

ELLEN G. WHITE'S VIEWS ON CHURCH ORDER: THE EARLY YEARS 1849–1854

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The role Ellen G. White played during the development of church order among early Adventists has not been fully studied. For some James White was the key character in the issue of the organization of the church while Ellen White was mainly supportive of his aims. This study intends to describe her views and ascertain her role on this subject. It shows that Ellen White manifested organizational concerns from the beginning of her prophetic ministry. In her dealing with particular situations of some Sabbatarian congregations in her time she laid down fundamental principles about ecclesiastical order that, some years later, would be essential to the Advent movement as a whole.

Key Words: Ellen G. White, church order, worship, church discipline, church government, leadership, ordination

1. Introduction

Andrew Mustard, in his study "James White and the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Organization 1844–1881,"¹ affirms that the historical development of church order among early Adventists had in James White the figure that "prosecuted the battle on the front line."² He affirms that on this issue Ellen G. White "was always supportive of [her husband's] aims." He claims that "as far as church order was concerned, her comments were mainly in general terms. She remained in the background in comparison to her husband's prominence."³

On the other hand, some Adventist authors consider Ellen White's role regarding the issue of church organization as "crucial."⁴ Ronald D. Graybill claims that Ellen White's "power both to establish order and to introduce

¹ Andrew G. Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization: Historical Development, 1844–1881* (Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series 12; Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1987).

² *Ibid.*, 191–92.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Roy E. Graham, *Ellen G. White, Co-Founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (New York: Peter Lang, 1985), 69–139; cf. Arthur Whitefield Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (4 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1961), 1:293.

innovation profoundly influenced the development and organizational structure of her church."⁵ Regarding this affirmation Mustard asserts that Graybill "fails to substantiate his point."⁶ A careful reading of Ellen White's writings suggests that, on her own, she really was involved in bringing order into the ranks of the movement. It should be mentioned that her views were foundational to the establishing of the "main institution" among Sabbatarian Adventists up to 1863, namely, the publishing house.⁷ However, this issue is not included here. The purpose of this study is to describe her views and ascertain her role on the subject of ecclesiastical⁸ order in the earliest stages of the Sabbatarian movement. I will first provide a short definition of church order and the three main areas this expression affects. The main section of this article will concentrate on Ellen White's views on the subject of church order up to 1854 with reference to these areas. Finally, a brief summary and conclusion is presented.

2. What Is Church Order?

In its basic form "church order" or "gospel order" has been defined as a category of "rules and regulations" intended to "facilitate" the work of the church and of those who are called its members.⁹ These regulations involve three main areas, including (1) worship; (2) church discipline; and (3) church government. This understanding of the main issues involving "church order" was well in place at the time of the pioneers of Sabbatarianism. For example, William W. Fenn affirms that in New England, "by the Law of 1799, the churches were confirmed in their accustomed privileges respecting divine worship, church order, and discipline."¹⁰ These major areas related to church order appear embedded in Ellen G. White's writings from the beginning of her prophetic ministry. As the Sabbatarian movement moved along in all of its practical outworkings these issues formed the core of her contribution to the drive for formal church organization among early Seventh-day Adventists.

⁵ Ron Graybill, "The Power of Prophecy: Ellen G. White and the Women Religious Founders of the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1983), 154.

⁶ Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization*, 192.

⁷ Graybill, "The Power of Prophecy," 136.

⁸ I use the term "ecclesiastical" in the sense of discussions, appeals, and decisions made by the leaders of Sabbatarian Adventism regarding the organization of the church.

⁹ Raoul Dederen, "The Church," in *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology* (ed. Raoul Dederen; Hagerstown: Review & Herald, 2000), 553.

¹⁰ William W. Fenn, "The Revolt against the Standing Order," in *The Religious History of New England: King Chapel Lectures* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917), 107.

Andrew Mustard affirms that the earliest statement from James White on church order appeared in September 1849.¹¹ Early in 1850 it is possible to find his first explicit reference to this issue. It appears in a letter to Leonard W. Hastings. In this letter White affirms that he hopes "that the church will soon get right when they can move in *gospel order*."¹²

Ellen White advocated order in the church early in her prophetic ministry as well.¹³ For the purpose of setting Ellen White's statements in the background of what was understood to be "*gospel order*"¹⁴ we will categorize her statements under this three main topics, namely, worship, church discipline, and church government.

2.1. Ellen G. White's Early Counsels on Worship

Sources suggest that Ellen White had organizational concerns as early as August 1849. One of the first statements regarding "perfect order" from her pen appears in the *Present Truth* in August 1849, the third issue of the new-born periodical. Under the title "Dear Brothers and Sisters," she pointed out that it was God's plan that she might relate "the present truth." She attested that her purpose was to refer to "our present tried, scattered and tempted state, and [to] our duty in view of the coming judgments of God."¹⁵

In the article she presents a number of different visions she had received. In the first one, Ellen White introduces a new concept on the shut door issue among early Sabbatarian Adventists.¹⁶

¹¹ Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization*, 118.

¹² Letter, James White to Leonard W. Hastings, March 18, 1850, EGWRC, AU, quoted in Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization*, 119, emphasis added.

¹³ Graybill assertively connects Ellen White's first vision with the issue of order when he affirms that Ellen White "began creating order at age seventeen." Graybill, "The Power of Prophecy," 134. Through this vision she gave hope to the "disappointed Millerites" and set them into the framework of the history of redemption. They were the group that, at the end of all things, would stand "perfectly united" in a "perfect square," before the throne of God. In his view, from the beginning of her prophetic role she was able to "extract order out of confusion." *Ibid.*

¹⁴ It should be said that during this period Ellen White used different expressions in her appeals for order. They were "perfect order," "Bible order," "gospel order," and "heavenly order."

¹⁵ Ellen G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," *The Present Truth* (August 1849), 21.

