and trade throughout the world, goals that defenders tried to hide by framing their behavior as an example of Christian benevolence and democratic freedom to the people in the Pacific Islands.<sup>3</sup>

But a minority of religious, civil liberty, and anti-imperialistic groups protested, among them were the noncombatant Seventh-day Adventists. Many Adventists did not share their Protestant counterparts’ enthusiasm, in part because of what historian Douglas Morgan calls their “apocalyptic theology of history” which challenged the “conception of the United States as an instrument of progress.” Indeed, Adventists asserted that “apocalyptic Scripture cast the Republic [America] as a persecuting beast.” It was a view based, in part, on Protestant America’s treatment of dissenting groups, such as the Adventists, who believed in civil and religious liberties but rejected the idea of American exceptionalism—the belief that as a country, America was unique. This rejection grew out of a belief that as a “persecuting beast,” the United States would act in ways that made a peaceful future impossible.<sup>4</sup>

Little is written about the Seventh-day Adventist Church and its early efforts to promote peace. The overall depiction that emerges from existing literature about Adventists describes

them similarly to members of other Protestant peace churches (Quakers, Mennonites, and the Brethren). Unlike these churches, however, Adventists believed that it was their “prophetic mission” to call attention to America’s imperialistic policies. Therefore, while the church’s activities were somewhat similar to other peace churches, its theology and activism developed differently, especially because it merged peace and religious liberty ideals along with apocalyptic interpretations of the end times, thereby creating a unique brand of American peace activism.<sup>5</sup>

This chapter explores the evolution of the Adventists’ unique brand of peace activism during the 1800s. It describes how Adventists spoke out against American imperialism and critiqued US war propaganda. When addressing these topics, it will show that Adventists opposed pro-war rhetoric in the United States because such language contradicted their apocalyptic identity—a view that privileged the unique role of the United States in global affairs. By exploring these topics, the following pages demonstrate how and why Adventists became unpopular critics of American wars during the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

### **Religious freedom and peace activism**

Since forming in the 1840s, Adventists asserted that they were living in a time just before the second coming of Jesus Christ; with the end of the world fast approaching, it was their divine mission to preach the coming of their Savior. It was a message based on the book of Revelation, specifically their identification with the “third angel’s message” of Revelation 14:6–12. Adventists worked to call people “out of Babylon” or “apostatized” American Protestantism, which in their interpretation would become corrupt, suppress civil and religious liberties, and extend an imperialistic agenda across the world. This view of America was an integral part of Adventism’s mission, one that applied the historicist interpretation of Bible prophecy, which interprets the events of Revelation as progressive fulfillments of history from the first century AD until the return of Jesus Christ. It was a view based on Revelation Chapter 13, in which two beasts or religious/political powers would initiate a final battle against the people of God. For centuries, many Protestant interpreters believed Revelation tied the first beast to Roman Catholicism and more specifically the Papacy. Although opinions among Protestants on the identity of the second beast varied widely, Adventists saw it as the United States.<sup>7</sup>

This interpretation of the United States as the second beast of Revelation was based on two main features: First, the beast looks like a lamb but later it speaks like a dragon; second, it has two prominent horns. John N. Andrews, a young Adventist theologian, first applied this interpretation to the United States, citing the two horns as Republicanism or civil liberties and Protestantism or religious liberties. The “lamb” referred to America’s establishment of civil and religious liberties, which would be replaced in a future persecution when it would “speak like a dragon” and betray those principles to further the plan of apostate American Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. This interpretation led many Adventists to view American Protestants’ prominence in politics as a dangerous threat to civil and religious liberties, and to peace. In fact, Andrews and other Adventists pointed to several aspects of American society that had become “fulfillments” of their interpretations, including the institution of slavery in America.<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, this struggle for civil and religious freedom would be central to Adventists’ development as promoters of peace. Unlike other peace churches that established their

identity primarily around their understanding of peace, Adventists self-identified by speaking out against Protestant America's suppression of liberties domestically, and later against other nations' sovereignty in the Spanish–American War. Before 1898, however, another American war would influence the Adventist understanding of their apocalyptic theology of history in relation to peace theology.<sup>9</sup>

