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The Sanctuary and the Three Angels' Messages 1844-1863: Integrating Factors in the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Doctrines

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THE SANCTUARY AND THE THREE ANGELS' MESSAGES
1844-1863: INTEGRATING FACTORS IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF SEVENTH-DAY
ADVENTIST DOCTRINES

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

by
Alberto Ronald Timm

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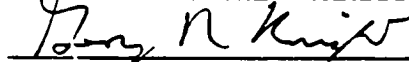
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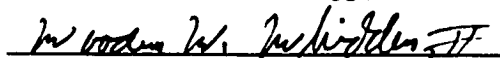
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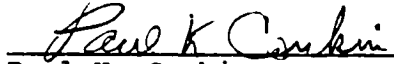
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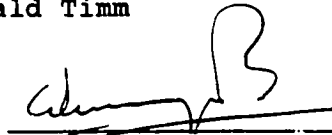
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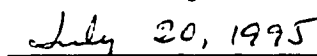
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AA</u>	<u>Anti-Annihilationist</u>
<u>AH</u>	<u>Advent Herald</u>
<u>AHBA</u>	<u>Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate</u>
AHC	Adventist Heritage Center, Andrews University
ALM	Autograph letter microform
ALP	Autograph letter photocopy
<u>AM</u>	<u>Advent Mirror</u>
<u>AMDZ</u>	<u>Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion</u>
AMs	Autograph manuscript
AMsP	Autograph manuscript photocopy
<u>AP</u>	<u>American Presbyterians</u>
<u>AQ</u>	<u>American Quarterly</u>
<u>AR</u>	<u>Advent Review</u>
<u>AS</u>	<u>American Studies</u>
ASC	Advent Source Collection, an archival category in the Adventist Heritage Center, Andrews University
<u>ASR</u>	<u>Advent Shield and Review</u>
<u>AT</u>	<u>Advent Testimony</u>
<u>AtA</u>	<u>Adventists Affirm</u>
<u>AtH</u>	<u>Adventist Heritage</u>
<u>AtR</u>	<u>Adventist Review</u>
<u>AtT</u>	<u>Adventist Today</u>

<u>AuR</u>	<u>Australasian Record</u>
<u>AUSS</u>	<u>Andrews University Seminary Studies</u>
<u>AW</u>	<u>Advent Watchman and Second Advent Watchman</u>
<u>BA</u>	<u>Bible Advocate</u>
<u>BE</u>	<u>Bible Examiner</u>
<u>C</u>	Collection
<u>CH</u>	<u>Church History</u>
<u>CO</u>	<u>Christian Observer</u>
<u>CR</u>	<u>Christian Reformer and Signs of the Times</u>
<u>DM</u>	<u>Daily Messenger</u>
EGWE	Ellen G. White Estate, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists
EGWRC-AU	Ellen G. White Estate Branch Office and Research Center, Andrews University
Fld	Folder
<u>GCB</u>	<u>General Conference Bulletin</u>
<u>GT</u>	<u>Girdle of Truth, and Advent Review</u>
HD	Handwritten diagram
<u>HI</u>	<u>Hope of Israel</u>
<u>Hir</u>	<u>Hierophant; or Monthly Expositor of Sacred Symbols and Prophecy</u>
<u>HW</u>	<u>Herold der Wahrheit</u>
<u>IJAS</u>	<u>Indian Journal of American Studies</u>
<u>IP</u>	<u>Investigator, or Monthly Expositor and Register, on Prophecy</u>
<u>JAH</u>	<u>Journal of American History</u>
<u>JASP</u>	<u>Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology</u>
<u>JATS</u>	<u>Journal of the Adventist Theological Society</u>

<u>JBL</u>	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
<u>JE</u>	<u>Jewish Expositor, and Friend of Israel</u>
<u>JS</u>	<u>Jubilee Standard</u>
<u>MC</u>	<u>Midnight Cry</u>
MEA	"Millerite and Early Adventists," a microfilm collection from University Microfilms International
<u>Min</u>	<u>Ministry</u>
Ms	Manuscript
<u>MW</u>	<u>Morning Watch</u> (Millerite)
<u>MWQ</u>	<u>Morning Watch; or Quarterly Journal on Prophecy, and Theological Review</u>
NIV	New International Version
<u>NSI</u>	<u>News of Self-Supporting Institutions and Rural Living</u>
<u>PUR</u>	<u>Pacific Union Recorder</u>
<u>RE</u>	<u>Review and Expositor</u>
<u>RH</u>	<u>Second Advent Review, and Sabbath Herald</u> and <u>Advent Review, and Sabbath Herald</u> and <u>Review and Herald</u>
<u>RQ</u>	<u>Restoration Quarterly</u>
RSV	Revised Standard Version
<u>SAC</u>	<u>Second Advent of Christ</u>
<u>SAH</u>	<u>Second Advent Harbinger</u> (England)
<u>SoP</u>	<u>Sociological Perspectives</u>
<u>Sp</u>	<u>Spectrum</u>
<u>ST</u>	<u>Signs of the Times</u> (Millerite)
<u>STs</u>	<u>Signs of the Times</u> (Seventh-day Adventist)
<u>TB</u>	<u>True Believer</u>

<u>TDS</u>	<u>True Day Star</u>
<u>Theo</u>	<u>Theologika</u> (Peru)
<u>TMC</u>	<u>True Midnight Cry</u>
<u>TL</u>	Typewritten letter
<u>TMs</u>	Typewritten manuscript
<u>VP</u>	<u>Voice of the Prophets</u>
<u>VS</u>	<u>Voice of the Shepherd</u>
<u>VT</u>	<u>Voice of Truth, and Glad Tidings of the Kingdom at Hand</u>
<u>VtT</u>	<u>Vermont Telegraph</u>
<u>WC</u>	<u>World's Crisis</u>
<u>WMC</u>	<u>Western Midnight Cry</u>
<u>WMO</u>	<u>William and Mary Quarterly</u>
<u>WP</u>	<u>Wisdom & Power</u>
<u>YI</u>	<u>Youth's Instructor</u>

PREFACE

Seventh-day Adventism is the major surviving branch of the Millerite movement that flourished in North America during the 1830s and 1840s. Under the strong waves of the Second Great Awakening (1790s-1830s), Millerites began to develop a unique system of prophetic interpretation that would be further extended by the Sabbatarian Adventists.

After the October 1844 Disappointment, the founders of Sabbatarian Adventism started a period of almost two decades of intensive study of Scripture. One by one, such doctrines as the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath, Christ's two-phase heavenly ministry, Christ's personal and visible Second Coming, the conditional immortality of the soul, and the modern manifestation of the gift of prophecy in the person and writings of Ellen G. White were incorporated into a new doctrinal system.

Foundational in the development of that system were two major concepts--the cleansing of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 and the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12.¹ While the first concept integrated that system

¹George R. Knight, Anticipating the Advent: A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993), 34.

theological-historically, the second one integrated the system historical-theologically. The theological-historical integration was due to the fact that the post-1844 cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary was theologically connected to almost all basic Sabbatarian Adventist teachings. The historical-theological integration of the system was brought about by the incorporation of those teachings into the chronological structure provided by the consecutive preaching of the three angels' messages.

Several Sabbatarian Adventist authors recognized the theological centrality of the heavenly sanctuary in their doctrinal system. Joseph Bates, for example, saw "a harmonious perfect chain" of truth in the antitypical fulfillment of the typology of the sanctuary.¹ James White regarded the sanctuary as the place where "all the great columns of present truth center."² He also called it "the great center around which all revealed truth relative to salvation clusters."³ For R. F. Cottrell, the sanctuary was "the grand center of the Christian system" and "the

¹Joseph Bates, A Vindication of the Seventh-Day Sabbath, and the Commandments of God: With a Further History of God's Peculiar People, from 1847 to 1848 (New Bedford, [MA]: Press of Benjamin Lindsey, 1848), 90.

²[James White], "The Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 1, 1863, 5.

³James White, Life Incidents, in Connection with the Great Advent Movement, as Illustrated by the Three Angels of Revelation xiv (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868), 309. See also idem, "The Sanctuary and 2300 Days," RH, Mar. 17, 1853, 172.

center and citadel of present truth."¹ Uriah Smith spoke of the sanctuary as the "grand nucleus around which cluster the glorious constellations of present truth."² J. N. Andrews considered the sanctuary to be "the great central doctrine" in the Seventh-day Adventist system, because "it inseparably connects all the points in their faith, and presents the subject as one grand whole."³ According to Ellen G. White, the sanctuary was the key that "opened to view a complete system of truth, connected and harmonious."⁴ Similar views have been expressed also by other Seventh-day Adventist authors.⁵

¹R. F. Cottrell, "The Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 15, 1863, 21.

²[Uriah Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 19," RH, Mar. 25, 1858, 148. See also [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 8, 1863, 116; idem, The Sanctuary and Twenty-three Hundred Days of Daniel viii, 14, [2d ed., rev. and enl.] (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1877), 10-11; [idem], "The Great Central Subject," RH, Nov. 22, 1881, 328; [idem], "The Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 27, 1887, 616; idem, Looking unto Jesus; or, Christ in Type and Antitype (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald, 1898), 56.

³J. N. A[ndrews], "The Sanctuary," RH, June 18, 1867, 12.

⁴Ellen G. White, The Spirit of Prophecy (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald, 1884), 4:268. See also idem, "The Two Dispensations," RH, Mar. 2, 1886, 129; idem, The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan during the Christian Dispensation (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1888), 423, 454, 488; idem to Geo[rge] C. Tenney, June 29, 1906, EGWRC-AU.

⁵See e.g., Stephen N. Haskell, The Story of Daniel the Prophet, [enl. ed.] (Berrien Springs, MI: Advocate Publishing Company, 1903), 266-73; idem, "The Sanctuary," RH, Nov. 3, 1904, 9; John L. Shuler, The Great Judgment Day in the Light of the Sanctuary Service (Washington, DC: Review and Herald,

The pivotal chronological nature of the three angels' messages for Sabbatarian Adventist theology was also stressed by several of the Sabbatarian writers. Joseph Bates, for instance, referred to Revelation 14 as providing "a most graphic delineation of the Second Advent movement, from its rise in about 1840, to a glorious state of immortality."¹ J. N. Andrews stated that "at the present time, no portion of the Holy Scriptures more deeply concerns the church of Christ than Rev. xiv."² For James White, the three angels' messages were "links in the golden chain of truth, that connects the past with the present and future, and show a beautiful harmony in the great whole."³ Ellen

1923), 51; L[eRoy] E. F[room], "Not a Block to Be Moved Nor a Pin Stirred, [Part 2]," Min, Dec. 1944, 17; idem, Movement of Destiny (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1971), 541-60; Edward Heppenstall, Our High Priest: Jesus Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1972), 23; Herbert E. Douglass, Why Jesus Waits: How the Sanctuary Doctrine Explains the Mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1976), 16; C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Sanctuary and Atonement in SDA Theology: An Historical Survey," in Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Leshner, eds., The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical and Theological Studies (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Committee of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1981), 516; [Fernando L. Canale], "System, Ecumenism, and Mission" [Unpublished class notes for THST685, Seminar in Systematic Theology, Andrews University, fall 1989].

¹Bates, Vindication, 92.

²J. N. Andrews, "The Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, [161]. See also idem, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 81.

³J. White, Life Incidents, 306. See also [idem], "The Faith of Jesus," RH, Aug. 5, 1852, 52-53; [idem], "The Faith of Jesus," RH, Mar. 7, 1854, 53.

White explained that many Millerites "saw the perfect chain of truth in the angels' messages, and gladly received them in their order, and followed Jesus by faith into the heavenly sanctuary."¹ She qualified these messages, in their connection to the heavenly sanctuary, as "the principal subjects on which the messengers should dwell."² Similar views of the three angels' messages have been enunciated by other authors.³

¹E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts (Battle Creek, MI: James White, 1858), 1:165-66. See also idem, 133-73, passim; idem, Great Controversy (1888), 435-54, passim; idem, Testimonies for the Church (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, n.d.), 6:17-18.

²[Ellen G. White], A Sketch of the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White (Saratoga Springs, NY: James White, 1851), 51.

³See e.g., [R. F. Cottrell], "The Faith of Jesus," Sabbath-School Lessons, VI, July 1855, 56; Frederick Griggs to [E. G.] White, Dec. 28, 1911, TL, EGWE; Francis D. Nichol, The Answer to Modern Religious Thinking: A Discussion of Current Religious Trends in Their Relation to the Distinctive Teachings of Seventh-day Adventists (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1936), 307-12; idem, Reasons for Our Faith (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1947), 180-225, passim; idem, "The Increasing Timeliness of the Threefold Message," in Our Firm Foundation: A Report of the Seventh-day Adventist Bible Conference Held September 1-13, 1952, in the Sligo Seventh-day Adventist Church, Takoma Park, Maryland (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1953), 1:543-622, passim; T. H. Jemison, Christian Beliefs: Fundamental Biblical Teachings for Seventh-day Adventist College Classes (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1959), 330; E. H. J. Steed, "The Certainty of the Three Angels' Messages," AtR, Aug. 28, 1980, 12-13; Carl Coffman, "In the Last Days, Three Angels--1," AtR, Aug. 5, 1982, 5; Hans K. LaRondelle, "A People of Prophecy--1," AtR, June 1, 1989, 10; Robert S. Folkenberg, "Three Mighty Angels," AtR, Oct. 1, 1992, 12; [Roy A. Anderson], "Seventh-day Adventist Doctrines Found in Rev. 14," TMs, n.d., C 152, box 19, fld 6, AHC.

That the basic structural foundation of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system had been established between 1844 and 1863 is evident from the fact that by the end of 1863 some Seventh-day Adventist authors were able to speak of a connected system of doctrines.¹ That the Sabbatarians perceived that system as of special contemporary significance is reflected in the fact that they referred to it as a system of "present truth."²

Statement of the Problem

An analysis of Seventh-day Adventist theological writings reveals that although the founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church emphasized the foundational nature of the sanctuary and of the three angels' messages to their theology, none of the major Seventh-day Adventist academic theologies and textbooks³ has explicitly employed these

¹See e.g., [U. Smith], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 8, 1863, 116; [J. White], "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 1, 1863, 5; R. F. Cottrell, "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 15, 1863, 21.

²See [James White], PT, July 1849, [1]; [U. Smith], "Valedictory," RH, June 8, 1869, 188; L[eon] A. S[mith], "'Present Truth'," RH, Jan. 6, 1891, 9; [W. W. Prescott], "The Symmetry of the Truth," GCB, Feb. 13, 1895, 113. See also Wesley C. McCoy, "Concepts of Truth in 'The Present Truth' (1849-1850)" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1973); Laurence A. Turner, "Present Truth as Defined by 'Present Truth' (1849-50)" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1975); Don F. Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, rev. ed. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1976), s.v. "Present Truth."

³See e.g., Benjamin L. House, Analytical Studies in Bible Doctrines for Seventh-day Adventist Colleges: A Course in Biblical Theology ([Washington, DC]: General Conference Department of Education, 1926); Alonzo J. Wearner, Fundamentals of Bible Doctrine: Sixty Studies in the Basic

themes as integrating factors in the systematization of doctrines.

Besides that, the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the cleansing of the sanctuary has been challenged in some Seventh-day Adventist circles around the world,¹ and the centrality of the three angels' messages

Facts of the Everlasting Gospel Arranged for Classes in Advanced Bible Doctrines, rev. ed. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1945); W. L. Emmerson, The Bible Speaks: Containing One Hundred Forty-one Readings Systematically Arranged for Home and Class Study and Answering Nearly Three Thousand Questions (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1949); William H. Branson, Drama of the Ages (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1950); Alfred Vaucher, L'Histoire du Salut: Cours de doctrine biblique, 3d ed. (Dammarié-les-Lys, France: Editions S.D.T., 1951); Department of Education of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Principles of Life from the Word of God: A Systematic Study of the Major Doctrines of the Bible (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1952); Our Firm Foundation, 2 vols.; Jemison, Christian Beliefs; Bible Readings for the Home: A Study of 200 Vital Scripture Topics in Question-and-Answer Form Contributed by a Large Number of Bible Scholars, rev. ed. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1958); Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine: An Exposition of Certain Major Aspects of Seventh-day Adventist Belief (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1957); Hans Heinz, Dogmatik: Glaubenslehren der Heiligen Schrift (Bern: Europäisches Institut für Fernstudium, [1978]); Richard Rice, The Reign of God: An Introduction to Christian Theology from a Seventh-day Adventist Perspective (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1985); Seventh-day Adventists Believe... A Biblical Exposition of 27 Fundamental Doctrines (Washington, DC: Ministerial Association of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1988).

¹See e.g., D. M. Canright, Seventh-day Adventism Renounced: After an Experience of Twenty-eight Years by a Prominent Minister and Writer of That Faith (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1889), 117-28; Albion F. Ballenger, Cast out for the Cross of Christ (Tropico, CA: A. F. Ballenger, n.d.); idem, An Examination of Forty Fatal Errors Regarding the Atonement: A Review of a Work which "Fully Explains the Sanctuary Question as Understood by the (Seventh-day Adventist) Denomination" (Riverside, CA: A. F. Ballenger, n.d.); W. W. Fletcher, The Reasons for My Faith: An Appeal to

for Seventh-day Adventist theology is less emphasized today than it was in the early days of the Seventh-day Adventist movement.

Furthermore, no comprehensive historical study has yet been done on the interrelationship of these two theological concepts in linking together the main components of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the chronological development of the Sabbatarian Adventist interpretation of the cleansing of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 and the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12, followed by an investigation across time of the relationship

Seventh-day Adventists, Concerning Vital Truths of the Gospel (Sydney, Australia: Wm. Brooks, 1932); L. R. C[onradi], "Ein göttliches Vorgericht über den Antichrist," HW 48 (1931), 85; Robert D. Brinsmead, Judged by the Gospel: A Review of Adventism (Fallbrook, CA: Verdict Publications, 1980); Desmond Ford, "Daniel 8:14, the Day of Atonement, and the Investigative Judgment" (TMs, A study paper prepared for the Sanctuary Review Committee meeting at Glacier View Ranch, Colorado, August 10-15, 1980); idem, Daniel 8:14, the Day of Atonement, and the Investigative Judgment (Casselberry, FL: Euangelion Press, 1980); Don Hawley, Set Free! (Clackamas, OR: Better Living Publishers, 1989), 231-41; Larry Pahl, "Investigating the Investigative Judgment: An Analysis and Dismantling of the 'Investigative Judgment' Doctrine Held by Many Seventh-day Adventists" (M.Th. thesis, Christian Bible College, 1992); Jack W. Provonsha, A Remnant in Crisis (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1993), 123-36; Thomas R. Steininger, Konfession und Sozialisation: Adventistische Identität zwischen Fundamentalismus und Postmoderne (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 81-100, 130-39, 190-98; Glen Greenwalt, "Sanctuary in the Year 2000," AtT, Nov.-Dec. 1994, 6-9 (cf. Roy Gane, "Sanctuary of Hope: A Response to Glen Greenwalt," ibid., 10).

between those two integrating factors and the early Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines. Special attention is given to the specific role played by the integrating factors within the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system.

Scope and Delimitations of the Study

A brief historical overview of the main Protestant interpretations of the cleansing of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 and of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 is provided for contextual purposes. This overview is restricted to the expositions found in the commentaries on the books of Daniel and the Revelation published in English during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, since commentaries in that language were those available to the English-speaking developers of Millerite and Sabbatarian Adventism.

The study of the Millerite understanding of the sanctuary and of the three angels' messages up to 1844 is limited to an exploration of the major steps in the historical development of those two theological concepts. The main focus is on the writings of William Miller. Attention is given to the writings of other Millerite authors only as they make significant and innovative contributions to the topics under discussion.

Detailed attention is given to Sabbatarian Adventist writings that deal with the concepts of the sanctuary and

the three angels' messages and the relationship between those concepts and the five Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines of (1) the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath, (2) Christ's heavenly ministry, (3) Christ's Second Coming, (4) the conditional immortality of the soul, and (5) the gift of prophecy as manifested in the person and writings of Ellen G. White.¹

The year 1844 has been chosen as the starting point for this study because it was immediately after the October 1844 Millerite Disappointment that Sabbatarian Adventists began the intensive study of the Scriptures that finally culminated in the formation of their basic doctrinal system. The year 1863 has been selected as the end of the study for (1) May 21, 1863, saw the organization of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, (2) the denomination's basic doctrines were well in place by that time,² and (3) in that year several leading Adventists, as mentioned previously,³ were able to speak of the existence of a connected Seventh-day Adventist system of doctrines. It seems, therefore, quite evident that the year 1863 can be

¹Knight, Anticipating the Advent, 33-34.

²See Andrew G. Mustard, James White and SDA Organization: Historical Development, 1844-1881, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 12 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987), 117-62.

³See p. xvii, n. 1, above.

accepted as a natural ending date for the purpose of the present study.

Review of Literature

P. Gerard Damsteegt's Doctor of Theology dissertation, published originally as Toward the Theology of Mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church¹ and later on as Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission,² is perhaps the most comprehensive and accurate secondary source that deals with both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages from a historical, theological, and missiological perspective. It covers the whole period of the present study and deals, to a certain extent, with the relationship between the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. This relationship is stressed mainly through the linkages of the Sabbath, the preadvent investigative judgment, and the 1844 Advent experience. On the other hand, Damsteegt does not provide an exhaustive analysis of the interrelationship between the sanctuary and the three angels' messages as integrating factors for all those

¹Pieter G. Damsteegt, Toward the Theology of Mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church: A Historical-Theological and Missiological Study of the Origins and Basic Structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Theology of Mission (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1977).

²P. Gerard Damsteegt, Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1977).

Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines previously mentioned.

LeRoy E. Froom's four-volume Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers¹ is a general history of prophetic interpretation. The fourth volume surveys basic Millerite/Sabbatarian-Adventist doctrinal developments. Although the author deals extensively with both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages, he is more concerned with explaining their progressive development and incorporation into a coherent system of truth than with analyzing their actual function as integrating factors.

The focus of Froom's Movement of Destiny² is on post-1863 Seventh-day Adventist theological developments. The book, however, does provide helpful insights toward understanding the subject of the sanctuary as *"the all-encompassing essence of Adventism."*³

Robert Haddock's Bachelor of Divinity thesis, "A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Advent Movement, 1800-1905,"⁴ presents a general overview of the

¹LeRoy E. Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation, 4 vols. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1946-54).

²L. E. Froom, Movement of Destiny.

³Ibid., 542. See especially, 541-60; idem, "The Sanctuary: Pivotal Teaching of Adventism," Min, Aug. 1982, 18-20.

⁴Robert Haddock, "A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Advent Movement, 1800-1905" (B.D. thesis, Andrews University, 1970).

development of the sanctuary message from 1800 up to 1905. Despite minor errors,¹ Haddock's study is an insightful review of the literature on the sanctuary published during the period covered by the present study.

The Doctrine of the Sanctuary: A Historical Survey (1845-1863), edited by Frank B. Holbrook,² is perhaps the most accurate history of the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the sanctuary.

Paul A. Gordon's The Sanctuary, 1844, and the Pioneers³ is largely a compilation of quotations interspersed with commentary. The quotations come mainly from articles on the sanctuary appearing in the Present Truth and the Advent Review and Sabbath Herald from 1849 to 1905.

The Sanctuary and the Atonement, edited by A. R. Wallenkampf and W. R. Leshner, has two chapters by C. Mervyn Maxwell ("Sanctuary and Atonement in SDA Theology: An Historical Survey" and "The Investigative Judgment: Its

¹See Michael Brownfield, "A Study of Robert Haddock's Thesis, A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Advent Movement, from 1880 to 1900" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1974).

²Frank B. Holbrook, ed., Doctrine of the Sanctuary: A Historical Survey (1845-1863), Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 5 (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1989).

³Paul A. Gordon, The Sanctuary, 1844, and the Pioneers (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1983).

Early Development"¹) that are likewise significant for the topic under consideration.

These previous studies on the sanctuary are relevant in historical terms, but they do not treat it in connection with the three angels' messages or as an integrating factor for Sabbatarian doctrines.

On the other hand, not very much has been published (except for works of Damsteegt² and Froom³) on the historical development of the three angels' messages from a scholarly perspective. There are, however, some articles by Don F. Neufeld,⁴ Carl Coffman,⁵ Raoul Dederen,⁶ and Hans

¹Wallenkampf and Leshner, eds., Sanctuary and the Atonement, 516-81.

²Damsteegt, Foundations.

³Froom, Prophetic Faith, vol. 4.

⁴D. F. Neufeld, "The Three Angels' Messages," 6-part series in RH, Mar. 14, 1974, 11-12; Mar. 21, 1974, 11; Apr. 11, 1974, 14; Apr. 25, 1974, 12; May 9, 1974, 12; May 30, 1974, 12.

⁵C. Coffman, "In the Last Days, Three Angels," 8-part series in AtR, Aug. 5, 1982, 4-5; Aug. 12, 1982, 8-9; Aug. 19, 1982, 7-9; Aug. 26, 1982, 8-10; Sept. 2, 1982, 6-7; Sept. 9, 1982, 8-9; Sept. 16, 1982, 5-7; Sept. 23, 1982, 8-9.

⁶Raoul Dederen, "Die drei Engelsbotschaften. Ursprung und Entwicklung der Auslegung der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten," in Studien zur Offenbarung: Die Bedeutung der drei Engelsbotschaften heute (Offenbarung 14, 5-12) ([Berne]: Euro-Afrika-Division, [1988]), 2:5-64; idem, "Die drei Engelsbotschaften. Ursprung und Entwicklung adventistischer Ekklesiologie," in ibid., 65-91.

K. LaRondelle,¹ and some unpublished papers by Carl Coffman,² Robert A. Clark,³ Raymond R. Baker, Jr.,⁴ Adekunle A. Alalade,⁵ and Enilson Sarli.⁶ These are helpful, even though they are not comprehensive and do not seek to explicitly treat the three angels' messages as an integrating factor for a doctrinal system.

Useful insights into the development of the concepts of the cleansing of the sanctuary and of the three angels' messages also can be found in general histories of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.⁷ Yet, as noted

¹H. K. LaRondelle, "A People of Prophecy," 8-part series in AtR: June 1, 1989, 8-10; June 8, 1989, 10-12; June 15, 1989, 8-10; June 22, 1989, 12-14; June 29, 1989, 11-13; July 6, 1989, 11-13; July 13, 1989, 10-12; July 20, 1989, 8-10.

²Carl Coffman, "The Development of an Understanding of the Message of the Third Angel of Revelation 14:9-12 from 1844" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1972).

³Robert A. Clark, "The Three Angels' Messages: As Viewed by Early Adventists" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1976).

⁴Raymond R. Baker, Jr., "What Has the Term 'Three Angels' Messages' Meant through the Years?" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1976).

⁵Adekunle A. Alalade, "Adventist Pioneers of the Three Angels' Messages, 1831-1849" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1979).

⁶Enilson Sarli, "Steps in the Development of the Understanding of the Third Angel's Message among Sabbatarian Adventists between 1845 and 1890" (M.A. project report, Andrews University, 1984).

⁷See e.g., J. N. Loughborough, Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists with Tokens of God's Hand in the Movement and a Brief Sketch of the Advent Cause from 1831 to 1844 (Battle Creek, MI: General Conference Association of the

above,¹ none of the major books dealing with Seventh-day Adventist theology has employed either of those concepts as an integrating factor in the doctrinal systematization.

Methodology and Primary Sources

The present dissertation is a documentary study based primarily on research of published primary sources produced by Sabbatarian Adventists from 1844 to 1863. Both primary and secondary sources are used to provide

Seventh-day Adventists, 1892), 37-124, passim; idem, The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1909), 77-264, passim; M. Ellsworth Olsen, A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1925), 107-65, 177-97; Matilda E. Andross, Story of the Advent Message (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1926), 9-56; Arthur W. Spalding, Captains of the Host (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1949), 77-107, 141-70; Department of Education of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, The Story of Our Church (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1956), 133-212; Arthur W. Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1961), 1:79-113, 153-86; Konrad F. Mueller, Die Frühgeschichte der Siebenten-tags-Adventisten bis zur Gemeindegründung 1863 und ihre Bedeutung für die moderne Irenik, Schriften des Instituts für wissenschaftliche Irenik, vol. 4 (Marburg, Germany: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1969), 42-56, 106-12, 135-37, 162-68; Ingemar Lindén, The Last Trump: An Historico-Genetical Study of Some Important Chapters in the Making and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity, vol. 17 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1978), 52-54, 59-65, 129-31; R. W. Schwarz, Light Bearers to the Remnant: Denominational History Textbook for Seventh-day Adventist College Classes (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1979), 24-71, 169-70; C. Mervyn Maxwell, Tell It to the World: The Story of Seventh-day Adventists, 2d rev. ed. (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1982), 9-66, 85-94; Enoch de Oliveira, A Mão de Deus ao Leme, 2d ed. (Tatuí, SP, Brazil: Casa Publicadora Brasileira, 1988), 27-38; Knight, Anticipating the Advent, 7-39.

¹See pp. xvii-xviii, above.

background, historical context, and perspective for the present study.

The study begins with chronological research of the major concepts of the cleansing of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages in the publications of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century non-Millerite English-speaking Protestants and in the writings of William Miller. Then the refinements of those topics by Miller's associates are examined.

The core of the study forms around the research of the chronological development of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages in the Sabbatarian Adventist theological writings published between 1844 and 1863. The description of that development is followed by an investigation across time of the relationship between the integrating factors of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages and the early Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines. Then, an appraisal of the specific integrative function of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages is provided.

Those primary sources that were published in both article and book or pamphlet forms are usually quoted from the source in which they first appeared.

Emphasis in quotations is always in the original, unless otherwise indicated. All supplied Bible references without reference to any specific version are from the King James Version.

The selected bibliography does not provide a listing of articles quoted in the present study but only of periodicals in which such articles were published. Every footnote contains sufficient information to locate each article.

Design of the Study

Chapter 1, dealing with pre-1844 interpretations, briefly surveys (1) the background and development of the Millerite movement, (2) the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century non-Millerite English-speaking Protestant and Millerite interpretations of Daniel 8:14, and (3) the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century non-Millerite English-speaking Protestant and Millerite interpretations of Revelation 14:6-12.

Chapter 2, dealing with Sabbatarian Adventist thinking up to 1850, considers (1) the background-developments of post-October 1844 Disappointment Millerism and the formation of early Sabbatarian Adventism, (2) the early Sabbatarian Adventist interpretation of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14, (3) the early Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12, (4) the relationship of the early Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines to the sanctuary and the three angels' messages, and (5) major characteristics and configuration of the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system.

Chapters 3 and 4, convening Sabbatarian Adventist literature from 1850 to 1863, treat (1) the background provided by major developments within Sabbatarian Adventism between 1850 to 1863, (2) further developments in the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of Daniel 8:14, (3) refinements in the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of Revelation 14:6-12, (4) developments in the relationship of the Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines to the sanctuary and the three angels' messages, and (5) major developments within the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system from 1850 to 1863 and beyond.

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Adventist Heritage Center; to Sandra White for her untiring willingness to make accessible through interlibrary loans a large number of rare books and articles; to the Adventist Pioneer Library whose CD-ROM, Words of the Pioneers: A Collection of Early Seventh-day Adventist Writings, facilitated the research of primary sources; to Bonnie Proctor, Dissertation Secretary, for insightful editorial suggestions; and to all those colleagues, relatives, and friends whose prayers and words of support made the overall project much easier.

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And, above all, glory and honor be to God the Father, the source of "every good endowment and every perfect gift" (Jas 1:17, RSV); to Jesus Christ, "the author and perfecter of our faith" (Heb 12:2, NIV); and to the Holy Spirit, our guide "into all truth" (John 10:13).

ABSTRACT

**THE SANCTUARY AND THE THREE ANGELS' MESSAGES
1844-1863: INTEGRATING FACTORS IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF SEVENTH-DAY
ADVENTIST DOCTRINES**

by

Alberto Ronald Timm

Adviser: George R. Knight

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: THE SANCTUARY AND THE THREE ANGELS' MESSAGES, 1844-1863: INTEGRATING FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST DOCTRINES

Name of researcher: Alberto Ronald Timm

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Date completed: June 1995

The Topic

The concepts of the cleansing of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 and the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 were viewed by Sabbatarian Adventists as the main integrating factors in the development of their doctrinal system.

The Purpose

The purpose of this study was to describe and analyze the chronological development of the Sabbatarian Adventist interpretation of the cleansing of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 and the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 from 1844 to 1863, followed by an investigation

across time of the relationship between those two integrating factors and the early Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines of (1) the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath, (2) Christ's heavenly ministry, (3) Christ's Second Coming, (4) the conditional immortality of the soul, and (5) the gift of prophecy of Ellen G. White.

The Sources

This documentary study was based primarily on published primary sources produced by Sabbatarian Adventists from 1844 to 1863. Both primary and secondary sources were used to provide background, historical context, and perspective for the present study.

Conclusions

Both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages integrated the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system in an outer and an inner dimension. In the outer dimension, both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages integrated that system to the larger context of salvation history. While the sanctuary typology set the system in line with the unfolding plan of salvation, the three angels' messages placed it within the framework of the historical-cosmic controversy between God and His followers and Satan and his followers. In the inner dimension, both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages provided the framework for inner integration of the main components of the Sabbatarian system. While the sanctuary typology integrated those

components theological-historically, the three angels' messages integrated them historical-theologically. The theological-historical integration was due to the fact that the post-1844 cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary was theologically connected to almost all basic Sabbatarian Adventist teachings. The historical-theological integration of the system was brought about by the incorporation of those teachings into the chronological structure provided by the consecutive preaching of the three angels' messages.

CHAPTER I

PRE-1844 INTERPRETATIONS

Background

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries brought radical changes to Western Civilization. Under the strong criticism of philosophers and political theorists, many social values and institutions were revised and even replaced. Such major events as the American Revolution (1776-83) and the French Revolution (1789-99) were climactic expressions of the increasing democratic spirit of that time.

In the New World, the "age of democratic revolution"¹ made a significant impact not only on the social and political structures of the United States but also on its religious life. The democratic principles unleashed by the American Revolution (1776-83) and the

¹An insightful study of the social and political history of Europe and North America during the last half of the eighteenth century is provided by R. R. Palmer in his The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959, 1964).

strong waves of Second Great Awakening (1790s-1830s)¹ became major disrupting factors to the old Calvinistic tradition.² By allowing the European denominations to coexist in the same geographic setting, American democracy put those denominations in a "free, competitive

¹Frank G. Beardsley, A History of American Revivals, 3d ed. (New York: American Tract Society, 1912), 84-212; Charles R. Keller, The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942); John L. Thomas, "Romantic Reform in America, 1815-1865," AQ 17 (Winter 1965): 656-81; Donald G. Mathews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830: An Hypothesis," AQ 21 (Spring 1969): 23-43; Richard D. Birdsall, "The Second Great Awakening and the New England Social Order," CH 39 (Sept. 1970): 345-64; Richard Carwardine, "The Second Great Awakening in the Urban Centers: An Examination of Methodism and the 'New Measures'," JAH 59 (Sept. 1972): 327-40; William G. McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religious and Social Change in America, 1607-1977 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 98-140; Richard D. Shiels, "The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut: Critique of the Traditional Interpretation," CH 49 (Dec. 1980): 401-15; Terry D. Bilhartz, Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore (Rutherford, [NJ]: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986).

²For further study of how the American Revolution and the Second Great Awakening facilitated the spreading of the Arminian concept of free-will salvation in replacement of the Calvinistic tradition of salvation by election, see Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 360-509; Winthrop S. Hudson, Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life, 4th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 151-71; Nathan O. Hatch, The Democratization of American Christianity (New Haven, [CT]: Yale University Press, 1989).

environment"¹ that gave room to several new religious experiments.²

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw also an unprecedented worldwide revival of interest in the biblical teachings about the Second Coming of Christ.³ Many Protestant interpreters were convinced, from their study of Bible prophecies, that Christ would come in their own time.⁴ It was, however, the Baptist William Miller (1782-1849)⁵ from Low Hampton, New York, who provided one

¹H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1987), 203.

²Insightful studies on how the concepts of freedom and democracy helped to shape American religious life are Alice F. Tyler, Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War (New York: Harper & Row, 1944); Winthrop S. Hudson, The Great Tradition of the American Churches (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953); and Hatch, Democratization of American Christianity.

³See Froom, Prophetic Faith, vols. 3, 4; Gottfried Oosterwal, Modern Messianic Movements: As a Theological and Missionary Challenge, Missionary Studies, no. 2 (Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1973), 50, n. 8. Cf. Henri Desroche's Dieux d'Hommes: Dictionnaire des Messianismes et Millénarismes de l'Ère Chrétienne (Paris: Mouton, 1969).

⁴Froom, Prophetic Faith, vols. 3, 4; Alfred-Felix Vaucher, Lacunziana: Essais sur les prophéties bibliques, 2d series (Collonges-sous-Salève, France: FIDES, 1952); Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 3-58.

⁵Some of the most significant biographies of William Miller are William Miller, Apology and Defence (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1845); Sylvester Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller, Generally Known as a Lecturer on the Prophecies, and the Second Coming of Christ (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1853); James White, Sketches of the Christian Life and Public

of the most precisely "elaborated and refined" chronological calculations of biblical prophecies,¹ showing the impending fulfillment of that event.

The Millerite Movement

William Miller (the founder and main leader of the Millerite movement²) was a self-taught farmer who,

Labors of William Miller, Gathered from His Memoir by the Late Sylvester Bliss, and from Other Sources (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1875); A Brief History of William Miller, the Great Pioneer in Adventual Faith, 2d ed. (Boston: Advent Christian Publication Society, 1910); Stanley J. Steiner, "William Miller: His Travels, Disappointments and Faith" (M.A. thesis, Texas Christian University, 1970); Robert Gale, The Urgent Voice: The Story of William Miller (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1975); and Paul A. Gordon, Herald of the Midnight Cry: William Miller & the 1844 Movement (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1990); Ellen G. White, William Miller: Herald of the Blessed Hope (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1994).

¹Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca, [NY]: Cornell University Press, 1950), 291.

A synopsis of Miller's chronological calculation of biblical end-time prophecies can be found in "Synopsis of Miller's Views," ST, Jan. 25, 1843, 145-50.

²Some of the most significant histories of the Millerite movement are [Josiah Litch], "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," ASR 1 (May 1844): 46-93; Isaac C. Wellcome, History of the Second Advent Message (Yarmouth, ME: Isaac C. Wellcome, 1874); Albert C. Johnson, Advent Christian History: A Concise Narrative of the Origin and Progress, Doctrine and Work of this Body of Believers (Mendota, IL: Western Advent Christian Publication Society, 1918); Everett N. Dick, "The Adventist Crisis of 1843-1844" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1930); Francis D. Nichol, The Midnight Cry: A Defense of the Character and Conduct of William Miller and the Millerites, Who Mistakenly Believed that the Second Coming of Christ Would Take Place in the Year 1844 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1944); Froom, Prophetic Faith, vol. 4; David T. Arthur, "'Come out

disappointed with both the dryness of contemporary deistic ideas¹ and the divergent opinions of Bible commentators, decided to study the Scriptures for himself.² Soon after his conversion experience (1816), he was challenged by a deist friend for believing in Jesus as Saviour and in the Bible as revealed truth. Miller replied that "if the Bible

of Babylon': A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism, 1840-1865" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1970); Edwin S. Gaustad, ed., The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America (New York: Harper & Row, 1974); David A. Dean, "Echoes of the Midnight Cry: The Millerite Heritage in the Apologetics of the Advent Christian Denomination, 1860-1960" (Th.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1977); Clyde E. Hewitt, Midnight and Morning: An Account of the Adventist Awakening and the Founding of the Advent Christian Denomination (Charlotte, NC: Venture Books, 1983); David L. Rowe, Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850, American Academy of Religion Studies in Religion, no. 38 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985); Michael Barkun, Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-over District of New York in the 1840s (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986); Ruth A. Doan, The Miller Heresy, Millennialism, and American Culture (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987); Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, eds., The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century (Bloomington, [IN]: Indiana University Press, 1987); George R. Knight, Millennial Fever and the End of the World (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993); Everett N. Dick, William Miller and the Advent Crisis, 1831-1844, ed. Gary Land (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1994); Denis Fortin, "L'Adventisme dans les cantons de l'est du Quebec: implantation et institutionalisation au XIXe siecle" (Ph.D. diss., Universite Laval, Quebec, 1995).

¹Insightful studies on the spread of deism in America are provided in Herbert M. Morais, Deism in Eighteenth Century America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934); Henry F. May, The Enlightenment in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

²Cf. Editorial, "William Miller," SAC, Feb. 8, 1843, [4].

was the word of God, every thing contained therein might be understood, and all its parts be made to harmonize." He added that, if his friend would give him time, he would either harmonize all the apparent contradictions of the Bible, to his own satisfaction, or continue as a deist.¹

Under the assumption that "Scripture must be its own expositor,"² in the fall of 1816 Miller began a period of intensive, systematic study of the Bible. His main tools were the Authorized Version and Cruden's concordance. His "rules of interpretation"³ followed the mainstream Protestant hermeneutical tradition.⁴ His methodology was a

¹W. Miller, Apology and Defence, 2-6.

²Cf. [William Miller], "Miller's Letters No. 5: The Bible Its Own Interpreter," ST, May 15, 1840, 25.

³William Miller, Evidences from Scripture & History of the Second Coming of Christ, about the Year 1843, and of His Personal Reign of 1000 Years (Brandon, [VT]: Vermont Telegraph Office, 1833), 3-6; [idem], "Miller's Letters No. 5: The Bible Its Own Interpreter," ST, May 15, 1840, 25-26; idem, "Rules of Interpretation," MC, Nov. 17, 1842, [4]; [idem], Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology, ed. Joshua V. Himes (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 20-24; Apollos Hale, The Second Advent Manual (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1843), 103-6; Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller, 70-72.

⁴Don F. Neufeld, "Biblical Interpretation in the Advent Movement," in Gordon M. Hyde, ed., A Symposium on Biblical Hermeneutics ([Washington, DC]: Biblical Research Committee of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1974), 124; Damsteegt, Foundations, 17.

For a critical study of Miller's hermeneutical principles, see Steen R. Rasmussen, "Roots of the Prophetic Hermeneutic of William Miller" (M.A. thesis, Newbold College, 1983); Kai Arasola, The End of Historicism: Millerite Hermeneutic of Time Prophecies in the Old Testament (Uppsala: [University of Uppsala], 1990). Cf. Samuel Nuñez, The Vision of Daniel 8: Interpretations from

sequential "verse by verse" study of the Scriptures.

Starting with the book of Genesis, Miller did not stop until he reached the book of Revelation. Whenever he found an obscure passage, he tried to solve the problem by comparing it with "all collateral passages" of the Scriptures "in which were found any of the prominent words" of the passage under consideration. In addition, by comparing "Scripture with history," he tried to discover the most reasonable historical fulfillment of biblical prophecies.¹

The first two years (1816-18) of intensive study of the Scriptures convinced Miller that "the Bible is a system of revealed truths, so clearly and simply given, that the 'wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein.'"² His attempt to understand and harmonize such prophetic periods as the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14, the 1290 days and 1335 days of Daniel 12:11, 12, and the 1260 days of Revelation 11:3 and 12:6 (cf. Dan 7:25; Rev 11:2; 12:14; 13:5) led him to the conclusion that Christ would come "about A.D. 1843."³ Miller's further investigation of the

1700 to [1900], Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 14 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987); P. Gerard Damsteegt, review of The End of Historicism, by Kai Arasola, AUSS 29 (Autumn 1991): 263-64.

¹W. Miller, Apology and Defence, 6.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., 11.

Scriptures strengthened this conclusion. In 1822, he penned his twenty-article creed,¹ stating again his belief that the Second Coming of Christ would take place "on [sic] or before 1843."²

By stressing a physical, visible, and premillennial return of Christ³ and a cleansing of the earth by fire, the Millerite movement became a disrupting element not only for the optimistic postmillennial reforms of the time⁴ but also for the idea of America's millennial role.⁵

¹See William Miller, ["Statement of Faith"], AMSP, Sept. 5, 1822, ASC; Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller, 77-80.

²W. Miller, ["Statement of Faith"], AMSP, Sept. 5, 1822, ASC, art. 15; Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller, 79.

³For further study of the history of premillennialism, see Nathaniel West, "History of the Pre-Millennial Doctrine," in idem, [ed.], Second Coming of Christ: Premillennial Essays of the Prophetic Conference, Held in the Church of the Holy Trinity, New York City (Chicago: F. H. Revell, 1879), 313-404; Froom, Prophetic Faith, vols. 1-4; V. Norskov Olsen, ed., The Advent Hope in Scripture and History (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1987).

⁴Nathan O. Hatch, "The Origins of Civil Millennialism in America: New England, War with France, and the Revolution," WMQ 31 (July 1974), 407-430; Ronald G. Walters, American Reformers, 1815-1860 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism & Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980); M. Darrol Bryant and Donald W. Dayton, eds., The Coming Kingdom: Essays in American Millennialism & Eschatology (Barrytown, NY: International Religious Foundation, 1983).

⁵Insightful discussions of the idea of America's millennial role can be found, for example, in Perry Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956); Ernest L. Tuveson, Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Robert T. Handy, "The American

In August 1831,¹ after studying the Scriptures for fifteen years, Miller delivered his first public lectures on the Second Advent in Dresden, New York. These lectures were the actual starting point of a busy itinerant preaching career. Miller remained, initially, a solitary preacher, whose prophetic message was restricted to "the small towns and rural communities of New York State, New England, and Eastern Canada."² His influence started to increase, however, in the late 1830s, when other ministers began to join Miller in spreading the advent hope. Such individuals as the Christian Connectionist Joshua V. Himes (1805-95),³ the Methodist Josiah Litch (1809-86),⁴ and the

Messianic Consciousness: The Concept of the Chosen People and Manifest Destiny," RE 73 (Winter 1976): 47-58; Sacvan Bercovitch, "The Typology of America's Mission," AO 30 (Summer 1978): 135-55; idem, The American Jeremiad (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978); Gerald R. McDermott, "Jonathan Edwards, the City on a Hill, and the Redeemer Nation: A Reappraisal," AP 69 (Spring 1991): 33-47.

¹Although Miller's first lecture is dated in his Apology and Defence as "August, 1833" (p. 18), Sylvester Bliss suggests that the actual date was "August, 1831." Bliss believed that the year 1833 was either "a mistake of the printer or an error in Mr. Miller's memory." Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller, 98.

²Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:448.

³See David T. Arthur, "Joshua V. Himes and the Cause of Adventism, 1839-1845" (M.A. thesis, The University of Chicago, 1961); Rick Brock, "Establishing the Advent Cause, 1841-43: Joshua V. Himes" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1974); Harold Castellanos, "Joshua Vaughn Himes" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1979).

⁴See Linton G. Manier, "A Paper on Josiah Litch" (Term paper, [Andrews University], 1973); Jerry Moon, "Josiah Litch: Herald of 'The Advent Near'" (Term paper,

Presbyterian/Congregationalist Charles Fitch (1805-44)¹ played a crucial role in transforming Millerism into one of the most influential religious movements of mid-nineteenth-century North America.

Vital to the outreach of the Millerite message was its publishing program. Miller's views appeared in print for the first time in a series of sixteen articles, which began to come out in the Vermont Telegraph on May 15, 1832.² In 1833 the Vermont Telegraph office published Miller's first sixty-four-page pamphlet, Evidences from Scripture & History of the Second Coming of Christ about the Year A.D. 1843.³ It was, however, under the leadership of J. V. Himes that the Millerite publishing work really exploded. The early 1840s saw the publication of a large

Andrews University, 1973).

¹See Arthur N. Patrick, "Charles Fitch, Hiram Edson and the Raison d'Etre of the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (Term paper, Andrews University, n.d.).

²W. Miller, Apology and Defence, 16-17.

³See p. 6, n. 3, above. This 6-chapter pamphlet was replaced in 1836 by a 16-lecture book, with a similar title. See William Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ, about the Year 1843: Exhibited in a Course of Lectures (Troy, [NY]: Kemble & Hooper, 1836). The addition of two lectures brought the 1838 edition of the book to a total of eighteen lectures. With one additional lecture, the 1840 edition of the book came to a total of nineteen lectures. The 1841 and 1842 editions remained with the same content and pagination as the 1840 edition, except for the addition of a supplement at the very end of the book.

number of books and tracts¹ and some forty Millerite periodicals,² the leading ones of which were the Signs of the Times³ and the Midnight Cry.⁴

The Millerite hope made a great impact upon both ministers and lay people. It has been estimated that between 1,500 and 2,000 lecturers were proclaiming the advent message⁵ in the climactic phase of the movement. Despite the lack of exact numbers, one could probably assume that between 50,000⁶ and 100,000⁷ people formally joined the movement. To those figures, W. R. Cross added "a million or more" of skeptical expectants.⁸

The Millerite movement was able to make such a great impact in such a short period of time largely because

¹See Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:584-85.

²See *ibid.*, 621-41.

³The Signs of the Times began to be published in Boston by J. V. Himes on March 20, 1840. It had its name changed on February 14, 1844, to Advent Herald.

⁴The Midnight Cry began to be published in New York City by J. V. Himes on November 17, 1842. It had its name changed on January 2, 1845, to Morning Watch.

⁵L. D. F[leming] in MC, Mar. 21, 1844, 282. Cf. W. Miller, Apology and Defence, 22.

⁶W. Miller, Apology and Defence, 22. Cf. Nichol, Midnight Cry, 218.

⁷N. Y. Tribune, Dec. 29, 1849; quoted in Wellcome, History of the Second Advent Message, 582.

⁸Cross, Burned-over District, 287.

of the special eschatological message it proclaimed.¹ A crucial feature of that message was the expectancy of the soon fulfillment of the time for the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 to be cleansed. Some elements of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 also were noted many times by some Millerites.

The study of both the Millerite and non-Millerite Protestant interpretations of Daniel 8:14 and Revelation 14:6-12 is of special significance for the present study because these two passages would later provide the structural foundation of the Seventh-day Adventist message and mission.²

The following pages examine the pre-1844 interpretations of Daniel 8:14 and Revelation 14:6-12 both in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century non-Millerite English-speaking Protestantism and in Millerism. While the non-Millerite Protestant interpretations provided the wider context to the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding

¹[J. Litch], "Rise and Progress of Adventism," ASR 1 (May 1844): 86-93; Editorial, "Address to the Public: Our Confession--Defense of Our Course--Our Position," AH, Nov. 13, 1844, 108-12; W. Miller, Apology and Defence, 22-23. Cf. Cross, Burned-over District, 200-201, 287-321; Rowe, Thunder and Trumpets, 69-93; Doan, Miller Heresy, 31-82.

²Bates, Vindication, 82-111; [E. G. White], Sketch of the Christian Experience, 51; idem, Spiritual Gifts, 1:133-201; J. White, Life Incidents, 267-68.

of these texts,¹ the Millerite interpretations provided the narrower context for that understanding. Closer attention, therefore, is given the Millerite views than to those of non-Millerite Protestants.

The Sanctuary of Daniel 8:14

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw many attempts to interpret Daniel 8:14 ("And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed").² Of special significance for the present study are the non-Millerite English-speaking Protestant and Millerite interpretations of this passage.

Non-Millerite English-Speaking Protestant Interpretations

Daniel 8:14 was interpreted in different ways by non-Millerite English-speaking Protestant commentators from

¹Although the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century non-Millerite English-speaking Protestant interpretations of Daniel 8:14 and Revelation 14:6-12 are regarded in the present study as the wider context for the Sabbatarian Adventists' interpretations of these texts, reference is made also to a few earlier commentators who still continued to be influential in the English-speaking world during the period under consideration.

²The original Hebrew of the Daniel 8:14 actually reads 2300 "evenings and mornings." For further study of this expression, see S. J. Schwantes, "'Ereb Bōqer of Dan 8:14 Re-examined," AUSS 16 (1978): 375-85.

the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹ Of special significance for the present study is how those commentators understood the three main components of this passage: (1) the sanctuary, (2) the 2300 days, and (3) the cleansing of the sanctuary.

The Sanctuary

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, non-Millerite English-speaking Protestants related the term "sanctuary" either to the Jewish temple²

¹For a more detailed study of the non-Millerite interpretations of Daniel 8:14, see Froom, Prophetic Faith, vols. 1-4, passim; Alfred-Félix Vaucher, "Daniel 8:14 en occident jusqu'au Cardinal Nicolas de Cusa," AUSS 1 (1963): 139-51; Haddock, "History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary," 2-50; Alfred-Felix Vaucher, Jusques a Quand, Seigneur? Essai sur Daniel 8:13, 14, Essai publié par la commission Advent Sources and Defence (Collonges-sous-Salève, France: Imprimerie FIDES, 1973); [LeRoy E. Froom], "History of the Interpretation of Daniel," in Francis D. Nichol, ed., The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1955), 4:54-70; Nuñez, Vision of Daniel 8, 12-247; Helmut Fuhrmann, "Daniel 8--A Survey of Interpretations during 18th and 19th Century [sic]" (Term paper, Andrews University extension course in Bogenhofen, Austria, 1989); P. Gerard Damsteegt, "Historical Background (Early Nineteenth Century)," in Holbrook, ed., Doctrine of the Sanctuary, 3-6.