¹⁶ She asserted: "I saw that Jesus had shut the door in the Holy Place, and no man can open it; and that he had opened the door in the Most Holy, and no man can shut it (see Revelation 3:7, 8): and that since Jesus has opened the door in the Most Holy Place, which contains the Ark, the commandments have been shining out to God's people, and they are being tested on the Sabbath question." *Ibid.*

She affirmed that "Satan is now using every device in this sealing time, to keep the minds of God's people from the present, sealing truth; and to cause them to waver."¹⁷ She follows up by describing some of the problems early Sabbatarian Adventists were facing as a result of spurious claims of the work of the Holy Spirit in their ranks:

I saw that Satan was working through agents, in a number of ways. He was at work through ministers, who have rejected the truth, and are given over to strong delusions to believe a lie that they might be damned. While they were preaching, or praying some would fall prostrate and helpless; not by the power of the Holy Ghost, no, no; but by the power of Satan breathed upon these agents and through them to the people. Some professed Adventists who had rejected the present truth, while preaching, praying or in conversation used Mesmerism to gain adherents, and the people would rejoice in this influence, for they thought it was the Holy Ghost.¹⁸

Many in the ranks of early Sabbatarians had come from a Methodist background in which "shouting [and] swooning was the most frequent result of religious enthusiasm."¹⁹ Ellen White herself had experienced swooning at her conversion.²⁰ However, very early in her ministry she was led to oppose "religious experience" that was not the result of the "power of the Holy Ghost." She denounced the use of mesmerism²¹ "among those who had rejected the present truth."²² It seems that these popular leaders of the flock

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁹ Graybill, "The Power of Prophecy," 89.

²⁰ Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1943), 37-39.

²¹ Regarding the meaning of this word, F. D. Nichol affirms that "mesmerism comes from Mesmer, the name of the man who had only a little before set forth startling ideas on hypnotism." During Ellen White's time this word was used to explain the conduct of people in which they acted out of what was considered the normal "standard." Cf. Francis David Nichol, *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1951), 34.

²² Regarding the use of hypnotism in public worship J. N. Loughborough refers to men who by 1849 were lecturing "from city to city" on mesmerism. He affirms that private meetings were held in which even ministers participated. He himself participated in one class and "exhibition" that one of those ministers did. He affirms: "In Morganville, N. Y., just about the time Mrs. White had this vision at Topsham, I attended a class one evening where a First-day Adventist minister gave a lesson on the subject, with an exhibition. One lesson was enough for me, for, as it seemed to me afterward, the room was full of devils. . . . Not long afterward I saw this same minister get his congregation into a frenzy of shouting, when to me it was apparent that he was doing it by mesmerism; for he did as he, in his private lessons, taught others to do in order to produce the same effect." He affirmed that this man had taken the position Ellen

were producing a kind of reformation that resulted in a worse state of the heart of the people who participated in it. She pointed out:

I saw that the mysterious signs and wonders, and false reformations would increase, and spread. The reformations that were shown me, were not reformations from error to truth; but from bad to worse; for those who professed a change of heart, had only wrapt [*sic*] about them a religious garb, which covered up the iniquity of a wicked heart. Some appeared to have been really converted, so as to deceive God's people; but if their hearts could be seen, they would appear as black as ever.²³

After this she reproduced in full two visions that had been already published in more detailed form some months before.²⁴ In them she refers to the work of Jesus in the heavenly Sanctuary where Jesus is "still interceding for Israel."²⁵ She refers also to the work of the angels in favor of God's people, taking care of those walking in "the narrow path." Then she introduces a personal comment on the work of the angels: "I will here state, that there is perfect order and harmony in the holy City. All the angels that are commissioned to visit the earth, hold a golden card which they present to the angels at the gates of the City, as they pass in and out."²⁶ The fact that this comment is associated with the previous description of spurious manifestations of the Holy Spirit in the ranks of early Sabbatarianism, and the fact that she wrote in order to give an account of "our duty in view of the coming judgments of God," suggests that she had in mind some concerns regarding the lack of order and decorum in their worship services, related to a lack of published standards on ecclesiastical order in their ranks.

It should be said that when the issue of church order was "forcefully presented" to her one year later, the theological grounds for its applicability were both the need of heavenly order and Bible order.

At the end of 1850 she wrote that everything in heaven is a model of "perfect order" and consequently they were called to follow that pattern:

White had denounced. J. N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists* (Battle Creek: General Conference Association of the Seventh-day Adventists, 1892), 145-46.

²³ White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," 22.

²⁴ See Ellen G. White, *To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God* (Topsham: [James White], 1849), 22.

²⁵ Emphasis added. The use of the imagery of Israel as applied to the Sabbatarian movement at first and later to the Seventh-day Adventists is prominent in Ellen White's writings. In 1876 she affirmed: "There is great similarity between our history and that of the children of Israel." Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church* (9 vols.; Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1948), 4:27.

²⁶ White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," 23.

I saw how great and holy God was. Said the angel, 'walk carefully before Him, for He is high and lifted up, and the train of His glory fills the temple.' I saw that everything in heaven was in perfect order. Said the Angel, 'look ye, Christ is the head, move in order, move in order. Have a meaning to everything.' Said the angel, 'Behold ye and know how perfect, how beautiful, the order in heaven; follow it.'²⁷

The background for these comments is found among people in Fairhaven, Massachusetts, who had been experiencing false excitement in their worship services. These people were putting much confidence in external evidences of divine manifestation in their meetings. She stated "that the exercises [prayer meetings] were in great danger of being adulterated... therefore implicit confidence could not be placed in these exercises."²⁸ She warned against the presence of "unhealthy and unnecessary excitement" in their ranks. Then she appealed to make the Scriptures the foundation of true revival among early Sabbatarians, warning them that "there was great danger of leaving the Word of God and resting down and trusting in exercises."²⁹ Some years later she referred in more detail to the perils of those "exercises." She pointed out that some people used "an unmeaning gibberish," claiming to have the gift of tongues which were "unknown not only by man but by the Lord and all heaven."³⁰ She affirmed that "fanaticism, false excitement, false talking in tongues, and noisy exercises [had] been considered gifts which God [had] placed in the church."³¹ She went further

²⁷ Ellen G. White, "Vision at Paris Maine," MS 11, 1850, Ellen G. White Research Center, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies (EGWRC-AIIAS), Silang, Cavite, Philippines; idem, *Manuscript Releases* (21 vols.; Washington, D.C.: White Estate, 1981-1993), 13:299-302. This part of the vision may also be found in Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White: Messenger to the Remnant* (rev. ed.; Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1954), 45.