### **Adventists and ecclesiastical activism**

By the 1850s and 1860s, prominent Adventists from New England were well represented in the New England Non-Resistance Society. In fact, Joseph Bates, a co-founder of the church, organized an anti-slavery society in Fairhaven, Massachusetts; John Byington, the first General Conference president, operated an underground railroad in New York. Ellen White, who the church considered to be a prophetess, urged the church to remove members who held pro-slavery views.<sup>10</sup> She also called for Adventists to disobey the *Fugitive Slave Act* (1850)—a law that required escaped slaves to be returned to their masters—no matter what “the consequences may be.”<sup>11</sup> At the start of the US Civil War, ambiguity remained on how the church should respond to slavery, an uncertainty based on a still-developing understanding of non-violence, the Ten Commandments, an apocalyptic outlook, and a belief that preparing for the return of Jesus Christ would bring an end to slavery.<sup>12</sup> It was an era of ecclesiastical activism, in which the church focused on securing non-combatant status for its members.

As the war continued, some abolitionists were critical of Adventists' focus on the return of Christ and a perceived lack of interest in eradicating slavery. After some debate, Adventist leaders affirmed their commitment to peace. Church leaders focused their efforts to promote peace by requesting non-combatant status for their members.<sup>13</sup> In 1863 and 1864, the *Enrollment Acts* recognized churches that were “conscientiously opposed to the bearing of arms.”<sup>14</sup> So, Adventist members needed to show “satisfactory evidence” that they were a member of a peaceful church, to qualify and be allowed to serve in hospitals or in some other humanitarian capacity. Because the Adventist church did not formally establish itself as a denomination until 1863, its members were likely denied the provision.<sup>15</sup> In response, leaders sent delegates to the governors of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Pennsylvania to secure recognition of their status. Later, John N. Andrews went to Washington D.C. to request exemption by the federal government. From these efforts, Adventists received recognition as noncombatants, and now they engaged in their mission to confront other sects of American Protestantism.<sup>16</sup>

Despite financial hardships (it cost \$300 to the federal government to be released from military service, a startlingly high amount for modest church members), the Adventist church was able to keep its men from serving as combatants, establishing an important legacy for future peace activism.<sup>17</sup> While they continued to believe in the imminent arrival of Jesus, they equally recognized “that they would be required to interact with this world's society for a slightly longer term than previously expected.”<sup>18</sup> This reality meant “that a degree of at least temporary change was possible for them to take action rather than leave social problems in the hands of the returning Christ.”<sup>19</sup> Instead of passively waiting for the world to end, Adventists increasingly engaged in political activism designed to promote greater recognition of the plurality of American groups (both religious and secular). By taking this approach, they in effect worked to further the cause of peace by promoting religious and civil liberties in the United States.<sup>20</sup>

### Adventists and national activism

From the 1860s to the 1880s, Adventists challenged the steps that other Protestant churches took to stem the flow of Catholic and Jewish immigrants based on the argument that these individuals threatened the dominant position of Protestantism in the United States.<sup>21</sup> The National Reform Association (NRA) became one of the main agencies that worked to protect Protestant America's numerical superiority and dominant status in the US. It wanted a constitutional amendment to indicate that the United States was a Christian nation and proposed legislation to make "Christian laws." For Adventists, the establishment of religious regulations and influence by "apostate Protestant America" was a serious threat to peace, as the promotion of nationalistic American Protestantism would cause undue tension in society and ultimately result in violence. Therefore, the church believed that American society should not establish national or local religious laws; therefore, it worked to limit Protestant America's efforts to influence domestic and later international policies.<sup>22</sup>