²[Samuel Osgood], Remarks on the Book of Daniel, and on the Revelations (New York: Greenleaf's Press, 1794), 65; Edward Irving, Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God (Glasgow: Chalmers and Collins, 1826), 1:258; S. R. Maitland, A Letter to the Rev. William Digby, A.M. Occasioned by His Treatise on the 1260 Days (London: C. J. G. and F. Rivington, 1831), 28-29; Maramensis, "The Prophetic Numbers," IP 3 (1833-34), 293; John Fry, Observations on the Unfulfilled Prophecies of Scripture (London: James Duncan, 1835), 372, 380; Nathaniel S. Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation of the Prophecies of Daniel (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1842), 80-81; R. C. Shimeall, Age of the World, as Founded on the Sacred Records

or to the Christian church.¹

The 2300 Days

The period of the "two thousand and three hundred days" was also interpreted in different ways. While some authors read the "days" as 2300² or 1150³ literal days, the vast majority of the commentators interpreted them as

(New York: Swords, Stanford & Co., 1842), 232; M[oses] Stuart, Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy (Andover: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, 1842), 96.

¹[Hans Wood], The Revelation of St. John. Considered as Alluding to Certain Services of the Jewish Temple (London: Printed for the author and sold by T. Payne and Son, 1787), 382; J[ames] Bicheno, The Signs of the Times, in Three Parts, new ed. (London: J. Bicheno, 1799), 52; George S. Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1806), 1:210, 246-48; Talib., "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Apr. 1808, 210-11; William Cuninghame, A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse (London: J. Hatchard, 1813), 285; James H. Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras, and St. John (London: J. Hatchard, 1815), 250-51, 275; William Cuninghame, A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse, 2d ed., corr. and enl. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1817), 253, 258; Archibald Mason, Two Essays on Daniel's Prophetic Number of Two Thousand Three Hundred Days and on the Christian Duty to Inquire into the Church's Deliverance (Glasgow: Young, Gallie, & Co., 1820), 15, 23; Josiah Priest, A View of the Expected Christian Millennium (Albany, [NY]: Loomis' Press, 1827), 182, 236; George S. Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy (London: C. & J. Rivington, 1828), 2:177-178; Robert Reid, The Seven Last Plagues; or the Vials of the Wrath of God: A Treatise on the Prophecies (Pittsburgh: D. and M. MacLean, 1828), 52.

²Maramensis, "The Prophetic Numbers," IP 3 (1833-34), 239-41, 293; Folsom, Critical and Historical Interpretation, 81-83; Stuart, Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy, 93-96.

³John Dowling, An Exposition of the Prophecies, Supposed by William Miller to Predict the Second Coming of Christ in 1843 (Providence, [RI]: Geo. P. Daniels, 1840), 70-74.

years.¹ Most saw the period as 2300 years.² There were,

¹Cf. Finn F. Eckhoff, "The Year-day Principle: Some of the Main Arguments For and Against as They Were Presented at the Time of 'The Great Advent Awakening'" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1979).

For some early nineteenth-century expositions of the "year-day principle," see Frederic Thruston, England Safe and Triumphant: or, Researches into the Apocalyptic Little Book, and Prophecies, Connected and Synchronical (Coventry: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1812), 1:145; George Bush, "Prophetic Designations of Time. To Professor Stuart. --Letter VII," Hir, Apr. 1843, 241-53; T. R. Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy: Including an Examination of Several Recent Expositions, and of the Year-Day Theory (London: William Edward Painter, 1843), 308-419; E. D. Elliott, more Apocalypticæ; or, A Commentary on the Apocalypse, Critical and Historical, 3d ed. (London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1847), 3:221-57.

For a more recent study of biblical evidences supporting the use of the year-day principle, see William H. Shea, Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 1 ([Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists], 1982).

²Isaac Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St. John (London: J. Darby and T. Browne, 1733), pt. 1, p. 123; Richard Clarke, The Prophetic Numbers of Daniel and John Calculated (Philadelphia: Wm. Bradford, 1759), 23; [H. Wood], Revelation of St. John, 382, 384; [Osgood], Remarks on the Book of Daniel, and on the Revelations, 64-66; Thomas Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies (Northampton, MA: William Butler, 1796), 217; Bicheno, Signs of the Times, 53-55; Benjamin Farnham, Dissertation on the Prophecies (East Windsor, [CT]: Luther Pratt, 1800), 29; Talib., "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Nov. 1807, 701-5; J[ohn] A. B[rown], "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Nov. 1810, 669; William Hales, A New Analysis of Chronology (London: W. Hales, 1811), 2:537, 557, 564; William C. Davis, The Millennium, or, a Short Sketch on the Rise and Fall of Antichrist (Salisbury, NC: Coupee and Crider, 1811), 4; Aaron Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, the Prophecies of Daniel and Hosea, the Revelation, and Other Symbolical Passages of the Holy Scriptures (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1814), 146; Cuninghame, Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets (1813), 286; Mason, Two Essays on Daniel's Prophetic Number, 23; John A. Brown, The Even-Tide; or, Last Triumph of the Blessed and Only Potentate (London: J. Offor, 1823), 1:xlii,

however, some authors who followed the reading of the Sixtine printed edition of Theodotion's Greek version,¹ and interpreted the period as 2400 years.² At least one author followed for a while Jerome's reference to a variant reading,³ and interpreted the period as 2200 years.⁴

xlili; William Cuninghame, The Scheme of Prophetic Arrangement of the Rev. Edward Irving and Mr. Frere (Glasgow: Thomas Cadell, 1826), 76-77; Priest, A View of the Expected Christian Millennium, 183, 230, 232, 239, 243; Faber, Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:176-82; Alexander Keith, The Signs of the Times (New York: Jonathan Leavitt, 1832), 1:31; 2:635; Abel Pearson, A Dissertation on the Prophecies (1833), book in An Analysis of the Principles of Divine Government, in a Series of Conversations (Athens, TN: Thomas A. Anderson, 1836), 327; M[atthew] Habershon, A Dissertation on the Prophetic Scriptures, Chiefly Those of a Chronological Character (London: James Nisbet, 1834), [273], 293-94; Fry, Observations on the Unfulfilled Prophecies, 370; Joseph Wolff, Researches and Missionary Labors among the Jews, Mohammedans, and Other Sects, 1st American ed., rev. and corr. (Philadelphia: Orrin Rogers, 1837), 259, 263; Shimeall, Age of the World, 228.

¹See Froom, Prophetic Faith, 1:176-80.

²George S. Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 3d ed., rev. and corr. (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1808), 1:264-65; Frere, Combined View of the Prophecies, 245-49; C. E. S., "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, June 1818, 353; B. Q. R., "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, May 1826, 266-67; Irving, Babylon and Infidelity, 1:257-59; Reid, Seven Last Plagues, 51; Maitland, Letter to the Rev. William Digby, 28-29.

³Cf. S. Hieronymus, Commentariorvm in Daniele, Corpv's Christianorvm, Series Latina 75A (Turnholti: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1964), 856.

⁴Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (1806), 1:229-31. It is interesting to notice that in 1808 Faber had already changed his position from "2200 years" to "2400 years." See idem, Dissertation on the Prophecies (3d ed.), 1:264-65. Later on he rejected both views ("2200 years" and "2400 years") in favor of the "2300 years." See idem, Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:176-82.

A significant variety of dates was chosen to start the 2300 days. For many authors the period started before the 450s B.C.¹ Others started it after the 450s B.C.² Those who saw the period as beginning during the 450s B.C. usually started it either in 457, with Artaxerxes's decree to restore and rebuild Jerusalem on the seventh year of his reign (Ezra 7),³ or in 453 B.C., with a supposed going

¹Bicheno, Signs of the Times, 53-54; Farnham, Dissertation on the Prophecies, 29; Talib., "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Nov. 1807, 704-5; Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (3d ed.), 1:264-65; Cuninghame, Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets (1813), 278-79, 286; Frere, Combined View of the Prophecies, 246-47; C. E. S., "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, June 1818, 353; Irving, Babylon and Infidelity, 1:259; Faber, Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 1:180-81; Reid, Seven Last Plagues, 51; Epsilon, "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Feb. 1828, 70; Maitland, Letter to the Rev. William Digby, 28; Keith, Signs of the Times, 2:634-35.

²[H. Wood], Revelation of St. John, 477-78; [Osgood], Remarks on the Book of Daniel, and on the Revelations, 62-63; Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (1806), 1:228-31; Davis, Millennium, 11; Hales, New Analysis of Chronology (1811), 2:537, 560, 566; Kinne, Explanation of the Principal Types, 147; Brown, Even-Tide, 1:xliii; Priest, View of the Expected Christian Millennium, 239, 243; [Henry Drummond and others], Dialogues on Prophecy (London: James Nisbet, 1828), 1:329; Bible-margin reading, mentioned in F. C. B. E., "Interpretation of Daniel's Seventy Weeks," MWQ, June 1832, 326; Wolff, Researches and Missionary Labors, 259, 263; Shimeall, Age of the World, 241.

³J. A. B[rown], "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Nov. 1810, 669; C. C., "Remarkable Dates," JE, Oct. 1820, 387; Mason, Two Essays on Daniel's Prophetic Number, 17, 23, 59; Brown, Even-Tide, 1:xlii; Cuninghame, Scheme of Prophetic Arrangement, 80; John A. Brown, The Jew, the Master-key of the Apocalypse (London: Hatchard and Son, 1827), vi; Thomas Keyworth, A Practical Exposition of the Revelation of Saint John (London: T. Keyworth, 1828), 74; Ph. Homan, "Remarks on the Period Assigned in Scripture for the Restoration of Israel," MWQ, June 1829, 272; referred to in F. C. B. E., "Interpretation of Daniel's Seventy Weeks,"

forth of the command to restore and rebuild Jerusalem and the re-establishment of the daily sacrifices (Neh 9, 11).¹ Several of those authors saw both the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 and the seventy weeks of Daniel 9:24-27 as starting at the same time.²

By selecting various starting points for the 2300 days, the commentators ended that prophetic period at different times. Several authors placed its end before the 1840s.³ Others put it after the

MWQ, June 1832, 326; Editorial, "On the Return of the Jews," MWQ, Dec. 1832, 355; Habershon, Dissertation on the Prophetic Scriptures, [273], 293; Fry, Observations on the Unfulfilled Prophecies, 370.

¹Davis, Millennium, 11; [Drummond and others], Dialogues on Prophecy, 1:329; Wolff, Researches and Missionary Labors, 259, 263; Shimeall, Age of the World, 241.

²[H. Wood], Revelation of St. John, 382-84; J. A. B[rown], "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Nov. 1810, 669; Davis, Millennium, 4, 11; Hales, New Analysis of Chronology (1811), 2:566; Mason, Two Essays on Daniel's Prophetic Number, 13, 59; C. C., "Remarkable Dates," JE, Oct. 1820, 387; Cuninghame, Scheme of Prophetic Arrangement, 80; Keyworth, Practical Exposition of the Revelation, 74; P. Homan, "Remarks on the Period Assigned in Scripture for the Restoration of Israel," MWQ, June 1829, 271-72; Editorial, "On the Sacred Numbers," MWQ, June 1832, 277; Editorial, "On the Return of the Jews," MWQ, Dec. 1832, 355; Pearson, Dissertation on the Prophecies, 327-31; Fry, Observations on the Unfulfilled Prophecies, 370; Shimeall, Age of the World, 241.

³Bicheno, Signs of the Times, 54-55; Farnham, Dissertation on the Prophecies, 29; Talib., "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Nov. 1807, 705; Faber, Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:178-82; Epsilon, "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Feb. 1828, 70; Cuninghame, Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets (1813), 286; Keith, Signs of the Times, 2:635; Pearson, Dissertation on the Prophecies, 330-33.

1840s.¹ There was, however, according to J. E. Froom, a growing tendency in the early nineteenth century to see the 2300 days as ending in the 1840s.² Those who followed this trend usually placed it either in 1843,³ 1844,⁴ or 1847.⁵

¹[Osgood], Remarks on the Book of Daniel, and on the Revelations, 64; John Bacon, Conjectures on Prophecies (Boston: David Carlisle, 1805), 16; Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (1806), 1:229; Hales, New Analysis of Chronology (1811), 2:537, 564; Davis, Millennium, 10-13; Kinne, Explanation of the Principal Types, 147; Frere, Combined View of the Prophecies, 247-50; Brown, Even-Tide, 1:xliv; Priest, View of the Expected Christian Millennium, 227, 230-31, 243; Reid, Seven Last Plaques, 51.

²See Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:402-410. Froom lists about 40 different authors from Europe and North America who, prior to the publication of Miller's views, placed the end of the 2300 years during the 1840s. See *ibid.*, 404-5.

³J. A. B[rown], "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Nov. 1810, 668-69; C. C., "Remarkable Dates," JE, Oct. 1820, 387-88; Mason, Two Essays on Daniel's Prophetic Number, 23, 59; Cuninghame, Scheme of Prophetic Arrangement, 80; Keyworth, Practical Exposition of the Revelation, 74; P. Homan, "Remarks on the Period Assigned in Scripture for the Restoration of Israel," MWQ, June 1829, 272; referred to in F., "On the Structure of the Apocalypse, and the Events of the Sixth and Seventh Vials," MWQ, June 1831, 472; Editorial, "On the Return of the Jews," MWQ, Dec. 1832, 356; Habershon, Dissertation on the Prophetic Scriptures, [273], 293, 451; Robert Scott, Free Thoughts on the Millennium; or Grand Sabbatical Year of the World (New York: John Gray, 1834), 14.

⁴C. E. S., "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, June 1818, 353; Brown, Even-Tide, 1:xliv; R. Scott, Free Thoughts on the Millennium, 14; Habershon, Dissertation on the Prophetic Scriptures, 417, 451; Fry, Observations on the Unfulfilled Prophecies, 370-72, 380; cf. Matthew Habershon, An Historical Exposition of the Prophecies of the Revelation of St. John (London: James Nisbet, 1841), 97.

⁵Davis, Millennium, 10-13; Frere, Combined View of the Prophecies, 247-50; Irving, Babylon and Infidelity, 1:259; [Drummond and others], Dialogues on Prophecy, 1:329; S., "On Prophetic Interpretation," MWQ, Dec. 1830, 916;

The Cleansing of the Sanctuary

The matter of the cleansing of the sanctuary was also understood in differing ways. On the negative side, it was seen as the cleansing of the Christian church from the papal apostasy,¹ from Mohammedanism,² or from any other antagonistic power.³

On the positive side, the cleansing of the sanctuary was related to such concepts as the conversion of the Jews,⁴ the restoration of the Jews to their own

referred to in F., "On the Structure of the Apocalypse," MWQ, June 1831, 472; Maitland, Letter to the Rev. William Digby, 29; Wolff, Researches and Missionary Labors, 259; Shimeall, Age of the World, 241.

¹Bicheno, Signs of the Times, 52; Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (1806), 1:210, 138-89; J. A. B[rown], "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Nov. 1810, 669-70; Davis, Millennium, 4, 11; Kinne, Explanation of the Principal Types, 147; Frere, Combined View of the Prophecies, 249-50; Cuninghame, Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets (1813), 285; Mason, Two Essays on Daniel's Prophetic Number, 15, 23, 24, 59; Priest, View of the Expected Christian Millennium, 245-46; Pearson, Dissertation on the Prophecies, 332, 357.

²Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (1806), 1:210, 226, 240-51; J. A. B[rown], "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Nov. 1810, 669-70; Kinne, Explanation of the Principal Types, 147; Frere, Combined View of the Prophecies, 249-51; C. E. S., "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, June 1818, 353; Brown, Even-Tide, 1:xlil; Keyworth, Practical Exposition of the Revelation, 74; Maitland, Letter to the Rev. William Digby, 29; Keith, Signs of the Times, 2:634.

³Bicheno, Signs of the Times, 52; Farnham, Dissertation on the Prophecies, 28.

⁴Bicheno, Signs of the Times, 52; Farnham, Dissertation on the Prophecies, 28; Bacon, Conjectures on Prophecies, 16; J. A. B[rown], "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Nov. 1810, 669; Irving, Babylon and

land,¹ the re-establishment of true worship in the temple of Jerusalem,² the establishment of Bible and Missionary Societies,³ the restoration of the pure Christian doctrines,⁴ the Second Coming of Christ,⁵ the beginning of the Millennium,⁶ the binding of Satan,⁷ and the

Infidelity, 1:259-60.

¹Bicheno, Signs of the Times, 52, 54; Farnham, Dissertation on the Prophecies, 28; Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (1806), 1:212-13; J. A. B[rown], "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Nov. 1810, 669; Kinne, Explanation of the Principal Types, 147; Frere, Combined View of the Prophecies, 249; Brown, Even-Tide, 1:xlii; Irving, Babylon and Infidelity, 1:259-60; Brown, Jew, the Master-key, vii; F., "On the Structure of the Apocalypse," MWQ, June 1831, 472; Keith, Signs of the Times, 2:634; Editorial, "On the Return of the Jews," MWQ, Dec. 1832, 356; Pearson, Dissertation on the Prophecies, 416; R. Scott, Free Thoughts on the Millennium, 14; Fry, Observations on the Unfulfilled Prophecies, 372, 380; Shimeall, Age of the World, 232, 241.

²Irving, Babylon and Infidelity, 1:258-60; F., "On the Structure of the Apocalypse," MWQ, June 1831, 472; Fry, Observations on the Unfulfilled Prophecies, 372, 380; Shimeall, Age of the World, 232.

³Talib., "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, Dec. 1807, 775-76.

⁴C. E. S., "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," CO, June 1818, 353; Reid, Seven Last Plagues, 52.

⁵Priest, View of the Expected Christian Millennium, 247; Wolff, Researches and Missionary Labors, 258-59; Fry, Observations on the Unfulfilled Prophecies, 371.

⁶Davis, Millennium, 4; Priest, View of the Expected Christian Millennium, 183, 244; S., "On Prophetic Interpretation," MWQ, Dec. 1830, 916; Pearson, Dissertation on the Prophecies, 416.

⁷S., "On Prophetic Interpretation," MWQ, Dec. 1830, 916.

establishment of the New Jerusalem.¹

Josiah Priest (1788-1851), for example, saw the cleansing of the sanctuary as taking place at Christ's Second Coming, at "the end of the six thousand years from the beginning of creation" (A.D. 2000), when the saints would be delivered from "the power of the secular Roman church" and the millennium would commence.²

For Robert Reid (1781-1844) the cleansing of the sanctuary could not be understood as "the commencement of the Millennium," because it will be only "the removing of antichristian defilement."³ He explained that meanwhile "God will cleanse his sanctuary by the torrent of his judgments,"⁴ the church shall "be cleansed from false doctrines, and from all worship which God has not authorized."⁵

Thus, as previously seen, the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 was usually related by non-Millerite English-speaking Protestant commentators either to the Jewish temple or to the Christian church. The 2300 days were understood by the overwhelming majority of those commentators as a period of

¹Brown, Even-Tide, 1:xliii.

²Priest, View of the Expected Christian Millennium, 243-47.

³Reid, Seven Last Plagues, 51.

⁴Ibid., 49.

⁵Ibid., 52.

2300 years. There was an increasing tendency in the early nineteenth century to see that period as beginning in the 450s B.C. and ending in the A.D. 1840s.

The matter of the cleansing of the sanctuary was related, on the negative side, to the cleansing of the Christian church from the antagonistic powers that polluted it, and, on the positive side, either to the conversion and the restoration of the Jews, or to missionary and restoration endeavors within the Christian church that were usually seen in an eschatological setting.

Millerite Interpretations

Daniel 8:14 was a major focal point of the Millerite eschatological hope.¹ Millerites dealt quite extensively with (1) the sanctuary, (2) the 2300 days, and (3) the cleansing of the sanctuary of this text.

The Sanctuary

Miller's study of the Scriptures led him to the conclusion that the word "sanctuary" in Daniel 8:14 referred

¹For a more detailed study of the Millerite interpretations of Daniel 8:14, see Froom, Prophetic Faith, vol. 4, passim; Haddock, "History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary," 51-104; [Froom], "History of the Interpretation of Daniel," in Nichol, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary, 4:60-70; Nuñez, Vision of Daniel 8, 12-247; Damsteegt, Foundations, 29-100, passim; idem, "Historical Background," in Holbrook, ed., Doctrine of the Sanctuary, 6-16.

to the Christian church,¹ which he qualified as "church of the living God,"² "the people of God in all the World, and among all nations,"³ and "the true sanctuary which God has built of lively stones to his own acceptance, through Christ, of which the temple of Jerusalem was but a type."⁴

On the other hand, Miller opposed the idea that the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 could refer to the Jewish temple. He stated that there was "not a word in the Prophets and Apostles, after Zerubbabel built the second temple, that a third one would ever be built," except the spiritual one, which will come "down from heaven," that is, the new Jerusalem.⁵ "So," Miller argued, "whosoever looks for the worldly sanctuary to be built again will find themselves [sic] as much mistaken as the unbelieving Jews were, when they looked for a temporal prince in the Messiah."⁶

¹W[illiam] Miller, "A Few Evidences of the Time of the 2nd Coming of Christ to Eldr. Andrus by Wm. Miller," Feb. 15, 1831, ALP, ASC.

²William Miller, article manuscript for the Vermont Telegraph, no. 7, AMsP, [ca. 1832], ASC; idem, Evidences from Scripture & History (1833), 57.

³W. Miller, article manuscript for the Vermont Telegraph, no. 2, AMsP, [ca. 1832], ASC.

⁴W. Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History (1836), 38.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

Although Miller maintained up to the end of his career that the sanctuary represented the church,¹ he gradually began to develop the parallel concept that the sanctuary could also refer to the earth. Robert Haddock explains that

in the 1830's and early 1840's, as he [Miller] lectured and met opposition head on, he increasingly drew support for his premillennial emphasis from Daniel 8:14 by maintaining that the sanctuary also represented the earth, which was to be cleansed by fire at Christ's Second Advent. So marked did his emphasis on this second application become that many later writers, when recounting Miller's understanding of the sanctuary, spoke only of his application of this symbol to the earth.²

This twofold meaning of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 was clearly presented by Miller in his 1842 Letter to Joshua V. Himes on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary.³ In this document he argued that the word sanctuary is related in the Scriptures to seven different entities: (1) Jesus Christ (Isa 8:14; Ezek 11:16); (2) heaven (Pss 102:19; 22:2); (3) Judah (Ps 114:2); (4) the temple at Jerusalem (1 Chr 22:19; Exod 25:8); (5) the Holy of Holies (1 Chr 28:10; Lev 4:6); (6) the earth (Isa 60:13, 1 Kgs 8:27; Rev 5:10;

¹Haddock, "History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary," 84.

²Ibid. See W. Miller, article manuscript for the Vermont Telegraph, no. 7, AMsP, [ca. 1832], ASC; idem, Evidences from Scripture & History (1833), 57; ibid. (1836), 19-23, 27, 29.

³See William Miller, Letter to Joshua V. Himes on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842) (reprinted in idem, "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," ST, Apr. 6, 1842, 1-2).

20:6; Matt 6:10; Rev 11:15; Pss 82:8; 96:6-13); and (7) the saints (1 Cor 3:16, 17; 2 Cor 6:16; Eph 2:21, 22).¹

The first five of those entities were set forth by Miller as sanctuaries that could not possibly "be cleansed" (cf. Dan 8:14): (1) Christ, because He "is not *impure*"; (2) heaven, because it "is not *unclean*"; (3) Judah, because he "is cut off, and is no more a people"; (4) the temple, because it "is destroyed"; and (5) the holy of holies in the temple of Jerusalem, because it "too was destroyed with the temple."² There remain, therefore, only two entities that, according to Miller, "may, or ever will require cleansing," that is, "the EARTH and the CHURCH." For him, when these two entities are cleansed, "then, and not till then, will the entire sanctuary of God be cleansed, and *justified*."³

Miller's twofold interpretation of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14, as both the church and the earth, became, according to Gerard Damsteegt, "the predominant view among the Millerites."⁴ There were, however, some Millerites (Josiah Litch,⁵ Apollos

¹W. Miller, Letter to Joshua V. Himes, 3-7.

²Ibid., 7-8.

³Ibid., 8.

⁴Damsteegt, Foundations, 34.

⁵Josiah Litch, Prophetic Expositions; or A Connected View of the Testimony of the Prophets Concerning the Kingdom of God and the Time of Its Establishment (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 1:117. Cf. idem, An Address to the Public, and Especially the Clergy, on the Near Approach of the

Hale [fl. 1840-44],¹ John Starkweather [fl. 1843-44],² Robert Winter [c. 1817-1909],³ and George Storrs [1796-1879]⁴) who considered the promised land (Gen 17:8; Exod 15:17; Ps 78:54; Isa 63:18) as the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14. Hale, for example, argued that the sanctuary in this passage "must be capable of being 'trodden under foot,' [vs. 13] and of being 'cleansed' [vs. 14]."⁵ Starkweather seems to imply that since the "sanctuary" and the "host" have been "trodden under foot" (Dan 8:13) by the Pagan/Papal Antichrist, the sanctuary cannot be the "'host' or people of God."⁶

Glorious, Everlasting Kingdom of God on Earth (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1841), 82-83; idem, "Babylon's Fall--the Sanctuary Cleansed," ST, July 26, 1843, 165; [idem], "The Vision of the Ram and He Goat," MC, Aug. 10, 1843, 197.

¹Hale, Second Advent Manual, 45-46.

²J[ohn] Starkweather, "The Reasonings of True Faith Respecting the 2300 Days in Dan. 8:14," TB, Feb. 1, 1844, 7.

³R[obert] Winter, "A Lecture on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary," SAH, Apr. 16, 1844, 39.

⁴Geo[rge] Storrs, "'Then Shall the Sanctuary Be Cleansed.'--Dan. 8:14," MC, Apr. 25, 1844, 321. In this article Storrs gave up Miller's twofold interpretation of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14, which he had previously advocated. Cf. idem, The Bible Examiner: Containing Various Prophetic Expositions (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1843), 42-47.

⁵Hale, Second Advent Manual, 46. Cf. R. Winter, "Lecture on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary," SAH, Apr. 16, 1844, 39; G. Storrs, "'Then Shall the Sanctuary Be Cleansed'," MC, Apr. 25, 1844, 321.

⁶Starkweather, "Reasonings of True Faith," TB, Feb. 1, 1844, 7.

The 2300 Days

For Miller, the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 were symbolic in nature, and had to be understood as 2300 literal years.¹ He claimed that, by taking "each day for a year," he was in harmony with "all the standard Protestant commentators."² He found biblical support for the year-day principle mainly in: (1) Numbers 14:34; (2) Ezekiel 4:6; and (3) the assumption that the prophetic period of the "seventy weeks" of Daniel 9:24-27, which had already been fulfilled as 490 years, was only the first part of the 2300 days.³ Additional support was provided by correlations with the historical fulfillment of other prophetic periods, such as the 1290 days (Dan 12:11),⁴ the 1335 days (Dan 12:12),⁵

¹W. Miller, Evidences from Scripture & History (1833), 5; *ibid.* (1836), 46.

²W. Miller, Apology and Defence, 11. See also *idem*, Evidences from Scripture & History (1833), 15.

³W. Miller, article manuscript for the Vermont Telegraph, no. 2, AMSP, [ca. 1832], ASC; *idem*, Evidences from Scripture & History (1833), 11, 15; *ibid.*, (1836), 46-47, 52.

⁴For Miller, the 1290 days (years) of Daniel 12:11 began in A.D. 508, with the taking away of Pagan Rome, and ended in A.D. 1798, with the breakdown of the papal civil power. W. Miller, Evidences from Scripture & History (1833), 31; *ibid.* (1836), 71-88; [*idem*], Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology, 48-51; *idem*, "Synopsis of Miller's Views," ST, Jan. 25, 1843, 148-49. Cf. Hale, Second Advent Manual, 59-81.

⁵For Miller, the 1335 days (years) of Daniel 12:12 began also in A.D. 508 (as 1290 days of vs. 11) but would end in A.D. 1843. W. Miller, Evidences from Scripture & History (1833), 31; *ibid.* (1836), 76-88; *idem*, "Synopsis of Miller's Views," ST, Jan. 25, 1843, 148-49; *idem*, Apology

the 2450 days (cf. Lev 25:8-13),¹ and the 2520 days (cf. Lev 26).²

Miller saw the 2300 days as starting in 457 B.C.³ and ending in A.D. 1843. He was strongly convinced that, of all possible starting points, the going forth of Artaxerxes's decree to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem in 457

and Defence, 10-11. Cf. Hale, Second Advent Manual, 59-81.

¹For Miller, the 2450 years began in 607 B.C., with the end of the reign of the last king of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 23; 2 Chr 35, 36; Jer 22), and would end in A.D. 1843, with "the great Jubilee of Jubilees." He came about with these 2450 years from multiplying, first, 7 times 7 years = 49 years, and, then, 49 years times 50th Jubilee year (cf. Lev 25:8-13). William Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ, about the Year 1843: Exhibited in a Course of Lectures (Boston: Moses A. Dow, 1841), "Supplement," 2; idem, A Lecture on the Typical Sabbaths and Great Jubilee (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 28-31; idem, "Synopsis of Miller's Views," ST, Jan. 25, 1843, 148.

²For Miller, the 2520 years began in 667 B.C., with "the captivity of Israel and the king of Judah, Manasseh" (Jer 15:4; Isa 7:8; 2 Chr 33:9), and would end in A.D. 1843, when God's people would be "released from all bondage and slavery." He calculated these 2520 years from multiplying 7 times 360 years (cf. Lev 26; Deut 15:1, 2; Jer 34:14). E.g., William Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ, about the Year 1843: Exhibited in a Course of Lectures (Boston: B. B. Mussey, 1840), 260-63; [idem], Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology, 43-46, 79-80; idem, Lecture on the Typical Sabbaths, 16, 20-21; idem, "Synopsis of Miller's Views," ST, Jan. 25, 1843, 147. Cf. Hale, Second Advent Manual, 33-42.

³Miller generally spoke only of the year 457 B.C., without defining a specific date within that year, as the starting point for the seventy weeks and the 2300 days. It is quite evident, however, that by ending the seventy weeks (490 years) in the spring of A.D. 33, he favored the spring of 457 B.C. to begin these prophetic periods. See W. Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History (1836), 49.

B.C. (cf. Ezra 7) was the right date to begin the prophetic period.¹

Another important point in Miller's early prophetic calculations was the year A.D. 33 for the crucifixion of Christ. By assuming that Christ died at the very end of the seventy weeks of Daniel 9:24-27, and that this period of weeks covered the first 490 years of the 2300 years, Miller was able to calculate both the beginning and the end of the 2300 years. By subtracting 33 years from the 490 years, he arrived at 457 B.C. to begin the 2300 years. By adding 33 years to the 1810 years that remained after subtracting 490 from the 2300 years, he arrived at A.D. 1843 as the end the 2300 years.²

Miller did not claim originality for his historical and chronological data. He admitted that he "rested on received chronology"³ from "the best chronologers" and "the best historians" he could consult.⁴ He recognized that his calculation of time prophecies was shared by many other expositors in the first half of the nineteenth century. He stated that

¹W. Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History (1836), 49.

²W. Miller, article manuscript for the Vermont Telegraph, no. 2, AMsP, [ca. 1832], ASC; idem, Evidences from Scripture & History (1833), 17-18; *ibid.* (1836), 49, 52.

³W. Miller, Apology and Defence, 34.

⁴*Ibid.*, 11.

one or two on every quarter of the globe have proclaimed the news [of the soon coming of Christ], and agree in the time. Wolf[f], of Asia; Irwin [sic], late of England; Mason, of Scotland; Davis, of South-Carolina, and quite a number in this region, are or have been giving the cry.¹

There was a strong tendency, as already mentioned,² to end the 2300 days during the 1840s. The expositors that followed that trend were, however, divided between 1843, 1844, and 1847 as the specific year to end the period. Miller was aware of this tension when he selected "the earliest dates in the circle of a few years on which chronologers have relied for the date of the events from which to reckon."³

Millerites did not face as many tensions with the beginning of the 2300 days as they did with the end of that period. While the year 457 B.C. continued to be usually accepted in general terms, the expression "about A.D. 1843" began gradually to be replaced by more specific time calculations. Early in his career, Miller had used such

¹W. Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History (1836), 193. While W. C. Davis and A. Mason placed the end of the 2300 days in 1843, J. Wolff and E. Irving placed it in 1847. It seems, therefore, that, in the statement quoted above, Miller was more concerned with the general idea that around the mid-1840s Christ would come, than with the precise date for Christ's coming. Cf. Litch, Prophetic Expositions, 1:165-66; [J. Litch], "Rise and Progress of Adventism," ASR 1 (May 1844): 49.

²See p. 20, above.

³W. Miller, Apology and Defence, 34. Cf. Litch, Prophetic Expositions, 1:iv-v.

expressions as "about A.D. 1843,"¹ "on or before 1843,"² and even "1843[,] or 1847 at most,"³ to end the 2300 days. But in late 1842 he was urged by some of his friends to define more precisely the end of this prophetic period.⁴ So, in early 1843, Miller came out with an extensive article in the Signs of the Times, in which he stated that "some time between March 21st, 1843, and March 21st, 1844, according to the Jewish mode of computation of time, Christ will come."⁵

Another significant step in the process of refining the Millerite chronology was the publication of an article dealing with the expression "the midst of the week" (Dan 9:27) in the Signs of the Times on December 5, 1843.⁶ Though essentially an extensive compilation, interspersed with only a few commentaries, the article was crucial in providing several quotations from William Hales (1747-

¹Ibid., 11.

²W. Miller, ["Statement of Faith"], AMSP, Sept. 5, 1822, ASC, art. 15; Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller, 79.

³W. Miller, "A Few Evidences of the Time of the 2nd Coming of Christ to Eldr. Andrus by Wm. Miller," Feb. 15, 1831, ALP, ASC.

⁴W. Miller, Apology and Defence, 24.

⁵W. Miller, "Synopsis of Miller's Views," ST, Jan. 25, 1843, 147.

⁶[J. V. Himes], "The Midst of the Week," ST, Dec. 5, 1843, 132-36.

1831),¹ stressing the view that Christ died in the *middle* (not at the very end) of the last of the seventy weeks, in the year A.D. 31 (instead of A.D. 33).² The fact that both the date of the crucifixion and its setting within the seventy weeks were moved backwards at the same time was crucial to avoid any major alteration in the basic Millerite time-setting for beginning and ending the 2300 days.

By the spring of 1844, some Millerites, unsatisfied with Miller's March 21st, 1843, to March 21st, 1844 approach, began to suggest some alternative dates to end the 2300 days. Such months as April,³ May,⁴ and September,⁵ 1844, were proposed as possible alternative dates. Meanwhile Samuel S. Snow (1806-70)⁶ was emphasizing that there was enough biblical basis to hold that the 2300 days would end on "the tenth day of the seventh month" of the

¹See William Hales, A New Analysis of Chronology and Geography, History and Prophecy, 2d ed., corr. and impr. (London: C. J. G. & F. Rivington, 1830), vols. 1-4.

²[J. V. Himes], "The Midst of the Week," ST, Dec. 5, 1843, 135-36.

³Editorial, "The Jewish Year," AH, Mar. 20, 1844, 52-53; idem, "The Vernal Equinox," AH, Apr. 3, 1844, 68.

⁴J. Litch, "Where Are We?" AH, Apr. 17, 1844, 87.

⁵Elon Galusha, "Elder Elon Galusha's Address: 'To All Who Love Our Lord Jesus Christ in Sincerity'," MC, Apr. 4, 1844, 299.

⁶See Steven A. Davis, "Samuel Sheffield Snow" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1973). Cf. [Samuel S. Snow, ed.], The Book of Judgment Delivered to Israel by Elijah the Messenger of the Everlasting Covenant (New York: G. Mitchell, 1848).

Jewish religious year. That would place the end of the 2300 days in the autumn of 1844.¹ Such an idea was not new in Millerite circles. Miller himself had suggested this hypothesis in a letter published in the Signs of the Times of May 17, 1843.² In the very first paragraph of this letter he stated that

all the ceremonies of the typical law that were observed in the first month, or vernal equinox, had their fulfillment in Christ's first advent and sufferings; but all the feasts and ceremonies in the seventh month or autumnal equinox, can only have their fulfillment at his second advent.³

Further in the same letter, Miller added that

8. The atonement was made on the tenth day seventh month, and this is certainly typical of the atonement Christ is now making for us. Lev. xvi. 1-34, antitype. Heb. ix. 1-28.

9. When the high priest came out of the holy of holies after making the atonement, he blessed the people. Lev. ix. 22, 23; 2 Sam. vi. 18. So will our great High Priest. Heb. ix. 28. This was on the seventh month tenth day.⁴

Although Miller's emphasis on the "tenth day [of the] seventh month" had been influential in leading some

¹S. S. Snow to [N.] Southard, MC, Feb. 22, 1844, 243-44 (reprinted in AH, Apr. 3, 1844, 68-69); idem, "Death Warrant of Jesus Christ," MC, May 2, 1844, 334-[35]; idem to [N.] Southard, MC, June 27, 1844, 397 (reprinted in VT, July 6, 1844, 88); idem, "Prophetic Chronology," AH, Aug. 14, 1844, 15 (reprinted in VT, Sept. 11, 1844, 132); idem, "Prophetic Chronology," MC, Aug. 22, 1844, [51]; [idem], [untitled], TMC, Aug. 22, 1844, [1-4] (reprinted in AH, Oct. 2, 1844, 70-72; TMC, Oct. 4, 1844, [1-2]; AH, Oct. 9, 1844, 74-76; MC, Oct. 10, 1844, 105-7).

²W. Miller to [J. V.] Himes, ST, May 17, 1843, 85.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

Millerites (including S. S. Snow¹) to expect the end of the 2300 days in the autumn of 1843,² it was, however, in relation to the autumn of 1844 that such emphasis made its fullest impact. As early as January 1844, Samuel Snow stressed the view of the "tenth day of the seventh month" of 1844 in a sermon he preached at Franklin Hall, Chatham Square, New York City.³ On February 22, 1844, the Midnight Cry published a letter in which Snow argued that since Artaxerxes's decree to rebuild Jerusalem was issued most probably "some little time before the tenth month of the Jewish year, B.C. 457," the 2300 days could not end before "the autumn of A.D. 1844."⁴ In June 1844 Snow stated more precisely that the prophetic periods (including the 2300 days) "could not terminate before the *seventh month* of the Jewish sacred year in A.D. 1844."⁵

It was, however, not until July 1844 that Snow's emphasis on "the tenth day of the seventh month" of 1844

¹S. S. Snow, "Prophetic Chronology," in [idem, ed.], Book of Judgment, 19-20 (reprinted from VT).

²Editorial, "The Advent Herald," AH, Oct. 30, 1844, 93. Cf. [Sylvester] B[liss], "The Seventh Month Movement--Its History--Its Results--Defects in the Argument.--Our Position," ASR 1 (Jan. 1845): 268; Editorial, "Chronology," MW, Feb. 27, 1845, 69.

³John Sherwood, "J. Sherwood's Testimony," in [Snow, ed.], Book of Judgment, 393.

⁴S. S. Snow to [N.] Southard, MC, Feb. 22, 1844, 243-44 (*italics supplied*).

⁵S. S. Snow to [N.] Southard, MC, June 27, 1844, 397 (*italics supplied*).

(i.e., October 22, 1844,¹ according to the Karaite Jews²) "began to spread in all directions."³ Joseph Bates (1792-1872) stated that, about July 20, Snow presented his conclusions in the Millerite Tabernacle in Boston; and, about August 1, he shared them at a camp meeting in Concord, New Hampshire.⁴

The main turning point for the spread of Snow's views among the Millerites came, however, through his lectures at the camp meeting of Exeter, New Hampshire, August 12-17, 1844.⁵ From that time on, the Millerite

¹Although specific references to "October 22" did not appear in Millerite literature before the early fall of 1844 (see G. Storrs, "'Go Ye Out to Meet Him': The Tenth Day of the Seventh Month," AH, Oct. 9, 1844, 74), the Advent Herald of October 30, 1844, explained that by the "spring and summer" of that year S. S. Snow was already preaching that "the tenth day of the seventh month" of 1844 would end "about the 22d of October." Editorial, "The Advent Herald," AH, Oct. 30, 1844, 93 (reprinted in "The Present and the Past," MC, Oct. 31, 1844, 140).

²An insightful explanation why Millerites chose October 22 (according to the Karaite reckoning) and not September 23 (according to the Rabbinical reckoning) as "the tenth day of the seventh month," is provided by [S.] B[liss], "Seventh Month Movement," ASR 1 (Jan. 1845): 267-85.

³Joseph K. Bellows, "Behold, Elijah Is Here," in [Snow, ed.], Book of Judgment, 269.

⁴Joseph Bates, Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps, or a Connected View of the Fulfillment of Prophecy, by God's Peculiar People, from the Year 1840 to 1847 (New Bedford, [MA]: Press of Benjamin Lindsey, 1847), 30.

⁵Editorial, "The Exeter Campmeeting," AH, Aug. 21, 1844, 20. C. Mervyn Maxwell presents in his book, Tell It to the World, 28-33, a tentative reconstitution (based on several sources) of Snow's address at the Exeter camp meeting.

movement focused more and more of its eschatological hope on the specific date of October 22, 1844.¹ From early October all available means were used by the Millerites to spread the good news that on that day the 2300 days would end, and Christ would come to bless His people.

The Cleansing of the Sanctuary

As noticed earlier,² Miller believed that the cleansing of the sanctuary consisted of the cleansing of both the earth and the church, to be brought about by the Second Coming of Christ at the very end of the 2300 days. For him the earth would be "cleansed by fire" (2 Pet 3:7-12),³ on the final day of

¹From the late summer of 1844, the subject of "the tenth day of the seventh month" began to receive increasing attention, as can be seen through such articles as S. S. Snow, "Prophetic Chronology," AH, Aug. 14, 1844, 15; J. Litch, "The Seventh Month," AH, Aug. 21, 1844, 21; [S. S. Snow], [untitled], TMC, Aug. 22, 1844, [1-4]; idem, "Prophetic Chronology," MC, Aug. 22, 1844, [51]; Editorial, "The Seventh Month of the Jewish Sacred Years," AH, Sept. 11, 1844, 44-45; J. Litch, "The Deliverance--The Seventh Month," AH, Sept. 11, 1844, 46-47; [A.] H[ale], "The Tenth Day of the Seventh Month," two-part series in AH, Sept. 18, 1844, 52-53; Sept. 25, 1844, 60-62; C. S[towe], "Letter from Sister C. Stowe," AH, Oct. 2, 1844, 69; [S. S. Snow], "Reasons for Believing: The Advent Will Be on the 10th of the 7th Month," AH, Oct. 2, 1844, 70-72; G. Storrs, "'Go Ye Out to Meet Him'," AH, Oct. 9, 1844, 73-74; Editorial, "Behold! the Bridegroom Cometh! Go Ye Out to Meet Him!!!" AH, Oct. 9, 1844, 77-80; A. Hale, "Letter to N. N. Whiting, and to Every One Who Readeth: On the Time--the Day--of the Advent," AH, Oct. 16, 1844, 81-83.

²See pp. 26-27, above.

³W. Miller, article manuscript for the Vermont Telegraph, no. 7, AMsP, [ca. 1832], ASC; idem, Evidences from Scripture & History (1833), 57.

judgment.¹ This cleansing involved the destruction of the wicked from the earth, the cleansing of the world "from the course of sin," and the preparation of the world "for the reception of the New Jerusalem state, or the glorious reign of Christ with his people."² Such events would take place, according to Miller, before the beginning of the millennium (cf. Rev 20), which he defined as "a state of personal and glorious and immortal reign [of Christ and His saints] on the new earth."³

The church for its part would be cleansed, according to Miller, through its "compleat redemption from sin, both soul and body, after the resurrection, when Christ comes the 2nd time 'without sin unto salvation.'"⁴ It would be cleansed "from all uncleanness, and presented without spot or wrinkle," and would "then be clothed with fine linen, clean and white" (1 Cor 1:7, 8; Eph 5:26; Phil

¹William Miller, A Dissertation on the Judgment, Second Advent Tracts, no. 6 (N.p, n.d.), 2.

²W. Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History (1836), 19. Miller saw support for his position in such passages as Deuteronomy 32:22; 2 Samuel 22:9, 10, 13; Psalm 97:2, 3; Isaiah 66:15, 16; Daniel 7:11; Nahum 1:5; Habakkuk 3:3-5; Malachi 4:1; Matthew 3:12; 13:40, 49; 2 Peter 3:10; and Revelation 18:8. Cf. idem, Letter to Joshua V. Himes, 9-11.

³W. Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History (1836), 27.

⁴W. Miller, "A Few Evidences of the Time of the 2nd Coming of Christ to Eldr. Andrus by Wm. Miller," Feb. 15, 1831, ALP, ASC.

3:20, 21; 1 John 3:2; 19:8).¹ This cleansing involved both the removal from the church of the "last abomination of desolation," set up by the Papacy, and the perfecting of the relationship between Christ and His church.² For Miller the cleansing of the sanctuary would be the time "when the will of God is done in earth as in heaven."³

Charles Fitch related the cleansing of the sanctuary to the coming of the Ancient of days (Dan 7:22) "with his fiery flame, and his wheels of burning fire," when "the body of the beast shall be slain and given to the burning flame."⁴

Josiah Litch, on the other hand, was of the opinion that the cleansing of the sanctuary meant the vindication of Jerusalem through the pardon of her crimes and "the punishment of her destroyer" through "the destruction of Rome."⁵ For him the events related to the end of the 2300 days were not the introduction of "a temporal mil[l]ennium, and the literal restoration of the Jews," but rather "the

¹W. Miller, Letter to Joshua V. Himes, 13-14.

²W. Miller, Evidences from Scripture & History (1833), 40; *ibid.* (1836), 51.

³W. Miller, Letter to Joshua V. Himes, 14.

⁴Charles Fitch, The Glory of God in the Earth (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 29.

⁵J. Litch, "Babylon's Fall--the Sanctuary Cleansed," ST, July 26, 1843, 165.

*establishment of a glorious and everlasting kingdom of God on earth, at the resurrection of the just."*¹

Apollos Hale argued, in his Second Advent Manual, that the cleansing of the sanctuary was (1) the purification of the promised land "from the wicked agents of its desolation" and (2) "the removal of the curse which is upon it [the promised land], at the termination of its predicted desolation" (Isa 1:27, 28; 49:13-17, 19).² Such concepts were further elaborated by Hale in his article, "Watchman! Give Them Warning from Me!"³ He suggested in this article that the cleansing of the sanctuary meant, according to the different meanings of the original Hebrew verb *נָסָה*, (1) to be *justified*, when "the sentence of indignation, which gave it 'to be trodden under foot'," will be repealed; (2) to be *vindicated*, by "the execution of the threatened wrath upon its adversaries"; and (3) to be *cleansed*, by "the fires of the last day, and the new creation." While the justification is seen as "the act of God, the Judge of all," the vindication is regarded as "the work of Jesus Christ."⁴

¹J. Litch, "Address to the Clergy," ST, Jan. 1, 1842, 151.

²Hale, Second Advent Manual, 51.

³[A. Hale], "Watchman! Give Them Warning from Me!" two-part article in AH, Feb. 14, 1844, 14-15; Feb. 21, 1844, 22-23. Hale is identified as the author of this article in Editorial, "Prophetic Time," AH, Apr. 3, 1844, 68.

⁴[A. Hale], "Watchman! Give Them Warning from Me!" AH, Feb. 14, 1844, 15.

Samuel Snow pointed out that on the typical Day of Atonement, on the tenth day of the seventh month (cf. Lev 16; 23:26-32),

the high priest went into the most holy place of the tabernacle, presenting the blood of the victim before the mercy-seat, after which on the *same day* he came out and blessed the waiting congregation of Israel. See Lev. ix. 7, 22, 23, 24, and Lev. 16th chap.; Heb v. 1-6, and ix. 1-12, 27, 28.¹

In regard to the antitypical fulfillment of this ceremony, Snow stated,

Now the *important point* in this type is the completion of the reconciliation at the coming of the high priest out of the holy place. The high priest was a type of Jesus our High Priest; the most holy place a type of heaven itself; and the coming out of the high priest a type of the coming of Jesus the second time to bless his waiting people. As this was on the tenth day of the 7th month, so on that day Jesus will certainly come, because not a *single point* of the law is to fail. *All must be fulfilled.*²

Thus, as previously noticed, for William Miller the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 referred to both the Christian church and the earth. There were, however, some Millerites like Josiah Litch, Apollos Hale, John Starkweather, Robert Winter, and George Storrs who considered Palestine as the sanctuary of this text.

Miller followed the major contemporary English-speaking Protestant trend of interpreting the 2300 days as symbolic of 2300 years. In harmony with some Protestant authors, Miller held that the 2300 days started in 457 B.C.

¹[S. S. Snow], [untitled], TMC, Aug. 22, 1844, [4].

²Ibid.

and would end in "about A.D. 1843." Further chronological refinements convinced the Millerites that the 2300 days would really end, as suggested by Samuel Snow, on "the tenth day of the seventh month" of the Jewish religious year of 1844, that is, October 22, 1844.

The cleansing of the sanctuary was seen by Miller as the cleansing of both the earth and the church. While the first would be cleansed by fire, the latter would be cleansed "from all uncleanness." which included the "last abomination of desolation" set up by the Papacy. Josiah Litch and Apollos Hale, however, were of the opinion that the cleansing of the sanctuary meant the vindication of Jerusalem and the purification of the promised land. Charles Fitch, on the other hand, related the cleansing of the sanctuary to the coming of the Ancient of days of Daniel 7:22. For Samuel Snow, on the tenth day of the seventh month of 1844, the antitypical Day of Atonement would be fulfilled.

Having considered the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century non-Millerite Protestant and Millerite views of Daniel 8:14, this study turns its focus now to the non-Millerite Protestant and Millerite interpretations of Revelation 14:6-12. Such interpretations are of special significance because, as already noted,¹ this text also

¹See p. 12, above.

played a foundational role in the development of Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines.

**The Three Angels' Messages of
Revelation 14:6-12**

The three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12
read as follows in the King James Version:

6 And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people,

7 Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him: for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.

8 And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.

9 And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand,

10 The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb:

11 And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.

12 Here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus.

While some late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century commentators saw the three angels' messages as comprising verses 6-12,¹ others saw those messages as

¹Matthew Henry, An Exposition of the New Testament, 4th ed. (London: John and Paul Knapton, 1738), vol. 2, on Rev 14:6-12; Thruston, England Safe and Triumphant, 1:445-71; Fry, Observations on the Unfulfilled Prophecies, 35-36, 62-63; Editorial, "Thoughts on Revelation, xiv. 6-20," AH,

ending either with verse 11¹ or with verse 13.² Since Sabbatarian Adventists soon came to hold to the first of those positions,³ the present study refers consistently to

Apr. 30, 1845, 92-93.

¹Joseph Mede, The Key of the Revelation (London: Phil. Stephens, 1643), pt. 2, pp. 85-96; Thomas Scott, The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Translated from the Original Greek, with Originals, and Practical Observation (London: Bellamy and Robarts, 1791), on Rev 14:6-11; Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (1806), 2:301-10; Bryce Johnstone, A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1807), 94-102; Hales, New Analysis of Chronology (1811), 2:571-72; Cuninghame, Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets (1813), 307-14; Ethan Smith, Key to the Revelation: In Thirty-six Lectures (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833), 246-59; J[osiah] Litch, The Probability of the Second Coming of Christ about A.D. 1843 (Boston: David H. Ela, 1838), 185-87; J. Litch, "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," MC, June 22, 1843, 126-27

²Thomas Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, 4th ed. (London: John and Francis Rivington, 1771), 3:252-65; Kinne, Explanation of the Principal Types, 323-26; Alexander M'Leod, Lectures upon the Principal Prophecies of the Revelation (New York: Whiting and Watson, Eastburn, Kirk & Co., 1814), 461-71.

³James White, "Thoughts on Revelation 14," in idem, ed., A Word to the "Little Flock" (Brunswick, ME: [James White], 1847), 10-11; [idem], "The Third Angel's Message, Rev xiv. 9-12," PT, Apr. 1850, 65-67; J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 82; [James White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 69-72; H[iram] Edson, "The Commandments of God, and the Mark of the Beast Brought to View by the Third Angel of Rev. xiv, Considered in Connection with the Angel of Chap. vii, Having the Seal of the Living God," RH, Sept. 2, 1852, 65; R. F. Cottrell, The Bible Class: Lessons upon the Law of God, and the Faith of Jesus (Rochester, NY: Advent Review Office, 1855), 117-25; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, [1]:163; Uriah Smith, Thoughts, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Revelation (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1865), 231-41; J. White, Life Incidents, 240.

those messages as embracing verses 6-12.