²⁸ Ellen G. White, MS 11, 1850.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:412.

³¹ Ibid. It is important to note that these religious excitements among early Sabbatarian Adventists, such as the speaking in tongues in their worship services, were not something unique to them. Twenty years before, Edward Irving had advocated the same kind of manifestations of the work of the Spirit. He was convinced that before the second coming of Jesus there would be a special pouring out of the Holy Spirit in the church. He saw the manifestation of tongues and prophesying in his church as the first falling of what he termed the latter rain. For a discussion of his understanding of the latter rain, see Ricardo A. González, "British Roots in American Millennialism: Edward Irving and the Millerite Movement," *Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary* 10 (2007): 65-69. Irving's own understanding of the gifts of the Holy Spirit and his handling of this issue in his church has been discussed in [Margaret] Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving: Minister of the National Scotch Church, London: Illustrated by His Journals and Correspondence* (2 vols.; London: Hurst & Blackett, 1862), 2:421-40.

by affirming that some were "not satisfied with a meeting unless they [had] a powerful and happy time.... But the influence of such meetings is not beneficial. When the happy flight of feeling is gone, they sink lower than before the meeting because their happiness did not come from the right source."³²

She declared that those individuals in Fairhaven "had not moved in God at all times." The background and the content of her message of 1850 suggest an important connection with her writings of the previous year. In both instances there is a call to "heavenly order." Furthermore, one of the reasons for this description is the presence of ecstatic experiences and emotionalism in their worship services.³³

In addition to these warnings, Ellen White did also advise early Adventists on true Christian worship. In doing so she established a crucial principle among them. Christian worship must be God-centered. She pleaded for the church not to "take their minds from Jesus, and fix them upon themselves and others."³⁴ Her reasoning was that human-centered worship "leaves [worshippers] lower than it found them."³⁵ In this sense she appealed to the church to experience the kind of meetings in which human beings are in the periphery of the circle of worship while God alone is at the center. She affirmed: "I saw that we must try to lift our minds above self and have them dwell upon God, the high and lofty One."³⁶ It would be in consonance with this early counsel that some years later she would observe: "The most profitable meetings for spiritual advancement are those which are characterized with solemnity and deep searching of heart; each seeking

³² White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:412.

³³ For a further discussion of ecstatic experiences among early Sabbatarian Adventists see Arthur L. White, "Tongues in Early SDA History," *Review and Herald* (March 15, 1973), 1, 4-7; idem, "Bible Study Versus Ecstatic Experiences," *Review and Herald* (March 22, 1973), 6-8; idem, "Face to Face with the Spurious," *Review and Herald* (March 29, 1973), 9-11; idem, "The Gift of Tongues at Portland, Maine," *Review and Herald* (April 5, 1973), 6-7; idem, "Miraculous Healing," *Review and Herald* (April 12, 1973), 4-6; idem, "Ellen G. White and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit," *Review and Herald* (April 19, 1973), 8-10; idem, "God-Given Criteria," *Review and Herald* (April 26, 1973), 6-8. For a latter development of this issue in Adventism see idem, "The Ralph Mackin Story," *Review and Herald* (August 10, 1972), 1, 6-8; idem, "The Word—Not Feeling," *Review and Herald* (Aug. 17, 1972), 4-7; idem, "Calculated to Lead Astray," *Review and Herald* (Aug. 24, 1972), 7-9.

³⁴ White, MS 11, 1850; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 13:301.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

to know himself, and earnestly, and in deep humility, seeking to learn of Christ."³⁷

2.2. Ellen G. White's Early Counsels on Church Discipline

Early in the 1850s it is possible to note that Sabbatarianism had started to evidence features of an organized religious movement. "Gospel order" implies discipline in the sense that it asserts the authority of the church over the private lives of its members. At that time, and based on her prophetic role, Ellen White also addressed disciplinary concerns.

In July 1850, she referred to a man who was causing trouble among early Sabbatarians. She said that this man "had wounded and torn the hearts of God's people."³⁸ In describing his course of action and what they should do in order to meet this situation, she pointed out: "I saw he had been stubborn and rebellious and unless he changed his course entirely the church should disfellowship him for he has been a dead weight to the church."³⁹ This statement reveals that Ellen White saw that the group of Sabbatarians needed to exercise the authority conferred on the Christian church to deal with those in rebellion. This early use of the term "disfellowship" suggests that they might have had a way to identify themselves as members of the Sabbatarian body. It is not clear whether at that time Sabbatarian congregations had a list of members for their ecclesiastical business. It is possible that their small congregations did not yet require them, but it seems that they had a clear way to distinguish those who belonged to their fellowship from those that did not.⁴⁰ Also this appeal shows an early

³⁷ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:412. One wonders whether the experience of people "sinking lower" after their worship meetings might be a warning for Seventh-day Adventist congregations in the twenty-first century.

³⁸ Ellen G. White, "A Vision the Lord Gave Me at Oswego," *MS 5*, 1850, EGWRC-AIIAS; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 5:202; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 8:219; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 18:11.

³⁹ White, *MS 5*, 1850; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 5:202; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 8:219; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 18:11.