After the Civil War, European immigration into the United States increased; about half a million Italian, Polish, Greek, Jewish, and Hungarian immigrants arrived in the US each year during the 1880s. This growth prompted the church to recognize the need to have a more tolerant society for new immigrant converts to flourish in America.<sup>23</sup> To meet this challenge, Adventists established the *Sabbath Sentinel* in 1883—later renamed the *American Sentinel*—a publication that aimed to inform and defend people against "religion or religious tests, and the maintenance of human rights, both civil and religious." The editors specifically targeted "individuals most influential in shaping public policy."<sup>24</sup> By 1887, the *American Sentinel* reported that more than 255,000 copies were in circulation around the nation.<sup>25</sup> This periodical provides a useful historical record of the church's stances on peace activism, and shows how Adventists rallied against any influence of religion in the public sphere. For example, in 1889 Republican Senator H.W. Blair introduced an amendment to the Constitution to teach the "principles of Christianity" in public schools, which meant instructing children in the principles of American Protestantism. *American Sentinel* editor A. T. Jones argued against the amendment at a Congressional hearing, proclaiming that it violated the rights of Jews, non-Christians, and Catholics. Jones may not have single-handedly prevented the passage of this bill, but the publicity his opposition generated drew more attention to the downsides of ratifying such an amendment. Jones and other Adventist activists continued to be vocal in the *American Sentinel* and before Congress to confront these threats. Their strategies built on previous efforts by denominational pioneers during the Civil War and later in support of civil and religious liberties. It provided them with a plan of action for expanding their mission to promote peace, which not only included periodicals and hearings before Congress, but also new, mobilizing protests.<sup>26</sup>

However principled, Adventists could be pragmatic, such as in 1892 when they assisted a theater that sold alcohol. In Chicago, the local YMCA and a Baptist church persuaded the mayor and the chief of police to stop the Marlow Theater from operating on Sunday evenings. Like other Protestant denominations in the late-nineteenth century, Adventists supported prohibition, but the enactment of laws that enforced religion by civil authorities proved too great a threat to ignore. The theater operator agreed to allow Adventist speakers to hold a rally to protest the closing, and over fifteen hundred people attended it. In the end, the YMCA and the Baptist church ended their protest and the business continued to operate.<sup>27</sup>

The combination of Adventist publications and ground mobilization proved an effective strategy against violations of civil and religious liberty. Adventists spread their views and attracted audiences as part of their national activism. They challenged the promotion of

American Protestantism in public life as a means to encourage peace and benefit all religious and secular groups; in short, they were pragmatic in choosing their alliances. But as the Spanish–American War loomed, they faced new challenges as they attempted to expand their efforts to confront US imperialism.<sup>28</sup>

### War rhetoric and the Spanish–American War

In the 1890s, US policies toward Spain confirmed some of Adventists' worst fears regarding their apocalyptic theology of history. The United States was for the first time exerting influence into the internal affairs of nations overseas, and the public expressed broad support for interventionism. For example, in 1895 John Brisben Walker wrote in *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, "The time is ripe for the interference of the United States in the affairs of Cuba."<sup>29</sup> Additionally, William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* fueled fervor for a war with Spain. Their "yellow journalism" emphasized sensationalism over facts to sell newspapers; as Hearst once famously stated to a photographer, "You furnish the pictures, I'll provide the war!" Journalists' coverage of atrocities in Cuba reinforced and legitimized popular anti-Spanish rhetoric, which was complete with elaborate drawings of events and attention-grabbing headlines.<sup>30</sup> According to these newspapers, the war was a fight to free Cuba from Spain, or to confront Spanish acts of atrocity towards Cubans—a natural extension of American ideals of freedom and democracy. Many Americans disliked the brutal tactics of Spanish general Victoriano Weyler, known in the press as "the butcher" of Cuban civilians who forced Cuban people into concentration camp-like areas.<sup>31</sup> Those calling for war were aided by an auspicious event: On February 15, 1898, an explosion destroyed the US Battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, killing 266 American officers. Many blamed Spain.<sup>32</sup> On April 20, President McKinley sent a war resolution to Congress; five days later Congress officially declared war on Spain.<sup>33</sup>

Most Protestant theologians and pastors preached that America would take its rightful place as the promised kingdom that would establish God's rule on the earth—a perspective historian Matthew McCullough defines as Christian nationalism, or "an understanding of American identity . . . wherein the nation is a central actor in the world-historical purposes of the Christian God."<sup>34</sup> Adventists disagreed. They remained concerned that the US was increasing its efforts to influence the religious, social, and economic plans of other territories overseas. Adventists also objected to the acquisition of territories that would not become states, and the racist views that these "rightful owners" (i.e., Cubans and Filipinos) were not capable of governing themselves. Finally, Adventists accused American Christians of practicing the idolatry of nationalism. They thought other Christians were too focused on advancing American policies abroad and not on preparing the world for eternity and the kingdom of God.<sup>35</sup>

During the Spanish–American War, Adventists confronted the war propaganda that US newspapers, churches, and government officials published. President William McKinley's influence on the media set important precedents for how future Presidents could exploit the press.<sup>36</sup> So skillful was McKinley in manipulating coverage that one newspaper reporter stated, "Every newspaper man in the country is prouder of President McKinley than ever before."<sup>37</sup> While there were some dissenters—among them *Public*, *Boston Globe*, *New York Evening Post*, *Collier's Weekly*, and *Harper's Weekly*—most newspapers supported the war effort.<sup>38</sup> If dissent was to be heard, Adventists decided, it needed to come from their grassroots activism.