Non-Millerite English-Speaking Protestant Interpretations

The three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 were interpreted in differing ways within non-Millerite English-speaking Protestant circles of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹ Underlying those interpretations was a strong tendency to see these angels as "emblematical heralds of the progressive reformation from popery."² While many authors stressed the three angels' messages as already fulfilled,³ others, like E. Bickersteth, saw them as special present duties "incumbent on the Church of Christ."⁴

¹For a more detailed study of the non-Millerite interpretations of Revelation 14:6-12, see Froom, Prophetic Faith, vols. 1-4, passim; [idem], "History of the Interpretation of the Apocalypse," in Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary, 7:121-123.

²Scott, New Testament, on Rev 14:6, 7.

³Mede, Key of the Revelation, pt. 2, pp. 85-96; T. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies (4th ed.), 3:252-65; T. Scott, New Testament, on Rev 14:6-11; Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (1806), 2:301-10; Hales, New Analysis of Chronology (1811), 2:571-73; Thruston, England Safe and Triumphant, 1:445-66; referred to in Kinne, Explanation of the Principal Types, 326; Keyworth, Practical Exposition of the Revelation, 44.

⁴E. Bickersteth, [ed.], The Testimony of the Reformers, 1st series (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1836), lxvi.

The First Angel's Message

The first angel of Revelation 14:6, 7 was seen by some as fulfilled in the opposition by Eastern Emperors, Charlemagne, and some bishops of the eighth century to the worship of images.¹ Other authors related the first angel either to the Waldenses and Albingenses,² or to John Wickliffe.³ Alexander M'Leod (1774-1833) broadened the previous view to include "the Waldenses and their coadjutors among the nations, down to the time of John Huss and the famous Jerome."⁴ Some authors saw the first angel as Martin Luther⁵ and the Lutheran church.⁶ Several expositors related this angel to the establishment of Bible and Missionary Societies.⁷ William Cuninghame (1776-1849)

¹Mede, The Key of the Revelation, pt. 2, p. 92; T. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies (4th ed.), 3:254-56.

²T. Scott, New Testament, on Rev 14:6, 7; Keyworth, Practical Exposition of the Revelation, 44.

³Hales, New Analysis of Chronology (1811), 2:571.

⁴M'Leod, Lectures, 465.

⁵Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (1806), 2:303.

⁶Thruston, England Safe and Triumphant, 1:448.

⁷Cuninghame, Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets (1813), 311; Amzi Armstrong, A Syllabus of Lectures on the Visions of the Revelation (Morris-Town, NJ: P. A. Johnson, 1815), 170; George Croly, The Apocalypse of St. John (Philadelphia: E. Littell, 1827), 172; H. D., "Popular Introduction to the Study of the Apocalypse," CO, Mar. 1830, 138; F., "The Fall of Babylon," MWQ, Mar. 1832, 71; E. Smith, Key to the Revelation, 247; Pearson, Dissertation on the Prophecies, 372; Habershon, Dissertation on the Prophetic Scriptures, 224-25; Fry, Observations on the

related the first angel to the increasing interest in "Prophetic exposition."¹ Others held that the mission of this angel was still in the future.²

The expression "the hour of his judgment" of Revelation 14:7 was understood as a proclamation of judgment against idolatry,³ apostasy,⁴ the Papacy,⁵ and the Antichrist.⁶ M'Leod stated, for example, that, in regard to its time-setting, this expression "cannot apply to the last judgment; for other events of a penal character are pointed out by the succeeding angels."⁷

Unfulfilled Prophecies, 35; Bickersteth, [ed.], Testimony of the Reformers, lxvi.

¹William Cuninghame, A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse, 3d ed., corr. and enl. (London: Thomas Cadell, 1832), 368.

²Reid, Seven Last Plagues, 211.

³Mede, Key of the Revelation, pt. 2, p. 87; T. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies (4th ed.), 3:253-54; Kinne, Explanation of the Principal Types, 324.

⁴James Purves, Observations on the Visions of the Apostle John, Compared with Other Sacred Scriptures (Edinburgh: James Purves, 1793), 2:23.

⁵Frere, Combined View of the Prophecies, 27; Cuninghame, Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets (1813), 309.

⁶Johnstone, Commentary on the Revelation, 96.

⁷M'Leod, Lectures upon the Principal Prophecies of the Revelation, 462.

The Second Angel's Message

The second angel of Revelation 14:8 was understood by some commentators as fulfilled either by the Waldenses and Albingenses,¹ by John Huss² (and Jerome of Prague),³ by Martin Luther,⁴ or by John Calvin⁵ and the Reformed church.⁶ M'Leod saw this angel as including at the same time Zwingli, Luther, Calvin, along with their coadjutors and successors.⁷ Ethan Smith (1762-1849) identified the second angel as the proclamation of "the falling of the papal see" as "exhibited in France, in and after the French revolution of 1789."⁸ There were, however, some others who saw the fulfillment of the second angel as still in the future.⁹

¹Mede, Key of the Revelation, pt. 2, p. 92; T. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies (4th ed.), 3:258.

²Hales, New Analysis of Chronology (1811), 2:572.

³T. Scott, New Testament, on Rev 14:8; Keyworth, Practical Exposition of the Revelation, 44.

⁴Referred to in Kinne, Explanation of the Principal Types, 326.

⁵Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (1806), 2:306.

⁶Thruston, England Safe and Triumphant, 1:453.

⁷M'Leod, Lectures upon the Principal Prophecies of the Revelation, 467-68.

⁸E. Smith, Key to the Revelation, 254.

⁹Cunninghame, Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets (1813), 312; Reid, Seven Last Plagues, 211.

The expression "Babylon" of Revelation 14:8 was usually applied to the church of Rome¹ and the Papacy.² James Purves gave, however, a broader meaning to the expression, by relating it to a "general apostacy" that can be "divided into heathenism, popery, and protestantism."³ Robert Reid identified Babylon with the "false doctrines" taught by the church of Rome and by the Protestant churches. He saw the fall of Babylon as "the fall of false doctrines" prompted by the "discovery of truth."⁴

¹See for example, Mede, Key of the Revelation, pt. 2, p. 92; T. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies (4th ed.), 3:256; T. Scott, New Testament, on Rev 14:8; Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (1806), 2:308; Thruston, England Safe and Triumphant, 1:454-55; M'Leod, Lectures upon the Principal Prophecies of the Revelation, 467; Cuninghame, Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets (1813), 309; Keyworth, Practical Exposition of the Revelation, 44; Bickersteth, [ed.], Testimony of the Reformers, lxviii.

²Alexander Fraser, A Key to the Prophecies of the Old & New Testament, Which Are Not Yet Accomplished (Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, 1795), 179; George S. Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 2d ed., rev. and corr. (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1807), 2:341; Johnstone, Commentary on the Revelation, 98-99; John Tudor, "On the Structure of the Apocalypse," MWQ, Sept. 1829, 303; Croly, Apocalypse of St. John, 172; E. Smith, Key to the Revelation, 254.

³Purves, Observations on the Visions of the Apostle John, 2:23.

⁴Reid, Seven Last Plagues, 216-17.

The Third Angel's Message

The third angel of Revelation 14:9-12 was seen by some authors as already fulfilled either in Martin Luther,¹ in the church of England,² or in the ministers of the gospel.³ Other authors saw the fulfillment of the third angel as still in the future.⁴ A. M'Leod, for example, understood it as a great future reform that "will usher in the millennium."⁵

While the "beast" of Revelation 14:9 was usually identified as the Papacy,⁶ the whole expression "the beast and his image" in the same passage was related to "the whole system of Latin superstition,"⁷ "the Papacy, its dominions,

¹Mede, Key of the Revelation, pt. 2, p. 95; T. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies (4th ed.), 3:260; T. Scott, New Testament, on Rev 14:9-11; Hales, New Analysis of Chronology (1811), 2:572-73; Keyworth, Practical Exposition of the Revelation, 44.

²Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (1806), 2:309; Thruston, England Safe and Triumphant, 1:460.

³Referred to in Kinne, Explanation of the Principal Types, 326.

⁴M'Leod, Lectures upon the Principal Prophecies of the Revelation, 468-69; Cuninghame, Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets (1813), 312.

⁵M'Leod, Lectures upon the Principal Prophecies of the Revelation, 468-69.

⁶Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies (2d ed.), 2:343; Reid, Seven Last Plagues, 221; Keyworth, Practical Exposition of the Revelation, 44; Bickersteth, [ed.], Testimony of the Reformers, lxxii-lxxiii.

⁷M'Leod, Lectures upon the Principal Prophecies of the Revelation, 469.

and its people,"¹ and all those (including Protestants) who followed the principles of popery.² For E. Smith the beast refers to "the blasphemous system of the Voltaire infidelity; and that of Jesuitism--the sinking papacy; as well as all the efforts of the licentiousness [sic] of the day."³

Thus, there was a strong tendency among Bible commentators of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English-speaking Protestantism to see the three angels of Revelation 14:6-12 as "emblematical heralds of the progressive reformation from popery."⁴ While many authors stressed the three angels' messages as already fulfilled by the pre-Reformation and/or Reformation movements, other authors saw them as present or even future reformations within the Christian church.

Millerite Interpretations

The three angels' message of Revelation 14:6-12 were also noticed by Millerite authors.⁵ Significant

¹Croly, Apocalypse of St. John, 173.

²Reid, Seven Last Plagues, 221.

³E. Smith, Key to the Revelation, 256.

⁴Scott, New Testament, on Rev 14:6, 7.

⁵For a more detailed study of the Millerite interpretations of Revelation 14:6-12, see Froom, Prophetic Faith, vol. 4, passim; [idem], "History of the Interpretation of the Apocalypse," in Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary, 7:122; Damsteegt, Foundations, 45-48, 78-84; Dederen, "Die drei Engelsbotschaften. Ursprung und

developments can be seen over time in the Millerite interpretation of the first and second angels' messages, and, to a much less extent, of the third angel's message.

The First Angel's Message

Millerite authors defined the mission of the first angel of Revelation 14:6, / from the perspective of two of its main components--"the everlasting gospel" (vs. 6) and "the hour of his [God's] judgment" (vs. 7). While the focus on the first of these components tended to leave the mission of this angel open to the modern Protestant missionary movement in general, the focus on the second component tended to restrict that mission to the Second Advent movement.¹

Up to the early 1840s, Millerites tended to define the mission of the first angel with emphasis on the evangelical preaching of "the everlasting gospel." Miller, for example, was very close to the Protestant tradition² when, in 1840, he defined that mission in terms of "the sending out of Missionaries and Bibles into every part of

Entwicklung der Auslegung der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten," in Studien zur Offenbarung: Die Bedeutung der drei Engelsbotschaften heute (Offenbarung 14, 6-12), 2:15-17.

¹See Damsteegt, Foundations, 45-46.

²See p. 47, above.

the world" since about 1798.¹

From the early 1840s on, however, Millerites tended increasingly to see the mission of the first angel as the proclamation of "the hour of God's judgment" by the Second Advent movement.² Miller, for example, stated that the first angel would continue to announce "the hour of God's judgment" "until Christ shall actually come to judge the quick and dead at his appearing and kingdom."³

Henry D. Ward (1797-1884) in 1842 saw the expression "the hour of his judgment is come" as providing a counterargument to those who used Revelation 14:6, 7 to prove the theory of the world's conversion. For him the message of the text was neither "'Give glory to God; for the time of this world's conversion is come!'" nor "'Fear God; for christendom is now to be made co-extensive with the earth; the saints are to rule over all nations'," but rather "'Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come!'"⁴ A similar position was also advocated

¹[W. Miller], "Miller's Lectures.--No. 1," ST, July 1, 1840, 50. See also idem, article manuscript for the Vermont Telegraph, no. 8, AMSP, [ca. 1832], ASC; John Hooper, "'The Second Advent'," ST, June 15, 1840, 44.

²C. B., "Hour of the Judgment Come," ST, Aug. 24, 1842, 162; C. Hersey, "The Hour of His Judgment Is Come," VT, Sept. 4, 1844, 121-22.

³W. Miller, Apology and Defence, 30.

⁴Henry D. Ward, "To the Conference of Christians Expecting the Lord's Appearing, Convened in Boston, 30th Nov., 1841," ST, Jan. 1, 1842, 146.

by Charles Fitch, when he stated that the expression "for the hour of his judgment has come" did not mean "the hour of the world's conversion, but of its destruction."¹

Another significant article was published in 1842 stating that Revelation 14:6, 7 was never entirely fulfilled "by the preaching of the gospel through the nations for the last fifty years."² The author argued that since the announcement of "the hour of his judgment is come" was a part of the proclamation of "the everlasting gospel," the message of Revelation 14:6, 7 could not have started to be fulfilled until the message of the soon coming of Christ for judgment began to be proclaimed to the world, "within a very few years." The same author saw the expression "the hour of his judgment" as a reference to "the Judgment Day at the end of the world."³

Josiah Litch stressed, however, a clear distinction between "the hour of his judgment" (Rev 14:7) and the final day of judgment. As early as 1838, he penned that "the hour of his judgment" of Revelation 14:7 was "the same judgment spoken of in Dan. vii. 9, 10, when the domination of the beast was to be taken away, and judgment given to the

¹Fitch, Glory of God, 31.

²C. B., "Hour of the Judgment Come," ST, Aug. 24, 1842, 162.

³Ibid.

saints."¹ This judgment, he believed, started in 1798, with the French revolution and the fall of Papacy.²

Despite such minor divergent interpretations, the first angel's message became increasingly central to the Millerite preaching in the early 1840s. From the summer of 1842 on, the tone of the Millerite campmeetings and conferences was increasingly set around the proclamation that "'THE HOUR OF HIS JUDGMENT IS COME!'"³ This shift from an evangelical to a more adventist understanding of the first angel's message helped Millerites to become more conscious of their unique mission to the world.

The Second Angel's Message

Millerite authors defined the mission of the second angel of Revelation 14:8 from the perspective of the fall of Babylon. While alluding sometimes to Revelation 14:8,⁴

¹Litch, Probability of the Second Coming, 186.

²Ibid., 144, 186. Cf. Litch, Prophetic Expositions, 1:54.

³Joseph Bates, The Autobiography of Elder Joseph Bates (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868), 263.

⁴Litch, Probability of the Second Coming, 186; J. Hooper, "'The Second Advent'," ST, June 15, 1840, 44; [W. Miller], "Miller's Lectures.--No. 1," ST, July 1, 1840, 50; [idem], Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology, 137; J. Litch, "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," MC, June 22, 1843, 126-27; C[harles] Fitch, "Come out of Her, My People," A Sermon (Rochester, NY: J. V. Himes, 1843), 3-4; idem, "'Come out of Her, My People.' A Sermon," MC, Sept. 21, 1843, 33; B., "The Downfall of Great Babylon," ASR 1 (May 1844): 117-18; Editorial, "Babylon," VT, July 13, 1844, 90; Editorial, "Come out of Babylon! What Is 'Babylon?'--The

those authors preferred to discuss the subject of the fall of Babylon more from the perspective of Revelation 18.¹ Such preference seems to be based primarily on the assumption that Revelation 18 provided not only a broader and more detailed exposition of the subject than Revelation 14:8 but also an explicit missiological appeal to come out of Babylon (Rev 18:4) not found in Revelation 14:8. Despite this tendency, Millerites usually saw an organic unity between the content of the two passages.

The understanding of Babylon and its fall changed significantly in the Millerite ranks throughout the years. Up to 1842, Millerite authors generally followed the Protestant tradition of applying the term Babylon to the Roman Catholic Church.² Miller, for example, wrote in the

Fall--Come out, and Why--Her Destruction," VT, Sept. 11, 1844, 128.

¹Fitch, "Come out of Her, My People," 3; idem, "'Come out of Her, My People'," MC, Sept. 21, 1843, 33; David Plumb, "Babylon," MC, Feb. 1, 1844, 218-19; G. Storrs, "Come out of Her[,] My People," MC, Feb. 15, 1844, 237; F. G. Brown, "Reasons for Withdrawing from the Church," AH, Mar. 27, 1844, 58-59; Editorial, "Coming out of Babylon," VT, Apr. 27, 1844, 46-47; B., "Downfall of Great Babylon," ASR 1 (May 1844): 112-20; Editorial, "Babylon--Rev. 18," MC, May 30, 1844, 563; S. S. Snow to [N.] Southard, MC, June 27, 1844, 397; Editorial, "Babylon," VT, June 29, 1844, 82-83; Editorial, "Babylon," VT, July 13, 1844, 90; William Miller, Remarks on Revelations Thirteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1844), 30-47; Editorial, "Come out of Babylon!" VT, Sept. 11, 1844, 126-31.

²Damsteegt, Foundations, 48. For further study of the Millerite view of Roman Catholicism, see Reinder Bruinsma, Seventh-day Adventist Attitudes toward Roman Catholicism, 1844-1965 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews

early 1830s that the fall of Babylon was "the downfall of the papal power," "which was fulfilled in 1798, when she lost her power to rule over the kings of the earth."¹

By 1840, sparse references to the Protestant churches as part of Babylon began to appear in the Millerite publications.² That interpretation, however, did not receive much attention till the summer of 1843, when Fitch preached for the first time his famous sermon "'Come out of Her, My People.'³ That was a time of crisis for the Millerites, who were increasingly being forced to choose between giving up their faith in the soon coming of Christ or being disfellowshipped from the membership of their original churches. Many of them were driven out of their churches just "for believing and teaching, testifying and singing, the advent hope."⁴ For Fitch, that situation was a clear evidence that not only the Roman Catholic Church but also "all sects into which the Protestant church is divided"

University Press, 1994), 21-74.

¹[W. Miller], "Miller's Lectures.--No. 1," ST, July 1, 1840, 50.

²E. S. Holland, "Extract of a Letter," ST, Dec. 1, 1840, 136; Recommended Letter, ST, Feb. 1, 1841, 167; J., "Second Advent Just at Hand. No. II," ST, Feb. 15, 1841, 176; Editorial, "Second Advent Conference," ST, July 15, 1841, 61.

³Fitch, "Come out of Her, My People"; idem, "'Come out of Her, My People'," MC, Sept. 21, 1843, 33-36.

⁴Froom, Prophetic Faith of Our Father, 4:449.

had become Babylon and Antichrist.¹ He was convinced that "inasmuch as all these multiplied sects are opposed to the plain Bible truth of Christ's personal reign on earth, THEY ARE ANTI-CHRIST."² Fitch continued by saying

if you hate the appearing of Christ, if you are opposed to his reigning personally over the earth, after God has sworn that he shall, if you are afraid or ashamed to receive and avow the truth on these momentous subjects, then blame not me for saying you are Antichrist.³

After declaring that "to come out of Babylon [cf. Rev 18:4] was to be converted to the scriptural doctrine of the personal coming and kingdom of Christ,"⁴ Fitch made a personal appeal to his readers: "If you are a Christian, *come out of Babylon!* If you intend to be found a Christian when Christ appears, *come out of Babylon*, and come out Now!"⁵

Although Miller himself was somewhat reluctant to endorse the view that the churches that did not embrace the doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ had become Babylon,⁶ such a view "spread extensively" in the ranks of

¹Fitch, "Come out of Her, My People," 9-15.

²Ibid., 13.

³Ibid., 23.

⁴Ibid., 18.

⁵Ibid., 19.

⁶Cf. Editorial, "The Conference," AH, Feb. 14, 1844, 9; W. Miller, Remarks on Revelations, 30-47; idem, Apology and Defence, 24-25, 30-31.

the Millerite movement after the summer of 1843.¹ David Plumb, for example, argued that Babylon, or the ecclesiastical Anti-christ, "has been in existence in every age of the Christian dispensation, and is to continue till 'destroyed by the brightness of Christ's coming.' 2 Thess. 2:7, 8." He explained that Babylon (1) "existed in the Apostolic age" (2 Thess 2:7, 8; 1 John 2:18); (2) "assumed an organized existence in the great Papal apostacy" of the forty-two months [Rev 11:2; 13:5] or 1260 days [Rev 11:3; 12:6]; and (3) includes, at the present period, "THE GREAT BODY OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES, ESPECIALLY OF THE CHURCHES OF AMERICA." Plumb saw the Protestant churches as part of Babylon because of (1) "the divisions and confusion with which they are characterized," and (2) "the consideration that they are guilty of the very crimes that stand charged against Babylon in the word of God" (cf. Rev 18:10-13).²

George Storrs suggested two ecclesiastical reasons for including both Roman Catholicism and all the Protestant

¹W. Miller, Apology and Defence, 25. See D. Plumb, "Babylon," MC, Feb. 1, 1844, 218-19; G. Storrs, "Come out of Her[,] My People," MC, Feb. 15, 1844, 237; Editorial, "Persecution," AH, Mar. 6, 1844, 36-37; F. G. Brown, "Reasons for Withdrawing from the Church," AH, Mar. 27, 1844, 58-59; Editorial, "Coming out of Babylon," VT, Apr. 27, 1844, 46-47; Editorial, "Babylon," VT, June 29, 1844, 82-83; Editorial, "Babylon," VT, July 13, 1844, 90; Editorial, "Come out of Babylon! What Is 'Babylon?'--The Fall--Come out, and Why--Her Destruction," VT, Sept. 11, 1844, 126-31; J. V. Himes, "Editorial Correspondence," AH, Sept. 18, 1844, 53.

²D. Plumb, "Babylon," MC, Feb. 1, 1844, 218-19.

sects under the category of Babylon. The first reason was "the manufacturing of creeds, whether written or oral," which were regarded as "the test of fellowship." The fact that those creeds differed significantly from one another led him to the conclusion that "'confusion' or *Babylon* is truly their name." The second reason was the "man-made [church] organizations," which he saw as the leading agencies in opposing "the idea of the Lord Jesus Christ's Second Advent 'at door.'" For him, "no church can be organized by man's invention but what it becomes Babylon *the moment it is organized*."¹ Storrs, an advocate of the conditional immortality of the soul,² regarded the theory of the immortality of the soul as another characteristic of Babylon.³

The view of the fall of Babylon as a process of theological apostasy was advocated in an editorial in the Voice of Truth of June 29, 1844. The author of the

¹G. Storrs, "Come out of Her[,] My People," MC, Feb. 15, 1844, 237-38.

²George Storrs, An Inquiry: Are the Souls of the Wicked Immortal? In Three Letters (Montpelier, VT: George Storrs, 1841); idem, An Inquiry: Are the Souls of the Wicked Immortal? In Six Sermons (Albany, [NY]: W. and A. White and J. Visscher, 1842); idem, "An Inquiry: Are the Wicked Immortal? In Six Sermons," BE, May 1843, 2-14; idem, "Intermediate State of the Dead, or, State from Death until the Resurrection," BE, May 1843, 15-16; idem, "Intermediate State, or, State of the Dead from Death to the Resurrection," BE, Jan. 1844, 3-21; idem, "The Resurrection of the Dead," BE, Jan. 1844, 23-48.

³G. Storrs, "Inquiry: Are the Wicked Immortal?" BE, May 1843, 12.

editorial defined that fall as a "gradual" process that culminated in the "final rejection of the truth" by "the nominal church." He stated that

truths after truths have been presented to the church, but she has rejected them, until the last and most glorious of all--the SECOND COMING OF CHRIST--has been treated with as much contempt as was the doctrine of his first coming by the proud and sin-hardened Jews.¹

By considering both the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant denominations as being at the end of their process of apostasy, Millerites saw their own mission as that of restoring biblical truth and preparing a people for the soon coming of Christ.

The Third Angel's Message

While Millerite authors dealt many times with the first angel's message and somewhat with the second angel's message of Revelation 14, those authors were almost silent about the third angel's message of Revelation 14:9-12. There are, however, a few instances in the Millerite writings in which the message of the third angel is referred to.²

¹Editorial, "Babylon," VT, June 29, 1844, 82-83.

²Litch, Probability of the Second Coming, 186; [W. Miller], "Miller's Lectures.--No. 1," ST, July 1, 1840, 50; [idem], Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology, 137-38; G. Storrs, "Inquiry: Are the Wicked Immortal?" BE, May 1843, 6-7; J. Litch, "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," MC, June 22, 1843, 127; Editorial, "Babylon," VT, July 13, 1844, 90.

The "beast" and "his image" of Revelation 14:9 (cf. Rev 15:13) were understood by the Millerites in a few different ways. Miller himself, for example, saw them respectively as Paganism and the Papacy.¹ Fitch interpreted both expressions as referring to the Papacy. He stated that "popery as it now exists, is only an image, or representation of popery as it was."²

In 1840 Miller wrote that the whole Second Advent movement, of which he was a part, was fulfilling the mission of the third angel by "giving due notice to the world of the near approach of the judgment day." He stated that "some in Asia, many in Europe, and multitudes in America, are now sounding the alarm to the world given in verse[s] 10 and 11."³

Litch saw the third angel's message as "the world's last warning" that will draw "the separating line between Babylon and Zion" before "the harvest of the earth" (Rev 14:14-16).⁴

Storrs defined the mission of this angel as announcing the plagues that would fall upon those who did

¹W. Miller, Evidences from Scripture & History (1833), 31; *ibid.* (1836), 56.

²Litch, Probability of the Second Coming, 182.

³[W. Miller], "Miller's Lectures.--No. 1," ST, July 1, 1840, 50; [idem], Views on the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology, 137. Cf. *idem*, Apology and Defence, 31.

⁴J. Litch, "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," MC, June 22, 1843, 127.

not accept the warning to come out of Babylon.¹ He argued that since the message of this angel would be fulfilled "upon the earth" (cf. Rev 16:2), Revelation 14:9-11 did not speak "of the punishment of the wicked in a future state," and could not, therefore, be used "to prove the immortality of the soul."² Storrs raised this issue because of his views on the conditional immortality of the soul and the final annihilation of the wicked.³

Thus, Millerite authors dealt quite extensively with the first and second angels' messages, but to a much less extent with the third angel's message. Up to the early 1840s, Millerites tended to define the mission of the first angel (Rev 14:6, 7) with emphasis on the evangelical preaching of "the everlasting gospel" (vs. 6). From the early 1840s on they tended increasingly to see that mission as the proclamation of "the hour of God's judgment" (vs. 7) by the Second Advent movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The mission of the second angel (Rev 14:8) was defined by Millerites from the perspective of the fall of Babylon and the appeal to come out of her (cf. Rev 18). Up

¹G. Storrs, "Inquiry: Are the Wicked Immortal?" BE, May 1843, 6-7; idem, "Come out of Her[,] My People," MC, Feb. 15, 1844, 238.

²G. Storrs, "Inquiry: Are the Wicked Immortal?" BE, May 1843, 6-7.

³See p. 61, above.

through the summer of 1843, Millerite authors generally followed the Protestant tradition of applying the term Babylon to the Roman Catholic Church. Fitch's famous sermon "'Come out of Her, My People'," preached for the first time in July 1843,¹ set the trend for the inclusion of the Protestant denominations, together with Roman Catholicism, under the category of Babylon.

The mission of the third angel (Rev 14:9-12) was seen by Miller as fulfilled by the whole Second Advent movement in proclaiming to the world the imminent arrival of God's judgment. The "beast" and "his image" (vs. 9; cf. 13:15) were understood by Miller respectively as Paganism and the Papacy. Fitch, however, interpreted both expressions as referring to the Papacy.

Summary and Conclusions

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw an unprecedented worldwide revival of interest in the study of Bible prophecies related to the Second Coming of Christ. Among the prophetic elements investigated by both non-Millerite English-speaking Protestants and Millerites were the time and nature of the cleansing of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 and the significance of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12.

¹Fitch, "Come out of Her, My People"; idem, "'Come out of Her, My People'," MC, Sept. 21, 1843, 33-36.

The sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 was usually seen by non-Millerite Protestant commentators either as the Jewish temple or as the Christian church. For William Miller, however, that sanctuary referred to both the Christian church and the earth. Some other Millerites (Josiah Litch, Apollos Hale, John Starkweather, and George Storrs) were of the opinion that Palestine was the sanctuary of this text.

The 2300 days were understood by both the overwhelming majority of non-Millerite Protestants and the Millerites as a period of 2300 years. There was an increasing tendency among non-Millerite Protestant authors, in the early nineteenth century, to see that period as beginning in the 450s B.C. and ending in the A.D. 1840s.

In harmony with some of those Protestant authors, Miller held that the 2300 days started in 457 B.C. and would end in "about A.D. 1843." Further chronological refinements convinced the Millerites that the 2300 days would really end, as suggested by Samuel Snow, on the Jewish "tenth day of the seventh month" of 1844 (October 22, 1844).

Non-Millerite Protestant commentators related the cleansing of the sanctuary, on the negative side, to the cleansing of the Christian church from the antagonistic powers that polluted it, and, on the positive side, either to the conversion and the restoration of the Jews, or to missionary and restoration endeavors within the Christian church that were usually seen in an eschatological setting.

For Miller, the cleansing of the sanctuary was the cleansing of both the earth, by fire, and the church "from all uncleanness," which included the "last abomination of desolation" set up by the Papacy. Some other Millerites interpreted the cleansing of the sanctuary either as the vindication of Jerusalem and the purification of the promised land (Josiah Litch, Apollos Hale) or the coming of the Ancient of days of Daniel 7:22 (Charles Fitch).

Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century non-Millerite English-speaking Protestants and Millerites were also concerned with the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12. Non-Millerite Protestants usually saw those messages as already fulfilled by the pre-Reformation, the Reformation movements, or some contemporary movement. While understanding those messages in a contemporary setting, Millerites became increasingly convinced of their own responsibility in carrying out the mission of the three angels.

The mission of the first angel (Rev 14:6, 7) was seen by non-Millerite Protestant interpreters as fulfilled by Eastern Emperors, Charlemagne, and some bishops of the eighth century; by the Waldenses and Albigenses, John Wickliffe, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague; by Martin Luther and the Lutheran Church; and by the Bible and Missionary Societies and the increasing interest in Bible prophecies.

The Millerite understanding of the first angel's message shifted through the years from a more evangelical emphasis based on "the everlasting gospel" to a more adventist emphasis based on "the hour of his judgment." Millerites, up to the early 1840s, tended to define the mission of this angel with emphasis on the evangelical preaching of "the everlasting gospel" (vs. 6). From the early 1840s on they tended increasingly to see that mission as the proclamation of "the hour of God's judgment" (vs. 7) by the Second Advent movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The mission of the second angel (Rev 14:8) was commonly regarded by non-Millerite Protestants as accomplished by the Waldenses and Albigenses, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague; by Martin Luther, Ulric Zwingli, and John Calvin; and by the fall of the Papacy at the French Revolution. The expression "Babylon" of this text was usually applied to the church of Rome and the Papacy.

Millerite authors generally followed the Protestant tradition of applying the term Babylon to Roman Catholicism. However, from the summer of 1843, Millerites significantly broadened their position to include, in addition to Roman Catholicism, all Protestants who did not accept the doctrine of a literal, imminent Second Coming of Christ.

The mission of the third angel (Rev 14:9-12) was seen by non-Millerite Protestant authors as already

fulfilled by Martin Luther, by the church of England, or by the ministers of the gospel. While the "beast" (vs. 9) was usually identified as the Papacy, the whole expression "the beast and his image" (vs. 9) was applied to all those (including Protestants) who followed the principles of popery.

The message of the third angel was seen by Millerites as God's last judgment warning that was being proclaimed to the world by the Second Advent movement of the first half of the nineteenth century. While Miller understood the "beast" and "his image" (vs. 9; cf. 15:13) respectively as Paganism and the Papacy, Fitch applied these expressions only to the Papacy.

The Millerite idea that the cleansing of the sanctuary would be brought about by a literal, premillennial Second Coming of Christ was a disruptive concept to the American Protestant postmillennial views of the first half of the nineteenth century.

As significant as Daniel 8:14 and Revelation 14:6-12 may have been for both non-Millerite Protestants and the Millerites, it was within Sabbatarian Adventism that the content of those texts assumed a more foundational role. In fact, Sabbatarian Adventists came to see the interrelationship of these two passages as providing the structural foundation for their message and mission.

CHAPTER II

THE PERIOD OF DOCTRINAL INTEGRATION

1844-1850

Background

The Millerite movement reached its climactic phase in the autumn of 1844. The major propelling factor during that phase was the belief that on October 22, 1844, at the end of the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14, Christ would appear in the clouds of heaven to bless His people. When that day passed without the realization of the expected hope, the Millerites faced the greatest crisis of their history.

Post-Disappointment Millerism

The October 1844 Disappointment shook Millerism in such a way that it split in several directions.¹ Many

¹J. P. Cowles mentioned that by 1855 there were "some twenty-five divisions of what was once the ONE Adventist body." (J. P. Cowles, "Among My Old Friends Again," CR, Aug. 8, 1855, [6].)

Insightful attempts to classify the post-Disappointment branches of Millerism are provided by Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller, 293-326; Dick, "Adventist Crisis of 1843-1844," 219-24; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:827-51; Arthur, "'Come out of Babylon'," 85-145; Jack M. Patt, "The Millerite Awakening and the Great Disappointment of 1844," IJAS 3 (June 1973): 77-80; D. T. Arthur, "After the Great Disappointment: To Albany and Beyond," AtH 1 (Jan. 1974): 5-10, 58; Dean, "Echoes of the Midnight Cry," 96-143; Don F. Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, rev. ed.

Millerites left the movement to return either to their former churches¹ or to other mainstream churches.² Those Millerites who did not give up their faith in the Second Advent³ became eventually polarized around the "open door" and the "shut door" (cf. Matt 25:10-12) interpretations of the 1844 experience.⁴

[Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1976], s.v. "Millerite Movement"; Schwarz, Light Bearers, 53-71; Rowe, Thunder and Trumpets, 141-60; Barkun, Crucible of the Millennium, 44-46; Doan, Miller Heresy, 202-6; Knight, Millennial Fever, 217-325.

¹N. Gordon Thomas, The Millennial Impulse in Michigan, 1830-1860: The Second Coming in the Third New England, Studies in American Religion, vol. 44 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 75.

²Doan, Miller Heresy, 206.

³Arthur, "'Come out of Babylon'," 88.

⁴For a more detailed study of the "shut door"/"open door" controversy, see Loughborough, Great Second Advent Movement, 214-34; Spalding, Captains of the Host, 141-57; Francis D. Nichol, Ellen G. White and Her Critics (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1951), 161-252, 598-642; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:829-42; Carl Coffman, "The Shut Door" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1963); Mueller, Die Frühgeschichte der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten, 167-68; Arthur, "'Come out of Babylon'," 85-145; Ingemar Lindén, Biblicism, apokalyptik, utopi. Adventismens historiska utforming: USA samt dess svenska utveckling till o. 1939 (Uppsala: [University of Uppsala], 1971), 68-98; Damsteegt, Foundations, 104-35, 149-64, 271-82; Rolf J. Poehler, "'... and the Door Was Shut': Seventh-day Adventists and the Shut-door Doctrine in the Decade after the Great Disappointment" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1978); Lindén, Last Trump, 85-105; idem, 1844 and the Shut Door Problem (Uppsala: Distributed by Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1982); Robert W. Olson, "The 'Shut Door' Documents" (Ellen G. White Estate shelf document, 1982); Arthur L. White, "Ellen G. White and the Shut Door Question: A Review of the The Experience of Early Seventh-day Adventists Believers in Its Historical Context," rev. ed. (Ellen G. White Estate shelf document, 1982); idem, Ellen G. White (Washington, DC:

The "open door" Adventists believed that probation did not end for the world on October 22, 1844.¹ They usually continued relating the cleansing of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 to the Second Coming of Christ,² and saw the October 1844 Disappointment as the result of the chronological error of choosing too early a date to end the 2300 days.³ This assumption led the "open door" Adventists

Review and Herald, 1985), 1:256-70; Borge Schantz, "The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought: Contemporary Appraisal" (Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983), 212-24; Knight, Anticipating the Advent, 37-39; idem, Millennial Fever, 236-42.

¹J. V. Himes, "Prophetic Times," MC, Nov. 7, 1844, 150; G. Storrs, "Letter from Bro. Storrs," MW, Feb. 6, 1845, 45-46; Editorial, AH, Feb. 12, 1845, 3-4; J. V. Himes to [W.] Miller, Feb. 18, 1845, ALM, AHC; idem, "A Word to the Advent Brethren Scattered Abroad," AH, Feb. 19, 1845, 13; Editorial, "Door of Mercy," VT, Feb. 26, 1845, 18-19; J. V. Himes, "A Word to the Advent Brethren," MW, Apr. 3, 1845, 112; J. Litch, "Did the Bridegroom Come in 1843?" MW, Apr. 10, 1845, 119; Editorial, "Position of the Editor of the 'Day Star'," MW, Apr. 17, 1845, 125; Editorial, "Conference of Adventists at New York" (May 6-8, 1845), AH, May 21, 1845, 118; Editorial, "Conference of Adventists at New York" (May 6-8, 1845), AH, May 28, 1845, 126; [W. Miller] to [J. B.] Cook, Sept. 16, 1845, ALM, MEA; W. Bassett, "The Door Shut," VT, Dec. 24, 1845, 565-66; [W.] Miller, "Letter from Bro. Miller--The 'Shut-door' Doctrine Repudiated," AH, Nov. 13, 1847, 119.

²A. Hale, "Prophetic Time Not Expired," AH, Feb. 19, 1845, 12; Editorial, "Matthew 24:36," MW, Apr. 17, 1845, 126; H. Barringer, "The First Error," VT, June 4, 1845, 75; E. R. Pinney, "The Termination of the 2300 Days," VT, Sept. 10, 1845, 451-52.

³J. V. Himes, "Prophetic Times," MC, Nov. 7, 1844, 150; Editorial, "Seventh Month--Mistakes Developed," VT, Nov. 27, 1844, 174-76; E. Galusha, "Letter from E. Galusha," VT, Dec. 4, 1844, 177; Editorial, "No Difference Now," VT, Dec. 18, 1844, 187; J. P. Jacobs, "The Lord Is Near," VT, Dec. 11, 1844, 181-82; Editorial, "The Termination of the Prophetic Periods," AH, Jan. 1, 1845, 164-65; F. G. Brown,

to suggest several new dates for ending that prophetic period.¹

"The Safe Position," AH, Jan. 15, 1845, 177-80; W. Miller et al., "Low-Hampton Conference" (Dec. 28-29, 1844), AH, Jan. 15, 1845, 183; J. V. Himes to [W.] Miller, Feb. 18, 1845; Editorial, "At the Door," VT, May 7, 1845, 44-45; Editorial, "Conference of Adventists at New York" (May 6-8, 1845), AH, May 28, 1845, 127.

¹Early "open door" Adventists were initially of the opinion that the 2300 days could not be extended "beyond A. D. 1847" (Editorial, "The Termination of the Prophetic Periods," AH, Jan. 1, 1845, 164-65; F. G. Brown, "The Safe Position," AH, Jan. 15, 1845, 177-80; A. Hale, "Prophetic Time Not Expired," AH, Feb. 19, 1845, 12; A. Hale, "End of the Prophetic Periods. The More Definite View," AH, Mar. 12, 1845, 37-39).

Among the early new dates suggested for ending the 2300 days were (1) the spring of 1845 (H. H. Gross, "The Present Truth," VT, Mar. 5, 1845, 21-25; idem, "The Present Truth," VT, Apr. 2, 1845, 6; idem, "The Present Truth," VT, Apr. 9, 1845, 9; C. B. Hotchkiss, in "Matthew 24:36," MW, Apr. 17, 1845, 126); (2) the winter of 1846 (A. J. G., "The Awful Suspense," VT, Feb. 11, 1846, 54); (3) the spring of 1846 (J. C. Bywater, "Letter from Br. Bywater," VT, May 21, 1845, 64; idem, "Definite Time Again," VT, May 28, 1845, 71); (4) the autumn of 1846 (A. Hale, "The Last Experiment on Definite Time," 4-part series in AH, May 7, 1845, 100; May 21, 1845, 116; June 18, 1845, 149; July 2, 1845, 165-67; idem, "Termination of the 2,300 Days," VT, June 18, 1845, 93; E. R. Pinney, "The Midst of the Week," VT, Feb. 18, 1846, 58; idem, "The Last Experiment on Definite Time," 2-part series in VT, Mar. 25, 1846, 97-99; Apr. 1, 1846, 1-3); (5) the spring of 1847 (H. H. Gross, "Prophetic Chronology," VT, Oct. 1, 1845, 475-76; J. Weston, "Termination of the 69 Weeks of Daniel," VT, June 24, 1846, 99; H. H. Gross, "'And Now Will I Show Thee the Truth'," 4-part series in BA, Jan. 9, 1847, 193-94; Jan. 16, 1847, 201-3; Jan. 23, 1847, 1-3, 7; Jan. 30, 1847, 9-10); (6) the autumn of 1847 (Aaron Ellis to "Dear Brethren," BA, July 27 [actually 29], 1847, 207; P. Miller, Jr., "'Time of the Advent' Again," BA, Sept. 9, 1847, 45); (7) the winter of 1848 (J. Weston, "The Time for the Lord's Coming Is Revealed," BA, Dec. 9, 1847, 131); and (8) the spring of 1848 (E. S. Blakeslee, "Time of the Advent. [Concluded]," BA, Sept. 2, 1847, 34; H. H. Gross, "The Termination of the 69 Weeks," BA, Dec. 2, 1847, 121); (9) the spring of 1850 (J. B. Cook, "A Few Facts on Time.-- Bible Time," AHBA, Oct. 27, 1849, 145; E. R. Southwick, "The Time," *ibid.*, 145-46; C. Crawford, Jr., "The Time of the

Many "shut door" Adventists, on the other hand, believed that probation had in some way closed for the world on October 22, 1844,¹ which they regarded as the correct date for ending the 2300 days.² The attempt to explain

Advent," AHBA, Feb. 9, 1850, 266); (10) the autumn of 1850 (Stephen Reed, Points and Arguments on the Great Prophetic Periods, &c. &c. Maintaining Their Termination in 1850 [New York: Tribune Steam Book and Job Office, 1850], 16, 22).

Joseph Bates explained that those Adventist authors who believed that Christ was crucified in the midst of the seventieth week of Daniel 9:27 suggested that the 2300 days would end in the autumn, while those who held that Christ was crucified anywhere but in the midst of that week were of the opinion that the 2300 days would end in the spring (Bates, Vindication, 83).

For further study on the post-1844 time-settings, see P. Gerard Damsteegt, "Early Adventist Timesettings and Their Implications for Today," JATS 4 (Spring 1993): 157-62.

¹Several Millerite authors had suggested, previous to the October 1844 Disappointment, that probation would indeed close to the world at the end of the 2300 days. See e.g., W. Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History (1836), 97, 192 [actually 196]; Editorial, "Boston Second Advent Conference," ST, June 1, 1842, 69; Editorial, "Introduction," AMDZ, Sept. 1844, 25; Editorial, "Behold! the Bridegroom Cometh!" AH, Oct. 9, 1844, 77; W. Miller, "Bro. Miller's Letter, on the Seventh Month," AH, Oct. 16, 1844, 88.

²W. Miller, "Letter from Bro. Miller," AH, Dec. 11, 1844, 142; Editorial note, WMC, Dec. 21, 1844, 27; A. Hale and J. Turner, "Has Not the Saviour Come as the Bridegroom?" AM, Jan. 1845, 1-4; W. Miller, "Letter from Mr. Miller," AH, Feb. 12, 1845, 2-3; S. Fenton, "Antichrist," VS, Mar. 1845, 6-7; W. Miller, "Letter from Bro. Miller," DS, Apr. 8, 1845, 31-32; C. to [S. S.] Snow, JS, Apr. 17, 1845, 43; [S. S.] S[now], "'The Secret Chamber'," JS, Apr. 17, 1845, 45; John S. Bussell, "Letter from J. S. Bussell," JS, Apr. 17, 46-47; [S. S.] S[now], "'And the Door Was Shut'," JS, Apr. 24, 1845, 54; W. B. Elliott, "The Door Is Shut, and We Know It," JS, May 22, 1845, 81-82; [S. S.] S[now], "Prophetic Chronology," series in JS, May 22, 1845, 84-85; May 29, 1845, 92-93; June 5, 1845, 100-1; June 12, 1845, 109; O. Squires, "The Thousand Years Reign," VS, June 1845, 22; H. Gross, "The Jubilee Year," JS, June 19, 1845, 119; idem, "Food in Due Season," 2-part series in JS, July 3, 1845,

what happened on October 22, 1844, divided this group in several different branches.¹ One of the major branches was called "spiritualizers" because they believed that on that day Christ came spiritually into the lives of God's people.²

Another major branch of "shut door" Adventists formed around the belief that on October 22, 1844, a change took place in Christ's priestly ministry in the heavenly realms. They understood that change as Christ's going to the presence of His Father to receive the kingdom of this world (cf. Dan 7:13, 14; Matt 25:1-13)³ and/or Christ's

133-34; July 10, 1845, 141-43; James White, "Watchman, What of the Night?" DS, Sept. 20, 1845, 26; Editorial, "The Shut Door," DS, Dec. 13, 1845, 47; several letters, in TDS, Dec. 29, 1845; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 55-68.

¹See I. E. Jones to W. Miller, Feb. 15, 1845.

²O. Squires, "Where Is Heaven?" VS, Mar. 1845, 4-5; S. Fenton, "The Coming of Christ," VS, Mar. 1845, 5-6; idem, "Antichrist," VS, Mar. 1845, 6-7; J. K. Bellows, "Behold, Elijah Is Here," TDS, Dec. 29, 1845, 2; R. Ruby's letter, TDS, Dec. 29, 1845, 6. Cf. J. Litch, "Did the Bridegroom Come in 1843?" MW, Apr. 10, 1845, 119; [S. S.] S[now], "Spiritualizing," JS, Apr. 17, 1845, 45; [idem], "Mysticism," JS, June 5, 1845, 101; Editorial, "Spiritualizing" [from the HI], JS, July 3, 1845, 130-32; K. Fansworth's letter, AH, Apr. 1, 1846, 63.

³A. Hale and J. Turner, "Has Not the Saviour Come as the Bridegroom?" AM, Jan. 1845, 1-4; [S. S.] S[now], "'And the Door Was Shut'," JS, Apr. 24, 1845, 52-54; J. Bates, "Letter from Bro. Joseph Bates," JS, May 29, 1845, 90; [S. S.] S[now], "Prophetic Chronology," JS, June 5, 1845, 100-1; ibid., June 12, 1845, 109; H. H. Gross, "Food in Due Season," JS, July 3, 1845, 133-34; L. Lewis, "To the Brethren Scattered Abroad," TDS, Dec. 29, 1845, 3; Otis Nichols to [William] Miller, Apr. 20, 1846, ALP, AHC; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 55-57; [James White], "The Time of Trouble," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 8.

moving from the Holy Place into the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary (cf. Heb 8:1, 2; Rev 11:19) to fulfill the antitype of the Day of Atonement ritual of the earthly sanctuary (cf. Lev 16; 23:26-32).¹ Out of this last branch of "shut door" Adventists came the Sabbatarian Adventist movement.²

The early founders of Sabbatarian Adventism believed in some form of "shut door" theory from the autumn of 1844 up to the early 1850s.³ This theory had a missiological and theological influence on the formation of Sabbatarian

¹[Hiram Edson], manuscript fragment, AMs, n.d., ASC; G. W. Peavey, "'Unto Two Thousand and Three Hundred Days: Then Shall the Sanctuary Be Cleansed'," JS, Aug. 7, 1845, 165-67; idem, "Letter from Bro. Peavey," DS, Nov. 8, 1845, 17; O. Nichols to [W.] Miller, Apr. 20, 1846, ALP, AHC; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 60-62; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21.

Although O. R. L. Crosier was one of the early expositors of the view that in the autumn of 1844 Christ entered the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary to begin the antitypical Day of Atonement, Crosier was of the opinion that the atonement did not end in 1844. Cf. O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Oct. 11, 1845, 51; idem, "The Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1845, 37-44; idem, "Early History of the Ontario County Revealed in Story of Late Owen R. L. Crozier," DM, Nov. 22, 1923, 22, col. 8.

²See pp. 104-8, below.

³See Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Open and Shut Door"; Damsteegt, Foundations, 149-64; Werner Vyhmeister, Misión de la Iglesia Adventista (Brasília: Seminario Adventista Latinoamericano, 1980), 39-43; George R. Knight, "From Shut Door to Worldwide Mission: The Dynamic Context of Early German Adventism," in Baldur E. Pfeiffer, Lothar E. Träder, and George R. Knight, eds., Die Adventisten und Hamburg: Von der Ortsgemeinde zur internationalen Bewegung, Archives of International Adventist History, vol. 4 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), 47-50.

Adventism.¹ The fact that early Sabbatarian Adventists were initially concerned in reaching only those who had previously joined the Millerite movement provided the founders of Sabbatarian Adventism with enough time to revise and expand the Millerite system of prophetic interpretation.²

Formation of Early Sabbatarian Adventism

The second half of the 1840s was a period of intensive Bible study in early Sabbatarian Adventist circles. The disruptive effect of the October 1844 Disappointment challenged the founders of Sabbatarian Adventism to revise and expand the whole Millerite system of prophetic interpretation. Attempts to understand biblical truth more clearly led them to keep some elements of the Millerite system, to change other elements of that system, and to incorporate new doctrinal dimensions.

¹As significant as the shut door might have been for the development of early Sabbatarian Adventist theology, there is always the risk of overemphasizing its role. Ingemar Lindén (Last Trump and 1844 and the Shut Door Problem), for instance, has been criticized by Joseph Karanja for placing "so much confidence in the concept of the shut door as an interpretative principle that he limits his vision to only those facts that support his thesis." Joseph Karanja, "Joseph Bates and the Development of Seventh-day Adventism" (Ph.D. diss. proposal, Andrews University, 1993), 13.

²Cf. Schantz, "Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 221; Knight, Anticipating the Advent, 38-39.

Defining the Doctrines

The basic Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines were defined during the period of 1844-1847. Of special significance were such doctrines as (1) the personal and visible, premillennial Second Coming of Christ; (2) the two-phase priestly ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary, with special emphasis on the second phase that began on October 22, 1844; (3) the conditional immortality of the soul and the final annihilation of the wicked; (4) the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath; and (5) the modern manifestation of the gift of prophecy in the person and writings of Ellen G. White.¹

Crucial for the process of defining these doctrines were leading personalities and early Bible study groups.

Leading personalities

One of the most significant elements for the formation of Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines was the personal work of such leaders as Joseph Bates, James White, and Ellen G. White.

Joseph Bates (1792-1872)² was perhaps the most

¹Cf. [Ellen G. White], "Standing by the Landmarks," [T]Ms 13, 1889, EGWRC-AU; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1030-31; Schwarz, Light Bearers, 69; Knight, Anticipating the Advent, 33-34.

²See Bates, Autobiography; [idem], The Early Life and Later Experience and Labors of Elder Joseph Bates, ed. James White (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1878); Clarence E.

influential definer/integrator of Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines in the movement's formative years.¹ From his relationship with the Millerite movement he adopted the doctrine of the personal and visible, premillennial Second Coming of Christ.² From his previous association with the Christian Connection, Bates inherited, as hypothesized by L. E. Froom, the belief in the conditional immortality of the soul.³ After reading Thomas M. Preble's article in the Hope of Israel of February 28, 1845,⁴ and visiting Frederick Wheeler and Cyrus Farnsworth in New Hampshire, Bates accepted the seventh-day Sabbath.⁵ From reading O.

Stenberg, "A Study of the Influence of Joseph Bates on the Denomination of Seventh-day Adventists" (M.A. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1950); Godfrey T. Anderson, Outrider of the Apocalypse: Life and Times of Joseph Bates (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1972); Joseph Karanja, "A Biography of Joseph Bates (1792-1872)" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1991).

¹Cf. Andrews and Conradi, History of the Sabbath (4th ed.), 774-75; Karanja, "Joseph Bates and the Development of Seventh-day Adventism," 1-2.

²Bates, Autobiography, 243-300.

³See LeRoy E. Froom, The Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers: The Conflict of the Ages over the Nature and Destiny of Man (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1966), 2:675-76; idem, Movement of Destiny, 113. Joseph Bates might have been influenced also by George Storrs's views on conditional immortality of the soul. However, no explicit evidences have been found, thus far, to prove Storrs's influence on Bates on this subject.

⁴T. M. Preble, "The Sabbath," reprinted in RH, Aug. 23, 1870, 73-74.

⁵Joseph Bates, The Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign, the Beginning to the Entering into the Gates of the Holy City, according to the Commandment (New Bedford, [MA]:

R. L. Crosier's article "The Law of Moses" in the Day-Star Extra of February 7, 1846,¹ and a visit to Hiram Edson, Crosier, and Franklin B. Hahn in Port Gibson, New York, Bates accepted the sanctuary theology.² And after attending a meeting in Topsham, Maine, in November 1846, he

Benjamin Lindsey, 1846), 40; Gordon O. Martinborough, "The Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath among American Sabbatarian Adventists, 1842-1850" (M.A. thesis, Loma Linda University, 1976), 42-43.

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 37-44. Typographical corrections to this article were suggested by the author himself in idem, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7-8. An insightful review of the same article can be found in Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1228-34.