⁴⁰ In 1851, James White reported that two cases of church discipline were dealt with in "Our Tour East." The first one was in Washington, New Hampshire, where "the brethren felt called upon to withdraw fellowship from one who had fallen into, and taught dangerous errors." Also he reported that in the "vicinity [of Vergennes], rather a gloomy state of things existed, in consequence of the erroneous views, and blighting influence of one (a professed teacher) from whom we had to withdraw our fellowship." James White, "Our Tour East," *Review and Herald* (Nov. 25, 1851), 52. It must be said that the application of church discipline in those cases did not imply the rejection of the offender. Referring to the case of Washington, New Hampshire, James White added: "But while we withdraw the hand of fellowship from him, who once was a fellow-laborer, we would "exhort him as a brother," to renounce his errors, to come out

use of the term "church" for the increasing band of Sabbatarian believers.⁴¹ It suggests as well that early in the 1850s the leaders of the cause might have been considering the movement the beginning of a new Christian denomination in America.

2.2.1. Church Discipline and the "Bible Rule"

In 1852, Ellen White again expressed an increasing concern for the procedures of some brethren among Sabbatarian Adventists who had "wounded" the cause. Her appeal to order came as a result of a vision "concerning things in Boston and vicinity." She pointed out that people in those places were facing troubles by not observing "God's order" in the application of church discipline. It appears that a man identified as "brother Chamberlain" was too hurried to call the church for the purpose of applying church discipline. The way they were proceeding in managing this issue was creating more difficulties for the congregation. She affirmed that this man, after returning from Fairhaven, had "encouraged the church meeting that was held in Boston."⁴² He had encouraged "brother Chase" to bring his particular situations before the church. Ellen White argued that neither brother Chamberlain nor the congregation had any authority to deal with a particular situation "until the Bible rule had been strictly followed."⁴³ She strongly advocated "the Bible rule" in the resolution of conflicts.

She attested that the man was wrongly behaving in accusing a sister in the congregation.⁴⁴ She affirmed that "they had accused her falsely and had

of the fog into which he has so unfortunately run, and come along with those who are walking in the plain path of truth." Ibid.

⁴¹ See James White, "The Work of the Lord," *Review and Herald* (May 6, 1852), 4-5; C. Mervyn Maxwell, *Tell It to the World* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1976), 129; Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization*, 124; Alberto Ronald Timm, "The Sanctuary and the Three Angels' Messages 1844-1863: Integrating Factors in the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Doctrines" (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, Berrien Springs, 1995), 222.

⁴² That there was a wrong application of church discipline in Boston may be seen in what Ellen White wrote about it: "I saw that if Brother Chamberlain had more of a single eye to the glory of God, and cared less for the good opinion of his brethren, he would not make so many crooked moves. I saw in the case of trial in Boston, he should not have made up his mind so readily, not gone to the inexperienced to consult with them, but he should have gone to those who had taken a straightforward course. He should have consulted Brother Nichols before giving his opinion that the trouble must be settled, and that there must be a church meeting to settle it." Ellen G. White to Friend, October 25, 1852, Letter 4, 1852, EGWRC-AIIAS.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ The situation affecting this woman is not described but regarding her case Ellen White affirmed that these men "instead of bringing out Sister Temple's faults before the

used deception in her case."⁴⁵ They were accusing her on the basis of the testimony of a non-Christian. In addressing this situation Ellen White settled an important principle on issues of church discipline. In her understanding there is a line of separation between the realm of the faith and the realm of the world, so the testimony of unbelievers against a "child of God" is not a conclusive proof in the church:

I saw that Brother and Sister Chase did very wrong in listening to the reports of that wicked girl of Sister Gorham's, that God hated her cruel disobedience to her mother and her rebellion to Him. I saw that it was the work of Satan to bring trouble into the camp by wicked children, and their stories never should be listened to and encouraged, and confidence put in them. When they talk against a child of God, they must be silenced at once, and their testimony should never be received or preferred before the testimony of one who has professed the truth of God, and has been united with the body.⁴⁶

She clearly interpreted those difficulties in the church as the result of the behavior of "some [that] have run before they have been sent." The fact that these men were proceeding "without being responsible for their acts to any body" led her to affirm that "there has been too much moving at random without the counsel and strength of God."⁴⁷ Her appeal for order suggests that Sabbatarianism was to succeed only if the authority of the leaders of the movement was recognized.⁴⁸

2.2.2. Dealing with Rebellion

In the second half of the 1850s, Ellen White expounded another important principle regarding church discipline: this was related to dealing with those in rebellion. In the summer of 1854 the first offshoot movement among Adventists—the "Messenger party"—had come to maturity.⁴⁹ By the end of

church, it ought to have been brought to her, and have given her [a] chance to have answered for herself, and to have cleared herself if she could." *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Mustard suggests that the series of articles that James White would write one year later on church order pointed precisely to the authority of those truly called to serve as ministers: "The main thrust of the [articles] is related to the authority of the minister and his role as the one to maintain discipline in the church. White's solution to the challenges presented by false teachers and fanatics is to be found in what he perceived to be the 'divine' and 'sufficient' order in the New Testament." Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization*, 128.

⁴⁹ See "Messenger Party," in *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* (rev. ed.; Commentary Reference Series 10; Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1976), 870–71.

1855 another one—the “Age to Come”—was at its height.⁵⁰ Ellen White affirmed that “decided efforts should be made to show those who are unchristian in life their wrongs, and if they do not reform, they should be separated from the precious and holy.”⁵¹

The separation she was referring to was not just related to the permanence of those people in the band of Sabbatarians. She was talking also about the time some of the leaders of Sabbatarianism were wearying themselves in replying to criticism. She warned the leaders of the movement not to be distracted by offshoots:

I saw that the people of God must arouse and put on the armor. Christ is coming, and the great work of the last message of mercy is of too much importance for us to leave it and come down to answer such falsehoods, misrepresentations, and slanders as the Messenger party have fed upon and have scattered abroad. Truth, present truth, we must dwell upon it. We are doing a great work, and cannot come down. Satan is in all this, to divert our minds from the present truth and the coming of Christ. Said the angel: ‘Jesus knows it all.’⁵²

Her appeal regarding “not to come down to answer” false accusations suggests organizational concerns because the problem of these men was related to ecclesiastical order. She asserted that these men “have wanted to be foremost, when neither God nor their brethren placed them there. Selfishness and exaltation have marked their course.”⁵³ In such a situation, it would be unprofitable for the leaders of the cause to engage in discussions with them.