## Peace activism and the Spanish–American War

Twelve days after the war began, the General Conference President of Seventh-day Adventists George A. Irwin preached a sermon at the Battle Creek Tabernacle. In it, Irwin stated that Adventists “have no business whatever to become aroused and stirred by the spirit [of war] that is abroad in the land.”<sup>39</sup> The churches’ main publication, the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* (simply known as the *Review and Herald*), released an article that denounced the “spirit of militarism” in American churches and their training of “Christian cadets.” Clearly, Adventists were stating in unequivocal terms that the “spirit of war” sweeping across the nation contradicted their beliefs.<sup>40</sup> But Adventist publications such as the *Review and Herald* and the *American Sentinel* faced the daunting task of competing with overwhelming pro-war rhetoric and the McKinley administration’s influence on the coverage of the war.

Choosing their battles carefully, as the war progressed Adventists focused on two specific issues: Denouncing American imperialism and advocating for a peaceful end to the war. Regarding anti-imperialism, Douglas Morgan argued that the anti-war statements of Adventists were not to support any particular American foreign policy. Instead, they were to challenge prominent American Christians “who pronounced blessings upon the war and American territorial expansion because of its benefits to the cause of Christianizing and civilizing the globe.”<sup>41</sup> To do so, Adventists compared American imperialism with the ancient Roman Empire, which initially embraced “self-government” and “individual freedom” but then transformed into a “tyrannical” world power.<sup>42</sup> Like Rome, America was abandoning the “lamb-like” principles of civil and religious liberties.

Adventist editors attempted to share their anti-war views with the general public and barraged Protestants with a variety of different arguments to condemn America’s actions. They pointed to the financial problems of funding the war, appeals from former military officers who objected to the war, stories about how the waging of war impacted people, and the imperialistic motives of American attempts to govern other nations. Appeals were also made to American Catholics not to fight their Spanish Catholic brethren.<sup>43</sup> Another important Adventist, Percy T. Magan, used his well-received book *The Peril of the Republic* to wage the Adventist struggle against the Spanish–American War. Magan was a professor of history and later president at several Adventist colleges. Although he generally believed that churches should abstain from politics, he decided that the aggressive nature of American imperialism in 1898 meant that the “ambassadors of Jesus Christ should be heard in the courts and congresses of human powers, of earthly governments.”<sup>44</sup>

In addition to their publishing efforts, Adventists also circulated petitions and spoke about American imperialism. However, their efforts were a fraction of their campaigns in previous years; while they continued to lobby politicians, their publishing work was largely ineffective. The late-Adventist historian Richard W. Schwarz argues that the roots of this decline could be identified in several issues that “absorbed increasing amounts of Seventh-day Adventist energies and finances” during the 1880s: The development of costly Adventist hospitals, schools, and colleges, as well as an expansive missionary outreach in urban areas, the American South, and overseas. Following the Panic of 1893 the denomination was close to financial ruin. In 1898, the General Conference was \$366,000 in debt; by 1899, only 40 percent of the material printed by the Review and Herald Publishing Company was religious. The other 20 percent was for hospitals and 20 percent was for secular business. During the war, then, Adventists simply lacked the resources that they previously used in past campaigns.<sup>45</sup>

## Conclusion

The story of Adventists' antiwar activism raises questions of just how effective religious efforts to oppose American imperialism and promote peace were during the Spanish–American War. When compared to their efforts on behalf of peace during the Civil War and actions linked to the cause of religious freedom, Adventists were largely successful; when it came to the Spanish–American War, however, they were less successful. Circumstances help explain their lack of success. Because McKinley's waging of the Spanish–American War did not require a draft, Adventists were not compelled to protect their personal non-combatant status. Therefore, not seeing any individual, immediate threat, they chose to oppose the war in their publications and not before lawmakers as they had previously done for other causes. Without the threat of a draft post-Civil War, Adventists primarily focused on securing passage of legislation that protected religious freedom, although they hoped to further the cause of peace in their own ways as described above.