Crosier's article, "Law of Moses," was endorsed by H. Edson and F. B. Hahn, "To the Brethren and Sisters Scattered Abroad," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 44; Bates, Opening Heavens, 25; E. G. White, "To Bro. Eli Curtis, New York City," in J. White, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 12. Crosier's article was criticized by J. Person, Jr., "Word of Warning," VT, Feb. 25, 1846, 66-67; idem, "'Word of Warning'," VT, Mar. 18, 1846, 90. A short response by Crosier to Person's criticism appeared in O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 8.

Most of the Crosier's "Law of Moses" was reprinted in O. R. L. Crosier, "The Sanctuary," 2-part series in AR, no. 3, "The Sanctuary," Sept. 1850, 42-47; no. 4, "The Priesthood," Sept. 1850, 57-63; and idem, "The Sanctuary," AR Special, Sept. 1850, 37-48.

²Joseph Bates, The Opening Heavens, or a Connected View of the Testimony of the Prophets and Apostles, Concerning the Opening Heavens, Compared with Astronomical Observations, and of the Present and Future Location of the New Jerusalem, the Paradise of God (New Bedford, [MA]: Benjamin Lindsey, 1846), 25; Maxwell, Tell It to the World, 76.

was convinced of the genuineness of the prophetic gift of Ellen G. White.¹

James White (1821-81)² and Ellen G. (Harmon) White (1827-1915)³ also played a significant role in defining early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines. Both accepted the doctrine of the personal and visible, premillennial Second Coming of Christ from the Millerite movement.⁴ Both had embraced the doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul before the October 1844 Disappointment.⁵ Both were led to a deeper understanding of the sanctuary theology from reading Crosier's article in the Day-Star Extra of February

¹Joseph Bates, "Remarks," in Ellen G. White, A Vision (Topsham, ME: [Joseph Bates], 1847); Loughborough, Rise and Progress, 125-28.

²J. White, Life Incidents; [idem], Life Sketches: Ancestry, Early Life, Christian Experience, and Extensive Labors, of Elder James White, and His Wife, Mrs. Ellen G. White (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Publishing Association, 1880); Virgil Robinson, James White (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1976); Mustard, James White and SDA Organization.

³[Ellen G. White], Life Sketches of Ellen G. White (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1915); A. L. White, Ellen G. White, 6 vols.; Roy E. Graham, Ellen G. White: Co-Founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church (New York: Peter Lang, 1985).

⁴J. White, Life Incidents, 15-25, 72-120; [E. G. White], Sketch of the Christian Experience, 3-5.

⁵[J. White], Life Sketches, 170-72; E. G. White, Testimonies for the Church, 1:39-40. See also Froom, Conditionalist Faith, 2:671-79; idem, Movement of Destiny, 113.

7, 1846.¹ And both accepted the seventh-day Sabbath from reading Bates's Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign in the fall of 1846.² While Ellen had been convinced of the genuineness of her prophetic gift at the time of her first vision in December 1844,³ James accepted her prophetic gift most probably in early 1845.⁴

Bible study groups

Small Bible study groups were established soon after the October 1844 Disappointment by some of those who were evolving into Sabbatarian Adventists. Hiram Edson (1806-82),⁵ for instance, studied the subject of the heavenly sanctuary with O. R. L. Crosier (1820-1913)⁶ and Franklin

¹E. G. White, "To Bro. Eli Curtis," in J. White, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 12. Cf. Haddock, "History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary," 110-11, 165-67; Nix, "Life and Work of Hiram Edson," 22-41; Timm, "O. R. L. Crosier," 12-17.

²J. White, Life Incidents, 269; E. G. White, Testimonies for the Church, 1:75-76. Cf. A. L. White, Ellen G. White, 1:116-17.

³[E. G. White], Sketch of the Christian Experience, 5.

⁴Robinson, James White, 34. On August 19, 1845, James White expressed his trust in Ellen Harmon's prophetic gift, in a letter he penned to Enoch Jacobs (J. White, "Letter from Bro. White," DS, Sept. 6, 1845, 17).

⁵James Nix, "The Life and Work of Hiram Edson" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1971).

⁶O. R. L. Crozier, "Early History of the Ontario County Revealed in Story of Late Owen R. L. Crozier," DM, Nov. 22, 1923, 17, 22-23; Alberto R. Timm, "O. R. L. Crozier: A Biographical Introduction" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1991); [idem], "Owen Russell Loomis Crozier

B. Hahn (fl. 1844-53) in Port Gibson, New York.¹ Ellen G. Harmon received her first vision in a small prayermeeting in Portland, Maine.² And Joseph Bates studied the Sabbath doctrine with Frederick Wheeler and Cyrus Farnsworth in Washington, New Hampshire.³

Meeting in different places, with distinctive doctrinal concerns, some members of those groups began to share their conclusions. Despite divergent opinions and noticeable opposition raised by that sharing process, they soon began to merge doctrinal elements into a reasonably coherent system.

By early 1847 at least such leaders as Joseph Bates, James White, and Ellen White were united on the basic components of a Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system.⁴ There remained, however, the challenging tasks of refining

(1820-1913)," 3-part series in WP, June/July 1993, 22-23; Sept./Oct. 1993, 15, 23; Nov./Dec. 1993, 22-23.

¹[Edson], manuscript fragment, AMs, n.d., ASC.

²[E. G. White], Sketch of the Christian Experience, 5.

³Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 40; D. E. Robinson, "Early Sabbathkeeping in Washington, N.H. and Vicinity," TMs, n.d., DF 188a, EGWRC-AU; Martinborough, "Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath," 42-43.

⁴There was still disagreement in 1847 between Joseph Bates and James White on such topics as the identification of the heavenly sanctuary (see pp. 95-97, below) and the content and time-setting of the third angel's message (see pp. 126-28, below).

and expanding that doctrinal system, as well as sharing it with others.

Spreading the Doctrines

Major efforts to spread out the early Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines took place during the period between 1847 and 1850. Of special significance for carrying out those efforts were such means as publications and Bible conferences.

Publications

A crucial element for the spreading of early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines was the influence of the press. Letters and articles from the early architects of Sabbatarian Adventism found their initial point of convergence in such non-Sabbatarian Adventist periodicals as the Voice of Truth,¹ the Hope of Israel,² the Jubilee Standard,³ the

¹J. Bates's letter, VT, Dec. 18, 1844, 187-88; O. R. L. C[rosier], "Esdras Explains the Time in Daniel," VT, Mar. 19, 1845, 43; idem, "Prophetic Day and Hour," VT, Apr. 9, 1845, 15; F. B. Hahn, "Withdrawal from the Church," VT, Apr. 16, 1845, 23; idem, in "A Mistake Corrected," VT, July 2, 1845, 368; O. R. L. Crosier, "The Springwater Affair," VT, Oct. 29, 1845, 505.

²O. R. L. Crosier, "From Bro. Crosier," HI, Apr. 17, 1845, [4].

³J. Bates, "Letter from Bro. Joseph Bates," JS, May 29, 1845, 90; H. Edson, "Letter from Bro. Edson," JS, May 29, 1845, 90-91; J. Bates, "Letter from Bro. Bates," JS, June 12, 1845, 110-11.

Day-Star,¹ the Day-Dawn,² and the Girdle of Truth.³ But the early closing of these periodicals to the Sabbatarian Adventist teachings drove early Sabbatarian Adventist authors to the development of their own publications.⁴

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, Aug. 25, 1845, 10; J. White, "Letter from Bro. White," DS, Sept. 6, 1845, 17-18; idem, "Watchman, What of the Night?" DS, Sept. 20, 1845, 25-26; F. B. Hahn, "Letter from Bro. Hahn," DS, Sept. 20, 1845, 28; J. White, "Letter from Bro. White," DS, Oct. 11, 1845, 47; O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Oct. 11, 1845, 50-51; idem, "Conference," DS, Oct. 11, 1845, 52; idem, "Letters from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Nov. 15, 1845, 23; J. White, "Letter from Bro. White," DS, Nov. 29, 1845, 35; idem, "Letter from Bro. White," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 25; E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 31-32; O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 37-44; H. Edson and F. B. Hahn, "To the Brethren and Sisters Scattered Abroad," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 44; O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Feb. 14, 1846, 47; E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7; O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7-8; idem, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, Apr. 18, 1846, 31; idem, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, May 16, 1846, 46.

²O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter to Bro. Jacobs," DD, July 18, 1846, [1]; Editorial notes to J. Weston's letter, DD, Mar. 19, 1847, 2; Editorial, "The Sanctuary and the Host. No. 3," DD, Mar. 19, 1847, 2-3; F. B. Hahn, "The Time Is at Hand," DD, Apr. 2, 1847, 5-6; H. Edson, "Letter from Bro. H. Edson," DD, Apr. 2, 1847, 7-8; Editorial remarks on H. H. Gross's article on "The Sanctuary," DD, Apr. 16, 1847, 11.

³E. G. H[armon], "To the Remnant Scattered Abroad," GT, Jan. 20, 1848, [1-3] (reprinting of idem, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 31-32); E. G. White, "To the 144,000 Scattered Abroad," *ibid.*, [3-4] (reprinting of idem, Vision).

⁴Cf. O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter to Bro. Jacobs," DD, July 18, 1846, [1]; Editorial, "O. R. L. Crosier, and the 'Day-Dawn'," DS, Aug. 8, 1846, 18; H. L. Eades, "The 'Day-Dawn'," DS, Nov. 7, 1846, 33-34; J. White's introductory note, in J. White, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 1; Bates, Vindication, [2], 7-8.

In 1846 Joseph Bates began to publish in New Bedford, Massachusetts, a series of tracts dealing with some distinctive Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines.¹ Meanwhile, a few of Ellen G. White's early visions began to be published in a broadside form.²

In May 1847 the pamphlet A Word to the "Little Flock"³ came off the press with articles from the pen of James White, Ellen White, and Joseph Bates. The publication of this pamphlet marked "James White's first major

¹Bates, Opening Heavens; idem, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846); idem, The Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign, from the Beginning, to the Entering into the Gates of the Holy City, according to the Commandment, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (New Bedford, [MA]: Benjamin Lindsey, 1847); idem, Second Advent Way Marks (partially reprinted in idem, "Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps," 2-part series in AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 51-56; no. 5, Nov. 1850, 65-70); idem, Vindication; idem, A Seal of the Living God: A Hundred Forty-four Thousand, of the Servants of God Being Sealed, in 1849 (New Bedford, [MA]: Benjamin Lindsey, 1849); idem, An Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, by the Scriptures. With a Chart (New Bedford, [MA]: Benjamin Lindsey, 1850).

Bates referred to an eighth pamphlet, A Synopsis of a Seal of the Living God (1849), in which he revised some concepts of his Seal of the Living God (see idem, "Misrepresentations," RH, Sept. 8, 1853, 69). But no copy of the Synopsis has yet been located.

²See E. G. Harmon, To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad (Portland, [ME: James White], 1846) (reprinting of idem, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 31-32; and idem, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7-8); E. G. White, Vision (reprinted in J. White, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 18-21); idem, To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God (Topsham, [ME]: [James White], 1849) (partially reprinted in idem, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 22-24).

³J. White, ed., Word to the "Little Flock."

publishing accomplishment" and represented "the joint ministry of both James and Ellen."¹

In 1849 Hiram Edson produced two pamphlets on end-time events² and James White came out with a pamphlet on the Sabbath³ and a compilation of fifty-three hymns.⁴ The next year (1850) James White published three pamphlets, one on the third angel's message,⁵ another one on the sanctuary,⁶ and a third one on William

¹A. L. White, Ellen G. White, 1:127.

²Hiram Edson, The Time of the End; Its Beginning, Progressive Events, and Final Termination (Auburn, [NY]: Henry Oliphant, 1849); idem, An Exposition of Scripture Prophecy; Showing the Final Return of the Jews in 1850 (Canandaigua, NY: Ontario Messenger, 1849).

³James White, The Seventh-Day Sabbath Not Abolished: The Article by Elder Joseph Marsh, Editor of the "Advent Harbinger & Bible Advocate," Entitled "Seventh-day Sabbath Abolished," Reviewed (Oswego, [NY]: Richard Oliphant, 1850), reprinted from idem, "'Seventh-Day Sabbath Abolished,' by Eld. Marsh, Editor of the 'Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate,' Reviewed," 2-part series in PT, no. 7, Mar. 1850, 49-56; no. 8, Mar. 1850, 57-59.

⁴James White, comp., Hymns, for God's Peculiar People, That Keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jesus (Oswego, [NY]: Richard Oliphant, 1849). This hymnal was replaced in 1861 by an enlarged version with more than 500 hymns. See [idem, comp.], Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jesus (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1861).

⁵James White, The Third Angel's Message ([Oswego, NY: James White, 1850]) (printed at the same time in [idem], "The Third Angel's Message, Rev xiv. 9-12," PT, no. 9, Apr. 1850, 65-69).

⁶James White, The Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door (Oswego, [NY: James White], 1850) (printed at the same time in [idem], "The Sanctuary, 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 10, May 1850, 75-79).

Miller's November 1847 dream.¹

The publication of such tracts, broadsides, and pamphlets marked the beginning of a process that placed the Sabbatarian Adventist message on a more permanent basis. Those publications helped to spread that message in places where the founders of the Sabbatarian Adventist movement could not go personally.

An important step was taken in July 1849 with the publication of the initial number of the first Sabbatarian Adventist periodical, the Present Truth. The focus of this periodical was on the development of early Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines, with special emphasis on the abiding nature of the Decalogue and the seventh-day Sabbath.

August 1850 saw a second Sabbatarian Adventist periodical, the Advent Review. This periodical was intended largely to demonstrate the divine guidance leading from the raising of the Second Advent movement to the seventh-month movement and, then, to the formation of the Sabbatarian Adventist movement.

In November 1850 White merged both the Present Truth and the Advent Review into the Second Advent Review, and

¹James White, ed., Brother Miller's Dream (Oswego, [NY]: n.p., 1850) (printed at the same time in [idem], "Brother Miller's Dream," PT, no. 10, May 1850, 73-75). The actual content of the dream was first published in W[illia]m Miller, "Letter from Wm. Miller," AH, Jan. 8, 1848, 182.

Sabbath Herald,¹ which became the single most significant literary vehicle for spreading the whole spectrum of Sabbatarian Adventist beliefs.

Bible conferences

Another significant element in the process of spreading early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines were the Sabbatarian Bible Conferences of the late 1840s.² While a

¹The name Second Advent Review, and Sabbath Herald was changed on August 5, 1851, to Advent Review, and Sabbath Herald; on May 4, 1861, to Review and Herald; on March 18, 1871, again to Advent Review and Sabbath Herald; and, finally, on January 5, 1878, to Adventist Review.

²The 1848 Sabbatarian Bible Conferences have been referred to by such expressions as (1) "conference[s] of the brethren" ([James White], "Conference," PT, no. 7, Mar. 1850, 56; [idem], PT, no. 11, Nov. 1850, 88), (2) "general conference[s]" ([James] W[white], AR, no. 1, Aug. 1850, 16; idem, "Conference," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 64), (3) "Conference[s] of the scattered friends of the Sabbath" ([J. White], "A Brief Sketch of the Past," RH, May 6, 1852, 5), (4) "conference[s] of believers" (J. White, Life Incidents, 270-71), (5) "conference[s] of Sabbath-keepers" (Loughborough, Rise and Progress, 137; idem, Great Second Advent Movement, 268; Arthur W. Spalding, Footprints of the Pioneers [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1947], 99), (6) "Sabbath conference[s]" (ibid., 101; idem, Captains of the Host, 175; Arthur L. White, Ellen G. White, Messenger to the Remnant [Washington, DC: Ellen G. White Publications, 1954], 38; Spalding, Origin and History, 1:191; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1021; Don F. Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1966], s.v. "Sabbath Conferences"; Froom, Movement of Destiny, 84; Schwarz, Light Bearers, 67-69; Knight, Anticipating the Advent, 41-43), (7) "1848 Bible Conferences" (Our Firm Foundation, 1:5; cf. Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1021), (8) "1848 Conferences" (Froom, Movement of Destiny, 86), (9) "weekend conferences of 1848" (Poehler, "'... and the Door Was Shut'," 118), (10) "Sabbath and Sanctuary Conferences" (A. L. White, Ellen G. White, 1:139; [C. Mervyn Maxwell], "The 1848 Sabbath and Sanctuary Conferences," in idem, ed., "Source Book for the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Theology," rev. ed. [Berrien Springs, MI: Seventh-day

few studies on this subject assumed that only five of those conferences were held in 1848,¹ others have raised that number up to six² and even seven.³ Reference is made also to six conferences in 1849 and ten in 1850.⁴

Departing from the traditional idea that the 1848 conferences laid the foundations of the early Sabbatarian doctrines,⁵ Gordon O. Martinborough suggested in 1976 that since those doctrines were already basically defined by

Adventist Theological Seminary, 1989], 326), and (11) "Sabbatarian Conference[s]" (Knight, Millennial Fever, 319).

¹See A. L. White, Ellen G. White, Messenger to the Remnant, 38; Froom, Movement of Destiny, 84-85.

²See Spalding, Captains of the Host, 175; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1021-27; Spalding, Origin and History, 1:191; Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1966 ed., s.v. "'Sabbath Conferences'"; Knight, Anticipating the Advent, 41; idem, Millennial Fever, 319.

³C. Mervyn Maxwell has pointed out that the Sabbatarians held seven Bible conferences in 1848 in the following places: (1) Rocky Hill, Connecticut (Apr. 20-24); (2) Bristol, Connecticut (June); (3) Volney, New York (Aug. 18-19); (4) Port Gibson, New York (Aug. 27-28); (5) Rocky Hill, Connecticut (Sept. 8-9); (6) Topsham, Maine (Oct. 20-22); and (7) Dorchester, Massachusetts (Nov. 17-19). Maxwell, Tell It to the World, 275; [idem], "1848 Sabbath and Sanctuary Conferences," in idem, ed., "Source Book for the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Theology," 326-27.

For a geographical portrayal of the early Sabbatarian Adventist outreach attempts through the 1848 Bible Conferences, see [idem], Map of the "1848 Sanctuary-Sabbath Conferences," in *ibid.*, 325.

⁴Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1966 ed., s.v. "'Sabbath Conferences.'"

⁵A. L. White, Ellen G. White, Messenger to the Remnant, 38-40; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1021-48; Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1966 ed., s.v. "'Sabbath Conferences'"; Froom, Movement of Destiny, 84-88; A. L. White, Ellen G. White, 1:139-51.

1847, the main purpose of the conferences was the spreading of such doctrines.¹ C. M. Maxwell holds that while the first six of those conferences "were opportunities for James and Ellen White and Joseph Bates to teach ex-Millerite Adventists about the sanctuary (the true meaning of 1844) and the seventh-day Sabbath (in relation to 1844)," the seventh conference "was an occasion for searching out and discovering (thanks to an Ellen White vision) the new light that the seal of God (Rev 7:1-3) is the Sabbath."²

The outreach program fostered by publications and Bible conferences was vitally important for the formation of a community that could participate in the process of further refining and sharing the new doctrinal system. That system was formed around the studies of the cleansing of the sanctuary mentioned in Daniel 8:14 and the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12.³

The following sections survey the developments that took place between October 1844 and November 1850 in regard to the Sabbatarian Adventist understandings of (1) the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14, (2) the three angels' messages of

¹See Martinborough, "Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath," 122-51. See also Knight, Anticipating the Advent, 41-43; idem, Millennial Fever, 319-21.

²[Maxwell], "1848 Sabbath and Sanctuary Conferences," in idem, ed., "Source Book for the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Theology," 326.

³Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1153; Knight, Anticipating the Advent, 34.

Revelation 14:6-12, (3) the relationship between the sanctuary and the three angels' messages and the early Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines, as well as (4) an integrating system for new doctrines.

**The Early Sabbatarian Adventist Interpretation
of the Sanctuary of Daniel 8:14**

Early Sabbatarian Adventists inherited the Millerite interest in the study of Daniel 8:14 ("And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed").¹ They tried to uncover the meaning of this text by using the hermeneutical principles of "analogy of Scripture and typology."² Their study led the Sabbatarian Adventists to revise the Millerite identification of the sanctuary, to keep the Millerite chronology focused on October 22, 1844, for ending the 2300

¹For a more detailed study of the Sabbatarian Adventist interpretations of Daniel 8:14, see Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:877-905; Haddock, "History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary," 106-96; Damsteegt, Foundations, 103-35; D[on] F. N[eufeld], "How SDA's Adopted the Sanctuary Doctrine," 9-part series in AtR, Jan. 3, 1980, 14-15; Jan. 10, 1980, 15-16; Jan. 17, 1980, 18-19; Jan. 24, 1980, 14-15; Jan. 31, 1980, 18-19; Feb. 7, 1980, 13-14; Feb. 14, 1980, 13-15; Feb. 21, 1980, 14-15; Feb. 28, 1980, 17-18; C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Sanctuary and Atonement in SDA Theology: An Historical Survey," in Wallenkampf and Leshner, eds., Sanctuary and the Atonement, 516-44; Gordon, Sanctuary, 1844, and the Pioneers; Holbrook, ed., Doctrine of the Sanctuary.

²Damsteegt, Foundations, 125. For a more detailed study of the typological element of Scripture, see Richard M. Davidson, Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical Τύπος Structures, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 2 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1981).

days, and to reinterpret the Millerite understanding of the cleansing of the sanctuary.

The Sanctuary

The founders of Sabbatarian Adventism revised the Millerite understanding of the sanctuary mentioned in Daniel 8:14. While Millerites had identified that sanctuary as an earthly entity (the church, the earth, or the promised land),¹ early Sabbatarian Adventists were convinced that it referred to a heavenly reality.

As early as October 23, 1844, Hiram Edson came to the conclusion² that the sanctuary to be cleansed at the end of the 2300 days was in heaven.³ Further study of Scripture convinced him, as well as O. R. L. Crosier and

¹See pp. 25-29, above.

²Seventh-day Adventist authors have understood the means by which Hiram Edson was led to such conclusions as (1) an "impression" from the Spirit of God (Loughborough, Rise and Progress, 114; idem, Great Second Advent Movement, 193; M. E. Olsen, History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists), (2) an illumination of the mind by the Lord (Nichol, Midnight Cry, 479), (3) a "vision" (Spalding, Captains of the Host, 94; Knight, Anticipating the Advent, 22; idem, Millennial Fever, 305), and (4) an "insight" (Poehler, "'... and the Door Was Shut'," 85).

For further discussions of the subject, see Nix, "Life and Work of Hiram Edson," 17-21, 146-57; Maxwell, Tell It to the World, 51-52.

³[Edson], manuscript fragment, AMs, n.d., ASC. Parts of Edson's manuscript were first published in H. M. Kelley, "The Spirit of 1844," RH, June 23, 1921, 4-5. The content of the entire manuscript appears in Knight, comp. and ed., 1844 and the Rise of Sabbatarian Adventism, 123-26.

F. B. Hahn, of the biblical basis of this new interpretation.¹

Both O. R. L. Crosier² and, more explicitly, Joseph Bates³ were initially of the opinion that the heavenly sanctuary was the New Jerusalem itself (cf. Rev 21:2, 3). This idea, however, was not followed up in Sabbatarian Adventist circles. By early 1846 Crosier already favored the idea that "as the Sanctuary of the first covenant formed a part of [the Old Jerusalem, so the Sanctuary of the new covenant forms a part of the] New Jerusalem."⁴ On March 31 (1846), Crosier referred more specifically to "the Sanctuary in New Jerusalem."⁵

¹See [Edson], manuscript fragment, AMs, n.d., ASC; O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 37-44; H. Edson and F. B. Hahn, "To the Brethren and Sisters Scattered Abroad," *ibid.*, 44.

²On October 21, 1845, Crosier penned that "the Sanctuary of the New Covenant, to be cleansed at the end of the 2300 days, was not the church nor the earth, but the New Jerusalem." O. R. L. Crosier, "Springwater Affair," VT, Oct. 29, 1845, 505.

³See Bates, Opening Heavens, 4-5, 25-32, 39; *idem*, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), iv; *idem*, Second Advent Way Marks, 60, 62; *idem*, Vindication, 69, 84.

There is no clear evidence, however, that Bates continued to regard the New Jerusalem itself as the heavenly sanctuary after 1848.

⁴O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 42; cf. *idem*, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 8.

⁵O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, Apr. 18, 1846, 31.

In 1847, James White criticized the notion that the New Jerusalem itself was the heavenly sanctuary. He argued at that time that

the Holy City is called the Tabernacle of God, Rev. 21:3; Isa. 33:20; but it is not called so, until it is situated on the New Earth. The City is also called the Temple of God, Rev. 17:15; but not until the saints are raised, and gathered up into the City, where they will serve God "day and night." Then the Holy City alone, will be the Tabernacle, or Temple of God."¹

James White tried, subsequently, to harmonize the tension between the statement of Revelation 21:22 ("and I saw no temple therein") and the references to a heavenly temple found in such texts as Revelation 11:19 and 15:6, 7. He reasoned:

Does the testimony of John in chap. xxi, 22, contradict his testimony in chap. xi, 19; xv, 6, 7? This you [sic] will not contend. Then the only way you can harmonize these texts is to credit the testimony of Paul and John where they testify that the "Sanctuary," the true Tabernacle, which the Lord pitched and not man, (Heb. viii, 1, 2,) the "Temple of God," (Rev. xi, 19,) the "greater and more perfect Tabernacle," (Heb. ix, 11,) is in the Holy City. But when the whole Israel of God are redeemed by the blood of Christ, the Sanctuary will be removed from the City, and it will be as John saw it coming down from heaven. "And I saw no temple therein." Why did John say that he saw no Temple in the City then if there never had been a Temple there? This is certainly strong evidence that he had previously seen the Temple in the Holy City.²

¹[James White], "The Temple of God," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 23.

²J. White, Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door, 7.

Already in her first vision (December 1844), Ellen Harmon spoke of a temple in the New Jerusalem, while the saints are in heaven after the Second Coming, and another temple outside the New Jerusalem, after this city comes down to this earth (cf. Rev 21:2). That these temples seem to be

The predominant view among Sabbatarian Adventists was indeed that the heavenly sanctuary was a real temple in the New Jerusalem.¹ Support for this view was found not only in those texts that suggest that under the Gospel dispensation the Old Testament sanctuaries were antitypically replaced by the heavenly sanctuary (Heb 8:1, 2; 9:1-9)² but also in those passages that speak of a sanctuary/temple in heaven (Heb 8:1, 2; 9:1-12, 24; Rev 11:19; 15:5).³

distinct from one another is evident from the fact the while the first is referred to as "something that had the appearance of silver," the second one is described as "a glorious temple," "supported by seven pillars, all of transparent gold, set with pearls most glorious." In the first temple White saw "good old father Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Noah, Daniel and many like them," as well as "a glorious ark" "within the veil," with "two bright angels" on its top. In the second temple, in which "only the 144,000 were allowed to enter, she beheld "tables of stone in which the names of the 144,000, were engraved in letters of gold." See E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 31-32.

¹[Edson], manuscript fragment, AMS, n.d., ASC; O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 38, 40-41; idem, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, Apr. 18, 1846, 31; idem, "The Sanctuary and the Host. No. 3," DD, Mar. 19, 1847, 2-3; E. G. White, Vision; [J. White], "Temple of God," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 23; idem, Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door, 4-5.

²[Edson], manuscript fragment, AMS, n.d., ASC; O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 38, 40-41; idem, "The Sanctuary and the Host. No. 3," DD, Mar. 19, 1847, 2-3; [J. White], "Temple of God," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 23; idem, Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door, 2-5.

³[Edson], manuscript fragment, AMS, n.d., ASC; O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 38, 40-41; idem, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, Apr. 18, 1846, 31; idem, "The Sanctuary and the Host. No. 3," DD, Mar. 19,

Sabbatarian Adventists described that antitypical heavenly sanctuary in terms of two-apartments, comprised of a Holy Place and a Most Holy Place.¹ From the fact that the earthly sanctuary was built according to the model provided to Moses as a type of the heavenly sanctuary (cf. Heb 9:1-9), Sabbatarian Adventists inferred that the latter followed the same basic structure as the former.² From those instances in the book of Hebrews in which the original Greek word $\tauὰ ἁγία$ was used in its plural form in reference to the heavenly sanctuary (Heb 8:2; 9:8, 12; 10:19),³

1847, 3; [J. White], "Temple of God," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 23.

¹[Edson], manuscript fragment, AMs, n.d., ASC; O. R. L. Crosier, "Letters from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Nov. 15, 1845, 23; E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 31; O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 38, 40-41; E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7; O. Nichols to [W.] Miller, Apr. 20, 1846, ALP, AHC; E. G. White, Vision; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 7-8; David Arnold, "Daniel's Visions, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 60; J. White, Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door, 4-5.

²O. R. L. Crosier, "Letters from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Nov. 15, 1845, 23; idem, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 38, 40-41; O. Nichols to [W.] Miller, Apr. 20, 1846, ALP, AHC; D. Arnold, "Daniel's Visions, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 60; J. White, Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door, 2-5.

³For a more recent discussion of the use of $\tauὰ ἁγία$ in the book of Hebrews, see A. P. Salom, "Ta hagia in the Epistle to the Hebrews," AUSS 5 (Jan. 1967): 59-70 (reprinted in Frank B. Holbrook, ed., Issues in the Book of Hebrews, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 4 [Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1989], 219-27).

Sabbatarian Adventists realized that the heavenly temple was comprised of more than one apartment.¹ And from those prophetic visions in which the actual furniture of the Holy (cf. Rev 1:12; 2:1) and Most Holy Places (cf. Rev 11:19) was seen in God's heavenly temple, Sabbatarian Adventists concluded that the portrayal of a two-apartment heavenly sanctuary was suggested by Scripture itself.²

The 2300 Days

Early Sabbatarian Adventists kept Samuel Snow's basic chronology for the 2300 days.³ They beheld that period began in the autumn of 457 B.C. and ended on the Karaite Jewish tenth day of the seventh month of A.D. 1844 (October 22, 1844).⁴ While Millerites thought that the

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 40-41; J. White, Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door, 4-5.

²[Edson], manuscript fragment, AMS, n.d., ASC; E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 31; idem, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7; E. G. White, Vision; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 7-8.

³See pp. 35-39, above.

⁴O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 41; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 16, 62-63; idem, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 8-9; D. Arnold, "Daniel's Visions, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 62-63; J. White, Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door, 8-11.

For further study of the historical accuracy of the year 457 B.C., see Siegfried H. Horn and Lynn H. Wood, The Chronology of Ezra 7, 2d ed., rev. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1970); Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27," supplement to Min, May 1976; idem, "Interpretations of the Chronology of the Seventy Weeks," in

antitypical Day of Atonement would end with the 2300 days, Sabbatarian Adventists saw that antitypical day as beginning at the end of the 2300 days and continuing up to the time of Christ's Second Coming.¹

Different spans were initially suggested by some early Sabbatarian Adventists as to the length of the antitypical Day of Atonement. O. R. L. Crosier, for instance, wrote on April 4, 1845, that the antitypical Day of Atonement was "a symbol of a year," which he defined as "the present Jewish sacred year."² Once that "Jewish sacred year" was over, and Christ did not come at its expected end (on April 20 or 21, 1845),³ Crosier extended his view of the antitypical Day of Atonement to a longer period of time. So, on September 26, 1845, he could say that they still were "in the Antitype of the tenth day

Frank B. Holbrook, ed., The Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, and the Nature of Prophecy, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1986), 3-63; Arthur J. Ferch, "Commencement Date for the Seventy Week Prophecy," in *ibid.*, 64-74; William H. Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," in *ibid.*, 75-118; Brempong Owusu-Antwi, "An Investigation of the Chronology of Daniel 9:24-27" (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1993).

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Oct. 11, 1845, 51; *idem*, "Springwater Affair," VT, Oct. 29, 1845, 505; *idem*, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 40-43; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Antitypical Sanctuary, 15.

²O. R. L. Crosier, "From Bro. Crosier," HI, Apr. 17, 1845, [4] (*italics supplied*).

³*Ibid.*

Atonement."¹ And on October 23, 1845, he wrote that "the antitype of the tenth day of the seventh month is not one literal day nor year, but must be *many years*."²

In 1849, Hiram Edson suggested that Christ would perhaps "be in the most holy as many days as he was years in the holy." From the assumption that Christ had been in the Holy Place for 1810 years (from His ascension, in A.D. 31, until the end of the 2300 days, in the fall of 1844), Edson concluded that Christ's ministry in the Most Holy Place "would be a little short of five years, and would terminate before the 10th of the 7th month, 1849."³

In January 1850, Joseph Bates came out with a unique seven-year theory, suggesting that Christ's ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary would end in the fall of 1851. The rationale of Bates's theory is found in the following statement:

The seven spots of blood on the Golden Altar and before the Mercy Seat [Lev 16:14], I fully believe represents the duration of the judicial proceedings on the living saints in the Most Holy, all of which time they will be in their affliction [sic], even seven years, God by his voice will deliver them, "For it is the blood that maketh atonement for the soul." Lev. xvii. 11. Then the number seven will finish the day of atonement, (not redemption.) Six last months of this

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Oct. 11, 1845, 51.

²O. R. L. Crosier, "Letters from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Nov. 15, 1845, 23.

³Edson, Time of the End, 15.

time, I understand, Jesus will be gathering in the harvest with his sickle, on the white cloud.¹

While stressing the imminence of the closing of Christ's ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary,² Ellen White strongly opposed any time-setting attempts. She wrote in 1850 that the Lord had showed her "that TIME had not been a test since 1844, and that time will never again be a test."³

While keeping the Millerite chronology of beginning the 2300 days in the autumn of 457 B.C. and ending it in the autumn of A.D. 1844, early Sabbatarian Adventists moved away from the Millerite view of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 as an earthly entity. By seeing that sanctuary as a two-apartment heavenly temple, they were led to a new interpretation of the cleansing of the sanctuary. The following section considers the development of that new interpretation up to 1850.

¹Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 10-11.

²E. G. White, To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God; idem, "A Vision the Lord Gave Me at Brother Harris['s]," [T]Ms 7, Aug. 24, 1850, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 11, Nov. 1850, 87. See also [James White], in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 22; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren," RH Extra, July 21, 1851, [4]; [idem], Sketch of the Christian Experience, 7, 62; [James White], "Our Present Work," RH, Aug. 19, 1851, 13.

The Cleansing of the Sanctuary

The Millerite understanding of the cleansing of the sanctuary was significantly revised by early Sabbatarian Adventists. While the Millerites had seen it as taking place at the Second Coming after Christ had left the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary,¹ Sabbatarian Adventists regarded it as having started when Christ entered the second apartment to begin a new phase of His priestly ministry, prior to His Second Coming.²

The understanding of this new phase of Christ's heavenly ministry was, however, a developing concept within Sabbatarian Adventism. Up to 1850 the cleansing of the sanctuary was related mainly to these ideas: (1) the shut door, (2) the atonement for the blotting out of sins, and

¹[S. S. Snow], [untitled], TMC, Aug. 22, 1844, [4]; C. S[towe], "Letter from Sister C. Stowe," AH, Oct. 2, 1844, 69; Editorial, "Behold! the Bridegroom Cometh!" AH, Oct. 9, 1844, 79; A. Hale, "Letter to N. N. Whiting," AH, Oct. 16, 1844, 83; W. Miller, "Bro. Miller's Letter, on the Seventh Month," ibid., 88. Cf. Geo[rge] Storrs, "Address to the Public. Our Confession--Defense of Our Course--Our Position," AH, Nov. 13, 1844, 109-10; [Enoch Jacobs], "To Advent Believers," WMC, Nov. 29, 1844, 18.

²[Edson], manuscript fragment, AMs, n.d., ASC; O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Oct. 11, 1845, 51; idem, "Letters from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Nov. 15, 1845, 23; idem, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 40-43; E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 62; [James White], "The Seven Last Plagues," in idem, ed., Word to the Little Flock, 2; E. G. White, "To Bro. Eli Curtis," in ibid., 12; Bates, Vindication, 68-69; Edson, Time of the End, 15.

(3) the preadvent investigative judgment.¹

Shut Door

The basic underlying idea of the shut-door theory was the validity of the seventh-month movement and of October 22, 1844, for ending the 2300 days.² The immediate roots of this theory among Sabbatarians can be traced back to William Miller and the Millerite movement.³

¹There were, however, a few other less significant theories related to the cleansing of the sanctuary. In 1847, Joseph Bates, for example, while still regarding the New Jerusalem as the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14, defined the cleansing of the sanctuary as Christ's work of preparing mansions for His saints in the New Jerusalem (John 14:2, 3), after the end of the 2300 and before His Second Coming. Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 62.

In March 1850, David Arnold suggested that "at the end of the 2300 days (years)," while "the antitypical sanctuary will be cleansed," "the Jews who have been trodden down by the Gentile nations will begin to go free," and "the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled." D. Arnold, "Daniel's Visions, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 60.

²Cf. Nichol, Ellen G. White and Her Critics, 176-77; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:830; Damsteegt, Foundations, 104-24.

³That the door referred to in Matthew 25:10 would be shut at the Second Coming was suggested even by non-Millerite expositors. Matthew Henry, for example, stated that when Christ returns "the state of saints and sinners will then be unalterably fixed, and those that are shut out then will be shut out for ever." This will be, according to Henry, like "the shutting of the door of the ark," when Noah and his family were saved and all the rest inescapably lost. Matthew Henry, An Exposition of the Old and New Testament, new ed., ed. George Burner and Joseph Hughes (Philadelphia: Ed. Barrington & Geo. D. Haswell, [1828]), 5:292.

In 1833, Miller warned, "Behold the king, the bridegroom cometh, and soon the door will be shut."¹ In 1836, Miller exhorted that at Christ's Second Coming (which Miller believed would take place at the end of the 2300 days) the

gospel or mediatorial time should cease. No more time for mercy, no more Spirit to strive with you, sinner, no more means of grace, no more repentance unto life, no more hopes of heaven, for Jesus has sworn by himself, because he could swear by no greater, that your day of probation "should be no longer" [Rev 10:6]. For "he that is filthy shall be filthy still" [Rev 22:11]. The bridegroom has come and shut to the door [Matt 25:10].²

Similarly, the Boston general conference of May 1842 approved the following resolution:

Resolved, That the notion of a probation after Christ's coming, is a lure to destruction, entirely contradictory to the word of God, which positively teaches that when Christ comes the door is shut, and such as are not ready can never enter in.³

It was this idea that probation would cease at the end of the 2300 days, when Christ would come the second time, that laid the foundation for the post-1844 shut-door theory. Despite the fact that Christ did not come as expected in the fall of 1844, the ceasing of probation continued to be associated with the idea that a transition must have taken place in Christ's heavenly ministry at the

¹W. Miller, Evidences from Scripture & History (1833), 54.

²Ibid. (1836), 97.

³"Boston Second Advent Conference," ST, June 1, 1842, 69.

end of the 2300 days, on October 22, 1844.

As early as November 7, 1844, the non-Sabbatarian Joseph Marsh stated,

We cheerfully admit that we have been mistaken in the nature of the event we expected would occur on the tenth of the seventh month; but we cannot yet admit that our great High Priest did not on that very day, accomplish all that the type would justify us to expect.¹

The early Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the shut door was marked up to 1850 by the negative concept that no more mercy was available after the end of the 2300 days (in 1844) for all those who rejected the Advent message (and for the wicked world in general).²

The gradual unfolding of the sanctuary theology led Sabbatarian Adventists by 1849 not only to expand their view of the shut door but also to shift eventually to the more positive view of an open and shut door (cf. Rev 3:7, 8). By relating the shut door to the two-apartment view of the heavenly sanctuary, they concluded that in 1844 Christ not only shut the door of the Holy Place but also opened the door of the Most Holy Place.³ The focus of this

¹[Joseph Marsh], "Our Position," VT, Nov. 7, 1844, 166.

²Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 65-68; idem, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 12-13; J. White, Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door, 13-14; cf. Ellen G. White, "Suppression and the Shut Door," [T]Ms 4, 1883, EGWRC-AU.

³Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 34-35, 65-68; idem, Seal of the Living God, 20; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21; D. Arnold, "Shut Door

understanding of the shut door was on Christ's post-1844 priestly ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary.

Joseph Bates, for example, spoke of the shut door in January 1849, with emphasis on the opening of the door of the Most Holy Place. He explained that in October 1844 the veil was raised, or the door opened, which gives access to "the inner temple" of the heavenly sanctuary. Since that time "our great high priest" stands, according to Bates, beside the mercy seat of that sanctuary, "presenting on his breast plate the hundred and forty-four thousand now to be sealed with the seal of the living God."¹

On March 24, 1849, Ellen White described more clearly the closing of Christ's Holy Place ministry and the opening of His Most Holy Place ministry in terms of the open-and-shut-door concept. She asserted that the door of the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary

was not opened, until the mediation of Jesus was finished in the Holy Place of the Sanctuary in 1844. Then, Jesus rose up, and shut the door in the Holy Place, and opened the door in the Most Holy, and passed within the second vail [sic], where he now stands by the Ark; and where the faith of Israel now reaches.

I saw that Jesus had shut the door in the Holy Place, and no man can open it; and that he had opened

Explained," PT, no. 6, Dec. 1849, 45; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 13-16; D. Arnold, "Daniel's Visions, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 60, 63; Hiram Edson, "An Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 2-3; cf. J. White, Life Incidents, 204-8.

¹Bates, Seal of the Living God, 19-20.

the door in the Most Holy, and no man can shut it: (See Rev. iii:7, 8:).¹

In December 1849, David Arnold asserted that since "a door supposes a change of scenery, or a change from one apartment to another," the shutting of the door in the autumn of 1844 (cf. Matt 25:10) represented a change not only "in the position of the bridegroom" (Christ) but also "in his relationship to the world, from that which he previously held." Arnold explained that

in the autumn of 1844, Christ did close his daily, or continual ministration or mediation in the first apartment of the heavenly sanctuary, and SHUT THE DOOR, which no man can open; and opened a door, in the second apartment, or Holiest of all, which no man can shut, (see Rev. iii, 7, 8,) and passed within the second vail [sic], bearing before the Father, on the breast-plate of judgment, all for whom he is now acting as intercessor. If this is the position that Christ now occupies, then there is no intercessor in the first apartment; and in vain do misguided souls knock at that door, saying "Lord, Lord, open unto us."²

Atonement for the Blotting out of Sins

A second idea related by early Sabbatarian Adventists to the cleansing of the sanctuary was the concept of the blotting out of sins.³ The first major exposition

¹E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21.

²David Arnold, "The Shut Door Explained," PT, no. 6, Dec. 1849, 43, 45.

³H. Edson, "Letter from Bro. Edson," JS, May 29, 1845, 91; O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 40-41; Bates, Vindication, 73, 84, 108, 111; idem, Seal of the Living God, 20; D. Arnold, "Shut Door Explained," PT, no. 6, Dec. 1849, 43; idem, "Daniel's

of this concept is found in O. R. L. Crosier's article "The Law of Moses." In this article Crosier referred to the cleansing of the sanctuary as the new-covenant antitype of the yearly atonement for the blotting out of sins (Lev 16), as distinct from the daily atonement for the forgiveness of sins (Lev 1-5). For him that atonement was the work of Christ as High Priest in the heavenly sanctuary through the means of His own blood shed on the cross (cf. Col 1:20; Heb 9:11-23).¹

The heavenly sanctuary needed to be cleansed (cf. Col 1:20; Heb 9:23), according to Crosier, because it had been morally defiled by the uncleanness of humanity. As the earthly sanctuary was defiled by the "transfer of iniquity from the people to their Sanctuary" by means of the earthly priesthood (cf. Exod 28:38; Num 18:1), so the heavenly sanctuary "received its uncleanness from man" through Christ's mediation. As the earthly sanctuary was cleansed by the mortal high priest on the typical Day of Atonement, so the heavenly sanctuary is now being cleansed by Christ's

Visions, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 60; [J.] W[hite], "One Hundred and Forty Four Thousand," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 57; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 2-3, 14.

Insightful secondary studies of the concept of blotting out of sins are provided in Kenneth S. Crofoot, "The Seventh-day Adventist Concept of the Blotting out of Sins" (M.A. thesis, SDA Theological Seminary, 1952); Robert G. Burton, "A Historical Study on the Blotting out of Sins" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1969).

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 40-41, 43.

priestly ministry during the antitypical Day of Atonement.¹

The work of cleansing the heavenly sanctuary began, according to Crosier, at the end of the 2300 days, and will be completed before Christ's Second Coming and the final resurrection of the saints. He suggested that when that work is finished, the sins of God's people will be transferred back to Satan, "the author of sin," who will be punished for them during his millennial imprisonment (Rev 20) as the antitypical scapegoat (cf. Lev 16:20-28).²

Two months later (April 1846), Crosier added a significant ecclesiological dimension to his sanctuary theology by emphasizing the cleansing of God's people on earth parallel to the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary.

¹Ibid., 40, 42-43. For further study of the Old Testament concepts of defilement, purification, and transfer of sin, see Angel M. Rodriguez, Substitution in the Hebrew Cultus, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 3 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1979); Gerhard F. Hasel, "Studies in Biblical Atonement I: Continual Sacrifice, Defilement/Cleansing and Sanctuary," in Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Leshner, eds., The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical, and Theological Studies (Washington, DC: [Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists], 1981), 87-114; Gerhard F. Hasel, "Studies in Biblical Atonement II: The Day of Atonement," in *ibid.*, 115-33; Angel M. Rodríguez, "Sacrificial Substitution and the Old Testament Sacrifices," in *ibid.*, 134-56; Nilton D. Amorim, "Desecration and Defilement in the Old Testament" (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1985).

²O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 43. Insightful studies of the Seventh-day Adventist view of the scapegoat as sin-bearer are provided in Douglas L. Griffin, "The Scapegoat" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1978); Roy Castelbuono, "Azazel: Whose Sins Does He Bear?" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1980).

He asserted that while Christ is cleansing the *literal* temple of the New Jerusalem (John 14:2; Heb 8:2; 9:11), the Holy Spirit is cleansing the *spiritual* temple of God's people (1 Cor 3:17; 6:19; Eph 2:20-22; Mal 3:1-3).¹ This view of a simultaneous cleansing of God's people was followed up by Joseph Bates in several of his writings.²

The continuous mediation of Christ during the antitypical Day of Atonement was emphasized by Ellen White in September 1849. She wrote that Jesus is still accepting "our sacrifices, our prayers, and our confessions of faults and sins," and that He "will now pardon all the transgressions of Israel, that they may be blotted out before he leaves the Sanctuary."³

In September 1850, Hiram Edson also argued that Satan will have to carry the sins that have been blotted out of God's people. Edson explained that before Christ leaves the heavenly sanctuary, "the sins of all Israel will be blotted out, and put upon the head of the scape-goat

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, Apr. 18, 1846, 31.

²Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 59-73; idem, Vindication, 69, 72-75, 96, 108; idem, Seal of the Living God, passim.

³E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 32.

[Satan], and by him borne into the land of separation, or forgetfulness."¹

Preadvent Investigative Judgment

The cleansing of the sanctuary was related by early Sabbatarian Adventists not only to the ideas of the shut door and the atonement for the blotting out of sins but also to the concept of a preadvent investigative judgment.² Although the term "preadvent investigative judgment" was not used as such by the founders of Sabbatarian Adventism, it

¹H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 14. See also [James] W[hite], "The One Hundred and Forty Four Thousand," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 57.

²For further study of the development of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrine of the preadvent investigative judgment, see Froom, Prophetic Faith, vol. 4; Haddock, "History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary," 91-92, 107, 157-58, 175-78, 190-91; David Edward Smith, "The Development of the Advent Bible Doctrine of Investigative Judgment, from 1840-1860" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1974); Etzer Obas, "Historical Development of the Term Investigative Judgment from Miller to 1857" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1974); Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Investigative Judgment"; Damsteegt, Foundations, 165-77; Larry L. Lichtenwalter, "The Effect of the Investigative Judgment Concept on That of the Blotting out of Sins Concept in the Sanctuary Theology of Seventh-day Adventists (1857-1897)" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1977); C. Mervyn Maxwell, "The Investigative Judgment: Its Early Development," in Wallenkampf and Leshner, eds., Sanctuary and the Atonement, 545-81; Bert Haloviak, "From Millerism, through the Scattering, to the Third Angel, Ellen White and Light from the Most Holy Place, 1844-1851" (Paper presented at the Meeting of the Andrews Society for Religious Studies in San Francisco, December 16-18, 1981); Holbrook, ed., Doctrine of the Sanctuary, 46-48, 85-92, 119-57.

usefully expresses their understanding of the *timing* (preadvent) and *nature* (investigative) of that judgment.

The concept of a preadvent investigative judgment was fostered previous to the October 1844 Disappointment¹ by Josiah Litch's understanding of "the hour of his judgment" (Rev 14:7) as a judgment prior to final day of judgment.² After the October Disappointment that concept was increasingly associated with the cleansing of the sanctuary.

On November 29, 1844, the non-Sabbatarian Enoch Jacobs came out with an editorial in the Western Midnight Cry, in which he presented several evidences supporting the idea "THAT THE JUDGMENT MIGHT HAVE SET ON THE TENTH DAY OF THE 7TH MONTH" and "THAT THE JUDGMENT SITS BEFORE THE PERSONAL APPEARING OF CHRIST AND RESURRECTION OF THE SAINTS." Jacobs argued that "the coming out of the High Priest on 'the day of atonement' was typical of Christ sitting in judgment, rather than of his personally appearing to the inhabitants of the earth" (cf. Exod 28:15, 29, 30; 30:10; Lev 16:29-31; Num 27:18-21).³

The judicial character of the Day of Atonement was perceived by Jacobs from the bearing of the names of the children of Israel "on the *breast-plate of judgment*"

¹Cf. Richard James, "The Interpretation of Two Investigative Judgment Passages by Christians Prior to 1844" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1992).

²See pp. 146-47, below.

³[Enoch Jacobs], "The Time," WMC, Nov. 29, 1844, 19.

whenever the high priest "went in before the Lord at these an[n]ual atonements." This implied, according to Jacobs, the natural condemnation (cf. John 3:18) of all those whose names were not on the breastplate of judgment because of not having afflicted their souls (Lev 23:29, 32). Jacobs saw 1 Peter 4:17 ("judgment must begin at the house of God") as indicating that the preadvent investigative judgment begins with God's people.¹

In January 1845, the non-Sabbatarians Apollos Hale and Joseph Turner equated the coming of Christ as the Bridegroom (Matt 25:1-13) with the coming of the Son of man (Christ) to the Ancient of days (God) to sit in judgment (cf. Dan 7:9-14).² Hale and Turner explained that "the coming of the bridegroom would point out some change of work or office, on the part of our Lord, in the invisible world," "within the veil" (cf. Heb 6:19), prior to His Second Coming. These authors found enough evidences to affirm that "*the judgment is here!*"³

¹Ibid., 19-20. See also [idem], "Intolerance," WMC, Dec. 30, 1844, 30.

²As early as October 23, 1845, Hiram Edson had already equated the coming of the Bridegroom to the wedding (Matt 25:1-13) with the coming of the Son of man "to the Ancient of days to receive a kingdom, dominion, and glory" (Dan 7:9-14). But no reference is found in Edson's account to a judgment trial prior to the Second Coming. See [Edson], manuscript fragment, AMs, n.d., ASC.

³A. Hale and J. Turner, "Has Not the Savior Come as the Bridegroom?" AM, Jan. 1845, 1-3.

As late as March 20, 1845, the non-Sabbatarian William Miller was still convinced that 1844 was the correct date for ending the 2300 days. At that time, Miller even equated the expression "the hour of his judgment is come" (Rev 14:7) with the judicial scene of Daniel 7:9-14, which, he believed, would occur prior to the Second Advent. Miller pointed out that since 1844 God was "in his last Judicial character deciding the cases of all the righteous," so that "the angels may know whom to gather" at the Second Coming. "If this is true," Miller added, "who can say God is not already justifying his Sanctuary, and will yet justify us in preaching the time!"¹

Sabbatarian Adventists further extended the idea that the cleansing of the sanctuary comprises a work of preadvent investigative judgment. They associated that idea with both the antitype of "the breastplate of judgment" (Exod 28:15-30; 39:8-21) and the judicial scene of Daniel 7:9-14.

Early Sabbatarian Adventists generally held that Christ wore His breastplate of judgment into the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary at the end of the 2300 days.² Joseph Bates, for instance, described Christ in

¹W. Miller, "Letter from Bro. Miller," DS, Apr. 8, 1845, 31.

²O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 40; Bates, Seal of the Living God, 20, 38; D. Arnold, "Shut Door Explained," PT, no. 6, Dec. 1849, 43-45; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-Typical Sanctuary, 9,

January 1849 as standing "at the mercy seat before the Father," presenting on His "breast plate of judgment" the names of the 144,000, and pleading with the Father "to blot out their sins, and send the holy spirit of promise to seal them with the seal of the living God."¹

In September 1850, Hiram Edson argued that "at the end of the 2,300 days" Christ "bore into the most holy, on the breast plate of judgment," the names of all those "who were within the reach of salvation." Edson suggested also that there were three classes of people that "were borne in on the breast plate of judgment" after Christ entered the Most Holy Place. Edson identified those classes as: (1) "Some that had not the light on the second advent doctrine, and had not rejected it, but were living according to the best light they had"; (2) "others who had a sacred reverence for God and his word, and had his fear before their eyes, yet they made no profession of religion, or of conversion";

10; D. Arnold, "Daniel's Visions, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 60, 63; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 2-3; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, [1]:159.