2.3. Ellen G. White’s Early Views on Church Government

Ellen White had evident concerns for issues regarding church government. As we will see in this section she addressed issues of church government within the whole spectrum of the term. Leadership, the Bible as source of authority, money, the church and the world, and the ministers and their qualifications were subjects she addressed.

⁵⁰ The “age-to-come” movement arose in Wisconsin under the leadership of J. M. Stephenson and D. P. Hall. They had been converted through the influence of J. H. Waggoner. Later they aligned themselves with the Messenger party. *Ibid.*

⁵¹ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:117.

⁵² Ellen G. White, “Testimony for the Church, Numbers One to Ten,” in *Spiritual Gifts*. Vols. 3–4 (Battle Creek: Steam Press, 1864; facsimile reproduction, Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1945), 10; *idem*, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:123.

⁵³ White, “Testimony for the Church,” 9; *idem*, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:122.

2.3.1. Support for Leading Brethren

From the early years of the movement she stated that the truths gained by deep searching of the Scriptures had to be preserved.⁵⁴ In November 1850, through the pages of the *Present Truth*, she advocated the recognition of the leadership of “those who have been in all the messages, and are firm in all the present truth.”⁵⁵ Her call was directed to those who were leaders of the flock and that were tempted to advocate unscriptural teachings:

I also saw that the shepherds should consult those in whom they have reason to have confidence, those who have been in all the messages, and are firm in all the present truth, before they advocate any new point of importance, which they may think the Bible sustains. Then the shepherds will be perfectly united, and the union of the shepherds will be felt by the church. Such a course I saw would prevent unhappy divisions, and then there would be no danger of the precious flock being divided, and the sheep scattered, without a shepherd.⁵⁶

Here she was establishing an important “ordering principle” through which brethren of experience and leading pioneers of the movement had to be respected.⁵⁷ She admonished the early Adventists to support the authority that James White and Joseph Bates had to exert as leading ministers in the earliest stages of Adventism.⁵⁸ There is no doubt that at that time the movement “required forceful, goal-oriented leadership”⁵⁹ to head the movement in spreading the truths they had just discovered.

⁵⁴ Some years later she recalled the challenges they had to face in establishing the truth on solid ground. “When the cause was young, if there was one who did not view some point of truth as the body viewed it, a day of fasting and prayer was observed. We did not then try to see how far apart we could get; but we prayed, and searched the Scriptures, until the light of truth illuminated the darkened mind, and all could see eye to eye.” Ellen G. White, “Unity among Laborers,” in *Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of the Seventh-day Adventists. With Reports of the European Missionary Councils of 1883, 1884, and 1885, and a Narrative of Mrs. E. G. White of Her Visit and Labor in These Missions* (Basle: Imprimerie Polyglotte, 1886; reprint, *Historical Sketches of Foreign Missions* with introduction by George R. Knight; Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2005), 125; C. C. Crisler, *Organization: Its Character, Purpose, Place, and Development in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1938), 22.

⁵⁵ Ellen G. White, “Dear Brethren and Sisters,” *The Present Truth* (Nov. 1850), 86.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 86. This is the only portion of the entire article that appears emphasized in the original.

⁵⁷ Graybill, “The Power of Prophecy,” 137.

⁵⁸ Graybill affirms that “by establishing the authority of those who had been longest in the movement, she insured continuity.” *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ George R. Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil: The Development of Adventist Church Structure* (Hagerstown: Review & Herald, 2001), 31.

This point was made clearer in November 1851, when Ellen White called again to the early Adventists to stand united in doctrinal teachings. In a letter she referred to the incidents that James White reported in the *Review* a couple of weeks later.⁶⁰ In it she refers to a man that was disfellowshipped due to wrong biblical teachings.⁶¹ She stated: "We all felt it duty to act, and by a unanimous vote of the brethren, S. Smith was disfellowshipped by the church until he should forever lay down his erroneous views."⁶²

Doctrinal consensus was very important for a movement that had to reach the "East and West, North and South" with the third angel's message. She affirmed that God had shown to her that "the messengers⁶³ [leading brethren] of God should be perfectly united in their views of [the] Bible."

The messengers of God should be perfectly united in their views of Bible truth and should consult with each other and should not advance any new view until they first went to the messengers and examined those views with the Bible, and if they were correct let all the messengers spread them, and if they were error lay them to one side. Then the gospel seed would be sown in union and raised in strength; and all the messengers, East and West, North and South, would be telling the same story.⁶⁴

The fact that she is appealing to those leading brethren having "new views" of the Scripture to lay those views before the other "messengers" suggests her support of joint decision above individualism. It also suggests again her decided support for the leaders of the movement.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ White, "Our Tour East," *Review and Herald* (Nov. 25, 1851), 52.

⁶¹ Reporting this incident and the doctrinal issue involved, James White wrote: "Here [in Washington, NH], the brethren felt called upon to withdraw fellowship from one who had fallen into, and taught dangerous errors relative to setting up the kingdom, the Son of man on the white cloud, Rev. xiv, 14, and the Eden state, &c." *Ibid.*, 52.

⁶² Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Howland, 12 November 1851, Letter 8, 1851, EGWRC-AIIAS; *idem*, *Manuscript Releases*, 3:242-43.