Given their understanding of America as “Babylon,” Adventists were not willing to join non-Adventist churches, peace, or anti-imperialist organizations to confront American imperialism to promote peace. In this way, we see that religious zeal arguably did not help, but actually hurt the cohesion of antiwar efforts. After the 1890s, when the denomination lost its financial capital, it became increasingly difficult to distribute literature and periodicals during the Spanish–American war. Because they identified more strongly with personal religious belief than the common cause of ending the war, Adventists were further hindered in convincing most Americans to challenge their government's decision to wage war against Spain.

## Notes

- 1 James F. Rusling, “Interview with President William McKinley,” *The Christian Advocate*, January 22, 1903, 17, quoted in Harold A. Larrabee, “The Enemies of Empire,” *American Heritage* 11, no. 4 (June 1960): 76–77.
- 2 Susan A. Brewer, *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 37.
- 3 Walter A. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1997), 112; 299–300.
- 4 Douglas Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic: The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press), 11–29, quote on page 11. “Exceptionalism,” *Merriam-Webster*, accessed October 1, 2017, [www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/exceptionalism](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/exceptionalism).
- 5 Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968); Robert L. Beisner, *Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898–1900* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968).
- 6 Douglas Morgan, “Adventism, Apocalyptic, and the Cause of Liberty,” *Church History* 63, no. 2 (June 1994): 235–249.
- 7 Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 15–25.
- 8 Rev. 13:11–18; J. N. Andrews, “Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV,” *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 1, no. 11 (May 19, 1851): 81–86; J. N. Loughborough, “The Two-Horned Beast of Rev. xiii a Symbol of the United States,” *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 10, no. 8 (June 25, 1857): 57–60; (July 9, 1857): 73–76; (July 16, 1859): 81. I will refer to the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* as the *Review and Herald*. Also, see Morgan, “Adventism, Apocalyptic, and the Cause of Liberty,” 237–239; Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 Vols. (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, [1875?]–1909), 1: 264.
- 9 Peter Brock, *Liberty and Conscience: A Documentary History of the Experiences of Conscientious Objectors in America through the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 81–187.