For further study of the biblical evidences that the high priest actually wore the breastplate and ephod over his "holy [linen] garments" (cf. Exod 28:29-31, 33-35; Lev 16:4, 23, 32) into the Most Holy Place on the Day of Atonement, see Uriah Smith, The Visions of Mrs. E. G. White, a Manifestation of Spiritual Gifts according to the Scriptures (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868), 121-22; M. L. Andreasen, "The Garments of the High Priest," TMs, n.d., DF 197a, EGWRC-AU; Richard M. Davidson, "The Robes of the High Priest," TMs, July 1991, EGWRC-AU.

¹Bates, Seal of the Living God, 20, 38.

and (3) "children who had not arrived to years of accountability."¹

Although the breastplate-of-judgment concept implied a preadvent judicial separation between those whose names were on the breastplate and those whose names were not, it was the judicial scene of Daniel 7:9-14 that provided a more explicit biblical support for the early Sabbatarian Adventists' doctrine of the preadvent investigative judgment.

Early Sabbatarian Adventists several times related the cleansing of the sanctuary to the idea of Christ's going to the Ancient of days to receive "dominion and glory, and a kingdom" (Dan 7:13, 14) at His wedding ceremony described in Matthew 25:1-13.² As early as April 1846, Otis Nichols saw the coming of the Bridegroom (Matt 25:6) on the tenth day of the seventh month of 1844 as the beginning of a judicial work in the heavenly sanctuary. Nichols explained that on that day "the Ancient of days did change his place where

¹H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 3.

²[Edson], manuscript fragment, AMs, n.d., ASC; J. Bates, "Letter from Bro. Joseph Bates," JS, May 29, 1845, 90; O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Oct. 11, 1845, 51; idem, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 44; E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7; O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, Apr. 18, 1846, 31; O. Nichols to [W.] Miller, Apr. 20, 1846, ALP, AHC; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 55-57; [J. White], "Time of Trouble," in idem, ed., Word to the Little Flock, 8.

Jesus was sitting at his right hand, to the throne of judgment in the Holy of holies and did sit. Dan. 7:9."¹

In January 1850, Joseph Bates integrated more explicitly the judicial scene of Daniel 7:9-14 and the reference to "the hour of his judgment" (Rev 14:7) with the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the sanctuary. Bates declared that at the end of the 2300 days both Father and Son

left the throne in the Holy and moved into the Most Holy, in accordance also with, and close of, the message of the flying angel in Rev. xiv. 6, 7, to set in judgment; first to decide who is, and who is not worthy to enter the gates of the holy city; while the Bridegroom, High Priest, Mediator and crowned King of Israel stands before him advocating the cause of all presented on his breast plate of judgment. As Daniel sees it, the judgment is now set and the books open [cf. Dan 7:9-14].²

Thus, by 1850, Sabbatarian Adventists held (1) that the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 was a heavenly sanctuary/temple in the New Jerusalem; (2) that the 2300 days ended on October 22, 1844; and (3) that the cleansing of the sanctuary began with Christ's move from the Holy into the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary and comprises a preadvent investigative judgment with the blotting out of sins.

¹O. Nichols to [W.] Miller, Apr. 20, 1846, ALP, AHC.

²Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 10. An insightful more recent Seventh-day Adventist study of the concept of the mobility of God's throne (cf. Ezek 1:15-21) is provided in Daegeuk Nam, "The 'Throne of God' Motif in the Hebrew Bible" (Th.D. diss., Andrews University, 1989), 250-54.

Early Sabbatarian Adventists were convinced that their new understanding of the sanctuary was far more meaningful than a post-event rhetorical explanation of the October 1844 Disappointment.¹ For them this new understanding provided not only a genuine Bible answer to the problem of the Disappointment but also a true Bible setting for the development of a new doctrinal system.

Correlated with the sanctuary in the process of integrating that system was the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12. A consideration of the development of the Sabbatarian Adventist interpretation of those messages up to 1850 follows.

**The Early Sabbatarian Adventist Interpretation
of the Three Angels' Messages of
Revelation 14:6-12**

The founders of Sabbatarian Adventism regarded the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 as foundational

¹Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken, and Stanley Schachter suggested in their study, When Prophecy Fails (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956), 27-28, that such an interpretation of the Disappointment was a mere speculative rationalization of unfulfilled prophecies.

The validity of Festinger, Riecken, and Schachter's hypothesis has been questioned by Jane Allyn Hardyck and Marcia Braden, "Prophecy Fails Again: A Report of a Failure to Replicate," JASP 65, no. 2 (1962): 136-41; Robert W. Balch, Gwen Farnsworth, and Sue Wilkins, "When the Bombs Drop: Reactions to Disconfirmed Prophecy in a Millennial Sect," SoP 26 (Apr. 1983): 137-58; Rowe, Thunder and Trumpets, 133; J. Gordon Melton, "Spiritualization and Reaffirmation: What Really Happens When Prophecy Fails," AS 26 (Fall 1985): 17-29.

to their message and mission.¹ They found in those messages a sequential prophetic history of the Second Advent movement.²

¹For a more detailed study of the Sabbatarian Adventist interpretations of Revelation 14:6-12, see Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1070-92; C. M[ervyn] Maxwell, "The Third Angel's Message: Some EGW Comments" (Class notes for CHIS574 Development of SDA Theology, ca. 1970); Coffman, "Development of an Understanding of the Message of the Third Angel of Revelation 14:9-12 from 1844"; D. F. N[eu]feld], "Three Angels' Messages," 6-part series in RH, Mar. 14, 1974, 11-12; Mar. 21, 1974, 11; Apr. 11, 1974, 14; Apr. 25, 1974, 12; May 9, 1974, 12; May 30, 1974, 12; R. A. Clark, "The Three Angels' Messages: As Viewed by Early Adventists"; R. R. Baker, Jr., "What Has the Term 'Three Angels' Messages' Meant through the Years?"; Damsteegt, Foundations, 135-46, 165-242; Alalade, "Adventist Pioneers of the Three Angels' Messages, 1831-1849"; Enell O. Hall, "The Meaning of Term 'Third Angel's Message' as Evident by Article[s in], Review and Herald 1850-65 and Testimony Vol. 5" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1979); C. Coffman, "In the Last Days, Three Angels," 8-part series in AtR, August 5, 1982, 4-5; August 12, 1982, 8-9; August 19, 1982, 7-9; August 26, 1982, 8-10; September 2, 1982, 6-7; September 9, 1982, 8-9; September 16, 1982, 5-7; September 23, 1982, 8-9; Sarli, "Steps in the Development of the Understanding of the Third Angel's Message among Sabbatarian Adventists between 1845 and 1890"; Dederen, "Die drei Engelsbotschaften. Ursprung und Entwicklung der Auslegung der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten," in Studien zur Offenbarung: Die Bedeutung der drei Engelsbotschaften heute (Offenbarung 14, 6-12), 2:5-64; idem, "Die drei Engelsbotschaften. Ursprung und Entwicklung adventistischer Ekklesiologie," in ibid., 65-91; H. K. LaRondelle, "A People of Prophecy," 8-part series in AtR, June 1, 1989, 8-10; June 8, 1989, 10-12; June 15, 1989, 8-10; June 22, 1989, 12-14; June 29, 1989, 11-13; July 6, 1989, 11-13; July 13, 1989, 10-12; July 20, 1989, 8-10.

²Bates, Opening Heavens, 6; idem, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 58-59; idem, Vindication, 74, 92, 110; James White to "Brother Bowles," Nov. 8, 1849, TL, EGWRC-AU (reprinted in George R. Knight, comp. and ed., 1844 and the Rise of Sabbatarian Adventism [Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1994], 183-85); Geo[rge] W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 1; [Elvira Hastings], "An Unfinished Letter," AR, no. 1, Aug. 1850, 15; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 8.

Their effort to understand those messages led Sabbatarian Adventists to revise some elements of the Millerite interpretation of the first angel's message, to expand the Millerite interpretation of the second angel's message, and to adjust the Millerite understanding of the third angel's message.

The First Angel's Message

Sabbatarian Adventists followed the common Millerite tendency of equating the first angel of Revelation 14:6, 7 with the Second Advent movement of the 1830s and 1840s.¹ Joseph Bates, for instance, held that this angel represented William Miller and "all those who were preaching the second Advent doctrine since 1840."² Bates suggested the year 1840 as the starting point for the mission of this angel because in that year the preaching of the Second Advent entered a new phase through such major events as (1) Miller's first course of lectures in Boston (December 1839); (2) the publication of the first Millerite periodical, the Signs of the Times (March 1840); and (3) the first Second

¹See pp. 54-56, above.

²Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 58; idem, Second Advent Way Marks, 7. See also Edson, Time of the End, 5-9; G. W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 2.

In his Seal of the Living God, 33-35, Bates saw the mission of the first angel as having begun in 1841 (instead of 1840).

Advent Conference in Boston (October 1840).¹

Bates interpreted the expression "the everlasting gospel" (Rev 14:6) as a reference to the "second advent doctrine."² He was of the opinion that at the hour of God's judgment, the "everlasting gospel" was to be preached only to "every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people" (Rev 14:6) and not to "every creature which is under heaven" (Col 1:23).³

Sabbatarians increasingly understood the expression "the hour of his judgment" (Rev 14:7) as referring to a preadvent judgment trial, prior to the final Day of Judgment. As early as April 1847, Joseph Bates suggested that

there must be order and time, for God in his judicial character to decide the cases of all the righteous, that their names may be registered in the Lamb's Book of Life [Rev 13:8; 17:8; 20:12, 15; 22:19], and they be fully prepared for that eventful moment of their change from mortal to immortality.⁴

In January 1850, Bates connected, more explicitly, "the hour of his judgment" with the judicial scene of Daniel 7:9, 10. He stated that "the judgment is now set and the books open" in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly

¹Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 58; idem, Second Advent Way Marks, 7-8.

²Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 24; ibid. (2d ed.), 58; idem, Second Advent Way Marks, 7.

³Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 7.

⁴Ibid., 6.

sanctuary, "to decide who is, and who is not worthy to enter the gates of the holy city." He explained that the day of judgment comes only after the end of this preadvent judgment hour.¹

While Bates was moving towards a heavenly-court-preadvent-investigation understanding of the expression "the hour of his judgment is come," James White seemed inclined to restrict the meaning of this expression to a preadvent testing of God's people on earth.² In September 1850, he suggested that "the hour of his judgment is come" meant simply that "the period had come for this generation to be tested by second advent truth." Confining the judgment of the wicked to the final Day of Judgment, White alleged that he had been unable "to harmonize all the scripture testimony relating to the judgment, with any other view than that the great day of judgment will be one thousand years long." From this he concluded that the idea that "the day of judgment was prior to the second advent" was "without foundation in the word of God."³ By the mid-1850s, however, James White was already teaching an "investigative

¹Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 10.

²See Haddock, "History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary," 126-27, 175-78; Damsteegt, Foundations, 166.

³[James] W[hite], "The Day of Judgment," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 49.

judgment" in the heavenly courts prior to the Second Coming.¹

The Second Angel's Message

Early Sabbatarian Adventists were in line with those Millerites who equated the fall of Babylon of Revelation 14:8 with the apostasy of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches.² The mission of this angel was fulfilled, according to Bates, by "some of the same Adventist lecturers" who were proclaiming the message of the first angel.³

The preaching of the second angel's message was seen by Sabbatarian Adventists as having started sometime in 1843. James White, for example, dated this message from the spring of 1843, "when the churches all around, began to fall into a cold state."⁴ Joseph Bates was of the opinion that this message started in the fall of that year.⁵

¹See J[ames] W[hite], "The Judgment," RH, Jan. 29, 1857, 100-101.

²See pp. 58-62, above. A helpful overview of the Sabbatarian Adventist view of Roman Catholicism is provided in Bruinsma, Seventh-day Adventist Attitudes toward Roman Catholicism, 75-122.

³Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 58.

⁴J. White, "Watchman, What of the Night?" DS, Sept. 20, 1845, 26.

⁵Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 18.

The "Babylon" of Revelation 14:8 was commonly interpreted by Sabbatarian Adventists as a reference to the contemporary organized churches.¹ Bates included under the category of Babylon all "Roman, Greek, and Protestant" churches.²

Bates suggested that the fall of Babylon (Rev 14:8) was brought about by the rejection of the first angel's message "at the hour of God's judgment."³ He argued that by rejecting "the doctrine of the Second Advent," the "existing organized Churches" fell "just as the Jewish Church fell by the rejection of the First Advent."⁴

A typological parallel between the downfallen conditions of ancient Babylon and of mystical Babylon was proposed by Hiram Edson in September 1850. Edson wrote that

the history of ancient Babylon, its downfall, and that land lying desolate, and not dwelt in from generation to generation, are examples of the downfall, and destruction of Mystery Babylon the great, and of her land lying desolate, without inhabitant through the thousand years.⁵

An analogy between Israel's exodus from Egypt and God's remnant people coming out of the mystical Babylon was

¹J. White, "Watchman, What of the Night?" DS, Sept. 20, 1845, 26; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 20-21.

²Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 24.

³Bates, Vindication, 102-3.

⁴Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 20-21.

⁵H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 14.

stressed by James White. In April 1850, White explained that as God delivered the children of Israel from Egypt and led them for forty years in the wilderness, to humble them and to prove whether they would keep His commandments (Deut 8:2), so "he called us from the bondage of the churches in 1844, and humbled us, and has been proving us" in regard to the keeping of "his commandments" (cf. Rev 14:12; 11:19). Thus, the second angel's message was seen by White as having prepared the way for the hearing of the third message.¹

The Third Angel's Message

Sabbatarian Adventists not only reinterpreted the scant Millerite approach to the third angel's message of Revelation 14:9-12² but also expanded significantly their own understanding of that message over the years. The third angel's message was, indeed, a developing concept within Sabbatarian Adventist circles.

Different interpretations were suggested in early Sabbatarian Adventism in regard to the identification and chronological setting of this message. Up to 1848, Joseph Bates restricted the content of the third angel's message to Revelation 14:9-11.³ He held that while the second angel

¹J. White, Third Angel's Message, 11-14.

²See pp. 62-66, above.

³See Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 24; *ibid.* (2d ed.), 58; *idem*, Second Advent Way Marks, 23-29, 68-79; *idem*, Vindication, 103-5.

announced the fall of Babylon (Rev 14:8), the third angel called God's people out of her (Rev 18:4) "by showing the awful destruction that awaited all such as did not obey."¹ Bates suggested that it was only after the end of the third angel's message (Rev 14:9-11) that John saw the company of those who came out of the nominal churches to keep God's commandments (Rev 14:12).² Thus, by separating Revelation 14:12 from Revelation 14:9-11 Bates was still able to apply the former text to the post-1844 Sabbatarian Adventism, while confining the later text to the late Millerism of "the summer and fall of 1844."³

Bates's view of the third angel's message was challenged by James White in the spring of 1847.⁴ White not only regarded Revelation 14:12 as being fulfilled simultaneously to the proclamation of Revelation 14:9-11 but also related that proclamation to the post-1844 Sabbatarian Adventism. He explained that

the third angel's message was, and still is, a WARNING to the saints to "hold fast," and not go back, and "receive" the marks which the virgin band got rid of, during the second angel's cry.

And has not the true message for God's people, since the 7th month 1844, been just such a warning? It

¹Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 24. Cf. *ibid.* (2d ed.), 58-59.

²Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 58-59; *idem*, Second Advent Way Marks, 72.

³Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 27. See also *idem*, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 58.

⁴See Damsteegt, Foundations, 140-42.

certainly has. I cannot agree with those who make two messages of the cry, "Babylon the great, is fallen," and the voice, "Come out of her my people"; for every sermon that was printed, or preached on this subject, contained them both in one message. The 12th verse reads, "Here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God," etc. Where did you see them, John? Why, "here" during this third angel. As the patient waiting time has been since the 7th month 1844, and as the class that keep the sabbath, etc. have appeared since that time: it it [sic] plain that we live in the time of the third angel's message.¹

James White's interpretation set the trend for the later Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the third angel's message.² By January 1849, even Bates was regarding Revelation 14:12 as part of the third angel's message, which he extended from the fall of 1844 to the time of the Second Coming.³

Sabbatarian Adventists followed the Protestant tradition that regarded the "beast" of Revelation 14:9, 11 (cf. 13:1-10) as a symbol of the Papacy⁴ and of the union

¹J. White, "Thoughts on Revelation 14," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 11.

²Bates, Seal of the Living God, 19-20; Edson, Time of the End, 20; G. W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 11-15; Editorial, "Great Spiritual Dearth," AR, no. 2, Aug. 1850, 6.

³Bates, Seal of the Living God, 19-20.

⁴E. G. White, Vision; G. W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 6-11; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 8-10; H. S. Case, "Letter from Bro. Case," PT, no. 11, Nov. 1850, 85.

of "church and state" under the Papacy.¹ This beast was seen as the power who unlawfully changed the Christian day of worship from the seventh-day Sabbath to Sunday.²

While that beast was identified within Roman Catholicism, the "image" of the beast (Rev 14:9, 11; cf. 13:14, 15) was interpreted as the union of church and state by Protestant churches and Republicanism.³ This image to the beast was depicted as keeping "the Pope's, and not God's Sabbath."⁴ Hiram Edson explained that by passing a Sunday law, the image of the beast not only would "make void the law of free toleration, and the right of liberty of conscience" (cf. Rev 13:15-17), but also

would indeed seem to be exercising the power of the Papal beast, and would manifest it to be truly the image of the beast. This would bring Protestants and Catholics on to one common platform.⁵

¹H. S. Case, "Letter from Bro. Case," PT, no. 11, Nov. 1850, 85.

²Bates, Opening Heavens, 35; idem, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 6, 41-42; *ibid.* (2d ed.), 59; E. G. White, Vision; Editorial, "Evidence for the First Day Sabbath Examined," PT, no. 2, Aug. 1849, 11-13; Editorial, "The Sabbath Taught, and Enforced in the New Testament," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1850, 17; G. W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 6-16.

³G. W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64; H. S. Case, "Letter from Bro. Case," PT, no. 11, Nov. 1850, 85.

⁴E. G. White, Vision. See also G. W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64.

⁵H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 13.

The "mark" of the beast (Rev 14:9, 11; cf. 13:16, 17) was regarded as the observance of the first day of the week (Sunday) as the day of worship.¹ This position was based on the assumption that while Sunday was the "mark" of the beast (cf. Dan 7:25), the seventh-day Sabbath was the "seal of the living God" (Rev 7:2; cf. Exod 31:16, 17; Ezek 20:12, 20).²

Closely related to this interpretation of the mark of the beast was the Sabbatarian view of the "worship of the beast and his image" (Rev 14:9, 11). That worship was understood also as the keeping of the first day of the week instead of the seventh.³

The "wrath of God" to be poured upon the worshipers of the beast and of his image (Rev 14:10) was equated with

¹Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 59; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 8; J. Lindsey, "Letter from Brother Lindsey," AR, no. 1, Aug. 1850, 13; Editorial, "Great Spiritual Dearth," AR, no. 2, Aug. 1850, 6; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 10.

²Bates, Vindication, 78; idem, Seal of the Living God; Editorial, "The Sabbath a Perpetual Weekly Memorial," PT, no. 1, July 1849, 2-3; [James White], "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 28; G. W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64; [James] W[hite], "The One Hundred and Forty Four Thousand," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 57; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 11.

³G. W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 10, 11.

the seven last plagues of Revelation 16 (cf. 15:1),¹ that "will be poured out, after Jesus leaves the Sanctuary."²

While the evil powers of Revelation 14:9-11 were linked with Roman Catholicism and the Protestant churches, the remnant portrayal of Revelation 14:12 (cf. 12:17) was connected with the rise of Sabbatarian Adventism. The "patience of the saints" (Rev 14:12) was regarded as "the saints patient waiting time" since their disappointment in 1844.³ Bates explained that after the fall of 1844 God's people had been in their "patient or trying time" just as the virgins in the parable of the ten virgins (cf. Matt 25:1-13).⁴

Sabbatarian Adventists saw themselves as keeping "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12; cf. 12:17). They generally agreed that the expression "commandments of God" was a direct allusion to the Decalogue (Exod 20:3-17; Deut 5:7-21), with special reference to the fourth commandment, which requires the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath (Exod 20:8-11; Deut

¹G. W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 14-15.

²E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 11, Nov. 1850, 86; [idem], Sketch of the Christian Experience, 33.

³J. White, Third Angel's Message, 12. See also H. Edson, "Letter from Bro. H. Edson," DD, Apr. 2, 1847, 8; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 69; idem, Vindication, 84.

⁴Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 69.

5:12-15).¹ James White explained that the reason why Sabbatarian Adventists had "more to say on the Sabbath commandment than the other nine, is because this is the very one that is trodden down."²

Slightly different views of the "faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12) were suggested within Sabbatarian Adventism up to 1850. Joseph Bates, for example, equated the "faith of Jesus" in January 1847 with the "testimony of Jesus" of Revelation 12:17 (cf. 1:2, 9), which he identified as Jesus' teachings to His disciples.³ One year later, Bates added that the "faith of Jesus," as the "testimony" of Jesus, was "the spirit of prophecy" (Rev 19:10), which he still regarded as all Jesus' teachings (cf. Matt 28:20).⁴

¹Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 24; *ibid.* (2d ed.), iii-iv, 54-60; H. Edson, "Letter from Bro. H. Edson," DD, Apr. 2, 1847, 8; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 69-79; *idem*, Vindication, 6-7, 104-5; *idem*, Seal of the Living God, 19, 40, 56; J. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 1, July 1849, 6; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21; [J. White], "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 28; *idem*, Third Angel's Message, 6-14.

²[J. White], "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 29. See also Bates, Vindication, 105.

³Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 52. See also *idem*, Second Advent Way Marks, 71-72.

⁴Bates, Vindication, 104. A similar connection between the "faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12), the "testimony of Jesus" (Rev 12:17), and the "spirit of prophecy" (Rev 19:10) had been made by William Miller in his "Miller's Lectures.--No. I," ST, July 1, 1840, 50.

James White regarded the "faith of Jesus" in August 1848 as implying that "Jesus has left his mediatorial throne" and "is now claiming His new kingdom."¹ In July 1849, White equated the "faith of Jesus" with following "all the directions of the New Testament" and having "living active faith in Jesus."² And in April 1850, the same author added that the "faith" and "testimony of Jesus Christ" "embraced all the New Testament requirements, such as repentance, faith, baptism, Lord's supper, washing the saints' feet, &c."³

The fact that Revelation 14:12 uses both expressions, "the commandments of God" and "the faith of Jesus," was viewed by Bates as an evidence that God's end-time remnant people would "abide by the whole word of God" as found in both the Old and New Testaments.⁴

Sabbatarian Adventists were convinced that the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 presented a prophetic-historical portrayal of their own experience in the Second Advent movement. While the mission of the first angel was seen as fulfilled by the Millerite preaching of

¹James White to [Leonard] and [Elvira] Hastings, Aug. 26, 1848, TL, EGWRC-AU (reprinted in Knight, comp. and ed., 1844 and the Rise of Sabbatarian Adventism, 181-82).

²J. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 1, July 1849, 6.

³J. White, Third Angel's Message, 7-8.

⁴Bates, Vindication, 104.

the Second Advent, the mission of the second angel was regarded as carried out by those Millerites that came out of the churches. The fulfillment of the mission of the third angel, however, was limited to the Sabbatarian Adventists who were keeping "the commandments of God [including the seventh-day Sabbath] and the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12).

The previous two sections have provided a brief overview of the early Sabbatarian Adventist understandings of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 and of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 respectively. The following section considers how early Sabbatarian Adventists began to integrate (up to 1850) their main distinctive doctrines into both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

**The Relationship of the Early Sabbatarian
Adventist Distinctive Doctrines to
the Sanctuary and the Three
Angels' Messages**

The basic structure of the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was built during the period between 1844 and 1850. During that period the main Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines were gradually integrated into that system through the means of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

Special attention is given in the following pages to the doctrines of the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath, Christ's heavenly ministry, Christ's Second Coming, the conditional immortality of the soul, and

the gift of prophecy. Each of these doctrines is surveyed through a brief overview of its development, followed by a more specific consideration of its relationship to both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

The Perpetuity of God's Law and the Seventh-day Sabbath

Development of the Doctrine

The Sabbatarian Adventist belief in the perpetuity of God's law (Exod 20:3-17; Deut 5:7-21), with special reference to the commandment that requires the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath (Exod 20:8-11; Deut 5:12-15),¹ emerged from the interacting of the Seventh Day Baptist

¹For a more detailed study of the historical development of the doctrine of the seventh-day Sabbath in Millerism and early Sabbatarian Adventism, see J. N. Andrews and L. R. Conradi, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week, 4th ed., rev. and enl. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1912), 760-81; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:941-63; Carl Coffman, "The Practice of Beginning the Sabbath in America," AUSS 3 (Jan. 1965): 9-17; David M. Young, "When Adventists Became Sabbath-keepers," AtH 2 (Winter 1975): 5-10; Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Sabbath"; Martinborough, "Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath"; J. Fred Calkins, "A Sketch of the Discussion of the Sabbath Question in the 1840's" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1977); Richard Müller, Adventisten-Sabbat-Reformation: geht das Ruhetagsverständnis der Adventisten bis zur Zeit der Reformation zurück?: eine theologiegeschichtliche Untersuchung (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1979); D[on] F. N[eufeld], "How Adventists Adopted Sabbathkeeping," 3-part series in AtR, Aug. 23, 1979, 15; Sept. 13, 1979, 35-36; Sept. 27, 1979, 19; Raymond F. Cottrell, "The Sabbath in the New World," in Kenneth A. Strand, ed., The Sabbath in Scripture and History (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982), 244-63; C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Joseph Bates and Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath Theology," in *ibid.*, 352-63.

historical emphasis on "the perpetual Sabbath" with the Millerite eschatological emphasis on "the imminent Advent."¹

By early 1844 the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath was accepted by a few Millerites through the influence of Rachel Oakes (later Preston) (1809-68)² and the special Seventh Day Baptists' outreach program of 1843 and 1844.³ Despite the opposition of some Millerite leaders,⁴ by the time of the October 1844 Disappointment there were at least two Millerite ministers (Frederick Wheeler [1811-1910]⁵ and Thomas M.

¹Martinborough, "Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath," 94-95.

²See S. N. Haskell, Obituary of Rachel Preston, RH, Mar. 3, 1868, 190.

³Arthur E. Main, "The Seventh-day Baptist General Conference, 1802 to 1902," in Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1910), 1:185-87. Cf. Russel J. Thomsen, Seventh-day Baptists--Their Legacy to Adventists (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1971); Raymond F. Cottrell, "Seventh Day Baptists and Adventists: A Common Heritage," Sp 9, no. 1 (1977): 3-8.

For a list of early nineteenth-century Seventh Day Baptist tracts, books, and booklets about the seventh-day Sabbath, see Martinborough, "Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath," 169-71. See also the early nineteenth-century Seventh Day Baptist periodical entitled Sabbath Record.

⁴[W. Miller], Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology, 157-71; Editorial, "'The Lord's Day'," 2-part series in MC, Sept. 5, 1844, 68-69; Sept. 12, 1844, 76-77.

⁵See F. Wheeler, "A Message from Our Most Aged Minister," RH, Oct. 4, 1906, 9; S. B. Whitney, "Life Sketch of Elder Frederick Wheeler," RH, Nov. 24, 1910, 15.

Preble [1810-1907]¹) as well as a small company of lay people in Washington, New Hampshire, who observed the seventh-day Sabbath.²

Early Sabbatarian Adventists accepted the seventh-day Sabbath through the influence of these Millerites. Early in 1845 Preble wrote an article entitled "The Sabbath" that appeared in the Hope of Israel of February 28, 1845.³ He then rewrote this article⁴ and published it in a tract form.⁵ Preble's article persuaded Joseph Bates, from Fairhaven, Massachusetts, to accept the seventh-day Sabbath;⁶ later he wrote his own tracts on the

¹See Dennis Nutter, "Thomas M. Preble: Scaffold Builder" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1973).

²Cf. Martinborough, "Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath," 24-40, 152.

³A reprint of Preble's article, "The Sabbath," appeared in RH, Aug. 23, 1870, 73-74. See also T. M. Preble, "The Sabbath," VT, Aug. 27, 1845, 432-33.

⁴Cf. J. N. Andrews, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week, 2d ed., enl. (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1873), 502.

⁵T[homas] M. Preble, A Tract, Showing that the Seventh Day Should Be Observed as the Sabbath, Instead of the First Day; "According to the Commandment" (Nashua, [NH]: Murray & Kimball, 1845). This tract was reprinted in RH, Dec. 21, 1869, 202-3.

⁶Joseph Bates penned that he had been keeping "the first day of the week for the Sabbath" for "more than twenty years" when he read T. M. Preble's article in the Hope of Israel. Bates explained that by comparing the content of that article with the Bible he was convinced that the seventh-day of the week is the true day of worship. He began to keep the seventh-day Sabbath in March 1845. Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 40; idem,

subject.¹ Bates became the most influential early Sabbatarian Adventist² in leading other ex-Millerite Adventists to accept the seventh-day Sabbath.³

The first edition of Bates's pamphlet, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (August 1846), led James and Ellen White to accept the Sabbath in the fall of 1846.⁴ It was probably at that time (the fall of 1846)⁵ that Bates shared the Sabbath with Edson, Crosier, and Hahn in a meeting at Edson's home in Port Gibson, New York. Although Edson was already acquainted with Thomas Preble's writings on the

"Misrepresentations," RH, Sept. 8, 1853, 69.

¹See Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846); ibid. (2d ed.); idem, Vindication.

²See Maxwell, "Joseph Bates and Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath Theology," in Strand, ed., Sabbath in Scripture and History, 352-63; Joseph Karanja, "The Prophetic Significance of the Sabbath: A Study of Bates's Sabbath Theology" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1991).

³F. B. Hahn, "The Time Is at Hand," DD, Apr. 2, 1847, 6; H. Edson, "Letter from Bro. H. Edson," ibid., 7-8; J. White, Life Incidents, 269; E. G. White, Testimonies for the Church, 1:75-76.

⁴J. White, Life Incidents, 269; E. G. White, Testimonies for the Church, 1:75-76. Cf. A. L. White, Ellen G. White, 1:116-17.

⁵Although some Seventh-day Adventist historians have assumed that Bates's first meeting at Edson's home took place in the late 1845 (Spalding, Footprints of the Pioneers, 80; Anderson, Outrider of the Apocalypse, 64), evidence seems to favor the idea that such meeting did not take place before the fall of 1846 (see Nix, "Life and Work of Hiram Edson," 30-35; Martinborough, "Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath," 45-47; Maxwell, "Joseph Bates and Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath Theology," in Strand, ed., Sabbath in Scripture and History, 356).

subject¹ and had been in correspondence with Bates, it was Bates's reading from his Sabbath pamphlet at that meeting that convinced Edson and, to a certain extent, his companions of the importance of keeping the seventh-day Sabbath.²

Further attention to the Sabbath was given in the second edition of Bates's Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (January 1847)³ and in his Vindication of the Seventh Day Sabbath (January 1848),⁴ as well as in several articles in the Present Truth.⁵

¹[Edson], manuscript fragment, AMs, n.d., ASC.

²P[hineas] Z. Kinne, quoted in William A. Spicer, Pioneer Days of the Advent Movement (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1941), 61-63; [O. R. L.] C[rozier], "The Sabbath: Replies to the Advent Review and Sabbath Herald. Number One," AHBA, May 29, 1852, 398; idem, "Early History of the Ontario County Revealed in Story of Late Owen R. L. Crozier," DM, Nov. 22, 1923, 23, col. 5-6.

³Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.).

⁴Bates, Vindication.

⁵Editorial, "The Weekly Sabbath Instituted at Creation, and Not at Sinai," PT, no. 1, July 1849, 1-3; Editorial, "Scriptures Usually Quoted to Prove the Abolition of the Sabbath, Examined," 2-part series in PT, no. 1, July 1849, 6-8; no. 2, Aug. 1849, 9-11; Editorial, "Evidences for the First Day Sabbath Examined," PT, no. 2, Aug. 1849, 11-13; Editorial, "The Sabbath," *ibid.*, 13-16; Editorial, "The Sabbath Taught, and Enforced in the New Testament," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 17-20; Editorial, "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 25-29; [J. White], "'Seventh-Day Sabbath Abolished,' by Eld. Marsh, Editor to the 'Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate,' Reviewed," 2-part series in PT, no. 7, Mar. 1850, 49-56; no. 8, Mar. 1850, 57-59.

Noticeable in these developments was the enforcement of the abiding nature of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath through their connections with the heavenly sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

Relationship to the Sanctuary

Sabbatarian Adventists connected the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath to the heavenly sanctuary¹ mainly through the text of Revelation 11:19. Hiram Edson, for example, stated:

From my understanding of the opening of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven, and the seeing of the ark of his testimony [Rev 11:19], and a few lines I had seen from the pen of T. M. Preble, I had been looking at the subject of the seventh-day Sabbath.²

In May 1846, Joseph Bates pointed out that the tabernacle of the wilderness (Exod 25-40) and the temple of Jerusalem (1 Kgs 5-8; 1 Chr 22-26; 2 Chr 2-7) were built to house the ark with the Ten Commandments (cf. Exod 20:3-17), which enforced the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath (cf. Exod 20:8-11).³ Bates suggested that the keeping of those commandments was still a condition to enter "into the

¹An insightful study of the relationship of the seventh-day Sabbath to the heavenly sanctuary is provided in Siegfried H. A. Roeske, "The Interrelations between the Doctrines of the Sabbath and the Sanctuary in the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1983).

²[Edson], manuscript fragment, AMs, n.d., ASC.

³Bates, Opening Heavens, 36.

Anti-type, the real Heavenly Tabernacle, that is to be 'with men,' Rev. xxi:3; xxii:14."¹

In April 1847, Bates added that the heavenly sanctuary was opened for its cleansing on the tenth day of the seventh month of 1844 (Rev 11:19; Dan 8:14). Since that time, God's remnant people understood more clearly the abiding nature of the fourth commandment, which requires the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath.²

God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath were connected to the heavenly sanctuary also in the account of Ellen White's April 3, 1847, vision.³ After describing the Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary with its furniture, White stated that she was taken in vision into the Most Holy Place of that sanctuary, where she beheld the Ten Commandments. She explained that

in the Holiest I saw an ark. . . . In the ark, was the golden pot of manna, Aaron's rod that budded and the tables of stone which folded together like a book. Jesus opened them, and I saw the ten commandments written on them with the finger of God. On one table was four, and on the other six. The four on the first table shone brighter than the other six. But the fourth (the Sabbath commandment,) shone above them all; for the

¹Ibid., 16.

²Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 72-73. See also idem, Seal of the Living God, 19-20.

³This vision was published by Joseph Bates in a broadside dated April 7, 1847 (see E. G. White, Vision). Since April 7 fell in 1847 on a Wednesday, and Ellen White mentioned that she had received the vision "last Sabbath," this vision must be dated from the Sabbath April 3, 1847, as stated by Ellen White herself in her Life Sketches of Ellen G. White, 100.

Sabbath was set apart to be kept in honor of God's holy name. The holy Sabbath looked glorious--a halo of glory was all around it. I saw that the Sabbath was not nailed to the cross. If it was, the other nine commandments were; and we are at liberty to go forth and break them all, as well as to break the fourth. I saw that God had not changed the Sabbath, for He never changes. . . .

And I saw that if God had changed the Sabbath, from the seventh to the first day, He would have changed the writing of the Sabbath commandment, written on the tables of stone, which are now in the ark, in the Most Holy Place of the Temple in heaven.¹

In 1849, Ellen White spoke of the Sabbath as a test for God's people. She declared that they were being "tried on the Sabbath truth," since "the door was opened in the Most Holy Place of the Heavenly Sanctuary, where the Ark is [cf. Rev 11:19], containing the ten commandments."²

Relationship to the Three Angels' Messages

During the period under consideration (1844-50), God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath were directly related also to the third angel's message and indirectly to the message of the second angel. The relationship between the seventh-day Sabbath and the third angel's message was stressed mainly through the idea that the seventh-day Sabbath was one of the "commandments of God" referred to in Revelation 14:12 (cf. 12:17).³

¹E. G. White, Vision.

²E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21.

³See pp. 131-32, above.

In January 1847, Bates referred to the Sabbatarian Adventists as "been uniting in companies for the last two years, on the commandments of God and faith or testimony of Jesus" as described in Revelation 14:12. He viewed the keeping of "the commandments of God" (Rev 14:12), with special reference to the Sabbath commandment (Exod 20:8-11), as in direct opposition to receiving the "mark" of the beast (Rev 14:9, 11), which he equated with Sunday-keeping.¹

By regarding the seventh-day Sabbath as a divine institution (Gen 2:1-3; cf. Exod 20:8-11),² and Sunday as its papal counterfeit (Dan 7:25),³ Bates eventually concluded that while the latter was the "mark" of the beast,⁴ the former was the "seal of the living God" (Rev 7:2; cf. Exod 31:16, 17; Ezek 20:12, 20).⁵ Bates even saw the "Sabbath believers and keepers" as the "sealing messengers" of God's remnant people (cf. Rev 7:1-8; 14:1-5)

¹Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 58-59.

²Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 3-8; idem, Second Advent Way Marks, 75-76; idem, Vindication, 76-77; idem, Seal of the Living God, 59.

³Bates, Opening Heavens, 35; idem, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 6, 41-42; *ibid.* (2d ed.), 59.

⁴Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 59.

⁵Bates, Vindication, 78; idem, Seal of the Living God.

under the preaching of the third angel's message.¹

For Hiram Edson, the Sabbath was the very essence of the third angel's message. He explained that

so far as the third angel's message has been proclaimed, it is known that the burden of the message has been to restore the down trodden Sabbath commandment. This is the most *prominent* characteristic mark of those who are proclaiming the present truth. It is the seal or mark of the living God.²

The assumption that the third angel's message was an expansion of the second angel's message³ led Sabbatarian Adventists to contrast the seventh-day Sabbath with the characteristics of the mystical Babylon of Revelation 14:8. In January 1847, Bates pointed out that while the keeping of the Sabbath was a characteristic of God's remnant people that came out of Babylon (cf. Rev 14:12; 18:4), having the mark of the beast was an evidence that Babylon had fallen (cf. Rev 14:8).⁴ Two years later (January 1849), Bates added that Sabbatarian Adventists had gotten the mark of the beast out of their "foreheads and hands, by leaving her (Babylon) and embracing the true Sabbath."⁵

¹Bates, Seal of the Living God, 34, 40.

²H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 11.

³See Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 24.

⁴Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 58-59.

⁵Bates, Seal of the Living God, 37.

In September 1850, Hiram Edson argued that God led His people out of Babylon, because they could not have obeyed the third angel's message there, anymore than Israel could have kept the Sabbath as "bondmen and slaves in Egypt." Edson explained that as the Sabbath had been the first commandment urged by God on the children of Israel after they left Egypt (cf. Exod 16:23-30), so the Sabbath "was the first important truth brought to our minds," "after we got out of Babylon into the wilderness of the people, this side of 1844."¹

Thus, God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath were directly connected to both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. Their connection to the sanctuary was seen mainly through the vision of the ark of His testimony at the time of the opening of the Most Holy Place of the heavenly temple (Rev 11:19; cf. Exod 20:8-11). The seventh-day Sabbath was directly related to the third angel's message as one of God's commandments referred to in Revelation 14:12. Indirect relationships were conceived by contrasting the seventh-day Sabbath with Sunday observance, which was regarded as the mark of the beast (Rev 14:9, 11) and a major characteristic of the mystical Babylon (Rev 14:8).

¹H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 4, 8, 11.

Christ's Heavenly Ministry

**Development of the
Doctrine**

The Sabbatarian Adventist doctrine of Christ's heavenly ministry grew out of the post-October-1844-Disappointment concern with the question, "What is Jesus doing now?"¹ From their study of Scripture, Sabbatarian Adventists concluded that at the end of the 2300 days (on October 22, 1844), Christ entered the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary to begin a new phase of His priestly ministry. This new phase, as already mentioned, was understood as comprising a preadvent investigative judgment with an atonement for the blotting out of sins.²

The concept of a preadvent investigative judgment began to be advocated in Millerite circles by Josiah Litch. As early as 1838 Litch identified "the hour of his judgment" (Rev 14:7) as a judgment trial (cf. Dan 7:9, 10), preceding the final execution of judgment.³ He argued in 1842 that since the resurrection is the "separating process" of the judgment (cf. John 5:27-29), a trial of the dead has to take place "in the invisible and spiritual world, before Jesus Christ comes in the clouds of heaven."⁴ Litch defined the

¹Maxwell, Tell It to the World, 231.

²See pp. 108-18, above.

³Litch, Probability of the Second Coming, 186, 144. See also idem, Prophetic Expositions, 1:49-54.

⁴Litch, Prophetic Expositions, 1:51.

"hour of his judgment" of Revelation 14:7 as a preadvent examining trial, that started in 1798 and would end in 1843, when the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 would be cleansed.¹ A similar view was advocated by George Storrs in early 1844 when he wrote that a judgment has to take place "before the first resurrection" in order to make "known who should come up in that resurrection, and who [should] be left behind."²

Early Sabbatarian Adventists took the basic concept of a preadvent investigative judgment and saw it as a part of their sanctuary theology. As early as October 23, 1844, Hiram Edson was convinced that instead of Christ "coming out of the Most Holy of the heavenly sanctuary to come to this earth" at the end of the 2300 years, He entered then "for the first time" the Most Holy Place, where He had a special work to perform "before coming to this earth."³ That special work was later defined by O. R. L. Crosier, in his article "The Law of Moses," of February 7, 1846, as a Day of Atonement ministry for the blotting out of sins (cf. Lev 16).⁴ Sabbatarian Adventists came eventually to understand

¹See Litch, Probability of the Second Coming, 144, 186; idem, Prophetic Expositions, 1:54, 125, 140-41; idem, Address to the Public, 86-87, 108-9.

²G. Storrs, "Resurrection of the Dead," BE, Jan. 1844, 40.

³[Edson], manuscript fragment, AMS, n.d., ASC.

⁴O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 40-41.

that work as involving a preadvent investigative judgment of the saints.¹

This new understanding of Christ's heavenly ministry was directly connected with both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

Relationship to the Sanctuary

Christ's heavenly ministry was related to the sanctuary through the basic idea that the heavenly sanctuary was the actual place where He carried out His priestly ministry. From the typology of the earthly sanctuary in the book of Hebrews, early Sabbatarian Adventists concluded that that priestly ministry comprises two major phases.

The first of those phases, prefigured by the daily ministry of the earthly sanctuary (Lev 1-5), was Christ's atoning work for the forgiveness of sins. This phase was perceived as fulfilled by His ministry in the Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary from the time of His ascension (A.D. 31) until the end of the 2300 days (October 22, 1844).²

The second phase of Christ's priestly ministry, foreshadowed by the annual Day of Atonement ministry of the

¹See Gordon, Sanctuary, 1844, and the Pioneers, 85-97; C. Mervyn Maxwell, "The Investigative Judgment: Its Early Development," in Holbrook, ed., Doctrine of the Sanctuary, 119-57.

²O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 40-41, 43; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Antitypical Sanctuary, 8-9, 12.

earthly sanctuary (Lev 16; 23:26-32), is His atoning work for the blotting out of sins. This phase was seen as carried out by Christ in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary from the end of the 2300 days until the time of the Second Coming. As already mentioned, this work comprised not only the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary from its defilement but also the process of cleansing and judging God's people.¹

By stating in 1849 that Christ is forgiving the sins of His people during this second phase of His priestly ministry, Ellen White was not excluding salvation from those who did not belong to the Adventist circles. She was emphasizing that the work of rescuing "souls from the coming storm of wrath" has to be accomplished "before Jesus leaves the Most Holy Place of the Heavenly Sanctuary" and probation closes.²

So, Christ was portrayed by early Sabbatarian Adventists as the great High Priest in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary, pleading with His Father in behalf of the saints.³

¹See pp. 108-18, above.

²E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 32.

³O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 40-41; E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7; Bates, Seal of the Living God, 20, 38; E. G. White, To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God; idem, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 32; D. Arnold, "Shut Door Explained," PT, no. 6,

Relationship to the Three Angels' Messages

For Sabbatarian Adventists, Christ's heavenly ministry was also directly connected to the proclamation of the three angels' messages. While the first two messages were regarded as having prepared the world for the 1844 transition in Christ's heavenly ministry,¹ the proclamation of the third angel's message was seen not only as launched by that transition but also as coextensive with Christ's ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary.²

Of special significance was the relationship between the first angel's message and the sanctuary. As mentioned earlier,³ in January 1850 Bates equated "the hour of his judgment" (Rev 14:7) with the preadvent/heavenly court judicial scene of Daniel 7:9-14 and the cleansing of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14.⁴ Although William Miller had

Dec. 1849, 43-45; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 10; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 13-14; idem, Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door, 14-15; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 3.

¹D. Arnold, "Daniel's Visions, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 63; G. W. Holt, "Letters from Bro. Holt," *ibid.*, 64.

²Bates, Vindication, 69, 84; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 16.

³See p. 118, above.

⁴See Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 10.

previously made a similar connection,¹ this was one of the most significant instances in early Sabbatarian Adventist literature in which these three passages were brought together in the same context to express the concept of a preadvent investigative judgment in the heavenly sanctuary.

Thus, Christ's heavenly ministry was directly related to both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. Its relationship to the sanctuary was conceived through the basic notion that the heavenly sanctuary was the actual place where Christ carried out His priestly ministry. The relationship of Christ's heavenly ministry to the first two angels' messages was perceived in the sense that those messages prepared the world for the inauguration of Christ's ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. Meanwhile, the third angel's message was seen as both launched by and coextensive with that ministry.

Christ's Second Coming

Development of the Doctrine

The Sabbatarian Adventist doctrine of Christ's Second Coming² was rooted in the Millerite premillennial

¹W. Miller, "Letter from Bro. Miller," DS, Apr. 8, 1845, 31.

²For a more detailed study of the historical development of the doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ in Millerism and early Sabbatarian Adventism, see Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:427-1204, passim; Thomas Roy Adams, "A Historical Study of the Imminency of the Second Coming as Portrayed in the 1840s" (Term paper, Andrews University,

understanding of this doctrine. Sabbatarian Adventists, however, revised their understanding of the Second Coming in order to harmonize it with the other components of their doctrinal system.

The doctrine of the personal and visible, premillennial Second Coming of Christ had been the central focus of the Millerite eschatological hope.¹ Millerites believed that the literal return of Christ would take place at the end of the 2300 days, when the sanctuary would be cleansed (cf. Dan 8:14), the dead saints would be raised from their graves (cf. 1 Cor 15:52; 1 Thess 4:16), and the millennium would begin (cf. Rev 20).² Millerites held that during the millennium the saints, already immortal, would reign with Christ on this earth.³

1972); Godfrey T. Anderson, "The Great Second Advent Awakening to 1844," in V. N. Olsen, ed., Advent Hope in Scripture and History, 152-72; Norval F. Pease, "The Second Advent in Seventh-day Adventist History and Theology," in *ibid.*, 173-90.

¹W. Miller, "Synopsis of Miller's Views," ST, Jan. 25, 1843, 145-50; Editorial, "Dangers Which Believers in the Doctrine of the Second Advent Should Avoid," ST, May 3, 1843, 68; Editorial, "Fundamental Principles on Which the Second Advent Cause Is Based," ST, May 3, 1843, 68.

²W. Miller, "Synopsis of Miller's Views," ST, Jan. 25, 1843, 145-50.

³W. M[iller], "Personal Reign of Christ," VtT, Oct. 30, 1832, [1]; *idem*, "The Second and Personal Coming of Christ," VtT, Nov. 6, 1832; *idem*, Evidences from Scripture & History (1833), 54-64; *idem*, Evidence from Scripture and History (1836), 19-35; *idem*, Dissertation on the Judgment; A. Myrick, "Chronology of the Destruction of This Earth by Fire," ST, Feb. 1, 1841, 168; Fitch, Glory of God; Litch, Address to the Public, 19-39; William Miller, Dissertations

Sabbatarian Adventists retained the basic Millerite understanding of the Second Coming with two major changes. The first change was the separation of the Second Coming from the end of the 2300 days.¹ This separation allowed Sabbatarian Adventists to maintain a specific fulfillment of the 2300 days that did not conflict with the principle of the unknownness of the exact time for the Second Coming of Christ (cf. Matt 24:36; 25:13).

The second change was the belief that during the millennium the saints would reign with Christ in heaven instead of on this earth.² According to James White, E. R. Pinney (fl. 1840s)³ already held in 1844 the view that "the Kingdom of God would not be established on the earth till

on the True Inheritance of the Saints, and the Twelve Hundred and Sixty Days of Daniel and John (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 7-29; idem, The Kingdom of God (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842); J. Litch, "Address to the Clergy," ST, Jan. 1, 1842, 151; [W. Miller], "Synopsis of Miller's Views," ST, Jan. 25, 1843, 145-46; Editorial, "Fundamental Principles on Which the Second Advent Cause Is Based," ST, May 3, 1843, 68; E. Galusha, "Elder Elon Galusha's Address," MC, Apr. 4, 1844, 298; [J. Litch], "Rise and Progress of Adventism," ASR 1 (May 1844): 47-48.

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Oct. 11, 1845, 51; idem, "Letters from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," DS, Nov. 15, 1845, 23; idem, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 41, 43-44; idem, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, May 16, 1846, 46.

²See Froom, Movement of Destiny, 131-32; Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Millennium."

³See E. R. Pinney, "Letter from Brother Pinney," MC, Nov. 30, 1843, 135; Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Pinney, E. R."

the close of the seventh millennium."¹ James White stated in 1855 that he himself had began to teach in 1845 that

the saints would go to heaven at Christ's second advent, (John vii, 33; xiii, 33, 36; xiv, 1-3, 28; 1 Pet. i, 3-8; Rev. v, 10,) that the 1000 years' reign of the saints in judgment (Rev. xx, 4; Matt. xix, 28) would be in the "Father's house" above--New Jerusalem--which Jesus has gone to prepare for his followers, while the earth remained desolate, (Jer. iv, 19-26; xxv, 15-33; Isa. xxviii, 21, 22; Zeph. i, 2-18; iii, 6-8; Isa. xlii, 9-11; xxiv, 1-6; 2 Thess. i, 7-9; ii, 8-12,) and that at the end of the 1000 years, Jesus would return to the earth with his SAINTS, (Zech. xiv, 5; Jude 14, 15,) to execute judgment upon ALL, from Cain to the latest ungodly sinner, which cannot be until the second resurrection, when all ungodly sinners will be raised.²

Of special significance also was the linking of this doctrine to the Sabbatarian Adventist views of the heavenly sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

Relationship to the Sanctuary

Sabbatarian Adventist authors related the doctrine of Christ's Second Coming to the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 through two basic ideas. The first of those was the concept that the cleansing of the sanctuary would prepare God's people for the Second Coming.³

¹J. W[hite], "A Test," RH, Oct. 16, 1855, 61.

²Ibid.

³O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS, Apr. 18, 1846, 31; Bates, Vindication, 108, 111; E. G. White, To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God; idem, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 32; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 14.

The second idea relating the Second Coming to the sanctuary was the notion that the Second Coming would take place shortly after Christ leaves the heavenly sanctuary, after finishing its cleansing.¹ Joseph Bates, for instance, declared in January 1848 that after finishing the cleansing of the sanctuary,

Jesus comes out of the most holy place, changes his garments, puts on his kingly robes and stands up to reign over the nations, as in Dan. xii.1; mounts his cloudy chariot with his sharp sickle to reap the harvest of the earth [Rev 14:14-16].²

As previously mentioned, a few attempts were made by some early Sabbatarian Adventists to point out the time of Christ's Second Coming, based on speculative analogies with some specific elements of the sanctuary system.³ Ellen White, however, warned that the Lord showed her "that TIME had not been a test since 1844, and that time will never again be a test."⁴

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 43; E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7; [J. White], "Seven Last Plagues," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 2; idem, "The Time of Jacob's Trouble," in ibid., 10; E. G. White, "To Bro. Eli Curtis," in ibid., 12; Bates, Vindication, 108, 111; E. G. White, To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 14.

²Bates, Vindication, 111.

³See pp. 100-102, above.

⁴E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 11, Nov. 1850, 87.