⁶³ Ellen White's use of this term refers to leading brethren of the Sabbatarian cause. Graybill claims that they were "itinerant Adventist preachers [who] moved from place to place like Methodist circuit riders." Graybill, "The Power of Prophecy," 140.

⁶⁴ Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Howland, Letter 8, 1851, EGWRC-AIIAS; *idem*, Arthur White, *Ellen G. White. Volume 3: The Lonely Years 1876-1891* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1984), 255.

⁶⁵ In this letter she reported her role in supporting the leaders of Sabbatarianism. She asserted: "I talked plainly. The Lord helped me. I showed them [those with novel teachings] how the messengers that had been toiling in the scattering time had labored to get the truth before them, how much they had suffered, and now when God's cause was prospering, they embrace the third angel's message and enter into the labors of

Her appeal came from a vigorous theological conviction. Ellen White saw a close connection between doctrinal unity and the effectiveness of the movement in its mission. In talking about a brother that had adopted spiritualist ideas, she affirmed: "He had lost the power of the third angel's message, and I saw that the accursed thing must be put out of the camp or Israel would be sickly."⁶⁶ Evidently the Bible message was the basis for this appeal.

2.3.2. An Appropriate Understanding of Leadership

In a time when many "volunteer preachers" were moving among Sabbatarian congregations, Ellen White addressed the issue of a right understanding of Christian leadership. She advocated a kind of leadership that is based on ministering rather than in being ministered to. In 1853 she affirmed that in the Sabbatarian congregation of Jackson, Michigan, "there has been a lording it over God's heritage." She was referring to the bad influence of a group of leaders which was being spread as "unholy leaven," bringing with it the destruction of the local church:

I saw an oppressive spirit exercised by some of the brethren toward others. Brother Bowles has partaken largely of this oppressive exalted spirit. So, also, has [*sic*] Brethren Case and Russell, drunk deeply of it. Some others have been affected with it. The little leaven has almost leavened the whole lump, and in order for sweet union and harmony to be in the church this unholy leaven must be entirely purged from it.⁶⁷

These men were giving the impression that infallibility was almost inherent to their position: "I saw that this feeling that the messenger's course must not be questioned, and that their judgment and understanding is correct in almost everything, and that they must be exalted above the brethren, is all wrong. There has been a lording it over God's heritage."⁶⁸

Her concern was not so much to describe the problem by itself but the way it might be corrected. She appealed for a right and higher understanding of the meaning of leadership among early Sabbatarian Adventists. "I saw that those who profess to be teachers should be patterns of piety, meekness and great humility, possessing a loving, kind spirit, winning souls to Jesus, and the truth of the Bible."⁶⁹ Recalling Matt 22:20, she advocated for a company of workers that would set the right example as minis-

the chosen messengers of God and lift up their heel against them." Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Howland, Letter 8, 1851, EGWRC-AIIAS.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; *idem Manuscript Releases*, 8:227.

⁶⁷ Ellen G. White, "A Vision Given at Jackson, Michigan," MS 1, 1853, EGWRC-AIIAS.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

ters in their ranks: "I saw that those who profess to be servants of the living God, to lead souls to Christ, must be willing to be servants of all, instead of being exalted above the brethren, and they must possess a kind courteous spirit."⁷⁰

Her words, directed to those in the congregation of Jackson, were setting up the necessary qualifications required by any one aspiring to church leadership.

2.3.3. *The Use of God's Money*

Early in the 1850s Ellen White also addressed the issue of money in the church. In her references to those in Jackson she pointed out that the wrong understanding of their role as leaders had precipitated a bad course of action. Unwise decisions of these men in the handling of the church's money were badly affecting the congregation. They had given "wrong impressions ... concerning the brethren's property."⁷¹ The congregation had been encouraged to give their properties to them in order that "they must lay out their treasure in heaven."⁷² The brethren did that "without having the true object set before them."⁷³ As a result those leaders "handed [it] out freely, too much and too often."⁷⁴ Ellen White asserted that one of these men [Hiram S. Case]—a Millerite preacher won to Adventism by S. W. Rhodes and who in 1854 joined an opposition group—"was hurt by too much means being put into his hands. He did not study economy but lived extravagantly."⁷⁵ She went further in affirming that there had been carelessness in God's business.

She strongly called the attention to those who had authority in the congregation and had done nothing to prevent this situation. She declared: "I saw that the teachers should have stood in a place to correct these errors, and exerted a good influence in the church."⁷⁶ Ellen White was opposed to the "careless" use of God's resources and demanded a reformation.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ White, *MS 1*, 1853.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ It seems that for a time he accepted the rebukes that came to him. See H. S. Case, "From Bro[ther] Case," *Review and Herald* (Aug. 28, 1853), 64. In spite of this confession in 1854 he joined the *Messenger Party*. See "Case, Hiram S.," in *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* (rev. ed.; Commentary Reference Series 10; Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1976), 243.

I saw that there had been a careless, profligate use of the Lord's money, by brother Case, and he has not got rid of this error yet, nor seen it in its true light—has much to learn yet, and others have been affected by these things somewhat, by some of the messengers not setting the right example, or casting the right influence. I saw that these things must be understood in their true light, and these evils which have grown out of false teachings must be corrected, and right impressions be cast.⁷⁸

In 1849, based on a vision, she had appealed "that those who had the means, were required to help speed those messengers that God had called to labor in his cause."⁷⁹ Some years later she appealed to the church to combat the excesses in which self-appointed messengers had fallen. It was necessary to do so in view of the impact that this wrong course of action would have on the cause as a whole. The small band of Sabbatarian members should not be discouraged by the wrong course of action taken by these men. Faithful stewardship ought to be foundational to the success of the movement. It was indispensable to cast a "right influence" in the use of the resources that belong to God.