- 10 Roger Guion Davis, "Conscientious Cooperators: The Seventh-day Adventist and Military Service, 1860–1945" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University), 45–46; Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:359.
- 11 White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:201.
- 12 Peter Brock, *Freedom from Violence: Sectarian Nonresistance from the Middle Ages to the Great War* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1991), 233; Ellen G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 2 Vols., (Battle Creek, MI: James White, 1858–1860), 1:206.
- 13 Anonymous, "The Nation," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 20, no. 11 (August 12, 1862), 84, accessed August 1, 2017, <http://documents.adventistarchives.org/Periodicals/RH/RH18620812-V20-11.pdf>; on non-combatancy, see Brock, *Freedom from Violence*, 230–258; Douglas Morgan, "The Beginnings of a Peace Church: Eschatology, Ethics, and Expedience in Adventist Responses to the American Civil War," in *Should I Fight? Essays on Conscientious Objection and the Seventh-day Adventist Church*, ed. Barry W. Bussey (Belleville, Ontario, Canada: Guardian Books, 2011), 33–48; on conscientious cooperation, see George R. Knight, "Adventism and Military Service: Individual Conscientious in Ethical Tension," in *Proclaim Peace: Christian Pacifism from Unexpected Quarters*, ed. Theron F. Schlabach and Richard T. Hughes (Urbana: IL: University of Illinois Press), 157–171.
- 14 "The Enrollment Law," *The Views of Seventh-day Adventists Relative to Bearings Arms, Together With the Opinion of the Governor of Michigan and a Portion of the Enrollment Law* (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1864), 3.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 3–4.
- 16 J. N. Andrews, "Seventh-day Adventists Recognized as Non-Combatants," *Sabbath Review and Advent Herald* 24, no. 16 (September 13, 1864): 124–125; Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 858–860; "Report of the Business Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Session of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists," accessed September 1, 2017, <http://documents.adventistarchives.org/Minutes/GCSM/GCB1863-88.pdf>.
- 17 Emphasizing their church's position that its members could not "engage in carnal warfare" the leaders stated, "If this war continues, we must stop [functioning as a denomination]." See the General Conference Committee, "The Time Has Come!," *Sabbath Review and Advent Herald* 25, no. 13 (February 21, 1865): 100. The church had a membership of around 4,000 people and a tithe of about \$12,000 in 1865. If the denomination gave all of its funds to support commutation for its male members then it could only pay for 40 male members. See, Statistical Report, Table 36: Total Tithe and Offerings from Date of Organization to the Present Time, 2015 Annual Statistical Report, revised January 27, 2016, accessed September 1, 2017, <http://documents.adventistarchives.org/Statistics/ASR/ASR2015.pdf>.
- 18 Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 31.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 31.
- 20 Jonathan Butler, "Adventism and the American Experience," in *The Rise of Adventism: A Commentary on the Social and Religious Ferment of Mid-Nineteenth Century America*, ed. Edwin Scott Gaustad (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 174.
- 21 Martin E. Marty, *Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 174.
- 22 Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 45–51.
- 23 Adventists have beliefs similar to other Protestants, but also others they identify as "special truths." Historically, these beliefs have put them in conflict with other Christians. See Emmet K. Vanderve, "Years of Expansion, 1865–1885," in *Adventism in America: A History*, ed. Gary Land, revised ed. (Berrien Springs, MI, 1998), 68–72, 210–221, appendix 1–2; George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 301.
- 24 Morgan, "Adventism, Apocalyptic, and the Cause of Liberty," 241.
- 25 A. T. Jones, "Editorial" *American Sentinel* 1, no. 12 (December 1886): 90–91.
- 26 A. T. Jones, "Shall Religion Be Taught in the Public Schools," *The Religious Liberty Library* 9 (May 1893): 5–6, quote on 6, accessed September 1, 2017, <http://documents.adventistarchives.org/Tracts/RLT/RLT18930501-09.pdf>; Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 63–64.
- 27 Editorial, "Baptists Appeal to Civil Law," *American Sentinel* 7, no. 35 (September 8, 1892): 279; Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 64.
- 28 It is important to note that Adventists tried to avoid joining Protestant ecumenical organizations. They viewed such a move as possibly aligning themselves with apostate Christianity or secular

- groups, such as the Anti-Imperialist League. Therefore, they mainly relied on writing, ministry, or church outreach activities.
- 29 John Brisben Walker, "Our Duty to Cuba, The Republic," *The Cosmopolitan* 19 (August 1895): 471; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741–1930*, 5 Vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958–1968), 4: 234.
  - 30 Department of State, Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, *U.S. Diplomacy and Yellow Journalism, 1895–1898*, accessed September 1, 2017, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/yellow-journalism>.
  - 31 McCartney, "Religion, the Spanish–American War, and the Idea of American Mission," 257–278; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 310.
  - 32 In 1976, a Department of the Navy investigation determined that the *Maine* was probably destroyed by an accident within the ship and not external mine. See Hyman G. Rickover, *How the Battleship "Maine" Was Destroyed* (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of the Navy, Naval History Division, 1976), 91, 104.
  - 33 Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 102–128; Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899–1902* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 34, 325; Brewer, *Why America Fights*, 30–45.
  - 34 John Edwin Smylie, "Protestant Clergymen and American Destiny: II. Prelude to Imperialism, 1865–1900," *Harvard Theological Review* 56, no. 4 (October 1963): 297–311; Matthew McCullough, *The Cross of War: Christian Nationalism and U.S. Expansion in the Spanish–American War* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 4; Dan. 2: 35.
  - 35 Editorial, "Military Conscription Coming," *American Sentinel* 14, no. 37 (September 21, 1899): 580–581; A.T. Jones, "What Now Remains?" *American Sentinel* 14, no. 1 (January 5, 1899): 3; Editorial, "America's Right to the Philippines" *American Sentinel* 14, no. 1 (January 5, 1899): 2; Editorial, "The War and the Result" *American Sentinel* 13, no. 18 (May 5, 1898): 274–275.
  - 36 Lewis L. Gould, *The Presidency of William McKinley* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1981), vii.
  - 37 Stephen Ponder, "The President Makes News: William McKinley and the First Presidential Press Corps, 1897–1901," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (Fall 1994): 826.
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