**Relationship to the Three
Angels' Messages**

The doctrine of Christ's Second Coming was directly connected also to the three angels' messages. Early Sabbatarian Adventists followed initially those Millerites who had understood "the hour of his judgment is come" (Rev 14:7) of the first angel as referring to Christ's impending coming for the final judgment.¹ This understanding, however, was later replaced by the view that Revelation 14:7 pointed to a preadvent investigative judgment, preceding the final execution of judgment.²

The Second Coming was also related to the message of the second angel (Rev 14:8). Joseph Bates asserted in 1847 that it was by rejecting "the doctrine of the Second Advent of our Saviour" that the mystical Babylon fell.³

The relationship between the Second Coming and the third angel's message was seen mainly through the idea that the former would take place after the end of the mission of this angel. Hiram Edson, for instance, penned in 1849 that when the third angel finishes the preaching of his message, then "the high priest comes out, lays off his priestly robe, puts on the garments of vengeance, [and] takes his position

¹See pp. 55-57, above.

²See pp. 122-24, above.

³Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 20-23.

on the white cloud" (Rev 14:14).¹ In 1850, Bates also stated that "the third angel in Rev. xiv. 9-13, continues his message and cry, until Jesus leaves the temple and is seated on the great white cloud" (Rev 14:14).²

Thus, the doctrine of Christ's Second Coming was related to the heavenly sanctuary not only through the idea that the cleansing of that sanctuary would prepare God's people for the Second Coming, but also through the notion that the Second Coming would take place when Christ leaves that sanctuary, after finishing its cleansing. The doctrine of the Second Coming was connected to the message of the second angel through the assumption that it was by rejecting that doctrine that the mystical Babylon fell. The event of the Second Coming was related to the third angel's message through the idea that this event would take place after this angel finishes his mission.

Conditional Immortality of the Soul

Development of the Doctrine

The doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul (conditionalism) and its correlated view of the final

¹Edson, Time of the End, 21.

²Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 15.

annihilation of the wicked (annihilationism)¹ infiltrated the Millerite movement in the early 1840s, despite the opposition of William Miller² and Josiah Litch.³ George Storrs, the main Millerite promoter of this doctrine,⁴ saw an irreconcilable tension between the theory of human beings going consciously to heaven immediately after death and the biblical doctrine of the final resurrection of the body. Storrs solved this tension by affirming both the final resurrection (cf. John 5:28, 29; 1 Cor 15:52-54; 1 Thess

¹For a more detailed study of the historical development of the doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul in Millerism and early Sabbatarian Adventism, see Moses Corliss Crouse, "A Study of the Doctrine of Conditional Immortality in Nineteenth Century America with Special Reference to the Contributions of Charles F. Hudson and John H. Pettingell" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1953); Froom, Conditionalist Faith, 2:646-740; Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Death." See also D. M. Canright, History of the Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1871); Peter C. Jarnes, "The Beginnings of the Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul in the Christian Church" (M.A. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1944); Cosmas Rubencamp, "Immortality and Seventh-day Adventist Eschatology" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1968).

²See W. Miller, "Letter from Mr. Miller," MC, May 23, 1844, 355.

³AA, Apr. 15, 1844.

⁴See p. 61, n. 3, above. See also Calvin French, Immortality, the Gift of God through Jesus Christ; to Be Given to Those Who Have Part in the First Resurrection (Boston: Calvin French, 1842); Henry Jones, Compend of Parallel and Explanatory Scripture References on Christ's Second Advent at Hand, The Bible Reader, no. 1 (New York: Piercy and Reed, 1843), 11-13; C. Fitch to G. Storrs, Jan. 25, 1844, ALM, AHC.

4:14; Rev 20:4-6) and the unconscious state of human beings from death until the final resurrection (cf. Gen 2:17; Job 14:10-12; Ps 146:4; Eccl 9:5, 10; 1 Cor 15:17, 18; 1 Thess 4:13-15).¹ For him eternal life could be assured in this sinful state only in Christ (cf. 1 John 5:12).²

Sabbatarian Adventists incorporated conditionalism into their doctrinal system through the influence of such leaders as Joseph Bates and James White, who had been ministers in the Christian Connection before joining the Millerite movement in the early 1840s,³ and Ellen G. Harmon who had accepted conditionalism back in 1843.⁴ Yet, only a few sparse references to these teachings appeared in Sabbatarian Adventist publications up to 1850.⁵

¹See G. Storrs, "Intermediate State of the Dead," BE, May 1843, 15; idem, "Intermediate State," BE, Jan. 1844, 3-8.

²G. Storrs, "Inquiry: Are the Wicked Immortal?" BE, May 1843, 11.

³Cf. Froom, Conditionalist Faith, 2:291-95, 668-76; idem, Movement of Destiny, 113.

⁴[J. White], Life Sketches, 170-72; E. G. White, Testimonies for the Church, 1:39-40.

⁵E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 31; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 67; E. G. White, "To Bro. Eli Curtis," in J. White, ed., Word to the 'Little Flock', 11-12; James White, "The Judgment," in ibid., 24; Bates, Vindication, 109-10; E. G. White, "To the 'Little Flock'," PT, no. 9, Apr. 1850, 72; [J.] W[white], "Day of Judgment," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 50-51; [idem], "One Hundred and Forty Four Thousand," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 57; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 16.

Hiram Edson seemed to reflect the general Sabbatarian Adventist attitude of that time when he wrote in September 1850 that although he believed in "the sleep of the saints, and the destruction of the wicked," he did not believe that their minds should "be diverted from the present truth" of "the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12) to be "wholly occupied with" the life and death question.¹

Despite the scarcity of references to the conditional immortality of the soul in the Sabbatarian Adventist literature up to 1850, this doctrine was indirectly linked a few times to the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

Relationship to the Sanctuary

Back in 1843, George Storrs (who never became a Sabbatarian Adventist) had linked the doctrine of conditional immortality of the soul to the cleansing of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14. Following William Miller's identification of that sanctuary as both the church and the earth,² Storrs argued at that time that, since the dead still rest in an unconscious state, the final cleansing of that bipartite sanctuary could not "take place till the

¹H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 16.

²See pp. 25-28, above.

resurrection of the just." Storrs suggested that while the church sanctuary would be cleansed or "eternally justified from all the consequences of sin" when the just will be raised from the dead (Rom 4:25; 1 Cor 15:16-18), the earth sanctuary would be cleansed or purified at the final day of judgment when all the wicked will be destroyed (Prov 2:22; 2 Pet 3:7).¹

For Sabbatarian Adventists, however, the belief in an unconscious state of the dead was foundational to their doctrine of a preadvent investigative judgment of the saints, which was viewed as one aspect of the cleansing of the sanctuary. Implicit in Joseph Bates's January 1849 statement that "the dead saints are now being judged" (cf. Rev 11:18)² was the assumption that the dead saints did not receive yet their final reward. If the dead would receive their reward before the final resurrection, there would be no reason either for that resurrection or for a preadvent investigative judgment.

Relationship to the Three Angels' Messages

Storrs had indirectly connected the doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul to the second angel's message by regarding the theory of the immortality of the

¹Storrs, Bible Examiner, 43-47, 57.

²Bates, Seal of the Living God, 39.

soul as one of the "Babylonish garments" from the dark ages¹ and the concept of consciousness in death as "a Papal corruption of the word of God."² By this he suggested that the popular immortality-of-the-soul theory was one of the basic characteristics of Babylon of Revelation 14:8. Storrs's view would be later echoed within Seventh-day Adventist circles.³

For Sabbatarian Adventists, the theory of the conscious state of the dead, whose spirits can communicate with the living, was one of the special devices of Satan during the preaching of the third angel's message. Hiram Edson, for instance, conceived a direct connection between that theory and the third angel's message by means of Isaiah 8:19, 20. He regarded the practice of seeking for "the familiar spirits" of the dead (Isa 8:19) as one of the wonders and miracles of the two-horn beast (Rev 13:11-18) to persuade people to "worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark" (Rev 14:9, 11).⁴

¹G. Storrs, "Inquiry: Are the Wicked Immortal?" BE, May 1843, 12.

²G. Storrs, "Intermediate State of the Dead," BE, May 1843, 16.

³E. G. White, "The Remnant Church Not Babylon," RH, Sept. 12, 1893, 579; reprinted in idem, Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1923), 61.

⁴H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 12-13.

Edson justified the previous connection on the basis of the similar appeals found in both passages, that is, to keep "the law" and "the testimony" (Isa 8:20) and to "keep the commandments of God, and the faith [or testimony] of Jesus" (Rev 14:12; cf. 12:17). He concluded, therefore, that "Isa. viii, 19, is being fulfilled, just at this point of time, when the 'law' of God is being sealed 'among the disciples,' (verse 16) under the third angel's message."¹

Thus, the doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul was indirectly connected by early Sabbatarian Adventists to both the sanctuary and to the three angels' messages. It was evidently linked to the sanctuary through the implicit foundational support it provided to the concept of the preadvent investigative judgment of the dead. The same doctrine was connected to the three angels' messages through the idea that the theory of the immortality of the soul was one of the beast's main counterfeits to God's truth referred to in Revelation 14:9-11.

Gift of Prophecy

Development of the Doctrine

Millerism flourished in a time when claims of supernatural revelations abounded within Shaker² and

¹Ibid., 13.

²[Philemon Stewart], A Holy, Sacred and Divine Roll and Book; from the Lord God of Heaven, to the Inhabitants of Earth: Revealed in the United Society at New Lebanon, County

Mormon¹ circles. Seeking to avoid any identification with such visionary claims or with the outbreaks of fanaticism within their own ranks,² mainstream Millerites formally declared at the Boston conference of May 1843 that they had "no confidence whatever in any visions, dreams, or private revelations."³

After the October 1844 Disappointment, a vast outpouring of shut-door prophesying took in Adventism's "radical fringe."⁴ That prophesying caused a great deal of consternation to Joshua V. Himes,⁵ and led the New York

of Columbia, State of New-York, United States of America, 2 pts. (Canterbury, NH: United Society, 1843).

¹Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, 3,913 Changes in the Book of Mormon: A Photo Reprint of the Original 1830 Edition of The Book of Mormon with All the Changes Marked (Salt Lake City, UT: Modern Microfilm Co., n.d.); A Book of Commandments for the Government of the Church of Christ, Organized according to Law, on the 6th of April, 1830 (Zion, [MO]: W. W. Phelps, 1833); Dean C. Jessee, ed., The Papers of Joseph Smith, multivol. (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1989-).

²See Nichol, Midnight Cry, 321-54; Knight, Millennial Fever, 171-78. British Adventism had been facing problems with alleged gifts of prophecy and tongues since the early 1830s. See Editorial, "Edward Irving: Reproach Brought on the Advent Cause by False Miracles--Gift of Tongues, etc.," 5-part series in MW, May 1, 1845, 142-43; May 22, 1845, 162-63; May 29, 1845, 175-76; June 5, 1845, 183-84; June 26, 1845, 202.

³N. Southard, "Declaration of Principles by the Adventists Assembled in Boston Anniversary Week, May, 1843," ST, June 7, 1843, 107.

⁴See Knight, Millennial Fever, 245-66.

⁵J. V. Himes to [William] Miller, Mar. 12, 1845; Mar. 13, 1845; Mar. 27, 1845; Apr. 22, 1845, ALM, AHC.

conference of May 1845 to approve the following resolution:

Resolved, that we have no confidence in any new messages, visions, dreams, tongues, miracles, extraordinary gifts, revelations, impressions, discerning of spirits, or teachings, &c. &c[.], not in accordance with the unadulterated word of God.¹

Regardless of this resolution, early Sabbatarian Adventists accepted a modern manifestation of this spiritual gift in the life and ministry of Ellen G. Harmon (later White),² who received her first vision in December 1844.³ This acceptance was largely based on the idea that the gift of prophecy was one of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, not extinguished with the passing of the Apostolic period of

¹"Conference of Adventists at New York, Commencing May 6th, 1845," AH, May 21, 1845, 118.

²For a more detailed study of the historical development of the Sabbatarian Adventist acceptance of Ellen G. (Harmon) White's prophetic gift, see A. L. White, Ellen G. White, Messenger to the Remnant, 27-33; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:964-1016; Graham, Ellen G. White, 40-68.

Sabbatarian Adventists became eventually convinced that such Millerites as William E. Foy (1818-93) (see [William E. Foy], Christian Experience of William E. Foy Together with the Two Visions He Received in the Months of Jan. and Feb. 1842 [Portland, MA: J. and C. H. Pearson, 1845]; Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., by "Foy, William Ellis"; Delbert W. Baker, The Unknown Prophet [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1987]) and Hazen Foss (1819-93) (see E. G. White to Mary Foss, Dec. 22, 1890, TL, EGWRC-AU; Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Foss, Hazen") had received a temporary genuine gift of prophecy.

³See E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 31-32; reprinted in idem, To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad; [idem], "To the Remnant Scattered Abroad," in J. White, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 14-18; [idem], "To the Remnant Scattered Abroad," GT Extra, Jan. 20, 1848, [1-3]; and, with a few editorial changes, in [E. G. White], Sketch of the Christian Experience, 9-15.

church history (cf. Joel 2:28, 29; Acts 2:17, 18; 1 Cor 12:10; Eph 4:11).¹

On April 20, 1846, Otis Nichols called William Miller's attention to Ellen G. Harmon's prophetic gift. Based on the assumption that "visions are either from heaven[,] Acts 10:9-16[,] or from satan[,] Deut 10:1-5," Nichols encouraged Miller to "judge" alleged prophets (1 John 4:1; 1 Thess 5:20, 21) (1) "by their fruits [cf. Matt 7:15-23] according to the bible and the [present] truth" (Isa 8:20, "the law and the testimony"), and (2) by the fulfillment of their prophecies (Deut 18:22). Nichols perceived Ellen Harmon as in perfect harmony with this biblical standard.²

For early Sabbatarian Adventists, the prophetic gift of Ellen White was more a sign and a special function than an actual doctrine in itself. It was seen not only as one of "the signs that precede the great and notable days [sic] of the Lord" (cf. Joel 2:28-32),³ but also as God's merciful provision "to comfort and strengthen his 'scattered,' 'torn' and 'pealed people'," since the October

¹[James White], in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 13-14; Bates, Vindication, 72; [James White], PT, no. 5, Dec. 1849, 40; [idem], in "Brother Miller's Dream," PT, no. 10, May 1850, 73.

²O. Nichols to [W.] Miller, Apr. 20, 1846, ALP, AHC. See also Bates, Seal of the Living God, 27-32.

³[J. White], in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 13. Cf. idem, in idem, ed., Brother Miller's Dream, 1.

1844 Disappointment.¹ Only later did the Sabbatarian Adventists begin to formalize a doctrine of spiritual gifts. That took place when they tried to vindicate her prophetic gift from outside attacks.

The role Ellen White's prophetic gift played in the development of early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines "can best be viewed as confirmation rather than initiation" of doctrines.² Several of her early visions (up to 1850) confirmed and clarified significant components of the early Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the sanctuary and, to a much less extent, of the three angels' messages.

Relationship to the Sanctuary

Several components of the sanctuary theology were confirmed and clarified through some of Ellen White's early visions. The Midnight Cry vision (December 1844) affirmed the validity of the seventh-month movement³ and provided evidences of a real temple/sanctuary in heaven.⁴

¹Bates, "Remarks," in E. G. White, Vision.

²Knight, Anticipating the Advent, 28. See also A. L. White, Ellen G. White, Messenger to the Remnant, 34-37; Froom, Movement of Destiny, 101-32; Ron Graybill, "Ellen White's Role in Doctrine Formation," Min, Oct. 1981, 7-11.

³For an overview of the seventh-month movement (the preaching that the 2300 days would end on October 22, 1844), see pp. 35-39, above.

⁴E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 31-32.

The Coming of the Bridegroom vision (February 1845) endorsed the idea of a transition in Christ's heavenly ministry, when He went into the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary to receive the Kingdom (Dan 7:14) at His wedding ceremony (Matt 25:1-13), and to minister "before the Father" as "a great High Priest" in behalf of the saints.¹ This vision has been regarded as having "prepared people to accept the researches of Edson, Crosier, and Hahn" on the sanctuary.² About four months later (ca. June 1845), Ellen White had another vision in which she saw that Christ's Second Coming would take place after He finishes His ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary.³

On April 21, 1847, Ellen White penned that the Lord had shown her more than a year before (winter 1846) that O. R. L. Crosier "had the true light, on the cleansing of the Sanctuary, &c."⁴

The Sabbath in the Sanctuary vision (April 3, 1847) ratified the abiding nature of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath in the context of the heavenly sanctuary.⁵

¹E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7.

²D. F. N[eufeld], "A Significant Early Vision," AtR, Jan. 31, 1980, 18.

³E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7-8.

⁴E. G. White, "To Bro. Eli Curtis," in J. White, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 12.

⁵E. G. White, Vision.

The two Sealing visions (January 5 and 6, 1849)¹ clarified that Jesus is "still interceding for Israel" in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary, and that He will not leave that place until the servants of God are "sealed with the seal of the living God" (i.e., the Sabbath truth).²

The Open and Shut Door vision (March 1849) confirmed that since "the door was opened in the Most Holy Place of the Heavenly Sanctuary" (Rev 11:19) the attention has been called to the Ten Commandments (cf. Rev 14:12). Since then, the Sabbath has been a test for God's people.³

Relationship to the Three Angels' Messages

Up to 1850, no direct connection between the gift of prophecy and the three angels' messages is found in Sabbatarian Adventist literature. There were, however, a few instances in Ellen White's early writings in which she seemed to endorse the Sabbatarian Adventist interpretation of the three angels' messages. In March 1849, for example, she saw that "the commandments of God, and the testimony of

¹The expression "Sealing visions" is used here in reference to the two correlated visions Ellen White received respectively on Friday evening, January 5, 1849 ("at the commencement of the Holy Sabbath"), and on the following "Sabbath afternoon," January 6. See E. G. White, To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God.

²Ibid.

³E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21.

Jesus Christ [Rev 12:17; 14:12], relating to the shut door, could not be separated."¹ In November 1850, she referred to "the present work of God, under the message of the third angel."²

Thus, up to 1850, Ellen White's visions confirmed and clarified the early Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the sanctuary and, to a much lesser extent, of the three angels' messages. But there was no conscious integration of her gift as a doctrine with either the sanctuary or the three angels' messages. After 1850, however, Sabbatarian Adventists would begin to verbalize more explicitly such a doctrine, integrating it into their doctrinal system.

An Integrating System for New Doctrines

Sabbatarian Adventists built their doctrinal system, as previously noted, on the basic foundation of the Millerite system of prophetic interpretation. They retained those components of the Millerite system which they regarded as biblically sound and added to them other doctrinal elements they discovered in their study of Scripture. The result was the formation of a new doctrinal system that was more original in its totality than in its individual components.

¹Ibid.

²E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 11, Nov. 1850, 87.

The following pages consider the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system from the viewpoint of (1) some of its major characteristics, (2) the function of its integrating factors, and (3) its configuration as of 1850.

Major Characteristics of the System

An analysis of the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system reveals the following characteristics: (1) a biblical foundation, (2) a historicist prophetic interpretation, (3) eschatological time-setting, (4) a cosmic-controversy framework, (5) a Christ-centered focus, (6) historical continuity, (7) a present-truth emphasis, and (8) a mission concern. A brief overview of these characteristics is provided for an understanding of the system.

Biblical Foundation

One of the main characteristics of the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was its biblical foundation. That foundation derived from three basic roots. The first of those roots was William Miller's view of Scripture as an authoritative source of divine propositional truth and his hermeneutic principle of the Bible as its own interpreter.¹

¹See pp. 5-7, above; Damsteegt, Foundations, 16-20; Alberto R. Timm, "History of Inspiration in the Adventist Church (1844-1915)," JATS 5 (Spring 1994): 181-84.

Insightful studies on hermeneutical principles of Sabbatarian Adventists are provided in R. Dean Davis,

A second root of the biblical foundation of the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was the larger nineteenth-century American restorationist principle, which advocated the Bible as the only creed.¹ This principle was brought into Sabbatarian Adventist circles by Joseph Bates and James White, who had been previously affiliated with the restorationist Christian Connection.²

The biblical foundation of the Sabbatarian system was also indebted to the Reformation emphasis on returning to Scripture as the source of all true doctrines.³ As the

"Hermeneutical Principles of Early Adventist Interpreters" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1976); Wendell R. McMillan, "Typology as Used by the Early Advent Pioneers" (M.A. project, Andrews University, 1981).

¹See Nathan O. Hatch, "The Christian Movement and the Demand for a Theology of the People," JAH 67 (Dec. 1980): 559-60; Richard T. Hughes and C. Leonard Allen, Illusions of Innocence: Protestant Primitivism in America, 1630-1875 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 85, 88-89, 104-8, 157-58, 163-64; Hatch, Democratization of American Christianity, 42, 68-81.

²See Bates, Autobiography, 204; idem, Second Advent Way Marks, 34; idem, Vindication, 6, 60, 72; J. White, in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 13; idem, Third Angel's Message, 12.

³Helpful discussions of the Reformation emphasis on to the authority of Scripture are provided in Roland H. Bainton, "The Bible in the Reformation," in S. L. Greenslade, ed., The Cambridge History of the Bible [Vol. 3]: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 3:1-37; Robert M. Grant, A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 128-38; Jaroslav Pelikan, The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1984), 4:203-17; G. R. Evans, The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Road to Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Alister E. McGrath, Reformation

sixteenth-century Reformers were led by that emphasis to give up non-biblical traditions of Roman Catholicism and move closer to the teachings of the Bible,¹ so the founders of Sabbatarian Adventism were driven by the same emphasis to put aside the creeds of the Protestant denominations and build their own doctrinal system from their understanding of Scripture.

While regarding Ellen White's prophetic gift as an additional divine-inspired means of understanding Bible truth, the founders of Sabbatarian Adventism viewed that gift as contingent on the authority of the Scriptures in the formation of doctrines.² As a result, James White stated in 1847 that the Bible is "a perfect, and complete revelation" and "our only rule of faith and practice"; and that "true visions are given to lead us to God, and his written word."³

Thought: An Introduction (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 95-116; A. Skevington Wood, Captive to the Word: Martin Luther, Doctor of Sacred Scripture (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1969); Jack Forstman, Word and Spirit: Calvin's Doctrine of Biblical Authority (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962).

¹Some basic characteristics that distinguished mainstream Reformation from the Roman Catholic tradition were: (1) the primacy of Scripture over the teachings of the Church; (2) salvation by grace through faith, apart from human merits; and (3) direct access to God through Christ, without the mediation of the saints.

²See Froom, Movement of Destiny, 91-132.

³[J. White], in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 13.

An analysis of the early Sabbatarian Adventist literature shows that Sabbatarian Adventists were concerned with integrating into their system of beliefs only those doctrines that they regarded as biblically sound. Closely related to this was the attempt of having both the integrating factors and the linkages of that system also derived from Scripture.

Historicist Prophetic Interpretation

Besides its biblical foundation, the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was noticeable also for its historicist prophetic interpretation.¹ By following this school of prophetic interpretation, early Sabbatarian Adventists were in line not only with William Miller² but also with the hermeneutical traditions of both mainstream contemporary English-speaking Protestantism and

¹The historicist school of prophetic interpretation holds that each apocalyptic prophecy of the Bible has a specific historical fulfillment between the time it was given and the final establishment of God's everlasting kingdom. Prophetic time periods are interpreted on the basis of the year-day principle. The "little horn" of Daniel 7 and 8, the "beast" of Revelation 13:1-10, and the antichrist of 2 Thessalonians 2:9 are usually equated with the Papacy. And the whole corpus of apocalyptic prophecy is seen as forming a coherently synchronized system that reaches its climax at Christ's Second Coming and the establishment of God's everlasting kingdom. For a comprehensive history of the development of historicism, see Froom, Prophetic Faith, vols. 1-4.

²See "Miller's Rules of Bible Interpretation," in Hale, Second Advent Manual, 103-6; W. Miller, "Synopsis of Miller's Views," ST, Jan. 25, 1843, 145-50.

sixteenth-century Reformation.¹

One of the evidences of the Sabbatarian Adventist historicist approach was its emphasis on the continuous historical fulfillment of Bible prophecies. The Advent Herald, for example, reprinted in August 1850 an article by John B. Cook² (a previous Millerite who advocated for a while the seventh-day Sabbath), in which the author stated that "prophecy is history in advance" and that "history is the record of prophecy fulfilled." He defined prophecy in the same article as "the theatre of Providence."³

Another evidence of the Sabbatarian Adventist historicism can be noticed from the use of the year-day principle in interpreting the time-prophecies of Scripture. Following the historicist Reformation,⁴ English-speaking-Protestant,⁵ and Millerite⁶ heritages, Sabbatarian Adventists saw such prophetic periods as the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 and the 1260 days of Revelation 11:3 and 12:6

¹See Froom, Prophetic Faith, vols. 2-4.

²This article was the reprinting of [John B. Cook], "The Doctrine of Providence," AT, Mar. 1846, 1-5.

³J. B. Cook, "The Doctrine of Providence," AR, no. 2, Aug. 1850, 8.

⁴See Froom, Prophetic Faith, vol. 2; Johann Heinz, "Luther's Interpretation of the Prophet Daniel," AtR, Nov. 3, 1983, 5-7; Winfried Vogel, "The Eschatological Theology of Martin Luther," 2-part series in AUSS 24 (Autumn 1986): 249-64; vol. 25 (Summer 1987): 183-99.

⁵See pp. 16-21, above.

⁶See pp. 29-39, above.

(cf. Dan 7:25; Rev 11:2; 12:14; 13:5) respectively as 2300 years¹ and 1260 years.²

A third evidence that early Sabbatarian Adventists followed the historicist interpretation of prophecy is found in their identification of the Papacy as the "little horn" of Daniel 7 and 8³ and the "beast" of Revelation 13:1-10 and 14:9, 11.⁴

A fourth evidence of the Sabbatarian Adventist historicism can be observed in the major Sabbatarian Adventist attempts to synchronize the different prophetic elements of Scripture.⁵ One of the earliest significant such attempts was Joseph Bates's Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps.⁶

Eschatological Time-Setting

A third characteristic of the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was its eschatological time-

¹See pp. 99-100, above.

²Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 21, 35; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 1, 6, 10-11; [idem], "One Hundred and Forty Four Thousand," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 56; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 8-9.

³Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 41; Editorial, "Evidence for the First Day Sabbath Examined," PT, no. 2, Aug. 1849, 12; cf. D. Arnold, "Daniel's Vision, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 59; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 10-11.

⁴See pp. 128-29, above.

⁵See Damsteegt, Foundations, 103-293, passim.

⁶Bates, Second Advent Way Marks.

setting. Early Sabbatarian Adventists further developed the Millerite eschatological time-setting, which was indebted to the broader eschatological focus not only of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English-speaking Protestantism but also of the Reformation.¹

The early Sabbatarian Adventist eschatological time-setting derived largely from their understanding of the time elements of both Daniel 8:14 and Revelation 14:6-12. The fact that the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 were regarded as ending within "the time of the end" (Dan 8:17, 26),² which was assumed as having started with the fall of the Papacy in 1798, led the founders of Sabbatarian Adventists to the conclusion that humanity was already living in the time of the end.³

By seeing themselves as responsible for the fulfillment of the mission of the third angel of Revelation 14:9-12, Sabbatarian Adventists were convinced that their system of doctrines was of special relevance for those living in the historical period just prior to Christ's

¹See Froom, Prophetic Faith, vols. 2-4.

²For a more detailed study of the expression "time of the end" in the book of Daniel, see Gerhard Pfandl, The Time of the End in the Book of Daniel, Adventist Theological Society Dissertation Series, vol. 1 (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Theological Society Publications, 1992).

³Bates, Seal of the Living God, 36-37; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 8-13.

Second Coming (cf. Rev 14:14).¹

Sabbatarian Adventists believed, therefore, that their movement was raised by God at the eschatological ending of the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14, when the third angel of Revelation 14:9-12 began his mission. This conviction was significantly influential in the shaping of both the teachings and the lifestyle of Sabbatarian Adventism.²

Cosmic-Controversy Framework

In addition to the biblical foundation, the historicist prophetic interpretation, and the eschatological time-setting, the cosmic-controversy framework played a major role in shaping the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system. Although this framework would be more clearly developed in later publications,³ many of its basic

¹See pp. 131-34, above.

²See Alberto R. Timm, "The Influence of the Sanctuary Truth on the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Lifestyle" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1991); C. Mervyn Maxwell, Magnificent Disappointment: What Really Happened in 1844 . . . and Its Meaning for Today (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1994), 161-71.

³E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, [vol. 1]; idem, Spirit of Prophecy, vols. 1-4; idem, The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan, as Illustrated in the Lives of Patriarchs and Prophets (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1890); idem, The Story of Prophets and Kings as Illustrated in the Captivity and Restoration of Israel (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1917); idem, The Desire of Ages (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1898); idem, The Acts of the Apostles in the Proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1911); idem, Great Controversy (1888, revised 1911).

Helpful analyses of the great controversy theme in Ellen White's writings are provided by W. E. Read, "The

concepts were already much in place by 1850.

Several allusions were made in early Sabbatarian Adventist literature to a conflict between two antagonistic spiritual powers, disputing the ground within the historical realm. On one side were God and His remnant people, while on the other were Satan and his followers.¹

God was seen as (1) confirming His leading in the seventh-month movement;² (2) warning the world of its impending end through the preaching of the third angel's message;³ (3) calling people back to the observance of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath;⁴ (4) drawing the

Great Controversy," in Our Firm Foundation: A Report of the Seventh-day Adventist Bible Conference Held September 1-13, 1952, in the Sligo Seventh-day Adventist Church, Takoma Park, Maryland (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1953), 2:237-335; Gil G. Fernandez, "Ellen G. White's Philosophy of History" (M.A. thesis, Philippine Union College, 1968); idem, "The Drama of History as Viewed by Ellen G. White," RH, Oct. 24, 1974, 4-5; Joseph J. Battistone, "Ellen G. White's Central Theme," Min, Oct. 1975, 22-23; idem, The Great Controversy Theme in E. G. White[']s Writings (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1978); Masao Yamagata, "Ellen G. White and American Premillennialism" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1983), 151-86.

¹Bates, Opening Heavens, 18; E. G. White, "To Bro. Eli Curtis," in J. White, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 11-12; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21-22; idem, "A Vision the Lord Gave Me at Brother Harris[']," [T]Ms 7, Aug. 24, 1850, EGWRC-AU; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 8-13.

²E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 31; [James White], "The Voice of God," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 5.

³See pp. 126-33, above.

⁴See pp. 135-45, above.

people's attention to Christ's priestly ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary;¹ (5) preparing people for the soon return of Christ;² (6) pleading with individuals to seek Him instead of the dead (cf. Isa 8:19, 20);³ and (7) granting the gift of prophecy to His remnant people.⁴

Meanwhile, Satan was accused of (1) tempting previous Millerites "to doubt their past experience in 1843 and 1844";⁵ (2) "using every device" to keep "the mind away from the present sealing truth of the third angel's message";⁶ (3) imposing Sunday worship as a "counterfeit mark" to God's seventh-day Sabbath;⁷ (4) drawing the attention of God's professed people away from Christ's priestly ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly

¹See pp. 146-51, above.

²See pp. 151-57, above.

³See pp. 157-63, above; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 13.

⁴See pp. 163-70, above.

⁵[J.] W[hite], "Our Tour East," AR, no. 1, Aug. 1850, 14.

⁶E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 14.

⁷H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 11. See also Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 60.

sanctuary;¹ (5) distracting the people from preparing themselves for the Second Coming;² (6) deceiving the people through the pseudo-manifestations of the spirits of the dead;³ and (7) misleading the people through false prophets (cf. Matt 24:24).⁴

The cosmic dimension of this controversy was defined by early Sabbatarian Adventists in terms not only of Christ's work in the heavenly sanctuary for the redemption of human beings and Satan's attempts to wipe out that work from the minds of the people,⁵ but also in terms of the final triumph of the forces of good over the powers of evil.

That final triumph was seen as beginning when Christ finishes His heavenly ministry and comes down from heaven to this earth to raise the dead saints and take them with the living saints to heaven. After 1,000 years (cf. Rev 20), Christ returns to this earth to raise the wicked from all ages and destroy them with Satan and his angels. With this

¹E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7.

²E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21-22.

³E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21-22; idem, "A Vision the Lord Gave Me at Brother Harris[']," [T]Ms 7, Aug. 24, 1850, EGWRC-AU; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 13.

⁴J. White, in idem, ed., Brother Miller's Dream, 3.

⁵E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7.

final and complete eradication of the powers of evil, the universe will be restored to its original peaceful condition.¹

Christ-Centered Focus

A fifth characteristic of the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was its Christ-centered focus. According to C. Mervyn Maxwell,

The advent movement was born with its eyes on Jesus. "Jesus is coming soon" was the watchword of the Millerites. "What is Jesus doing now?" was the question that followed the disappointment.²

Although Sabbatarian Adventists followed the mainstream Protestant tradition of accepting Christ's death on the cross as the only atoning sacrifice for sin,³ they went far beyond that tradition in emphasizing Christ's contemporary priesthood in the heavenly sanctuary prior to His Second Coming because of their new insights on the sanctuary.⁴

¹E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 31-32; E. G. White, "To Bro. Eli Curtis," in J. White, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 11-12; J. White, "Judgment," in *ibid.*, 23-24; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 11, Nov. 1850, 86.

²Maxwell, Tell It to the World, 231.

³O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS, Feb. 7, 1846, 39-43; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 8; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 3.

⁴See pp. 146-51, above.

Christ was viewed by early Sabbatarian Adventists as (1) the Lord of the Sabbath (cf. Mark 2:28);¹ (2) the High Priest of the heavenly sanctuary who was interceding before the Father in behalf of the saints (cf. Heb 4:14-16);² (3) the King who would soon return to bless His waiting people (cf. Matt 25:31-40);³ (4) the Source of life who will grant immortal life to His saints (cf. John 11:25);⁴ and (5) the One who called Ellen G. Harmon to the prophetic ministry (cf. Eph 4:8-14).⁵

Christ was regarded also as the center of the Christian experience. Already in her first vision, Ellen Harmon saw that God's people could only be saved by keeping "their eyes fixed on Jesus."⁶

¹Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 39, 44; idem, Second Advent Way Marks, 78; idem, Vindication, 21-22, 78; idem, Seal of the Living God, 64; Editorial, "The Weekly Sabbath Instituted at Creation, and Not at Sinai," PT, no. 1, July 1849, 1.

²See pp. 146-51, above.

³E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Mar. 14, 1846, 7; [J. White], "Seven Last Plagues," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 2; Bates, Vindication, 111; [J.] W[hite], "Day of Judgment," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 50.

⁴E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 31; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 48; [J. White], "Voice of God," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 8; Bates, Vindication, 92.

⁵E. G. White to [Joseph] Bates, July 13, 1847, TL, EGWRC-AU; idem, Sketch of the Christian Experience, 5-6.

⁶E. G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 31.

Historical Continuity

Among the major characteristics of the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was also its historical continuity. This continuity was implied by both the concept of remnant and the idea of restoration.

By regarding themselves as God's end-time "remnant" (cf. Rev 12:17), Sabbatarian Adventists placed themselves in line with the previous generations of God's people.¹ Also by seeing themselves as the restorers of biblical truth (cf. Isa 58:12-14), Sabbatarian Adventists traced their roots back to the Reformation and the Apostolic church.²

Later Seventh-day Adventist historians have noted the historical roots of Sabbatarian Adventism. LeRoy E. Froom, for instance, dealt with the subject in the following statement:

Our roots did not simply begin in 1844--nor even with the antecedent worldwide Second Advent Awakening and Movement of the early decades of the nineteenth century, particularly the 1830's and 1840's. We stem back, in spiritual ancestry, not only to Protestant Reformation times but clear through to the Apostolic founding period of the Christian church.³

¹Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 52, 59; idem, Vindication, 6-7, 96, 98, 106; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 7; J. White, in idem, ed., Brother Miller's Dream, 9; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 2, 4, 12.

²Bates, Seal of the Living God, 17, 20, 26, 56-57, 65; [J. White], "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 28; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 4, 16.

³Froom, Movement of Destiny, 27-28.

Several studies by other Seventh-day Adventist authors have traced back to the Apostolic church the history of such Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines as (1) the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath,¹ (2) the expectation of an imminent Second Coming of Christ,² and (3) the conditional immortality of the soul and final annihilation of the wicked.³ Such studies have perceived Sabbatarian Adventists as the remnant of the different Christian branches that tried to keep unpolluted those doctrines throughout the Christian era.

Present-Truth Emphasis

A seventh characteristic of the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was its present-truth emphasis. The concept of "present truth" (2 Pet 1:12)⁴ was defined by James White in 1849 as follows:

In Peter's time there was present truth, or truth applicable to that present time. The Church have [*sic*] ever had a present truth. The present truth now, is that which shows present duty, and the right position for us who are about to witness the time of trouble,

¹See Andrews and Conradi, History of the Sabbath (4th ed.); Strand, ed., Sabbath in Scripture and History.

²See Froom, Prophetic Faith, vols. 1-4; V. N. Olsen, ed., Advent Hope in Scripture and History.

³Froom, Conditionalist Faith, vols. 1-2.

⁴Insightful studies of the Sabbatarian Adventist concept of "present truth" are provided in Wesley C. McCoy, "Concepts of Truth in 'The Present Truth' (1849-1950)" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1973); Laurence A. Turner, "Present Truth as Defined by 'Present Truth' (1849-50)" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1975).

such as never was [Dan 12:1]. Present truth must be oft repeated, even to those who are established in it. This was needful in the apostles['] day, and it certainly is no less important for us, who are living just before the close of time.¹

In 1850, Hiram Edson added that "God has always had a present test truth for his church to believe, which was the sealing, saving truth of the time then present."²

The concept of present truth was mainly concerned with two kinds of doctrines perceived as especially pertinent to the end-time period of salvation history. The first kind of doctrinal present truth were those eschatological doctrines derived from the historical and/or supra-historical fulfillment of specific end-time prophecies of Scripture. In this category was Christ's priestly ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary since the end of the 2300 days in 1844.³

The second kind of doctrines regarded as present truth was those historical doctrines of Scripture that had been overlooked and disregarded by the larger Christian church, but which would be restored at the end of time. Under this second category was the seventh-day Sabbath,

¹[James White], PT, no. 1, July 1849, 1.

²H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 10.

³Bates, Seal of the Living God, 20.

which had been replaced by Sunday under the influence of the Papacy.¹

The belief that they possessed present truth gave early Sabbatarian Adventists a strong self-identity and a specific sense of mission in the world.

Mission Concern

The early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was also characterized by a strong mission concern. That mission was defined in terms of (1) restoring Bible truth within the end-time eschatological setting and (2) preparing other ex-Millerites for the soon coming of Christ. Several biblical images were used in early Sabbatarian Adventist literature to illustrate this twofold mission.

One of those images was the concept of repairing "the breach" in God's law made by the quite general disregard of the seventh-day Sabbath among Christians (Isa 58:12-14). That breach would be repaired by the restoration of the original observance of the fourth commandment (Exod 20:8-11).²

¹Ibid., 17, 20, 26, 56-57, 65; [J. White], "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 28; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 4, 16.

²Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 60; [J. White], "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 25-29; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 2, 5, 7, 12.

Another image, closely related to the previous one, was that of the restoration to be brought about by the coming of prophet Elijah before "the great and dreadful day of the Lord" (Mal 4:5). As John the Baptist had come in the spirit and power of Elijah to prepare the path for Christ's First Coming (Matt 17:10-13), so Sabbatarian Adventism had been raised in the same spirit to prepare the way for Christ's Second Coming. "The work of Elijan, in the last days, is," according to Hiram Edson, "to restore, to 'raise up the foundations of many generations,' to repair the breach in the law of God [Isa 58:12], and to restore the true worship of the true God."¹

A third image (the most widely used of all) was that associated with the mission of the third angel of Revelation 14:9-12. Early Sabbatarian Adventists spoke many times of themselves as carrying out the mission of this angel. They related to it almost all major elements of their system of beliefs.² Hiram Edson equated the mission of Elijah with that of the third angel by referring to the voice of Elijah "in the message of the third angel."³

Thus, the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system revealed, as previously seen, such general

¹H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 5-8, 11-13.

²See pp. 142-45, 150-51, 156-57, 162-63, 170, above.

³H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 11.

characteristics as a biblical foundation, a historicist prophetic interpretation, eschatological time-setting, a cosmic-controversy framework, a Christ-centered focus, historical continuity, a present-truth emphasis, and a missiological concern.

An appreciation of those characteristics is helpful for a better understanding of both the function of the integrating factors within the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system and the actual configuration of that system.

The Function of the Integrating Factors

The Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was built, as already noted, around the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. To these elements all major Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines were directly or indirectly connected. Indispensable for an analysis of that doctrinal system is the understanding of the specific function of both of the integrating factors.

The Sanctuary

The function of the sanctuary in the development of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was primarily of a *theological-historical* nature. The far-reaching sanctuary typology integrated that system in two basic dimensions.

The first of these dimensions was the outer historical integration of the Sabbatarian Adventist

doctrinal system to the larger context of salvation history. This integration was largely due to Daniel 8:14.

The view of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 as the new-covenant heavenly antitype of the old-covenant earthly sanctuaries (cf. Heb 8:1, 2; 9:1, 11)¹ placed the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system in line with the unfolding sanctuary motif that moved across time from the early sacrificial altars, to the Mosaic tabernacle, to the Jerusalem temple, and, finally, to the cross and the heavenly sanctuary.

The notion that the time for the cleansing of the sanctuary began on October 22, 1844, was viewed as setting the post-1844 Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system within the last period of salvation history (cf. Dan 8:17, 26), prior to the Second Coming. October 22, 1844, was seen by the founders of Sabbatarian Adventism as the basic historical turning point for the development of their doctrinal system.²

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 38, 40-41; idem, "The Sanctuary and the Host, No. 3," DD, Mar. 19, 1847, 2-3; [J. White], "Temple of God," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 23; D. Arnold, "Shut Door Explained," PT, no. 6, Dec. 1849, 42; idem, "Daniel's Visions, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 60; J. White, Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door, 2-5.

²D. Arnold, "Daniel's Visions, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 63; G. W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," ibid., 64; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 11-14; Editorial, "Great Spiritual Dearth," AR, no. 2, Aug. 1850, 6; Editorial, "The Seventh Month Movement," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 64.

The second basic dimension in which the typology of sanctuary integrated the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was by providing the inner doctrinal integration of the major components of that system. The rationale for this integration was the typological assumption that as the earthly sanctuary was "the heart of the typical system,"¹ so the heavenly sanctuary is the heart of the antitypical system. This implied that all basic doctrinal elements typically connected to the old-covenant earthly sanctuary and its services should find a similar antitypical converging point in the new-covenant heavenly sanctuary and its services.

The antitypical connections between the sanctuary and the other components of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system were suggested by Scripture itself and/or inferred from the typical sanctuary system. Such passages as Daniel 8:14, Leviticus 16, Hebrews 8 and 9, and Revelation 11:19 were of special significance in the development of those connections.

The key text remained Daniel 8:14.² By linking this passage with Hebrews 8 and 9, the founders of Sabbatarian Adventism inferred that the sanctuary of Daniel

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 38.

²See E. G. White, Spirit of Prophecy, 4:258, 268; idem, Great Controversy (1888), 409, 423.

8:14 was the place of *Christ's heavenly ministry*.¹ By connecting Daniel 8:14 with Leviticus 16, they perceived the ending of the 2300 days in 1844 as the beginning of a new phase of Christ's priestly ministry. This new phase was defined as the antitypical Day of Atonement, which would continue until the time of *Christ's Second Coming*.²

By correlating Daniel 8:14 and Leviticus 16 with Daniel 7:9-14, Sabbatarian Adventists came to assume that the antitypical Day of Atonement involved a preadvent investigative judgment of God's people.³ Underlying that concept of judgment was the notion of the *conditional immortality of the soul*, that is, that the dead remain unconscious in their graves until the time of the final resurrection.⁴

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 38-41; O. Nichols to [W.] Miller, Apr. 20, 1846, ALP, AHC; D. Arnold, "Shut Door Explained," PT, no. 6, Dec. 1849, 42; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 7-16; J. White, Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door, 1-8.

²O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 40-43; O. Nichols to [W.] Miller, Apr. 20, 1846, ALP, AHC; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 60-62; D. Arnold, "Shut Door Explained," PT, no. 6, Dec. 1849, 43-44; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 6-7, 14-15; D. Arnold, "Daniel's Vision, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 60.

³O. Nichols to [W.] Miller, Apr. 20, 1846, ALP, AHC; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 6-10.

⁴See p. 161, above.

By relating Daniel 8:14 to Revelation 11:19, Sabbatarian Adventists concluded that it was at the end of the 2300 days in 1844 that the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary was open and the ark of the testament was seen.¹ From the fact that inside the ark of the typical sanctuary was the Decalogue with the Sabbath commandment (cf. Exod 20:3-17; 31:12-18; Heb 9:3, 4), Sabbatarian Adventists inferred that inside the ark of the antitypical sanctuary was likewise the Decalogue with the Sabbath commandment.² This led Sabbatarian Adventists to the conclusion that from 1844 God's people were being tested in regard to the Decalogue and the *seventh-day Sabbath*.³

The sanctuary typology provided, therefore, the basic *theological* structure into which such major doctrinal components as Christ's heavenly ministry, Christ's Second Coming, the conditional immortality of the soul, and the

¹Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 72-73; idem, Seal of the Living God, 19-20; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 14-16; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 13-14.

²Bates, Opening Heavens, 36; E. G. White, Vision; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 70-71; [J. White], "Temple of God," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 23; Editorial, "The Law of God, or the Ten Commandments," PT, no. 1, July 1849, 3-4; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 13-14.

³Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 72-73; idem, Seal of the Living God, 19-20; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21.

perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath were integrated.

The Three Angels' Messages

The function of the three angels' messages in the development of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was primarily of a *historical-missiological* nature. The historical feature of these messages integrated that system in two basic dimensions.

The first of these dimensions was the *outer* historical setting of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system within the larger context of the historical-cosmic controversy between God and His followers and Satan and his followers.

By connecting Revelation 14:12 with Revelation 12:17,¹ the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was placed as the eschatological restoration of God's truth within the larger context of the historical-cosmic controversy of Revelation 12. The end-time phase of that controversy was described in Revelation 14:9-12 as the polarization between the worshipers of "the beast and its image" on one side and the keepers of "the commandments of

¹Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 52; idem, Second Advent Way Marks, 71-72; idem, Vindication, 104; idem, Seal of the Living God, 19; Editorial, "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 28; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 7-8; J. Lindsey, "Letter from Brother Lindsey," AR, no. 1, Aug. 1850, 13.

God, and the faith of Jesus" on the other side.¹

The second basic dimension in which the historical feature of the three angels' messages integrated the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was by providing the inner chronological arrangement of both ecclesiological and doctrinal components of that system.

The three angels' messages were regarded as a prophetic description of the ecclesiological developments that led to the formation of Sabbatarian Adventism. Joseph Bates, for instance, regarded those messages as a "harmonious chain of events," which provided a "graphic delineation of the Second Advent movement, from its rise in about 1840, to a glorious state of immortality."² And Hiram Edson declared:

The first angel was a message of warning and mercy to the world, and nominal church. The rejection of this message, by the churches proved their FALL. This prepared the way for the second angel to follow, saying, 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city,' &c. This brought God's people out of Babylon, and made them a free people, and prepared them to receive and obey the third angel's message, which they could not have obe[y]ed while in Babylon, no more than Israel could

¹Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 58-60; Edson, Time of the End, 21; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21-22; John N. Andrews, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 5, Dec. 1849, 39; Editorial, "Great Spiritual Dearth," AR, no. 2, Aug. 1850, 6; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 10-13.

²Bates, Vindication, 92, 110.

have kept the Holy Sabbath, while they were bondmen and slaves in Egypt.¹

The three angels' messages displayed in a chronological sequence also some major *doctrinal* components of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system.

The preaching of "the hour of his judgment is come" by the first angel (Rev 14:7) was increasingly seen as having prepared the way for the establishment of the preadvent investigative judicial aspect of the phase of *Christ's heavenly ministry* that extended from the end of the 2300 days in 1844 (cf. Dan 8:14; 7:9-14) to the time of *Christ's Second Coming*.² A necessary corollary of that judgment was, as already noted, the concept of the *conditional immortality of the soul*.

The proclamation of "the commandments of God" (Rev 14:12) by the third angel in the post-1844 era was perceived as emphasizing the abiding nature of the law and the *seventh-day Sabbath* (cf. Exod 20:3-17).³ The broader

¹H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 8. See also J. White, Third Angel's Message; Editorial, "Great Spiritual Dearth," AR, no. 2, Aug. 1850, 6.

²Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 6-7; idem, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 10-11. See also Gordon, Sanctuary, 1844, and the Pioneers, 85-97.

³Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 24; *ibid.* (2d ed.), 54-60; H. Edson, "Letter from Bro. H. Edson," DD, Apr. 2, 1847, 8; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 69-79; idem, Vindication, 6-7, 104-5; idem, Seal of the Living God, 19, 40, 56; J. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 1, July 1849, 6; E. G. White, "Dear

mission of this angel was seen as preparing the way for and being followed by *Christ's Second Coming*.¹

In addition to their integrative functions, the three angels' messages were influential also in providing both a major starting point for the early Sabbatarian Adventist concept of present truth and a missiological purpose to the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system.

It was Revelation 14:12 that provided the basic starting point for the concept of present truth.² So influential was the content of this text for the development of early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines that the Sabbatarian Adventists even referred to their own message as the third angel's message.³

Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21; [J. White], "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 28; idem, Third Angel's Message, 6-14; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 2.

¹Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 15-16.

²Bates, Vindication, 93; idem, Seal of the Living God, [2]; Edson, Time of the End, 9, 16, 21; [J. White], "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 28; Hiram Edson, "Beloved Brethren, Scattered Abroad," PT, no. 5, Dec. 1849, 34; idem, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 2.

³J. White, Third Angel's Message, 11-16; idem, in idem, ed., Brother Miller's Dream, 9; J. Lindsey, "Letter from Brother Lindsey," AR, no. 1, Aug. 1850, 13; [J.] W[hite], "Our Tour East," ibid., 15; Editorial, "Great Spiritual Dearth," AR, no. 2, Aug. 1850, 6; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 8-16.

The missiological purpose that the three angels' messages gave to the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was based on the fact that each of those messages was a specific proclamation (Rev 14:6, 8, 9). By identifying those angels as symbolic of human beings,¹ Sabbatarian Adventists were able to see themselves as proclaiming the message of the third angel. As a result, according to James White, "God is now uniting his people, on the THIRD ANGEL'S MESSAGE, Rev. xiv. 9-12."²

Thus, the sanctuary and the three angels' messages integrated the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system in two basic dimensions. The first of those dimensions was the outer integration of that system to the larger context of salvation history. While the sanctuary typology set the system in line with the unfolding sanctuary motif, the three angels' messages placed it within the framework of the historical-cosmic controversy between God and His followers and Satan and his followers.

The second dimension in which the sanctuary and the three angels' messages integrated the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was by providing the inner integration of the main components of that system. While the sanctuary

¹Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 6, 18, 24; idem, Seal of the Living God, 17, 33-35; J. White, Third Angel's Message.

²[James] W[hite], "Our Tour East," AR, no. 1, Aug. 1850, 15.

typology integrated those components theological-historically, the three angels' messages integrated them historical-theologically.

In addition, the three angels' messages also provided both the starting point for the early Sabbatarian Adventist concept of present truth and a missiological purpose to the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system.

Configuration of the System

The basic structure of the early Sabbatarian Adventist system of present truth was already in place by 1850. Although not all major Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines were explicitly regarded by that time as present truths, all those doctrines assumed present truth characteristics through their integration into the system of present truth.

The Early Nucleus of Present Truths

Millerites had alluded to such teachings as the Second Advent¹ and the Midnight Cry² as present truths. It was, however, in Sabbatarian Adventist circles that the

¹W. Miller, Dissertations on the True Inheritance of the Saints, 72; [R. Hutchinson], "Letter from R. Hutchinson," MC, Aug. 24, 1843, 8; "Read This!" VT, Sept. 25, 1844, 140.

²Editorial, "Present Truth," VT, Oct. 2, 1844, 144; G. Storrs, "'Go Ye out to Meet Him'," AH, Oct. 9, 1844, 74.

concept of present truth¹ became a predominant theological theme. Early Sabbatarian Adventists regarded as present truths a few distinctive doctrines connected to both the three angels' messages and the sanctuary.

The concept of present truth was defined within the context of the three angels' messages as "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12)² and as "the commandments of God, and . . . the testimony of Jesus Christ" (Rev 12:17).³ As already noted, while the "commandments of God" were equated with the Decalogue (Exod 20:3-17), with special reference to the seventh-day Sabbath (Exod 20:8-11), the "faith" or "testimony" of Jesus was identified as the teachings of Jesus in the New Testament, with a specific allusion to the 1844 transition in Christ's priestly ministry.⁴

¹See pp. 187-88, above.