2.3.4. The Church and the World

In her message about the congregation in Jackson, Michigan, Ellen White also alluded to the relationship between the church and the world. It appears that there were two different approaches toward unbelievers. A wrong spirit and negative feelings toward them characterized one approach. It seems that as a result of the disrespect and scorn that some unbelievers had manifested towards believers of the church in that place, a woman called "sister Palmer," had fed strong feelings of hostility towards them. Ellen White did not favor this course of action for "scorn and derision of unbelievers should not move"⁸⁰ God's people. She did not approve a course of action characterized by a reactive rather than proactive behavior toward those who had not accepted the message. She pointed out that this sister

...had not possessed right feelings and a right spirit towards unbelievers. There was a feeling of hatred in her heart toward them, and words were spoken concerning them which should never have been said, and God had been grieved and Jesus wounded by these things. I saw that the Christian should have noble feelings, and all the scorn and derision of unbelievers should not move them, and cause a disturbed feeling to arise

⁷⁸ White, MS 1, 1853.

⁷⁹ White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," *The Present Truth* (Sept. 1849), 32.

⁸⁰ White, MS 1, 1853.

in their hearts, and anything like retaliation should never be felt or resorted to by Christians.⁸¹

She stated that it is against the principles of God's kingdom to be moved by the behavior of unbelievers. In every action church believers should imitate Jesus and should not allow disturbing impressions "to arise in their hearts."⁸²

On the other hand, Ellen White stood against brother Case, whose conduct had gone too far in sharing with unbelievers the trials and challenges of the congregation at Jackson in "almost every place he went." She affirmed that Case's conduct was mistaken and that "God was displeased with such a course."⁸³ Believers should

... never intimate [their] trials in any way to the wicked. I saw that Satan had laughed as he saw those who professed to have wisdom from God, and believing they were having the last message of mercy to the world, should make the wicked acquainted with their troubles and trials, and let them in to see the weakness of the Band. I was pointed back to the time when Hezekiah led the enemies into the house of God, and shewed them the sacred, secret things there, the vessels of gold . . . of the temple, which was a heinous sin in the sight of God, and He pronounced a heavy curse upon them.⁸⁴

In her view there were clear evidences that the realm of God must be separated from the realm of the world. Those who trespass these limits are declared "unfit to have to do with the holy cause of God." She emphasized that the "weaknesses" and "affairs" of the church have to be kept in the church because

... great dishonor was brought upon the cause of God by letting the wicked ... know their weakness even so much as to come to them for testimony. If they had been left to do this, decide the case of the church on such testimony, God would leave forever those who did it, in perfect darkness, unfit to have to do with the holy cause of God. I saw that we had nothing to do with the wicked, that the affairs of the church should be kept in the church.⁸⁵

Her understanding of the church as a holy institution composed by people who are responsible to God by their own actions moved her to affirm that corporate confessions to the world had no place among the believers. Regarding the situation experienced at Jackson she stated: "We have no con-

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

fessions to make to the wicked, unless we have done them a personal injury."⁸⁶

The idea that the children of God are a special people and hence, there are areas that should not be mixed with unbelievers, had been presented to the Sabbatarian Adventists some years before. In 1850 Ellen White did not approve Joseph Bates' offering prayer for healing before unbelievers. She pointed out that such behavior was erroneous.

I saw that Bro. Bates erred again in praying for the sick before unbelievers. I saw if any among us were sick and called for the elders of the church to pray over them we should follow the example of Jesus. He went into an inner chamber, and we should go into a room by ourselves separate entirely from unbelievers, and then the atmosphere would not be polluted by them. By faith we could take hold on God and draw down the blessing. I saw that God's cause was dishonored and reproached in W. New York at the general conference by praying for the sick in the midst of unbelievers.⁸⁷

This idea was further developed in an article that appeared in the *Present Truth* some months later. Based on the example of Jesus, she justified the separation "from unbelievers as possible" when performing Christian ordinances. She wrote:

Some, I saw, had erred in praying for the sick to be healed before unbelievers. If any among us are sick, and call for the elders of the church to pray over them, according to James 5:14, 15, we should follow the example of Jesus. He put unbelievers out of the room, then healed the sick; so we should seek to be separated from the unbelief of those who have not faith, when we pray for the sick among us.⁸⁸

Ellen White extended her appeal to regular meetings of the church, such as the communion service. She believed that privacy, even in those occasions, was needed not only for practical reasons but to follow the example of Jesus. She pointed out:

Then I was pointed back to the time that Jesus took his disciples away alone, into an upper room, and first washed their feet, and then gave them to eat of the broken bread, to represent his broken body, and juice of the vine to represent his spilled blood. I saw that all should move understandingly, and follow the example of Jesus in these things, and

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ellen G. White, "A Vision the Lord Gave Me at Sutton, Vermont," MS 14, 1850, EGWRC-A11AS; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 12:247.

⁸⁸ White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," *The Present Truth* (Nov. 1850), 86.

when attending to these ordinances, should be as separate from unbelievers as possible.⁸⁹

Ellen White's high regard for the church as a community of faith, composed of those called out of the world, was the basis of her thinking. It suggests that her visions of heaven played an important role in shaping her understanding of this separation.⁹⁰

2.3.5. *Unqualified Ministers*

By the end of 1853 administrative problems regarding incompetent "volunteer preachers" were troubling Sabbatarian Adventism. The lack of an official organization was making it hard to identify the true shepherds of the flock. In such circumstances Ellen White affirmed that the movement was being damaged by the bad influence of "men . . . whose lives are not holy, who are unqualified to teach the present truth."⁹¹ The lack of an official organization had given opportunity to some people to enter "the field without being acknowledged by the church or brethren generally, and confusion and disunion [was] the result."⁹² That this situation was a real concern for her seems evident. In 1852 she had affirmed: "The cause was wounded by the reason of some moving out of their place, and taking a work on them that God had never laid on them."⁹³

She pointed out that as a result of the unwise movement of these people the movement as a whole was under a cloud. Ellen White was fully aware of the fact that it is impossible to disengage the content of the message from the messenger. She argued that these men were making "many wrong

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ After her first vision, the young Ellen affirmed: "Then an angel bore me gently down to this dark world. Sometimes I think I can stay here no longer; all things of earth look so dreary. I feel very lonely here, for I have seen a better land." Ellen G. White, "To the Remnant Scattered Abroad," 18–19; idem, *Early Writings* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1945), 20; idem, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:70.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., 15; idem, *Early Writings*, 97–104.