²Bates, Vindication, 93; idem, Seal of the Living God, [1], 64-65; Edson, Time of the End, 9, 16, 21; [J. White], "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 28; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 2, 16; H. S. Case, "Letter from Bro. Case," PT, no. 11, Nov. 1850, 85.

³Bates, Seal of the Living God, [1], 64-65; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21; [J. White], "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 28; H. Edson, "Beloved Brethren, Scattered Abroad," PT, no. 5, Dec. 1849, 34; idem, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 2.

⁴See pp. 132-33, above.

The idea of present truth was defined within the context of the sanctuary as the Sabbath and the shut door.¹ The seventh-day Sabbath was viewed as one of the commandments of the Decalogue (Exod 20:8-11) located in the ark of the testimony that was brought to view when the Most Holy Place of the heavenly temple was opened in 1844 (Rev 11:19). The expression "shut door" was a shorthand for acknowledging the authenticity of both the "Advent experience" of 1844 and the October 22, 1844, transition in Christ's priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary. This expression included also the concept of the close of the door of mercy to those who rejected the truth.

The concept of present truth was defined as the commandments of God and the faith or testimony of Jesus in the context of the three angels' messages and the Sabbath and the shut door in the context of the sanctuary. Yet both definitions pointed ultimately to the *Sabbath* and *Christ's heavenly ministry*.

The seventh-day Sabbath, which was directly related to both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages,² bore

¹Bates, Seal of the Living God, 17, 20, 26, 57, 65; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21; idem, in H. Edson, "Beloved Brethren, Scattered Abroad," PT, no. 5, Dec. 1849, 35; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 4, 16; Otis Nichols and S. W. Rhodes, "Extracts of Letters," AR, no. 3, Sept. 1850, 47-48; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 2.

²See pp. 140-45, above.

a special meaning for Sabbatarian Adventists. It was regarded not only as a present truth but also as a "past and present truth,"¹ an "all-important present truth,"² the "sealing truth,"³ the "great sealing truth,"⁴ the "last testing sealing truth,"⁵ and an "everlasting truth."⁶

Meanwhile, the 1844 transition in Christ's priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary was the anchor point for the Sabbatarian Adventist message. That transition was viewed as having marked (1) the beginning of a new phase in Christ's priestly ministry in heaven, (2) the launching of the proclamation of the third angel's message on earth, and (3) the purification of God's people in preparation for the Second Advent.

Early Sabbatarian Adventists saw a direct relationship between God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath and Christ's heavenly ministry. Joseph Bates, for example, spoke of the "Present Truth" of the "third angel's message"

¹Bates, Vindication, 28.

²J. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 1, July 1849, 6.

³Bates, Seal of the Living God, 22; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21.

⁴[J. White], "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 28; idem, Third Angel's Message, 11.

⁵H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 11.

⁶Bates, Seal of the Living God, 22; cf. idem, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 56-57.

as "THE SABBATH AND SHUT DOOR," by which he meant "the commandments in the Ark of his [God's] Testimony" (cf. Rev 11:19; 14:12).¹ Bates described more pictorially this relationship when he penned that

beside it [mercy seat in the inner temple in heaven] stands our great high priest crowned and clothed in royal majesty, presenting on his breast plate the hundred and forty-four thousand now to be sealed with the seal of the living God. This is and has been the present truth for God's Israel ever since the vail [*sic*] of the inner temple has been raised, or door open[ed], i.e. since October 1844. And it is to be understood in a few simple words, viz: the Sabbath of the Lord our God, and shut door.²

Hiram Edson also dealt with the same relationship when he stated that "these messages [Rev 14:6-12] brought us to the shut door, and an open door [Rev 11:19; cf. Dan 8:14], which brought the commandments of God to our view [Rev 14:12]."³

Thus, up to 1850, Sabbatarian Adventists spoke of present truth mainly in terms of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath and Christ's heavenly ministry within the context of the third angel's message and the sanctuary.

¹Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 16.

²Bates, Seal of the Living God, 20. See also E. G. White, "My Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64.

³H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 2.

The Larger Scope of the System

Up to this point, different parts and characteristics of the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system have been considered. The following pages provide a summary statement of Adventist theology to show how by 1850 those parts fit together within an eschatological matrix.

The early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was marked by a strong historical outlook. The three angels' messages provided, as already mentioned,¹ the basic chronological setting around the ending of the 2300 days in 1844. That basic setting was significantly enlarged by the integration of other doctrinal elements. As a result, by 1850, Sabbatarian Adventists had already integrated their main distinctive doctrines into an unique chronological system.

The imprisonment of Pope Pius VI by French soldiers on February 15, 1798,² was regarded by Sabbatarian Adventists not only as the end of the 1260 days of papal

¹See pp. 150-51, above.

²See Artaud de Montor, The Lives and Times of the Roman Pontiffs, from St. Peter to Pius IX (New York: D. & J. Sadlier, 1866), 2:486-513; Ludwig von Pastor, The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953), 40:332-39; J. N. D. Kelly, The Oxford Dictionary of Popes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 302; S. J. Watson, By Command of the Emperor: A Life of Marshal Berthier (London: Bodley Head, 1957), 67-70; Owen Chadwick, The Popes and European Revolution, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 462-71.

supremacy (cf. Rev 11:3; 12:6; cf. Dan 7:25; Rev 11:2; 12:14; 13:5)¹ but also as the beginning of the time of the end, when the book of Daniel would be unsealed (Dan 12:9) and the truth would be restored.²

The three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 were interpreted within this time-of-the-end framework as major steps in the development of the system of present truth. The first angel's message (vss. 6, 7) was regarded as calling people's attention to the ending of the 2300 days.³ The second angel's message (Rev 14:8) was understood as freeing God's people from the bondage of the nominal churches, to fully embrace the message related to the end of the 2300 days.⁴ The actual ending of that prophetic period in 1844 was seen as both the time when God's temple was opened for its cleansing in heaven (Rev

¹Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 21-22, 35; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 1, 6, 10-11; [idem], "One Hundred and Forty Four Thousand," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 56; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 8-9.

²Bates, Seal of the Living God, 36-37; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 8-13.

³D. Arnold, "Daniel's Visions, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 63; J. White, in idem, ed., Brother Miller's Dream, 5.

⁴Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 16; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 12, 14; Editorial, "Great Spiritual Dearth," AR, no. 2, Aug. 1850, 6; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 4, 8, 11.

11:19; Dan 8:14)¹ and the starting point for the preaching of the third angel's message on earth (Rev 14:9-12).²

The inauguration of Christ's priestly ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary in 1844 was perceived as the time when a significant work of restoring all truth (with special reference to the seventh-day Sabbath) began. That work was largely informed by both the opening of the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary, where the ark of the covenant was seen (Rev 11:19),³ and the reference to the commandments of God in the third angel's message (Rev 14:12).⁴

Sabbatarian Adventists held at the same time that a special prophetic guidance was provided by God through Ellen G. White to assist in the formation of the emerging system of present truth. The main function of that guidance was seen as both confirming and uniting God's end-time remnant

¹Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 72-73; idem, Seal of the Living God, 19-20; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 14-15; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 2.

²J. White, "Thoughts on Revelation 14," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 11; Bates, Seal of the Living God, 19-20; idem, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 15; G. W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 12-14; Editorial, "Great Spiritual Dearth," AR, no. 2, Aug. 1850, 6.

³See pp. 140-42, above.

⁴See pp. 142-44, above.

people on the basic truths discovered from the study of Scripture.¹

Christ's post-1844 ministry in the heavenly sanctuary was understood as comprising an atonement for the blotting out of sins (cf. Lev 16; 23:26-32). That atonement was carried out by Christ standing "before the mercy-seat" and "pleading his blood" for His people.² References were also made to a simultaneous work of preadvent investigative judgment (Dan 7:9-14) that would decide "who is, and who is not worthy to enter the gates of the holy city."³ The rationale for such judgment was obviously the notion that the dead remain unconscious in their graves, without having received yet their final reward (cf. Dan 12:2).⁴

Meanwhile, Sabbatarian Adventists saw the third angel's message of Revelation 14:9-12 as a message of restoration that was to unite God's remnant people "on the great sealing truth" of the Sabbath⁵ and preparing them for

¹See pp. 165-70, above.

²J. White, Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door, 14-15.

³Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 10.

⁴See p. 161, above.

⁵[J. White], "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 28. See also Bates, Seal of the Living God, 34, 40; G. W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64; [J.] W[hite], "One Hundred and Forty Four Thousand," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 57; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 11.

"the time of trouble."¹ A future profuse outpouring of the Holy Spirit was viewed as enabling them to go forth and proclaim "the Sabbath more fully."² That proclamation would cause a final polarization between those who keep God's seventh-day Sabbath (cf. Rev 14:12) and those who stand for the Pope's Sunday (cf. Rev 14:9, 11).³

It was stated that when Christ stands up (Dan 12:1) to lay off His priestly attire and cloth Himself with "the garments of vengeance" (Isa 59:17), the "wrath of God" will come against the worshipers of "the beast and his image" (Rev 14:9-11) through the seven last plagues (Rev 16).⁴ At that time, the third angel of Revelation 14:9-12 would have accomplished his mission, and human probation will be closed (cf. Rev 22:11).⁵ While the wicked will be suffering in the "time of trouble, such as never was" (Dan 12:1; Matt

¹Bates, Seal of the Living God, 40, 46, 62, 64; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 7, 10.

²E. G. White, Vision.

³Edson, Time of the End, 21; G. E. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 6-7; Editorial, "Great Spiritual Dearth," AR, no. 2, Aug. 1850, 6; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 10-13.

⁴[J. White], "Time of Trouble," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 9; E. G. White, To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God; Edson, Time of the End, 21, 27; D. Arnold, "Shut Door Explained," PT, no. 6, Dec. 1849, 44; G. W. Holt, "Letter from Bro. Holt," PT, no. 8, Mar. 1850, 64.

⁵E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 32.

24:21),¹ the saints will be under God's special protection² in their "time of Jacob's trouble" (Jer 30:7; cf. Gen 32).³

The conflict between the forces of good and the powers of evil was regarded as reaching its climax in a final decree by the enemies of God's truth to kill all Sabbath-keepers (cf. Rev 13:15).⁴ But God would intervene supernaturally at that time in behalf of His people. The swords raised against them would break, and show themselves "as powerless as the straw" (cf. Ps 91).⁵

The final deliverance of God's people was seen as taking place when Christ leaves the heavenly sanctuary and comes on the clouds of heaven (Rev 14:14) to bless His

¹[J. White], "Time of Trouble," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 8-9; E. G. White, To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God.

²E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21.

³[J. White], "Time of Jacob's Trouble," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 9-10; E. G. White, "To Bro. Eli Curtis," in ibid., 12; [J. White], in ibid., 22; E. G. White, To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 1; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra. Sept. 1850, 5, 7-8, 12-13.

⁴[J. White], "Time of Jacob's Trouble," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 10; E. G. White, To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 7-8, 11, 13.

⁵E. G. White, Vision.

waiting people.¹ Then He raises all the dead saints, and takes them with the living saints (the 144,000 of Rev 7:1-8; 14:1-5) to heaven (cf. John 14:1-3; 1 Cor 15:51-55; 1 Thess 4:13-17; Rev 20:5, 6).²

The saints were described as living and reigning with Christ in heaven for a thousand years (Rev 20:4).³ During that one-thousand-year-long "day of judgment" (2 Pet 3:7, 8), the saints are supposed to judge not only the wicked but also "the Devil and all his angels" (Dan 7:22; Jude 6; Rev 20:4).⁴ Satan will then be confined as the antitypical scapegoat (cf. Lev 16:20-22)⁵ to the wilderness of this desolated and void earth, while the wicked remain

¹Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 19; idem, Vindication, 111; Edson, Time of the End, 21; Bates, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 15.

²O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 43; Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 19; [J. White], "Time of Trouble," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 9; E. G. White, "To Bro. Eli Curtis," in ibid., 12; J. White, "Judgment," in ibid., 24; Bates, Vindication, 98; idem, Seal of the Living God, 39

³E. G. White, "To the 'Little Flock'," PT, no. 9, Apr. 1850, 72; [J.] W[hite], "Day of Judgment," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 49-51; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 14-15.

Joseph Bates and Hiram Edson considered the thousand years of Revelation 20 as the antitypical seventh-day Sabbath jubilee of the seventh millennium. See Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 24-25; idem, Seal of the Living God, 55; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 14.

⁴[J.] W[hite], "Day of Judgment," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 49.

⁵O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 43.

dead on the earth (Rev 20:2, 3, 5; cf. Jer 4:23-26).¹

At the end of the thousand years, Jesus will descend with the saints upon the Mount of Olives, which will part and become a valley, large enough to receive the New Jerusalem (Zech 14:4-11; Rev 21:1-3). After the wicked dead are raised (Rev 20:5), Satan leads them to surround "the camp of the saints" and the New Jerusalem, but fire comes "down from God" and destroys them all (Rev 20:7-9; cf. Mal 4:1). The earth will then be completely purified from every vestige of sin to become the everlasting home of the redeemed.² Having fulfilled its function, the heavenly sanctuary will be removed from the New Jerusalem, and "the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb" will be its sanctuary (Rev 21:22).³

Thus by 1850 all the major Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines had been integrated into the Sabbatarian Adventist system of present truth. For Bates,

¹J. White, "Judgment," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 24; [idem], "Day of Judgment," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 51.

²E. G. White, "To Bro. Eli Curtis," in J. White, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 11-12; J. White, "Judgment," in ibid., 24; E. G. White, "To the 'Little Flock'," PT, no. 9, Apr. 1850, 72; [J.] W[hite], "Day of Judgment," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 51; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 15-16; E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 11, Nov. 1850, 86.

³J. White, Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and the Shut Door, 7. See also [idem], "Temple of God," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 23.

the typological relationship of that system formed a "harmonious perfect chain."¹ He regarded it as directly opposed to the non-Sabbatarian Adventist "no-law-of-God and no-commandment system"² and "no-Sabbath, no-commandment system."³

Summary and Conclusions

The second half of the 1840s was a period of special Bible study for the early Sabbatarian Adventists. As the disillusionment with the contemporary deistic ideas had led William Miller to a closer investigation of the prophetic element of Scripture, so the October 1844 Disappointment challenged the founders of Sabbatarian Adventism to a closer investigation of biblical truth. Out of that investigation was formed the early Sabbatarian Adventist system of present truth.

The formative period of Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines comprised two major phases. The first (1844-47) saw the basic hammering out of the distinctive doctrines, with very little attempt to spread them out. The second phase (1848-50) was marked by an ongoing enrichment of those doctrines, but with much more determined efforts to spread

¹Bates, Vindication, 90.

²Ibid., 53. See also 23, 26.

³Ibid., 33, 49.

them to those who had previously accepted the Second Advent message.

The process of defining the doctrines was largely due to the influence of leading personalities and Bible study groups. The process of spreading the doctrines was carried out mainly through publications and Bible conferences. Although the basic Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines were already defined by 1847, the process of shaping and refining the whole Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system still continued thereafter.

By 1850 the basic Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines had already been integrated into the theological-historical setting provided by the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. While the doctrines of the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath, Christ's heavenly ministry, and Christ's Second Coming were directly connected to the integrating factors of both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages, the doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul was only indirectly linked to those integrating factors.

Meanwhile, the role played by the prophetic gift of Ellen White within the context of that system was of confirming the interrelationship between major components of the system. This was largely due to the fact that up to 1850 that prophetic gift was viewed by the founders of

Sabbatarian Adventism more as a sign and a special function than as an actual doctrine in itself.

The originality of the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system can be better perceived from its whole configuration rather than from the peculiarities of its single components. An analysis of the system as a whole shows such major characteristics as (1) a biblical foundation, (2) a historicist prophetic interpretation, (3) eschatological time-setting, (4) a cosmic-controversy framework, (5) a Christ-centered focus, (6) historical continuity, (7) a present-truth emphasis, and (8) a mission concern.

An analysis of the function of the integrating factors shows that both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages integrated the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system in outer and inner dimensions. In the outer dimension, both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages integrated that system to the larger context of salvation history. While the sanctuary typology set the system in line with the unfolding sanctuary motif, the three angels' messages placed it within the framework of the historical-cosmic controversy between God and His followers and Satan and his followers. In the inner dimension, both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages provided the inner integration of the main components of that system. While the sanctuary typology integrated those components

theological-historically, the three angels' messages integrated them historical-theologically.

The eschatological setting of Daniel 8:14 and Revelation 14:6-12 gave to the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system a contemporary pertinent nature. Such doctrines as the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath and Christ's heavenly ministry were regarded within that setting as of special present truth relevance. This early nucleus of present truths was largely expanded through the integration of other doctrinal dimensions. The result was the formation of a system that represented a major theological development.

CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF DOCTRINAL CONSOLIDATION

1850-1863: PART 1

Background

The 1850s and early 1860s were a crucial period for the development of Sabbatarian Adventism. That period was marked by such major developments as (1) the emergence of new leading personalities, (2) the broadening of mission awareness, (3) a rapid growth rate and geographical expansion, (4) the consolidation of the publishing work, (5) the choosing of a denominational name, (6) the establishment of a basic church organization, and (7) the beginning of the definition and integration of principles of lifestyle.

New Leading Personalities

Up to 1850, Sabbatarian Adventism was largely shaped, as previously mentioned,¹ by the influence of such leaders as Joseph Bates, James White, and Ellen G. White. During the 1850s, several new personalities joined that early group of leaders in the share of leadership responsibilities. Especially influential in the further

¹See pp. 78-82, above.

development of Sabbatarian Adventist theology were such individuals as J. N. Andrews and Uriah Smith.

John N. Andrews (1829-83),¹ regarded as the foremost theologian among the Seventh-day Adventist pioneers, produced an impressive literary legacy, covering a variety of subjects. Of special significance were his studies on the Sabbath,² which culminated in the 864-page

¹Gordon Balharrie, "A Study of the Contribution Made to the Seventh-day Adventist Movement by John Nevins Andrews" (M.A. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1949); Virgil Robinson, John Nevins Andrews: Flame for the Lord (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1975); AtH 9 (Spring 1984), special issue on J. N. Andrews; Harry Leonard, ed., J. N. Andrews: The Man and the Mission (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1985).

²See e.g., J. N. Andrews, Thoughts on the Sabbath, and the Perpetuity of the Law of God (Paris, ME: James White, 1851) (reprinted from idem, "Thoughts on the Sabbath," RH, Dec. 1850, 10, and idem, "The Perpetuity of the Law of God," 2-part series in RH, Jan. 1851, 33-37; Feb. 1851, 41-43); idem, A Review of the Remarks of O. R. L. Crozier on the Institution, Design and Abolition of the Sabbath (n.p., [1852]) (a reprint, with a few revisions, of the author's "Remarks of O. R. L. Crozier on the Institution, Design and Abolition of the Sabbath. Reviewed," 2-part series in RH, Feb. 3, 1852, 81-86; Feb. 17, 1852, 89-93, and with a short extract from the author's "The Sabbath. Letters to O. R. L. Crozier.--No. II," RH, May 27, 1852, 11); idem, A Refutation of the Claims of Sunday-Keeping to Divine Authority. Also a Lengthy Extract from the History of the Sabbath (Rochester, NY: James White, 1853) (pages 3-14 were reprinted with a few revisions from idem, "Is the First Day of the Week the Sabbath?" RH, Mar. 31, 1853, 178-80); idem, The First Day of the Week Not the Sabbath of the Lord, Advent Sabbath Tracts, no. 1 (Rochester, NY: Advent Review Office, [1854]) (pages 1-14 were reprinted from the author's "First-Day, Not the Sabbath of the Lord," RH, Jan. 24, 1854, 1-2); [idem], History of the Sabbath, Advent Sabbath Tract, no. 2 (Rochester, NY: Advent Review Office, 1854) (reprinted from idem, "History of the Sabbath," 3-part series in RH, Apr. 14, 1853, 186-88; Apr. 28, 1853, 194-96; May 12, 1853, 202-3); idem, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week; Showing the Bible Record of the Sabbath and the Manner

fourth, revised and enlarged edition of the History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week (1912).¹ Outstanding

in Which It Has Been Supplanted by the Heathen Festival of the Sun (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Review & Herald Office, 1859) (reprinted from idem, "History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week," 4-part series in RH, July 14, 1859, 57-60; July 21, 1859, 65-67; July 28, 1859, 73-75; Aug. 4, 1859, 81-84); idem, The Sabbatic Institution, and the Two Laws (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1860) (pages 4-22 were reprinted from the author's "Institution of the Sabbath," RH, May 29, 1860, 10-12; pages 23-36 were reprinted from his "The Two Laws," ibid., 12-13); idem, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week, Showing the Bible Record of the Sabbath, Also the Manner in Which It Has Been Supplanted by the Heathen Festival of the Sun (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1862) (reprinted from idem, "History of the Sabbath," 26-part series in RH, Dec. 3, 1861, 1-2; Dec. 10, 1861, 9-10; Dec. 17, 1861, 17-18; Dec. 24, 1861, 25-26; Dec. 31, 1861, 33-35; Jan. 7, 1862, 41-43; Jan. 14, 1862, 49-50; Jan. 21, 1862, 57-59; Jan. 28, 1862, 65-66; Feb. 4, 1862, 73-74; Feb. 11, 1862, 81-83; Feb. 18, 1862, 89-90; Feb. 25, 1862, 97-98; Mar. 4, 1862, 105-7; Mar. 11, 1862, 113-15; Mar. 18, 1862, 121-24; Mar. 25, 1862, 129-31; Apr. 1, 1862, 137-38; Apr. 8, 1862, 145-46; Apr. 15, 1862, 153-55; Apr. 22, 1862, 161-62; Apr. 29, 1862, 169-70; May 6, 1862, 177-78; May 13, 1862, 185-86; May 20, 1862, 193-95; May 27, 1862, 201-2); idem, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week (2d ed., enl.); idem, Sermons on the Sabbath and Law: Embracing an Outline of the Biblical and Secular History of the Sabbath for Six Thousand Years, 2d ed. (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1870); idem, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week, 3d ed., rev. (Battle Creek, MI: Review & Herald, 1887); Andrews and Conradi, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week (4th ed., rev. and enl.).

¹Andrews and Conradi, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week (4th ed., rev. and enl.). Insightful criticisms of Conradi's revision of Andrews's History of the Sabbath are provided in C. Mervyn Maxwell, "An Excerpt from 'The Sabbath in Seventh-day Adventist History'," TMs, Oct. 1977, EGWRC-AU; idem, "Joseph Bates and Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath Theology," in Strand, ed., Sabbath in Scripture and History, 361; J[ohann] Heinz, "The Author of the History of the Sabbath," in Leonard, ed., J. N. Andrews: The Man and the Mission, 131-47.

also were his studies on the sanctuary¹ and the three angels' messages.²

Uriah Smith (1832-1903),³ considered the dean of prophetic interpretation in Seventh-day Adventist circles, penned during his forty-year career as editor of the Review at least thirty-five books and pamphlets and 4,000 articles and editorials.⁴ His commentaries on the books of Daniel and Revelation became standard works in the area.⁵

¹See e.g., J. N. Andrews, The Sanctuary and Twenty-three Hundred Days (Rochester, NY: James White, 1853); *ibid.*, 2d ed. (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1872); *idem*, The Commandment to Restore and to Build Jerusalem (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1865).

²See e.g., J. N. Andrews, The Three Angels of Revelation xiv, 6-12 (Rochester, NY: Advent Review Office, 1855); *idem*, The Three Messages of Revelation xiv, 6-12. Particularly the Third Angel's Messages, and Two-Horned Beast (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1860); *ibid.*, [2d ed.] (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1864); *ibid.*, 3d ed., rev. (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1872); *ibid.*, 4th ed., rev. (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1876); *ibid.*, 5th ed., rev. (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1886).

³Richard J. Hammond, "The Life and Work of Uriah Smith" (M.A. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1944); Eugene F. Durand, "Yours in the Blessed Hope, Uriah Smith" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1978); *idem*, Yours in the Blessed Hope, Uriah Smith (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1980).

⁴Durand, Yours in the Blessed Hope, 16, 195-201, 320.

⁵See e.g., [Uriah Smith], "Thoughts on Revelation," 23-part series in RH, June 3, 1862, 4-5; June 10, 1862, 12-13; June 17, 1862, 20-21; June 24, 1862, 28; July 1, 1862, 36; July 8, 1862, 44; Sept. 9, 1862, 116; Sept. 16, 1862,

Noteworthy also were his studies on the sanctuary.¹

124; Oct. 21, 1862, 164-65; Oct. 28, 1862, 172-73; Nov. 4, 1862, 180; Nov. 11, 1862, 188; Nov. 18, 1862, 196-97; Nov. 25, 1862, 204; Dec. 2, 1862, 4-5; Dec. 9, 1862, 12; Dec. 16, 1862, 20; Dec. 23, 1862, 28; Dec. 30, 1862, 36; Jan. 6, 1863, 44-45; Jan. 20, 1863, 60; Jan. 27, 1863, 68; Feb. 3, 1863, 76-77 (from June 17 this series was entitled "Thoughts on the Revelation"); idem, Thoughts, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Revelation (1865); ibid., 2d ed., rev. (1875); ibid., 3d ed., rev. and enl. (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1881); idem, Thoughts, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Daniel (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1873); ibid., 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1881); idem, Thoughts, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Daniel and the Revelation: Being an Exposition, Text by Text, of These Important Portions of the Holy Scriptures (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald, 1882); idem, Daniel and the Revelation. The Response of History to the Voice of Prophecy; A Verse by Verse Study of These Important Books of the Bible (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald, 1897); idem, The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, rev. and newly illustrated (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1944).

¹See e.g., U[riah] S[mith], The 2300 Days and the Sanctuary, Advent and Sabbath Tracts, no. 5 (Rochester, NY: Adventist Review Office, [1854]) (published also in idem, "The Sanctuary," 3-part series in RH, Mar. 21, 1854, 69-70; Mar. 28, 1854, 77-78; Apr. 4, 1854, 84-86); [idem], The Sanctuary and Twenty-three Hundred Days of Daniel viii, 14 (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1863) (reprinted from [idem], "The Sanctuary," 9-part series in RH, July 14, 1863, 52-53; July 21, 1863, 60; July 28, 1863, 68-69; Aug. 4, 1863, 76-77; Aug. 11, 1863, 84-85; Aug. 18, 1863, 92; Aug. 25, 1863, 100-1; Sept. 1, 1863, 108-9; Sept. 8, 1863, 116-17); idem, Sanctuary and Twenty-three Hundred Days of Daniel viii, 14 (1877); idem, Looking unto Jesus.

A helpful overview of Uriah Smith's theology of the sanctuary is provided in Roy Adams, The Sanctuary Doctrine: Three Approaches in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 1 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1981), 15-94.

Mission Awareness

Up to the early 1850s, Sabbatarian Adventists generally held that since probation had ended for the world in 1844 their mission was restricted to the preaching of the third angel's message (Rev 14:9-12) to those who had previously accepted the Second Advent message. From the early 1850s, however, Sabbatarian Adventists became increasingly convinced that their message was pertinent also to the larger Christian community and to the world in general.

Three major factors have been identified as having fostered this early broadening of the Sabbatarian Adventist mission awareness.¹ The first of those factors was the fact that Christ did not return as soon as expected by the founders of Sabbatarian Adventism.² This led them eventually to the conclusion that they had to "prophecy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings" (Rev 10:11; cf. Matt 24:14).³

¹See Vyhmeister, Misión de la Iglesia Adventista, 40-43. See also Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Open and Shut Door"; Damsteege, Foundations, 149-64, 271-93; G. R. Knight, "From Shut Door to Worldwide Mission," in Pfeiffer, Träder, and Knight, eds., Die Adventisten und Hamburg, 50-57.

²See pp. 103-7, above. James White wrote in 1847 that "many [including he himself] were expecting the Lord to come at the 7th month, 1845." [J. White], Remarks, in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 22.

³J. N. A[ndrews], "'Watchman, What of the Night?'" RH, May 27, 1852, 14; idem, "The Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Feb. 6, 1855, 169; R. F. C[ottrell], "Definite

A second factor that helped to broaden the Sabbatarian Adventist mission awareness was Ellen White's visions that suggested a larger mission outreach. As early as November 1848, she saw the future Seventh-day Adventist publishing endeavors as "streams of light that went clear round the world."¹ In July 1850, she had a vision indicating that non-former-Millerites "who had not heard the Advent doctrine and rejected it would embrace the truth and take" the places of the obstinate Adventists.²

A third factor to foster the broadening of the Sabbatarian Adventist mission awareness was the conversion of people who had not previously joined the Millerite movement. In August 1850, James White reported the conversion of a man in Vermont, who "had made no public profession of religion until 1845."³ Other conversions of a similar nature were also noted in the following years.⁴

Time," RH, June 26, 1855, 253; [Uriah Smith], "Remarks," RH, Apr. 24, 1856, 14; A. S. Hutchins, "The Field Is the World," RH, Mar. 26, 1857, 168; [Uriah Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth, No. 13," RH, Feb. 4, 1858, 100; Tryphena N. Elliot, "From Sister Elliot," RH, July 22, 1858, 79.

¹[E. G. White], Life Sketches of Ellen G. White, 125.

²E. G. White, "A Vision the Lord Gave Me in Oswego, July 29, 1850," [A]Ms[P] 5, 1850, EGWRC-AU.

³[J.] W[hite], "Our Tour East," AR, no. 1, Aug. 1850, 15.

⁴[James White], "Oswego Conference," RH, Sept. 16, 1851, 32; G. W. Holt, "From Bro. Holt," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 72; [James White], "Our Tour West," RH, Feb. 17, 1852, 94.

Growth and Expansion

Sabbatarian Adventism was marked during the early 1850s by a "rapid growth rate and geographical expansion."¹ The number of Sabbathkeeping Adventists was reported by James White as being "about one hundred" in 1849.² That number increased to around two hundred in 1850, two thousand in 1852,³ and 3,500 by 1863.⁴

Up to 1849, Sabbatarian Adventism was confined to New England and New York State.⁵ Joseph Bates's meetings in Jackson, Michigan, in the summer of 1849, were a major landmark in the westward expansion of the movement.⁶ By 1852, Sabbatarian Adventists were found also in Michigan,

¹Mustard, James White and SDA Organization, 124.

²J[ames] W[hite], "The Cause," RH, July 23, 1857, 93.

³Maxwell, Tell It to the World, 129, 147. Borge Schantz's suggestion that there were only 250 Sabbatarian Adventists in 1852 (Schantz, "Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 225) does not seem to be in harmony with the contemporary report of James White in "A Brief Sketch of the Past," RH, May 6, 1852, 5. Cf. Mustard, James White and SDA Organization, 124, n. 3.

⁴Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "SDA Church."

⁵[J. White], "Brief Sketch of the Past," RH, May 6, 1852, 5.

⁶J. C. Bowles, "Dear Brother White," PT, no. 4, Sept. 1849, 32; [J. White], "Brief Sketch of the Past," RH, May 6, 1852, 5. See also Brian E. Strayer, "The First Church Built by Sabbathkeeping Adventists," AtR, Mar. 2, 1989, 25.

Indiana, Wisconsin, and Canada.¹ Following the westward expansion of the movement, James and Ellen White moved in 1855 to Battle Creek, Michigan,² which would become the headquarters of the Seventh-day Adventist Church up to 1903.³

In 1858, James White reported the existence of Sabbatarian Adventists in North America who spoke "German, French, Norwegian, Swedish, Dutch, &c." and whose desire was "to see publications on the present truth printed in their native languages, to circulate in America and in Europe."⁴ The publication of Sabbatarian Adventist literature in non-English languages became one of the most influential means for reaching non-English-speaking populations in both North America and overseas.⁵

¹J. Lindsey, "Letter from Brother Lindsey," AR, no. 1, Aug. 1850, 13; S. W. Rhodes, "Letter from Bro. Rhodes," PT, no. 11, Nov. 1850, 84-85; [J. White], "Brief Sketch of the Past," RH, May 6, 1852, 5.

²J. White, Life Incidents, 297-98.

³Insightful accounts of the Seventh-day Adventist experience in Battle Creek, Michigan, are found in Milton R. Hook, Flames over Battle Creek: The Story of George W. Amadon, Review and Herald Printer, Who Shared in the Early Successes and Tragedies of the Seventh-day Adventist Church (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1977); Larry B. Massie and Peter J. Schmitt, Battle Creek: The Place Behind the Products (Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor Publications, 1984), passim.

⁴James White, "Publications in Other Languages," RH, May 6, 1858, 200.

⁵See Damsteegt, Foundations, 281-82; Schantz, "Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 244-45.

By 1863, the estimated 3,500 Seventh-day Adventists were "found all across the northern United States, from Maine to Minnesota and Missouri."¹

Publications

A major landmark for the development of the Sabbatarian Adventist publishing work was the merging of the Present Truth and the Advent Review into the Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald in November 1850.² This new periodical, usually referred to as the Review, became an important catalyst for the development of Seventh-day Adventism. It provided individual Sabbatarian Adventists with an opportunity of participating, in some sense, in doctrinal, lifestyle, and organizational refinements. It also carried the presence of Sabbatarian Adventism to places rarely visited by ministers.

Up to 1855, the Review was published in such places as Paris, Maine (November 1850 to June 9, 1851); Saratoga Springs, New York (July 21, 1851, to March 23, 1852); and Rochester, New York (May 6, 1852, to October 30, 1855). From December 4, 1855, on (up to August 11, 1903), it was published in Battle Creek, Michigan.³

¹Schwarz, Light Bearers to the Remnant, 97.

²See pp. 88-89, above; Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Review and Herald."

³Ibid., 1208.

In August 1852, James White launched the Youth's Instructor,¹ a new Sabbatarian Adventist periodical intended to "teach the young the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus, and thereby help them to a correct understanding of the Holy Scriptures."² This periodical was published first in Rochester, New York (August 1852 to October 1855), and then (December [?] 1855 to August 27, 1903) in Battle Creek, Michigan.

The move of the Sabbatarian Adventist publishing house from Rochester, New York, to Battle Creek, Michigan, in the autumn of 1855 was a major turning point in the consolidation of Sabbatarian Adventism. Two years later (1857), the first steam press was purchased.³ On May 3, 1861, the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association was

¹Ibid., 1629-32.

²Mastheads of YI, Aug. 1852, 8; Oct. 1852, 16; Dec. 1852, 24; Jan. 1853, 32; Feb. 1853, 40.

³J[ames] W[hite], "A Power Press," RH, Mar. 19, 1857, 160; Joseph Bates and Uriah Smith, "Business Proceedings of the Battle Creek Conference," RH, Apr. 16, 1857, 188; J[ames] W[hite], "Power Press," RH, Apr. 16, 1857, 192; [idem], "The Power Press," RH, May 7, 1857, 8; idem, "Power Press," RH, June 4, 1857, 40; idem, "Power Press," RH, July 16, 1857, 88; idem, "Power Press," RH, July 30, 1857, 104; [idem], "The Cause," RH, Aug. 13, 1857, 116; "Engine," RH, Aug. 20, 1857, 128; J[ames] W[hite], "Circulate the Review," RH, Sept. 3, 1857, 140; Editorial note, RH, Oct. 15, 1857, 188.

formally incorporated under the laws of the State of Michigan.¹

Meanwhile, a large number of Sabbatarian Adventist pamphlets and books were flowing off the press in English,² and from the mid-1850s there were attempts to provide Sabbatarian Adventist publications in other languages.³ It was, however, only in 1858 that such attempts materialized.⁴ That year saw the translation and publication of J. H. Waggoner's Nature and Obligation of the

¹Joseph Bates and Uriah Smith, "Business Proceedings of the B. C. Conference," RH, Apr. 30, 1861, 189; Editorial note, RH, May 7, 1861, 200; "Meeting of the Association," RH, May 28, 1861, 16.

²A partial list of Sabbatarian Adventist pamphlets and books published up to 1863 can be found in the "Selected Bibliography" below. For more exhaustive listings of such publications, see William M. Schomburg, "Check List of Seventh-day Adventist Publications in the United States, 1850-1900, with a Historical Introduction" (M.S. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1972), 125-44; Vern Carner, Sakae Kubo, and Curt Rice, "Bibliographical Essay," in Gaustad, ed., Rise of Adventism, 288-303.

³Gustaf Mellberg, "From Bro. Mellberg," RH, Feb. 20, 1855, 183; Jesse Dorcas, "Sabbath Tracts for the Germans," RH, Apr. 24, 1856, 14; R. F. C[ottrell], "Tracts for the Germans," RH, May 8, 1856, 29; Joseph Bates and Uriah Smith, "Business Proceedings of the Conference at Battle Creek, May 26th, 1856," RH, May 29, 1856, 44; J. W[hite], "Sabbath Tract, in German and Norwegian," RH, June 12, 1856, 53.

⁴See James White, "The Present Truth in French," RH, Dec. 24, 1857, 56; [idem], "The German Tract," ibid.; [idem], "The German Tract," RH, Jan. 28, 1858, 96; "Business Items," RH, Mar. 25, 1858, 152; James White, "Publications in Other Languages," RH, May 6, 1858, 200; [idem], RH, July 8, 1858, 64; "Tracts in Other Languages," RH, Apr. 28, 1859, 184.

Sabbath¹ into German² and Dutch,³ as well as the publication of a tract on the Sabbath⁴ and another one on the Second Coming⁵ in French.

¹J. H. Waggoner, The Nature and Obligation of the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment: With Remarks on the Great Apostasy and Perils of the Last Days (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Office, 1857). This pamphlet was written with the purpose of being translated into German (see "German Tract," RH, Oct. 16, 1856, 192), and it was first published as "The Sabbath," 3-part series in RH, Oct. 16, 1856, 185-86; Oct. 23, 1856, 193-96; Oct. 30, 1856, 201-4.

²[J. H. Waggoner], Die Natur und Verpflichtung des Sabbaths durch das vierte Gebot. Mit Bemerkungen über den grossen Ubfall und den Leiden der letzten Tage (Battle Creek, MI: Dampfpreise des "Review und Herald," 1858). The inaccuracies of this translation (see "Business Items," RH, Apr. 15, 1858, 176; J. White, "Publications in Other Languages," RH, May 6, 1858, 200) led to the publication in 1859 of a new German translation of this tract under the title Das Wesen des Sabbaths und unsere Verpflichtung auf ihn nach dem vierten Gebote. Mit Bemerkungen über den grossen Ubfall und die Gefahren der letzten Tage (Battle Creek, MI: Dampfpreise des "Review und Herald," 1859).

³[J. H. Waggoner], De Natuur en Verbinding van den Sabbath volgens het vierde Gebodt; met Aanmerkingen op den groten Afval en zware Tyden in de laatste Dagen, trans. John Fisher (Stoom Press van de "Review and Herald Office," 1858). This tract included, in addition to Waggoner's Nature and Obligation of the Sabbath, "an extract from the Sabbath Manual, and several pages of the Bible Student's Assistant." J. W[white], RH, July 9, 1858, 64.

⁴D. T. B[ourdeau], Le Sabbat de la Bible ([Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1858]).

⁵La Grande Statue de Daniel ii, et les Quatre Betes Symboliques de Daniel vii; et quelxues remarques sur la Seconde Venue de Christ, et sur le Cinquieme Royaume Universel, traduit de l'Anglais (Battle Creek, MI: [Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office], 1858). Although this pamphlet does not identify its author, pages 19-32 ("Exposition de Daniel vii") are largely identical in content to James White's "Exposition of Daniel vii: or the Vision of the Four Beasts," RH, Nov. 14, 1854, 108-10 (reprinted in idem, The Four Universal Monarchies of the

The prolific Sabbatarian Adventist publishing endeavors were even noticed outside Sabbatarian Adventist circles. In 1860, Daniel T. Taylor penned in the Advent Christian World's Crisis that the promoters of the Review, "though a decided minority, are very devoted, zealous, and active in the promulgation of their peculiar views of the Sunday and Sabbath."¹

A Denominational Name

Up to 1860, Sabbatarian Adventists had referred to themselves as the "little flock" (cf. Luke 12:32),² the end-time "remnant" (cf. Rev 12:17),³ the "Sabbath and shut

Prophecy of Daniel, and God's Everlasting Kingdom
[Rochester, NY: Advent Review Office, 1855], 19-36).

¹Daniel T. Taylor, "Our Statistical Report. No. 5," WC, Jan. 8, 1860, 89.

²Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), [i]; ibid. (2d ed.), iii; idem, Second Advent Way Marks, 3, 79; [J. White], in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 1; Bates, Vindication, [i], 8, 17, 28, 57, 61, 82, 96-97; idem, Seal of the Living God, 1; E. G. White, "To the 'Little Flock'," PT, no. 9, Apr. 1850, 71; J. White, in idem, ed., Brother Miller's Dream, 8-9; [idem], "Our Tour East," AR, no. 1, Aug. 1850, 14; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 3, 10-11, 13.

³Bates, Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (2d ed.), 52, 59; idem, Vindication, 6-7, 96, 98, 106; J. White, Third Angel's Message, 7; J. White, in idem, ed., Brother Miller's Dream, 9; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 2, 4, 12; Joseph Bates, "New Testament Seventh Day Sabbath," RH, no. 4, Jan. 1851, 32; Editorial, "To Ira Fancher," RH, Mar. 1851, 52.

Such expressions as the "remnant scattered abroad" (E. G. Harmon, To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad) and "scattered remnant" ([J. White, Introductory remarks], PT, no. 1, July 1849, 1; J. Bates, "New Testament Seventh Day Sabbath," RH, no. 4, Jan. 1851, 32; Joshua Philbrick, "From

door believers,"¹ "God's peculiar people that Keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jesus,"² "God's covenant keeping people,"³ "the church of God who keep the Sabbath--the seal of the living God,"⁴ and the "Philadelphia church" (cf. Rev 3:7-13).⁵

Bro. Philbrick," RH, Oct. 7, 1851, 40; Samuel Everett, "From Bro. Everett," RH, May 6, 1852, 7; H. S. Case, "From Brother Case," RH, July 22, 1852, 46; H. Flower, "From Bro. Flower," RH, Feb. 17, 1853, 158) were used evidently in reference to the disappointed Millerites who kept their faith in the seventh-month movement, while the expression "rebellious house of Israel" (cf. Ezek 12:25) (Bates, Vindication, 6, 85-86; [J. White], "Voice of God," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 5-6; Joseph Bates, "Midnight Cry in the Past," RH, no. 3, Dec. 1850, 23-24; E. R. Seaman, "Familiar Spirits," RH, Oct. 28, 1852, 104) was applied to those previous Millerites who gave up their faith in the seventh-month movement.

¹Bates, Vindication, 86; cf. idem, Seal of the Living God, 56.

²J. White, comp., Hymns for God's Peculiar People (1849).

³H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 4.

⁴E. G. White, "Dear Brethren & Sisters," [T]Ms 3, Jan. 18, 1849, EGWRC-AU.

⁵Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 33-35, 65, 68; idem, Vindication, 53, 63, 72, 107-8; idem, Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary, 13-16; James White, Third Angel's Message, 14; [idem], "One Hundred and Forty Four Thousand," AR, no. 4, Sept. 1850, 56; Editorial, "Seventh Month Movement," ibid., 64; H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 1, 3; Joseph Bates, "The Laodicean Church," RH, Nov. 1850, 7-8; James White, The Parable. Matthew xxv, 1-12 (n.p., [1851]), 17-18.

By the mid-1850s, Sabbatarian Adventists came to the conclusion that they were the Laodicean church (Rev 3:14-22) rather than the Philadelphian church (Rev 3:7-13), as pointed out, for example, in J[ames] W[hite], "Watchman, What of the Night?" RH, Oct. 9, 1856, 184; idem, "The Seven Churches," RH, Oct. 16, 1856, 189, 192 (reprinted, with a

The need for the adoption of a formal denominational name¹ was posed largely by the efforts in 1860 to incorporate the Sabbatarian Adventist publishing work under the laws of the State of Michigan. Since no organization could be incorporated without a name, Sabbatarian Adventists had either to adopt a denominational name or to continue facing the hazard of having their publishing house and other church properties under the names of individual church members.

James White dealt with the matter in a short article entitled "Borrowed Money," published in the Review of February 22, 1860. He wrote:

We hope, however, that the time is not far distant when this people will be in that position necessary to be able to get church property insured, hold their meeting-houses in a proper manner, that those persons making their wills, and wishing to do so, can appropriate a portion to the publishing department.²

The publication of that article was followed by a significant discussion on whether the Sabbatarians should

few revisions, in RH, Aug. 7, 1860, 92-94); idem, "The Philadelphia Church," RH, Oct. 30, 1856, 205; R. F. C[ottrell], "Are We in Laodicea?" RH, Jan. 8, 1857, 77; idem, "'Laodicean State'," RH, Mar. 19, 1857, 157; J. N. Loughborough, "A Letter to a Friend, on the Seven Churches," RH, Mar. 26, 1857, 162-63. For further study of this subject, see Damsteegt, Foundations, 148, 244-48.

¹For further study of the process that led Sabbatarian Adventists to choose an official name for their denomination, see Spalding, Origin and History, 1:302-3; G. Anderson, "Make Us a Name," AtH 1 (July 1974): 28-34.

²J. W[hite], "Borrowed Money," RH, Feb. 23, 1860, 108.

follow the organizational steps that would eventually require the adoption of an official denominational name.¹

The final decision in the process of choosing a name was taken on October 1, 1860, at the 1860 General Conference session, in Battle Creek, Michigan. The discussions on the subject gravitated around the names "Church of God"² and "Seventh-day Adventists."³ Church of God was rejected under the argument that it "was already in use by some denominations, and on this account, was indefinite, besides having to the world an appearance of presumption." So, the

¹J. N. Loughborough, "Legal Organization," RH, Mar. 8, 1860, 125; R. F. C[ottrell], "Making Us a Name," RH, Mar. 22, 1860, 140-41; J. W[hite], "'Making Us a Name'," RH, Mar. 29, 1860, 152; [idem], "'Making Us a Name'," RH, Apr. 26, 1860, 180-82; H., "Making Us a Name," RH, May 17, 1860, 206; M. E. Cornell, "'Making Us a Name'," RH, May 29, 1860, 8-9; J. W[hite], "Making Us a Name," RH, June 5, 1860, 20.

²As early as 1854, J. B. Frisbie argued in favor of the name "Church of God." J. B. Frisbie, "Church Order," RH, Dec. 26, 1854, 147. In June 1860, James White proposed to his readers, "We now suggest that we unanimously adopt the name *Church of God*, as a scriptural and appropriate name by which to be known." J. W[hite], "Organization," RH, June 19, 1860, 36.

³As early as November 1847, the Advent Herald alluded to the Sabbatarian Adventists as "Seventh[-]day" "Adventists" ("The Advent Question.' Our Course--'Danger of Division'--the 'Process' of 'Either Party,' &c. &c. No. III," AH, Nov. 27, 1847, 133). In 1853 the Seventh-day Baptist Central Association referred to the Sabbatarian Adventists as "the Seventh-day Advent people" (Seventh-day Baptist Central Association, in James White, "Resolution of the Seventh-day Baptist Central Association," RH, Aug. 11, 1853, 52). And in June 1860 J. Clarke suggested the name "Advent Sabbatarians" for the denomination (J. Clarke, "'Advent'," RH, June 12, 1860, 29).

final verdict was, "Resolved, That we call ourselves Seventh-day Adventists."¹

In 1861, Ellen White made the following statement:

The name, Seventh-day Adventist, is a standing rebuke to the Protestant world. Here is the line of distinction between the worshippers of God, and those who worship the beast, and receive his mark. The great conflict is between the commandments of God and the requirements of the beast [cf. Rev 14:9-12].²

Church Organization

Early Sabbatarian Adventists were initially opposed to any kind of church organization³ beyond the local level. The following four factors might have contributed to the development of that anti-organizational feeling: (1) The expectancy of an imminent Second Coming of Christ;⁴ (2) the idea that formal religious organization is a basic

¹Joseph Bates and Uriah Smith, "Business Proceedings of B. C. Conference," RH, Oct. 23, 1860, 179.

²Ellen G. White, Testimony for the Church, no. 6 (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1861), 22-23. See also J. W[HITE], "Seventh-day Adventists," RH, Apr. 30, 1861, 192.

³For further study of the development of Seventh-day Adventist church organization, see Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Organization, Development of, in SDA Church"; Mustard, James White and SDA Organization; Barry D. Oliver, SDA Organizational Structure: Past, Present and Future, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 15 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1989).

⁴J. Bates, "Letter from Bro. Joseph Bates," JS, May 29, 1845, 90.

characteristic of the mystical Babylon;¹ (3) the small numerical size of the new-born Sabbatarian movement;² and (4) the congregational emphasis shared by a large segment of North American Protestantism.³

The rapid growth of the Sabbatarian Adventist movement brought, however, the need for organizational developments beyond the level of the personal leadership of James White, Ellen G. White, and Joseph Bates. Up to 1863, developments leading toward the formation of an organizational structure took place at three basic levels.

The first of those levels was the organization of local churches. While groups of Sabbatarian Adventists had begun to form from the mid-1840s, it was only in the early 1850s that those groups started to elect local leaders

¹G. Storrs, "Come out of Her[,] My People," MC, Feb. 15, 1844, 238; J. Bates, "Letter from Bro. Joseph Bates," JS, May 29, 1845, 90.

²Still by 1849 there were only "about one hundred" Sabbatarian Adventists (J. W[HITE], "The Cause," RH, July 23, 1857, 93).

³Helpful studies on North American "congregationalism" are provided in Gaius G. Atkins and Frederick L. Fagley, History of American Congregationalism (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1942); Marion L. Starkey, The Congregational Way: The Role of the Pilgrims and Their Heirs in Shaping America (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1966); Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams, eds., Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), s.v. "Congregationalism from Independence to the Present," by Mary K. Cayton; Hatch, Democratization of American Christianity, passim; L. E. Wilshire, "Congregationalism," in Daniel G. Reid, ed., Dictionary of Christianity in America (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 309-11.

according to New Testament patterns. As early as 1851 the Sabbatarian Adventists of Washington, New Hampshire, chose a committee of seven (cf. Acts 6) "to attend to the wants of the poor."¹ In 1853, the first reference was made to the choosing of church deacons.² In 1854, the idea of selecting church elders began to be advanced.³ And in 1859, the first church treasurers were appointed.⁴

The first Sabbatarian Adventist church was legally organized in Parkville, Michigan, on May 13, 1860. Since the Sabbatarians did not have yet an official name for their denomination, the members of that particular church adopted the provisional name "Parkville Church of Christ's second advent."⁵

The second level of organizational development was the formation of State conferences. It was in October 1861 that the first Seventh-day Adventist conference was established in Michigan, with J. N. Loughborough, Moses

¹"Our Tour East," RH, Nov. 25, 1851, 52.

²H. S. Gurney, "From Bro. Gurney," RH, Dec. 27, 1853, 199. See also M. E. Cornell, "From Bro. Cornell," RH, Jan. 24, 1854, 7; idem, "Conference at Rosendale, Wisconsin," RH, May 23, 1854, 101; Joseph Bates, "Communication from Bro. Bates," RH, May 30, 1854, 148.

³Joseph Bates, "Church Order," RH, Aug. 29, 1854, 22-23; "Church Order," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, 164.

⁴J[ames] W[hite], "Systematic Benevolence," RH, Feb. 3, 1859, 84; Henry E. Carver, "Report of Meetings, &c.," RH, Mar. 3, 1859, 120.

⁵J. N. Loughborough, "Meetings in Parkville, Mich.," RH, May 29, 1860, 9.

Hull, and M. E. Cornell as the conference committee.¹ In 1862, the following six new conferences were organized: Southern Iowa (March 16),² Northern Iowa (May 10),³ Vermont (June 15),⁴ Illinois-Wisconsin (September 27),⁵ Minnesota (October 4),⁶ and New York (October 25).⁷ On January 25, 1863, the Southern Iowa and Northern Iowa Conferences merged into a single Iowa Conference.⁸

The third level of organizational development was the establishment of a general conference. On May 20-23, 1863, delegates from New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota gathered together in Battle Creek, Michigan, to formulate a constitution for a general conference and to elect its officers. A representative form

¹Joseph Bates, "Doings of the Battle Creek Conference, Oct. 5 & 6, 1861," RH, Oct. 8, 1861, 148-49.

²H. C. Whitney and R. S. Patterson, "Southern Iowa Conference," RH, Apr. 1, 1862, 142.

³J. T. Mitchell and M. B. Smith, "Proceedings of the Northern Iowa Conference," RH, May 27, 1862, 206.

⁴Albert Stone and Stephen Pierce, "Doings of the Vermont Conference, June 15, 1862," RH, July 1, 1862, 40.

⁵W. S. Ingraham and Joseph G. Wood, "Illinois and Wisconsin Conference," RH, Oct. 14, 1862, 155.

⁶Calvin Kelsey and F. W. Morse, "Business Proceedings of the Minnesota Conference," RH, Nov. 4, 1862, 182-83.

⁷J. N. Andrews and J. M. Aldrich, "Doings of the N.Y. Conference," *ibid.*, 182.