⁹³ Ellen G. White to Friend, Letter 4, 1852, EGWRC-AIIAS. As a way of avoiding unauthorized leadership, the leaders of Sabbatarianism began to extend credentials to the authorized representatives of the cause. John Loughborough claimed that those "approved in the work of the gospel ministry" were given "a card recommending them to the fellowship of the Lord's people everywhere." He follows by affirming that he received his in January 1853, which James White and Joseph Bates signed "in behalf of the church." See J. N. Loughborough, *The Church: Its Organization, Order and Discipline* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1907), 100–1. He also affirmed that these letters began to be granted in 1850; idem, *The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1905), 348; cf. Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization*, 124–25.

moves, and all the messengers are thought, by those unacquainted with our faith, to be like these self-sent men; and the cause of God is reproached, and the truth shunned by many unbelievers."⁹⁴ She affirmed that these men lacked "spirituality, judgment and experience,"⁹⁵ three necessary qualifications for those attempting to become leaders among them. In her view the appointment of leaders for the movement had to be set into an eschatological framework as well. The expectation of a near second coming of Jesus had to determine every decision and action among them. For this reason she affirmed that God "does not call such to labor in these perilous times."⁹⁶

Ellen White favored a ministry that "at all times, and in all places ... [could] shed a holy influence." In her appeal she alluded to seven ministerial qualifications necessary for those called to the ministry among them. These ministerial qualifications were (1) *Ordination*. She declared that leading brethren among them "should lay hands upon those who have given full proof that they have received their commission of God, and set them apart to devote themselves entirely to the work";⁹⁷ (2) *Holy living*. Her understanding of God's holiness moved her to observe that nothing less than likeness to God was required of ministers. They "must be holy, pure and without blemish, or God would destroy them";⁹⁸ (3) *Right judgment*. In a time when opposition to the cause was strong and when self-sacrifice was a necessary demand, she argued for a ministry constituted of "men of judgment" able "to bear opposition, and not get excited";⁹⁹ (4) *Service*. Long trips, little sleep, scarce food, and intensive pastoral work made the task hard. In such conditions she advocated for ministers "willing to be servants of all ... [with] a kind courteous spirit";¹⁰⁰ (5) *Models of piety and meekness*. Ellen White always advocated high standards in the lives of those called to minister¹⁰¹; (6) *Purity*.¹⁰² She declared that purity was an indispensable condition to the lives of ministers and closely related to the role they had to

⁹⁴ Ellen G. White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White* (Rochester: James White, 1854), 15.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 20; *idem*, MS 2, 1853.

⁹⁹ White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views*, 20.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁰¹ She declared: "Those who profess to be teachers should be patterns of piety, meekness, and of great humility, possessing a kind spirit, to win souls to Jesus, and the truth of the Bible." *Ibid.*

¹⁰² She appealed to the ministers to be "pure in conversation and in actions." Like priests in the OT times, she affirmed that the minister "should ever bear in mind that he is handling words of inspiration, words of a holy God." *Ibid.*

exert as intercessors. She insisted that the minister had not to forget that the "flock is entrusted to his care, and he to bear their cases to Jesus, and plead for them as Jesus pleads for us to the Father"¹⁰³ and (7) *Experience*.¹⁰⁴ Ellen White uniformly sustained the role of those of experience in the ranks of the movement.¹⁰⁵ "Experience and deep piety"¹⁰⁶ were basic conditions for any willing to serve.

The impact this appeal had on the Sabbatarian movement, while they were struggling with inefficient ministers and with the need for organization, was beyond doubt. That year and before the publication of this appeal, two important organizational steps had been taken: the first ordination of Sabbatarian Adventist ministers and, secondly, the granting of letters of recommendation to those called to the ministry. It seems that Ellen White's article might have provided the inspired approval for such a course of action.

3. Summary and Conclusion

Since 1849, Ellen White manifested organizational concerns among the scattered band of Sabbatarian Adventists. She appealed for order in the three main areas that the expression "church order" involves, namely, worship, church discipline, and church government. The bulk of her writings in addressing "order" in the early stages of the movement is related to church government. In doing so she decidedly supported the leading brethren of the cause and appealed to the Bible as the source of any organizational attempt among them. "Heavenly order" was the main theological argument behind her appeals for church order. Early in her ministry she talked about leadership, the use of God's money, and the relationship between the church and the world. At the end of 1853, in her first extensive article on this subject, she referred to the perils of false teachers, to the responsibility of the church in the appointment of its leaders, and to the essential ministerial qualifications. It was her prophetic influence which enabled her in her twenties and with little formal education to address a variety of sensitive ecclesiastical subjects. This study concludes that during the years 1849–1854

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.; idem, *MS 2*, 1853.

¹⁰⁵ In 1885 Ellen White would affirm: "There are a thousand temptations in disguise prepared for those who have the light of truth; and the only safety for any of us is in receiving no new doctrine, no new interpretation of the Scriptures, without first submitting it to brethren of experience. Lay it before them in a humble, teachable spirit, with earnest prayer; and if they see no light in it, yield to their judgment; for 'in the multitude of counselors there is safety.'" White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 5:293

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 22.

Ellen White's views on church order were critical to the bringing of basic organization and harmony into the ranks of Sabbatarian Adventism. Her role in dealing with particular situations of some Sabbatarian congregations was important because through it she laid fundamental principles on ecclesiastical order that would be essential to the Advent movement as a whole. In these views we can find the theological reasoning of some Adventist ordering practices that have continued into present times.