⁸J. T. Mitchell and M. B. Smith, "Doings of the Iowa State Conference," RH, Feb. 17, 1863, 91.

of church organization was adopted, in which delegates sent by the various State conferences would elect the officers of the General Conference on an annual basis.¹

James White was elected unanimously as the first president of the General Conference, but he declined the office to avoid misunderstandings about his intentions in helping to raise up that organization. John Byington (1798-1887)² was chosen in place of White. Uriah Smith and E. S. Walker became secretary and treasurer respectively of the General Conference. The executive committee consisted of James White, John Byington, J. N. Loughborough, J. N. Andrews, and G. W. Amadon.³

Principles of Lifestyle

Seventh-day Adventists had already begun to define by 1863 several principles of lifestyle. The four most significant of those principles were related to such topics as (1) Sabbath observance, (2) financial stewardship, (3) temperance and health reform, and (4) noncombatancy.

¹John Byington and U. Smith, "Report of General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists," RH, May 26, 1863, 204-6.

²Daniel A. Ochs and Grace L. Ochs, The Past and the Presidents (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1974), 7-16.

³J. Byington and U. Smith, "Report of General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists," RH, May 26, 1863, 205.

One of the first lifestyle topics to be discussed by Sabbatarian Adventists was the time to begin the Sabbath.¹ Up to 1855, Sabbatarian Adventist publications generally supported Joseph Bates's argument that the Sabbath should be calculated with reference to the equator, where the sun sets at approximately 6 P.M. throughout the year, and nights and days are always of the same length.²

Since many Sabbatarian Adventists were not fully satisfied with the 6 P.M. theory,³ J. N. Andrews was requested in 1855 to investigate thoroughly the biblical

¹For further study of the development of the Sabbatarian Adventism understanding of the time to begin the Sabbath, see Carl Coffman, "The Practice of Beginning the Sabbath in America," AUSS 3 (Jan. 1965): 9-17.

²Joseph Bates argued in favor of the 6 P.M. theory in his Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign (1846), 32, 42-43; idem, Vindication, 80-82; idem, Seal of the Living God, 38; idem, "Time to Commence the Holy Sabbath," RH, Apr. 21, 1851, 71-72 (reprinted, except for the last two paragraphs, in RH, May 26, 1853, 4-5); idem, "From Bro. Bates," RH, Aug. 5, 1851, 6. Support for this theory is also found in Editorial, "The Sabbath Taught, and Enforced in the New Testament," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1850, 17; J. N. A[ndrews], "Time of the Sabbath," RH, June 2, 1851, 92; B. B. Brigham, "From Bro. Brigham," RH, Sept. 2, 1851, 23; J. N. Andrews, "Remarks of O. R. L. Crozier on the Institution, Design and Abolition of the Sabbath: Reviewed," RH, Feb. 3, 1852, 86; idem, "The Sabbath: Letters to O. R. L. Crozier.--No. IV," RH, June 24, 1852, 26; idem, "Is the First Day of the Week the Sabbath?" RH, Mar. 31, 1853, 179; idem, "First-Day, Not the Sabbath of the Lord," RH, Jan. 24, 1854, 2.

³Those Sabbatarians who did not agree with the Friday 6 P.M. theory usually saw either sunset Friday, Friday midnight, or Saturday morning as the time to begin the Sabbath. Joseph Bates, "Time to Commence the Holy Sabbath," RH, Apr. 21, 1851, 71-72; J. W[hite], "Time of the Sabbath," RH, Dec. 4, 1855, 78.

teachings on the subject.¹ Andrews was fully convinced through his investigation (1) that "there is no Scriptural argument in support of [the] six o'clock" theory; (2) that biblically "the day begins with the evening" (cf. Gen 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31) and the evening commences at sunset; and (3) that the Sabbath, therefore, should be kept from sunset Friday to sunset Saturday (cf. Lev 23:32; Neh 13:19; Mark 15:42).² Andrews's study united the Sabbatarian Adventists on the sunset-Friday theory.³

A second lifestyle issue discussed by Sabbatarian Adventists before 1863 was financial stewardship.⁴ In

¹See J. W[hite], "Time of the Sabbath," RH, Dec. 4, 1855, 78; J. N. A[ndrews], "To the Brethren," ibid.

²J. N. A[ndrews], "Time for Commencing the Sabbath," RH, Dec. 4, 1855, 76-78.

³S. A. Taft, "From Bro. Taft," RH, Dec. 27, 1855, 103; Editorial, "To Correspondents," RH, Jan. 17, 1856, 128; J. H. W[aggoner], "The Sabbath," RH, Oct. 23, 1856, 194; E. R. Seaman, "From Bro. Seaman," RH, Oct. 30, 1856, 207; J. H. W[aggoner], "Evening and Morning--a Day," RH, Mar. 26, 1857, 165; J. S. Richards, "From Bro. Richards," RH, Mar. 25, 1858, 150.

⁴For further study of the development of Seventh-day Adventist financial stewardship, see Owen A. Troy, "The Financial System of the Seventh-day Adventist Church: An Evaluation of the Factors Entering into the Adoption and Practice of Tithing" (Th.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1952); Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Systematic Benevolence"; Bert B. Haloviak and F. Donald Yost, "A Report on the Use of Tithe in the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (TMs, Office of Archives and Statistics of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1976), 19-22; Brian Strayer, "'Sister Betsy' and Systematic Giving among Adventists," AtR, Dec. 6, 1984, 8-10; idem, "Adventist Tithepaying--The Untold Story," Sp 17 (Oct. 1986): 39-52; "The History and Use of the Tithe," Ellen G. White Estate shelf document,

April 1858 a Bible class was established in Battle Creek, Michigan, under the leadership of J. N. Andrews, to search for the biblical teaching "concerning the support of the ministry."¹ Out of that class grew a plan of "Systematic Benevolence," which was adopted by the Battle Creek church and also recommended to the other churches in Michigan on January 29, 1859.²

It was suggested in that plan (1) that "each brother from eighteen to sixty years of age" should lay aside "on the first day of each week from five to twenty-five cents"; (2) that "each sister from eighteen to sixty years of age" should lay aside "on the first day of each week from two to ten cents"; and (3) "each brother and sister" should lay aside "on the first day of each week from one to five cents on each and every one hundred dollars of property they possess." It was also suggested that each congregation should choose a treasurer to collect the money from the members "on the first of each month," and dispose of it "according to the wishes of the church."³ Although the amounts indicated above were slightly modified at the

[1990].

¹Loughborough, Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists, 215.

²See J[ames] W[hite], "Systematic Benevolence," RH, Feb. 3, 1859, 84; "An Address. From the Church of Battle Creek to the Churches and Brethren and Sisters in Michigan," ibid.

³"An Address," RH, Feb. 3, 1859, 84.

General Conference of June 1859,¹ it was not until the late 1870s that the Seventh-day Adventist Church adopted the full 10-percent tithe.²

Besides Sabbath observance and financial stewardship, health reform also became a major Sabbatarian Adventist lifestyle concern before 1863.³ Although Joseph

¹See J[ames] W[hite], "Conference Address," RH, June 9, 1859, 22.

²See Systematic Benevolence; or the Bible Plan of Supporting the Ministry ([Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association], n.d.). Cf. Troy, "Financial System of the Seventh-day Adventist Church," 64-78; B. E. Strayer, "Adventist Tithepaying," Sp 17 (Oct. 1986): 46.

³For further study of the development of Seventh-day Adventist health reform, see Dores E. Robinson, The Story of Our Health Message: The Origin, Character, and Development of Health Education in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, 3d ed., rev. and enl. (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1965); Richard W. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg: American Health Reformer" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1964); idem, John Harvey Kellogg, M.D. (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1970); Ken Williams, "Health Reform History in the Framework of Restoration" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1975); George W. Reid, "The Foundations and Early Development of the Health Emphasis among Seventh-day Adventists" (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1976); Richard A. Schaefer, Legacy: The Heritage of a Unique International Medical Outreach (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1977); Damsteegt, Foundations, 221-41; idem, "Health Reform and the Bible in Early Sabbatarian Adventism," AtH 5 (Winter 1978): 13-21; George W. Reid, A Sound of Trumpets: Americans, Adventists, and Health Reform (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982).

A critical study of the origins of Seventh-day Adventist health reform appeared in 1976 in Ronald L. Numbers, Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White (New York: Harper & Row, 1976); republished in 1992 as Prophetess of Health: Ellen G. White and the Origins of Seventh-day Adventist Health Reform, rev. and enl. ed. (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1992). Responses to Numbers's book are found in Ron Graybill,

Bates was already a health reformer by the time of the October 1844 Disappointment,¹ it was only from the late 1840s on that Sabbatarian authors began to call the attention of their readers to the "injurious effects" of tobacco,² alcoholic beverages,³ and tea and coffee.⁴

"Prophetess of Health: A Review" (Ellen G. White Estate shelf document, 1976); Ellen G. White Estate, A Discussion and Review of Prophetess of Health (Washington, DC: Ellen G. White Estate, 1976); and idem, A Critique of the Book Prophetess of Health (Washington, DC: Ellen G. White Estate, 1976).

¹Joseph Bates gave up the use of ardent spirits in 1821, of wine in 1822, of tobacco in 1823, of tea and coffee in about 1831, and of meat, "butter, grease, cheese, pies, and rich cakes" in 1843. Bates, Autobiography, 143, 150, 168, 234; [idem], Early Life and Later Experience and Labors of Elder Joseph Bates, ed. J. White, 314. For a more detailed discussion of Bates's health-reform habits, see also Stenberg, "Study of the Influence of Joseph Bates," 49-54; Anderson, Outrider of the Apocalypse, 104-12.

²James White, "Western Tour," RH, Nov. 8, 1870, 165; Bates, Seal of the Living God, 67; Hiram Edson, "Beloved Brethren, Scattered Abroad," PT, no. 5, Dec. 1849, 34; E. G. White to "Brother Barnes," [T]L 5, Dec. 14, 1851, EGWRC-AU; "Tobacco," RH, Dec. 13, 1853, 178 (reprinted); [James White], "The Faith of Jesus," RH, Mar. 14, 1854, 60; "On the Use of Tobacco," 2-part series in RH, July 24, 1855, 9-10; Aug. 7, 1855, 17-18; James White, "The Office," RH, July 24, 1855, 13; George Trask, "Popular Poisons," RH, Oct. 16, 1855, 62-63 (reprinted from AH, Sept. 29, 1855, 305); Stephen Pierce, "The Use of Tobacco: Doings of the Church in Vermont," RH, Dec. 4, 1855, 79.

³Bates, Seal of the Living God, 68; G. Trask, "Popular Poisons," RH, Oct. 16, 1855, 62; D. Daniels, "From Bro. Daniels," RH, Feb. 5, 1857, 110; J. H. W[aggoner], "Tobacco," RH, Nov. 19, 1857, 12-13; "Intemperance Increasing," RH, Dec. 22, 1863, 25-26.

⁴J. White, "Western Tour," RH, Nov. 8, 1870, 165; Ellen G. White, Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White (Rochester, NY: James White, 1854), 42; J. White, "Office," RH, July 24, 1855, 13; [idem], "Tobacco and Tea," RH, May 1, 1856, 24; E. G. White,

Apart from previous individual concerns,¹ Seventh-day Adventists did not become consciously aware of the dangers related to the consumption of swine's flesh until the early 1860s.²

The Seventh-day Adventist health-reform message received a new emphasis through Ellen White's June 5, 1863, health-reform vision in Otsego, Michigan.³ That vision

Testimony for the Church, no. 6, pp. 20, 24; M. B. Smith, "Tea--Its Effects," RH, May 21, 1861, 5-6; idem, "Coffee--Its Effects," RH, Oct. 1, 1861, 142-43; D. T. Bourdeau, "Tobacco and Tea," RH, Mar. 17, 1863, 125-26.

¹James White stated in 1850 that although he did not oppose those who abstain from swine's flesh, he was not convinced that the Bible itself forbids it "in the gospel dispensation." [James White], "Swine's Flesh," PT, no. 11, Nov. 1850, 87-88 (reprinted in RH, May 23, 1854, 140). In 1858, Ellen White warned S. N. Haskell (cf. J. N. Loughborough, "Sketches of the Past--No. 110," PUR, Jan. 26, 1911, 1; E. A. Sutherland, "Running Ahead of the Angel," NSI, Feb. 1959, 1) not to make the abstention from swine's flesh a test for others. She stated that "if God requires his people to abstain from swine's flesh, he will convict them on the matter." Ellen G. White, Testimony for the Church, no. 5 (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Review & Herald Office, 1859), 29 (reprinted in idem, Testimonies for the Church, 1:206-7).

²"Pork Disease--Trichina Spiralis," RH, June 7, 1864, 11; Editorial note, RH, Feb. 27, 1866, 104.

³The basic content of the 1863 health-reform vision was written out initially in [Ellen G. White], "Testimony Regarding James and Ellen White," [T]Ms 1, 1863, EGWRC-AU; and idem, Testimony for the Church, no. 10 (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1864), 1-15 (reprinted in idem, Testimonies for the Church, 1:390-405). More expanded expositions of some fundamental concepts of that vision appeared in idem, Spiritual Gifts, 4:120-51; and idem, "Disease and Its Causes," 6-part series in [James White, ed.], Health: or How to Live (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1865), no. 1, pp. 51-60; no. 2, pp. 25-48; no. 3, pp. 49-64; no. 4, pp. 54-64; no. 5,

pointed out that it is "a sacred duty to attend to our health" (cf. 1 Cor 6:19, 20) and to speak out "against intemperance of every kind,--intemperance in working, in eating, in drinking, and in drugging."¹ A vegetarian diet was encouraged.² This new emphasis received its first significant concrete expression through the opening of the Western Health Reform Institute in Battle Creek, Michigan, on September 5, 1866.³ This institution became the forerunner of all other Seventh-day Adventist health institutions.⁴

A fourth lifestyle issue discussed by Seventh-day Adventists prior to 1863 was the bearing of arms in time of

pp. 66-74; no. 6, pp. 57-64 (reprinted in Ellen G. White, Selected Messages from the Writings of Ellen G. White [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1958], 2:409-79).

Helpful insight about the background, content, and influence of this vision are found in Arthur L. White, "A Vision of 1863," VI, June 4, 1963, 12-16; idem, "105th Anniversary of the First Health Vision," 2-part series in RH, June 6, 1968, 2-4; June 13, 1968, 6-9; Roger W. Coon, The Great Visions of Ellen G. White (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1992), 1:90-107.

¹[E. G. White], "Testimony Regarding James and Ellen White," [T]Ms 1, 1863, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 4a:153; idem, "Questions and Answers," RH, Oct. 8, 1867, 260.

³"A Great Fact Accomplished," RH, Sept. 11, 1866, 116. It was only on April 9, 1867, that the "Health Reform Institute" was legally incorporated. J. N. Loughborough and U. Smith, "Meeting of the Health Reform Institute," RH, May 28, 1867, 279-80.

⁴A helpful overview of the development of the Seventh-day Adventist health institutions can be found in Schwarz, Light Bearers to the Remnant, 111-17, 206-10, 311, 314-24, 598-614.

war.¹ The potential drafting of Seventh-day Adventists by the Union forces during the American Civil War (1862-65) led James White to address the issue in an article entitled "The Nation" in the Review of August 12, 1862.² Reactions to his article persuaded White to open the Review two weeks later (August 26) for the publication of "any well-written articles, calculated to shed light upon our duty as a people in reference to the present war."³ Many letters were sent to the Review in response to White's appeal. While some of them supported the joining of the army,⁴ others tended

¹For further study of the development of the Seventh-day Adventist position of noncombatancy, see Francis M. Wilcox, Seventh-day Adventists in Time of War (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1936); Peter Brock, Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 843-61; Roger G. Davis, "Conscientious Cooperators: The Seventh-day Adventists and Military Service, 1860-1945" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1970); Peter Brock, "When Seventh-day Adventists First Faced War: The Problem of the Civil War," AtH 1 (Jan. 1974): 23-27; George R. Knight, "Adventists at War, 1862-1865," AtR, Apr. 4, 1991, 13-15.

²See [James White], "The Nation," RH, Aug. 12, 1862, 84. Cf. [idem], "The War Question," RH, Oct. 14, 1862, 159.

³[James White], "The Nation," RH, Aug. 26, 1862, 100. See also [idem], "Our Duty in Reference to the War," RH, Sept. 16, 1862, 124.

⁴J. H. Waggoner, "Our Duty and the Nation," RH, Sept. 23, 1862, 132-33; Joseph Clarke, "The War! The War!!" ibid., 134; idem, "The Sword vs. Fanaticism," ibid., 135; [W. S.] Ingraham, in [James White], "The War," ibid., 136; D. T. Bourdeau, "The Present War," RH, Oct. 14, 1862, 154-55; B. F. Snook, "The War and Our Duty," ibid., 159.

towards a more pacifist position.¹

Those discussions led Seventh-day Adventists to adopt eventually a noncombatant position. That position was officially recognized in 1864 by the governors of Michigan (August 3),² Pennsylvania (August 24), Wisconsin (August 29), and, finally, by the provost marshal general of the United States (September 1).³

Thus, the 1850s and early 1860s saw such major developments within Sabbatarian Adventism as (1) the emergence of new leading personalities, (2) the broadening of mission awareness, (3) a rapid growth rate and geographical expansion, (4) the consolidation of the publishing work, (5) the choosing of a denominational name, (6) the establishment of a basic church organization, and

¹R. F. Cottrell, "Non-resistance," RH, Oct. 14, 1862, 158; M. E. Cornell, "Extremes," RH, Oct. 21, 1862, 163; Henry E. Carver, "The War," ibid., 166-67 (responded to by James White in "Letter to Bro. Carver," ibid., 167); Stephen Pierce, "Obligation to Human Governments," RH, Oct. 28, 1862, 173-74; O. Nichols, "Our Duty Relative to the War," RH, Dec. 16, 1862, 22-23; J. M. Aldrich, "The War," RH, Dec. 23, 1862, 30.

²The Views of Seventh-day Adventists Relative to Bearing Arms, together with the Opinion of the Governor of Michigan, and a Portion of the Enrollment Law (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1864).

³"Seventh-day Adventists Recognized as Non-combatants," RH, Sept. 13, 1864, 124-25; The Views of Seventh-day Adventists Relative to Bearing Arms, as Brought before the Governors of Several States, and the Provost Marshal General, with a Portion of the Enrollment Law (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1865).

(7) the beginning of the definition and integration into Adventist life and thought of principles of lifestyle related to Sabbath observance, financial stewardship, health reform, and noncombatancy.

Parallel to those organizational and lifestyle developments, Sabbatarian Adventists carried on during the 1850s and early 1860s the process of improving and strengthening the doctrinal system they had established between 1844 and 1850. The sanctuary and the three angels' messages continued to provide the basic structure to which the main Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines were connected. The consolidation of the overall system in the period from 1850 through 1863 was due largely to the polemical demand of responding to doctrinal challenges from non-Sabbatarian Adventists circles.

The following sections survey the developments that took place between November 1850 and December 1863 in regard to Sabbatarian Adventist understandings of (1) the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14, (2) the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12, (3) the relationship between the sanctuary and the three angels' messages and the early Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines, as well as (4) major refinements in the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system.

**Further Developments in the Sabbatarian Adventist
Understanding of the Sanctuary of
Daniel 8:14**

The Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of Daniel 8:14, with special reference to (1) the sanctuary, (2) the 2300 days, and (3) the cleansing of the sanctuary, was of a foundational nature for the development of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system. Chapter 1 briefly surveyed some Millerite and non-Millerite expositions of Daniel 8:14 among the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English-speaking Protestants.¹ Chapter 2 considered the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the basic components of Daniel 8:14 up to 1850.² This chapter points out further developments of that understanding between 1850 and 1863.

The Sanctuary

Sabbatarian Adventists continued to hold during the 1850s and early 1860s that the sanctuary mentioned in Daniel 8:14 was a sanctuary/temple located in the heavenly New Jerusalem and was comprised of two apartments.³ Biblical support for the concept of a heavenly sanctuary was found in those passages that speak (1) of a sanctuary/temple in heaven (Ps 11:4; Heb 8:1, 2; 9:11, 12; Rev 11:19; 14:17;

¹See pp. 13-44, above.

²See pp. 92-118, above.

³See pp. 93-98, above.

15:5; 16:17); (2) of the earthly sanctuary being built according to a heavenly-revealed pattern (Exod 25:8, 9, 40; 26:30; Heb 8:5); and (3) of the earthly sanctuary as a type, figure, model, and shadow of the heavenly one (Heb 8:5; 9:23, 24; 10:1).¹

Evidences that there is a Holy Place and a Most Holy Place in the heavenly sanctuary were recognized (1) in the concept that both the Mosaic tabernacle and the Jerusalem temple were built with two holy places that at the same time resembled (Exod 25:8, 9, 40; 39:32-43; 1 Chr 28:10-19; Wis 9:8) and foreshadowed (Heb 9:1-9) the heavenly sanctuary;²

¹Joseph Bates, "Midnight Cry in the Past," RH, Dec. 1850, 21; [James] W[hite], "The Parable, Matthew xxv, 1-12," RH, June 9, 1851, 101; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 6, 1853, 131; idem, "Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 20, 1853, 138-39; [James White], "Questions by Bro. Frisbie," RH, Apr. 28, 1853, 200; J. N. Andrews, "The Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, May 12, 1853, 205; idem, "The Antitypical Tabernacle," RH, July 7, 1853, 26; idem, "'The Antitypical Tabernacle'," RH, Aug. 28, 1853, 60-61; Uriah Smith, "The Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 77; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 15," RH, Feb. 18, 1858, 116-17; [idem], "The Sanctuary," RH, May 29, 1860, 3-4; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 18, 1863, 92.

²J. Bates, "Midnight Cry in the Past," RH, Dec. 1850, 21; [J.] W[hite], "Parable, Matthew xxv, 1-12," RH, June 9, 1851, 101; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 6, 1853, 132-33; *ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1853, 138-39; *ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1853, 145; idem, "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, May 12, 1853, 205; idem, "Antitypical Tabernacle," RH, July 7, 1853, 26-28; idem, "'Antitypical Tabernacle'," RH, Aug. 28, 1853, 60-61; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 77-78; [idem], "The Sanctuary of the New Covenant," RH, Oct. 2, 1856, 172; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 15," RH, Feb. 18, 1858, 117; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:160-62; [U. Smith], "Sanctuary," RH, May 29, 1860, 3-4; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 11, 1863, 84; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 18, 1863, 92.

(2) in the use of the plural "holy places" (from the original Greek ἁγία) in reference to the heavenly sanctuary (Heb 8:2; 9:8, 12; 10:19);¹ and (3) in those descriptions of God's heavenly temple in which allusions are made to such Holy Place furniture as the candlestick with seven lamps (Rev 4:5; cf. Zech 4:2), the golden altar of incense (Rev 8:3; 9:13), and the golden censer (Rev 8:3) and to the Most Holy Place ark of God's testament (Rev 11:19; cf. Ps 99:1).²

J. N. Andrews pointed out in 1853 that the concept of a heavenly "holiest of all" implies in itself "the existence of another apartment in the heavenly Sanctuary," for, "how can there be a holiest of all there if there is but one apartment?"³ Andrews argued that "if the earthly

¹J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 145, 147; idem, "Antitypical Tabernacle," RH, July 7, 1853, 26-27; idem, "'Antitypical Tabernacle'," RH, Aug. 28, 1853, 60-61; [U. Smith], "Sanctuary of the New Covenant," RH, Oct. 2, 1856, 172; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 15," RH, Feb. 18, 1858, 117; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, May 29, 1860, 4; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 18, 1863, 92.

²[J.] W[hite], "Parable, Matthew xxv, 1-12," RH, June 9, 1851, 101; [idem], "The Ark and the Mercy-seat," RH, May 27, 1852, 13; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 145, 147; idem, "'Antitypical Tabernacle'," RH, Aug. 28, 1853, 60; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 77; *ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1854, 84-85; [idem], "Sanctuary of the New Covenant," RH, Oct. 2, 1856, 172; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 15," RH, Feb. 18, 1858, 117; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:159-60; [U. Smith], "Sanctuary," RH, May 29, 1860, 4; [idem], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, June 24, 1862, 28; [idem], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, Oct. 28, 1862, 173; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 25, 1863, 101.

³J. N. Andrews, "Antitypical Tabernacle," RH, July 7, 1853, 27.

sanctuary consisted of two holy places, and the great original from which it was copied, consisted of only one, instead of likeness, there would be perfect dissimilarity."¹ In 1863, Uriah Smith added that the heavenly sanctuary must have two apartments because the earthly sanctuary had also two and "a sanctuary in heaven with only one apartment would not cast a shadow upon earth with two." "The fact that the most holy of the heavenly sanctuary is mentioned in Dan. ix, 24" was seen by Smith as "proof that it has two apartments, as otherwise this distinction would not exist."²

In contrast, non-Sabbatarian Adventists used two main arguments against the identification of the heavenly sanctuary as the sanctuary mentioned in Daniel 8:14. The first argument was that there is nothing unclean in heaven that needs cleansing.³ To this the Sabbatarians responded that as the earthly sanctuary was morally "defiled by the sins of the people, though the people never came in contact with it,"⁴ so is the heavenly sanctuary. Support for the

¹J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 145. See also U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 78.

²[U. Smith], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 18, 1863, 92.

³"The Four Universal Kingdoms," AH, Apr. 27, 1850, 99; R. V. Lyon, "The Sanctuary," AW, May 12, 1852, 115; [Sylvester Bliss], "The Cleansing of the Sanctuary," AH, Apr. 16, 1853, 125; Willett H. Hanford, "What Is the Sanctuary?" WC, June 16, 1858, 61.

⁴J. H. W[aggoner], "The Atonement--Part II," RH, Dec. 1, 1863, 6.

concept of a cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary was found not only in the typological services of the Day of Atonement (Lev 16; 23:26-32) but also in Hebrews 9:23, which speaks of a cleansing of the "heavenly things."¹

The second argument against the identification of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 with the heavenly sanctuary was the notion that while the first was capable of being tread "under foot" (Dan 8:13), the latter was beyond the reach of such human action.² To this the Sabbatarians answered that the heavenly sanctuary was not literally but only metaphorically trodden under foot. As Christ, the High Priest of the heavenly sanctuary, can be "trodden under foot" (Heb 10:29) so can also His sanctuary.³

¹[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Jan. 1851, 27-28; J. N. A[ndrews], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, May 12, 1853, 205; J. N. Loughborough, "The Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 30; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 78; [James White], "The Twenty-three Hundred Days," RH, Apr. 18, 1854, 100; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 17," RH, Mar. 11, 1858, 132; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 1, 1863, 108.

²"The Four Universal Kingdoms," AH, Apr. 27, 1850, 99; [S. Bliss], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," AH, Apr. 16, 1853, 125; [idem], "The Atonement," AH, Apr. 30, 1853, 141; W. H. Hanford, "What Is the Sanctuary?" WC, June 16, 1858, 61.

³[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Jan. 1851, 28-29; J. N. A[ndrews], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, May 12, 1853, 205; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 78; [idem], "A Comprehensive View of the Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 24, 1856, 132; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 17," RH, Mar. 11, 1858, 132; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 1, 1863, 108.

In response to some non-Sabbatarian Adventist attempts to identify the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 with earthly entities,¹ J. N. Andrews asserted that (1) "the earth is not the sanctuary, but simply the territory where it will finally be located"; (2) "the church is not the sanctuary, but simply the worshipers connected with the sanctuary"; and (3) "the land of Canaan is not the sanctuary," but merely "the place where the typical sanctuary was located."²

In response to the non-Sabbatarian Adventist theory that earth and heaven are the antitypes of the Holy and the

¹Non-Sabbatarian Adventists usually identified the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 with such entities as (1) the earth (e.g., referred to in R. V. Lyon, The Sanctuary [Seneca Falls, NY: Millennial Harbinger, 1863], 3); (2) the church (e.g., F. H. Berick, The Grand Crisis in Human Affairs; the Lord Soon to Come [Boston: J. E. Farwell, n.d.], 84, 89-94); and (3) the land of Canaan or Palestine (e.g., "The Four Universal Kingdoms," AH, Apr. 27, 1850, 99; R. V. Lyon, "Sanctuary," 2-part series in AW, May 12, 1852, 115-16; May 26, 1852, 131; idem, "The Sanctuary Cleansed. How Cleansed: the State that It Shall Be in, and Who Are to Be Its Occupants," AHBA, July 31, 1852, 50-52 (actually pp. 50-51); [S. Bliss], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," AH, Apr. 16, 1853, 125; idem, Sanctuary; W. H. Hanford, "What Is the Sanctuary?" WC, June 16, 1858, 61-62).

²J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 6, 1853, 130-31 (italics supplied). See also [James White], "The Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 31, 1853, 181; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Apr. 4, 1854, 85; [J. White], "Twenty-three Hundred Days," RH, Apr. 18, 1854, 100; U[riah] S[mith], "The Sanctuary. A Novel Argument," RH, Jan. 9, 1855, 156-57; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 15," RH, Feb. 18, 1858, 116-17; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, May 29, 1860, 3; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 11, 1863, 84-85; [James White], "The Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 1, 1863, 4-5.

Most Holy places respectively,¹ Uriah Smith asked in January 1856,

Can we suppose that the earth was shown him [Moses] as the pattern of the first apartment, and heaven as that of the second?! [cf. Exod 25:9, 40; Heb 8:5] and if this were so, of what would the golden candlestick, the table of shew bread, and the golden altar of incense be typical?²

The statement of Hebrews 8:4, "For if he [Christ] were on earth, he should not be a priest," was perceived by Smith as a clear evidence that "*Christ performs no part of his priesthood on the earth.*"³

The following October (1856), Smith added that if the land of Palestine is the antitype of the earthly sanctuary then Moses did not follow "his pattern very accurately," for there is not "much of a resemblance between the land of Canaan and the building which Moses erected, thirty cubits long and ten broad." But if it were possible that the land of Canaan is the antitypical sanctuary, Smith asked further, what are the antitypes of "the two apartments of Moses' building," of "the golden candlestick," of "the

¹O. D. Gibson, "The Sanctuary." CR, Jan. 10, 1855 [actually 1856], [5]; L. L. Howard, "A Word about the Sanctuary," WC, Dec. 30, 1857, 73.

²[U. Smith], "Comprehensive View of the Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 24, 1856, 132.

³Ibid. See also [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 16," RH, Feb. 25, 1858, 125.

altar of incense," of "the ark of covenant," and of "the earthly priesthood, and their continual service?"¹

The Sabbatarians regarded Christ and the heavenly sanctuary as literal entities. James White, for instance, declared in January 1851 that those who "say that there is no literal Sanctuary, with its Holy, and Most Holy, the Ark containing the ten commandments, the candlestick, &c., in heaven," might also spiritualize the Son of man and "deny his personality."² Five months later (June 1851), White added, "If we take the liberty to say there is not a literal Ark, containing the ten commandments in heaven, we may go only a step further and deny the literal City, and the literal Son of God."³ And in 1858, Uriah Smith suggested that the antitype of the earthly sanctuary itself must be "as literal and real as" the antitype of the offerings connected with that sanctuary, that is, "the great sacrifice for the world on Calvary."⁴

¹[U. Smith], "Sanctuary of the New Covenant," RH, Oct. 2, 1856, 172.

²[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Jan. 1851, 29.

³[J.] W[hite], "Parable, Matthew xxv, 1-12," RH, June 9, 1851, 101. See also J. N. Andrews, "'Antitypical Tabernacle'," RH, Aug. 28, 1853, 60.

⁴[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 15," RH, Feb. 18, 1858, 117.

The 2300 Days

Sabbatarian Adventists continued to uphold during the 1850s and early 1860s the basic chronological setting for the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 as set forth by Samuel Snow.¹ The 2300 days were viewed as 2300 years,² which began with the seventy weeks of Daniel 9:24-27 in the autumn of 457 B.C. and ended in the autumn (October 22) of A.D. 1844.³

¹See pp. 34-38, 98-101, above.

²Insightful contemporary Sabbatarian Adventist arguments for applying the year-day principle to the 2300 days are found, for example, in J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 23, 1852, 122; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 21, 1854, 69; [James White], "Daniel Chapters viii and ix," RH, Nov. 21, 1854, 117; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 9," RH, Jan. 7, 1858, 68; [idem], "The 2300 Days," RH, May 29, 1860, 3; [James White], "'They Stagger, but Not with Strong Drink'," RH, Dec. 29, 1863, 36-37. James White responded in this last article to the arguments against the year-day principle presented by the Advent Christian H. L. Hastings in his article "The Prophetic Periods of Daniel," WC, July 7, 1863, 65.

³[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," 2-part series in RH, Dec. 1850, 13-15; Jan. 1851, 27-30; J. Bates, "Midnight Cry in the Past," RH, Dec. 1850, 21-24; Hiram Edson, "The Sixty-nine Weeks and 2300 Days," RH, Mar. 1851, 49-50; [J.] W[hite], "Parable, Matthew xxv, 1-12," RH, June 9, 1851, 100; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 23, 1852, 122-25; [J. White], "Sanctuary and 2300 Days," RH, Mar. 17, 1853, 172; [idem], "Questions by Bro. Frisbie," RH, Apr. 23, 1853, 200; [idem], "The Seventy Weeks," RH, Nov. 15, 1853, 148; E[lon] Everts, "Review of the New Time Theory," RH, Jan. 10, 1854, 201-2; U[riah] S[mith], "Why Can We Not Believe in the New Time?" RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 29; idem, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 21, 1854, 69; [J. White], "Twenty-three Hundred Days," RH, Apr. 18, 1854, 100; J. N. Loughborough, "The Judgment," RH, Nov. 19, 1857, 11; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 9," RH, Jan. 7, 1858, 68; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 10," RH, Jan. 14, 1858, 76-77; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 11," RH, Jan. 21, 1858, 84-85; E. G. White,

Meanwhile, many non-Sabbatarian Adventists¹ in the post-1844 period continued to seek for a future ending of the 2300 days.² This endeavor led those Adventists to

Spiritual Gifts, 1:137-39, 162.

¹A short overview of non-Sabbatarian Adventist time-settings between 1850 and 1875 is found in Wellcome, History of the Second Advent Message, 485-88. A more specific analysis of the "1854" movement is provided by Arthur, "'Come out of Babylon'," 283-86, 288, 313-22. The "1854" calculations were, however, largely based on the prophetic periods of 1260 days, 1290 days, and 1335 days, as evident, for instance, in [Jonathan Cummings], "Letter from J. Cummings," AH, Nov. 6, 1852, 358; F. H. Berick and J. Cough, The Fulfil[ment] of Prophecy: or, A Prophetic History of the World; Including a Few Suggestions on the Probable Termini of the Chronological Periods (Lowell, [MA]: S. J. Varney, 1852); F. H. Berick, An Investigation of the 1260, 1290 and 1335 Days: As Given by Daniel and John (Lowell, [MA]: S. J. Varney, 1853); idem, "Time of the Advent," 2-part series in AH, Oct. 15, 1853, 333; Oct. 22, 1853, 342-43; J[onathan] Cummings, Explanation of the Prophetic Chart, and Application of the Truth (Concord, [NH]: Barton & Handley, 1854); [idem], Parable of the Ten Virgins Going Forth to Meet the Bridegroom: Their Disappointment: The Midnight Cry: Going out a Second Time, &c (Concord, NH: Oliver Hart, 1854). See also O. Nichols, "New Time Theory," RH, Mar. 14, 1854, 59-60.

²See p. 73, n. 1, above. Among the new dates non-Sabbatarian Adventists set for ending the 2300 days were (1) the spring of 1851 (Ira Fancher, "The Time," AW, Jan. 8, 1851, 137; F. B. Hahn, "Definite Time Again," AW, Feb. 5, 1851, 169; R. V. Lyon, "A Word on Time," AHBA, Mar. 22, 1851, 315); (2) the autumn of 1851 (S. W. Bishop, "Time of the Lord's Coming," 2-part series in AW, Nov. 12, 1851, 113-14; Nov. 19, 1851, 121-22); (3) the autumn of 1852 (T. J. Wadleigh, "Answer to the Inquiry of Bro. E. R.," AW, July 28, 1852, 199); (4) the year 1854 ("The Seven Periods of Daniel's Vision of 2300 Days: Dan. 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12th Chapters," WC, Mar. 15, 1854, [1]; Abraham Flavell, in ibid., [3]; C. R. Pinney, "Definite Time," WC, Sept. 13, 1854, [1]); (5) the spring of 1855 (H., "The Periods of Dan. 8th and 9th," AH, July 30, 1853, 247); (6) the spring of 1856 (Edwin Burnham, "Remarks on the 2300 Days," AH, Nov. 5, 1853, 358; Berick, Grand Crisis in Human Affairs, 94-98; P. Alling, "The 2300 Days," WC, Jan. 26, 1856, [4]; J. B. Wetherell, "The 2300 Days," ibid.); (7) the spring of 1857

review the chronological setting of the 2300 days¹ either
 (1) by retaining the connection between the 2300 days and
 the seventy weeks and suggesting a later starting point for

(Silas Hewit, "2300 Days," WC, Mar. 11, 1857, 8; M. E. Green, "Two Thousand and Three Hundred Days. When Do They End?" WC, Mar. 18, 1857, 11; J. B. Cook, "Time," WC, Mar. 25, 1857, 13); (8) the spring of 1858 (A. Decker, "The Time," WC, Apr. 7, 1858, 21-22); (9) the year 1866 (Taylor, "Watchman, What of the Night? or the Present State of Europe Viewed in the Light of Prophecy," VP, Apr. 1861, 20); (10) the year 1867 (John Cumming, "1867," VP, Apr. 1860, 5-7); and (11) the year 1868 (Joshua V. Himes, "Termination of the Periods," VP, Dec. 1861, 56). Cf. R. F. C[ottrell], "The Timeists," RH, Dec. 29, 1859, 44; A. S. Hutchins, "New Time," RH, Jan. 26, 1860, 76; [Uriah Smith], "A New Movement," RH, May 17, 1860, 204; R. F. C[ottrell], "1867," RH, June 5, 1860, 20-21; Joseph Bates, "Voice of the Prophets, vol. 1, no. 1," RH, Aug. 7, 1860, 89-91; [James White], "Confusion on the Prophetic Periods," RH, Dec. 29, 1863, 36.

An anonymous tract published in London proposed that the 2300 days began with the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in A.D. 70 and will end in A.D. 2370. Pius Ninth, the Last of the Popes (London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1855), 37. Uriah Smith criticized this view in his article, "A Rare View of the 2300 Days. Opinion of a Millennialist," RH, Mar. 20, 1856, 196.

¹Insightful Sabbatarian Adventist critical overviews the Advent Herald's waving between keeping and rejecting the connection between the 2300 days and the seventy weeks are provided in Joseph Bates, "Thoughts on the Past Work of William Miller, and His Adherents, Respecting the True Starting Point of Dan. viii, 14; ix, 24, 25," RH, Feb. 17, 1853, 156-57; J. N. A[ndrews], "Position of the Advent Herald [sic] on the Sanctuary Question," RH, May 12, 1853, 204-5; [James White], "The 2300 Days," RH, Dec. 6, 1853, [1]72; E. Everts, "Review of the New Time Theory," RH, Jan. 10, 1854, 201-2; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Apr. 4, 1854, 86.

James White blamed the Advent Herald in late 1853 for trying to maintain both "the connection between the 70 weeks and 2300 days" and "457 B.C. as the period from which to date the 70 weeks," while rejecting the 1844-ending of the 2300 days. [J. White], "2300 Days," RH, Dec. 6, 1853, [1]72.

both periods,¹ or (2) by disconnecting these periods from one another and assuming that the 2300 days started at a later date than the seventy weeks,² or even (3) by suggesting that the 2300 days should be understood as 2400 years.³

These modifications of the basic Millerite chronology of the 2300 days were regarded by the Sabbatarians as throwing down "the main pillar of the Advent faith."⁴ All attempts to move the beginning of both the

¹Oscar, "Seventy Weeks," AW, Jan. 15, 1851, 145-46; J. Turner, "Definite Time," ibid., 147-48; T. J. Wadleigh, "2300 Days and 70 Weeks," AW, Mar. 12, 1851, 1-2; idem, "70 Weeks and 2300 Days: Their Connection," AW, June 9, 1852, 145-46; E. Burroughs, "Remarks on the 2300 Days," AH, Nov. 5, 1853, 358; C. R. Pinney, "Definite Time," WC, Sept. 13, 1854, [1]; S. Hewit, "2300 Days," WC, Mar. 11, 1857, 8.

²E. Royce, "On the 70 Weeks of Daniel Cut off from, or a Part of the 2300 Days," 2-part series in AW, May 12, 1852, 113-14; May 19, 1852, 121-22; "To Correspondents," AH, May 22, 1852, 168; [S. Bliss], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," AH, Apr. 16, 1853, 125; [idem], "Remarks on the 2300 Days," 2-part series in AH, Nov. 5, 1853, 356-57; Nov. 12, 1853, 365; [idem], "The 2300 Days," AH, Dec. 17, 1853, 407; "The Original Advent Faith," AHBA, Dec. 24, 1853, 213; H. J. Sweetland, "The 2300 Days," WC, Sept. 3, 1856, [1].

³D. I. Robinson, "The Prophetic Periods and Dates," AH, Jan. 5, 1861, 6; Z. W. Hoyt, "The 2400 Days of Dan. 8:14," AH, May 25, 1861, 166. Cf. J. M. Orrock, "Different Readings of Dan. 8:14," AH, Feb. 9, 1861, 43-44; [Sylvester Bliss], "Faber on the 2300 Days," AH, May 11, 1861, 148-49; [idem], "The Views of Rev. George Stanley Faber on the Prophetic Periods," AH, May 18, 1861, 156.

⁴[J.] W[HITE], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 13-14; [idem], "Sanctuary and 2300 Days," RH, Mar. 17, 1853, 172; [idem], "'My Lord Delayeth His Coming'," RH, Jan. 10, 1854, 205; U. S[MITH], "Why Can We Not Believe in the New Time," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 29; idem, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 21, 1854, 69; ibid., Apr. 4, 1854, 86; [J. White], "Twenty-three Hundred Days," RH, Apr. 18, 1854, 100; [idem],

seventy weeks and the 2300 days beyond 457 B.C. (cf. Ezra 7) were rejected by the Sabbatarians (1) because no reference to a post-457 B.C. decree to rebuild Jerusalem was found either in the account of the sending of Nehemiah in the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes (444 B.C.) to inspect the walls of Jerusalem (cf. Neh 2) or in any other contemporary chronicle of the rebuilding of that city; and (2) because moving the starting point of the seventy weeks to any post-457 B.C. date would require also proportional, not historically grounded, relocations of Christ's baptism from A.D. 27, of His death from A.D. 31, and of the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles from A.D. 34.¹

The efforts to disconnect the 2300 days from the seventy weeks were seen by the Sabbatarians as disregarding the biblical evidences (1) that the prophecy of the seventy weeks was intended to explain the time element of "the vision" of Daniel 8 that had been left unexplained by Gabriel (cf. Dan 8:26, 27; 9:20-23); (2) that the seventy weeks were literally "cut off" (as implied by the original

"'We Are the Adventists'," *ibid.*, 100-1; R. F. Cottrell, "Where Is the Truth?" *RH*, June 20, 1854, 165.

¹H. Edson, "Sixty-nine Weeks and 2300 Days," *RH*, Mar. 1851, 49-50; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," *RH*, Dec. 23, 1852, 123-24; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," *RH*, Mar. 21, 1854, 69-70; *ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1854, 84; *idem*, "Seventy Weeks," *RH*, Apr. 25, 1854, 108-9; [*idem*], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 10," *RH*, Jan. 14, 1858, 76-77; [*idem*], "Sanctuary," *RH*, July 28, 1863, 68-69.

Hebrew verb קָטַע¹) from the larger period of 2300 days (Heb 9:24); and (3) that the beginning of the seventy weeks provided the starting point for the 2300 days.²

The endeavor of viewing the 2300 days as 2400 years³ was seen as disregarding the reading of "all the Hebrew manuscripts" and of the Vatican manuscript of the

¹Support for the translation of the Hebrew verb קָטַע in Daniel 9:24 as "to cut off" is found in such more recent Seventh-day Adventist studies as Jacques Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9: An Exegetical Study," AUSS 17 (Spring 1979): 5-6; William H. Shea, "The Relationship between the Prophecies of Daniel 8 and Daniel 9," in Wallenkampf and Leshner, eds., Sanctuary and the Atonement, 241-46; C. Mervyn Maxwell, God Cares (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1981), 1:205-7; William H. Shea, "Unity of Daniel," in Frank B. Holbrook, ed., Symposium on Daniel: Introductory and Exegetical Studies, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1986), 229-30; W. H. Shea, "Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," in Holbrook, ed., Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, and the Nature of Prophecy, 107; Jacques B. Doukhan, Daniel: The Vision of the End, rev. ed. (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1989), 32; Owusu-Antwi, "Investigation of the Chronology of Daniel 9:24-27," 146-58.

²H. Edson, "Sixty-nine Weeks and 2300 Days," RH, Mar. 1851, 49-50; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 23, 1852, 122-25; [J. White], "Sanctuary and 2300 Days," RH, Mar. 17, 1853, 172; [idem], "Questions by Bro. Frisbie," RH, Apr. 28, 1853, 200; J. N. A[ndrews], "Position of the Advent Herald [sic] on the Sanctuary Question," RH, May 12, 1853, 205; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 21, 1854, 69; R. F. Cottrell, Bible Class, 115-16; [U. Smith], "Rare View of the 2300 Days," RH, Mar. 20, 1856, 196; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 8," RH, Dec. 31, 1857, 60; [idem], "2300 Days," RH, May 29, 1860, 3; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, July 14, 1863, 52-53; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, July 21, 1863, 60; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, July 28, 1863, 68-69.

³See pp. 16-17, above.

Septuagint to build a theory upon "a mere typographical error, a misprint."¹

J. N. Andrews explained in 1852 that the attempts to disconnect the 2300 days from the seventy weeks grew out of the erroneous assumption that "the earth, or land of Canaan is the sanctuary, and that the cleansing of the sanctuary is the burning of the earth, or the purification of Palestine at the coming of Christ."² Andrews argued that if the beginning of the seventy weeks did not provide the starting point for the 2300 days then (1) there was no way to know when those days began and (2) Gabriel failed in his mission of explaining the vision of the 2300 days.³

In 1854, R. F. Cottrell asserted that knowing the time of the specific fulfillment of the 2300 days was basic to the proclamation of the cleansing-of-the-sanctuary message. After alluding to Paul's words that "all scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable" (2 Tim 3:16), Cottrell inquired, "but what profit can come from the prophetic scriptures, if we cannot tell when they are

¹[J. White], "Confusion on the Prophetic Periods," RH, Dec. 29, 1863, 36.

²J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 23, 1852, 125. The Advent Herald admitted in 1850, "We have no new light respecting the connection between the 70 weeks and 2300 days. The only argument against their connection is, the passing of the time. Why that has passed is a mystery to us, which we wait to have revealed." [Joshua V. Himes], "To Correspondents," AH, Sept. 7, 1850, 252.

³J. N. Andrews, "Under the Necessity of Choosing," RH, Nov. 8, 1853, 141.

fulfilled?" "Take away the time from the proclamation and you take away the proclamation itself."¹ To which Uriah Smith added in 1856:

If the 2300 days do not commence with the 70 weeks, no man knows, or can know, when they commence; and we may as well set them aside at once; for they become a mere cipher in the prophetic chain for which no place can be assigned.²

Responding to the non-Sabbatarian Adventist I. C. Wellcome's allegation that knowing the specific time-setting of Bible prophecies was not crucial to the gospel message,³ Uriah Smith stated that such an assertion was calculated (1) "to throw an uncertainty over prophetic reckoning," (2) "to foster the idea that the periods cannot be understood," and (3) "to discourage their study, and take the edge from those great truths that are built upon them." Smith explained also that knowing the termination of the 2300 days did not imply any time-setting for the Second Coming (cf. Matt 24:36) because this period does not reach "to the coming of the Saviour."⁴

¹R. F. Cottrell, "Where Is the Truth?" RH, June 20, 1854, 165.

²[U. Smith], "Rare View of the 2300 Days," RH, Mar. 20, 1856, 196.

³I. C. Wellcome, "Definite Time. Number Two," WC, Oct. 28, 1857, 33. See also D. I. Robinson, "Prophetic Periods and Dates," AH, Jan. 5, 1861, 6.

⁴[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 11," RH, Jan. 21, 1858, 85. See also [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 8, 1863, 116.

The fact that the Second Advent believers never again became as united over any post-1844 date for the ending of the 2300 days, as they had been in regard to the autumn of 1844, was seen by the Sabbatarians as additional evidence of the Lord's guidance of the seventh-month movement.¹ Joseph Bates blamed the non-Sabbatarians in December 1850 for their "six or more successive failures" in setting a new time for ending the 2300 days.² James White alluded in January 1851 to that "perpetual stretching out [of] the 2300 days, from spring to fall, and from fall to spring."³

In 1857, R. F. Cottrell compared the post-1844 non-Sabbatarian Adventists, in their interpretations of the time-prophecies of Daniel, to "a flock of wild geese, which having started for a warmer climate, all agreed upon the course, have become divided and scattered, and are flying in every possible direction."⁴ And in July 1863, Uriah Smith

¹[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," 2-part series in RH, Dec. 1850, 13-15; Jan. 1851, 27-30; J. Bates, "Midnight Cry in the Past," RH, Dec. 1850, 21-24; Hiram Edson, "The Sixty-nine Weeks and 2300 Days," RH, Mar. 1851, 49-50; [J.] W[hite], "Parable, Matthew xxv, 1-12," RH, June 9, 1851, 100; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 23, 1852, 122-25.

²J. Bates, "Midnight Cry in the Past," RH, Dec. 1850, 23.

³[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Jan. 1851, 30.

⁴R. F. C[ottrell], "'The Wise Shall Understand'," RH, Dec. 17, 1857, 45.

declared that there was a time when "every happy believer in the Lord's soon coming" referred joyfully to the words of Daniel 8:14. But that scene changed and "over a great portion of the Advent body a mysterious silence now reigns concerning" the content of this passage.¹

By retaining the autumn 457 B.C.-autumn A.D. 1844 span for the 2300 days, Sabbatarians were able (1) to see themselves as faithful not only to the prophetic faith exposed by the Millerite movement but also to the most conclusive biblical and historical evidences on the subject;² and (2) to avoid all time-settings for the Second Coming based on a future-ending-of-the-2300-days theory.³ By equating the expression "there should be time no longer" of Revelation 10:6 with both the ending of the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 in the autumn of 1844 and "the hour of his judgment" of Revelation 14:7, Smith argued in 1861 that

¹[U. Smith], "Sanctuary," RH, July 14, 1863, 52.

²[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 13; J. Bates, "Midnight Cry in the Past," RH, Dec. 1850, 21; [J.] W[hite], "Parable, Matthew xxv, 1-12," RH, June 9, 1851, 100; [idem], "Sanctuary and 2300 Days," RH, Mar. 17, 1853, 172; [idem], "'We Are the Adventists'," RH, Apr. 18, 1854, 101; G. W. A[madon], "High Authority on the Commencement of the Seventy Weeks," RH, Dec. 24, 1861, 28.

³Cf. [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 11," RH, Jan. 21, 1858, 85; idem, "As He Hath Declared to His Servants the Prophets," RH, Aug. 13, 1861, 84-85; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 8, 1863, 116.

there is no "prophetic time" that reaches beyond the autumn of 1844.¹

Explaining why the 2300 days were understood as 2300 years, while neither the 364 days of the daily ministration (Lev 1-5) nor the yearly Day of Atonement (Lev 16; 23:26-32) were perceived as typological years, James White stated in 1853 that "the fulfillment of the prophetic periods in the symbolic prophecy, has ever been a day for a year. But the fulfillment of the types has never been thus marked."² To this, J. N. Andrews added that "there is nothing in Dan. viii, which limits the cleansing of the Sanctuary to one prophetic day."³

The Cleansing of the Sanctuary

Crucial to Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines was the concept of the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary. That concept was, however, strongly opposed by non-Sabbatarian Adventists.⁴ Sylvester Bliss, for example, regarded it in April 1853 as "a devise of Satan to confuse and mislead

¹U. Smith, "As He Hath Declared to His Servants the Prophets," RH, Aug. 13, 1861, 84-85.

²[J. White], "Questions by Bro. Frisbie," RH, Apr. 28, 1853, 200.

³J. N. A[ndrews], "Questions by Bro. Stone," RH, Apr. 28, 1853, 200.

⁴See pp. 250-54, above. See also W. Pratt, "'Cleansing of the Sanctuary'," AW, June 25, 1851, 126; [S. Bliss], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," AH, Apr. 16, 1853, 125.

honest souls."¹ In reply to this assertion, J. N. Andrews declared that such a blame "directly charges Paul with writing [in Heb 9:23, 24], not by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, but under the direct influence of the Devil."²

Speaking of the relationship between the daily ministration and the cleansing of the sanctuary, J. N. Loughborough stated in 1854 that the typical service foreshadowed that the cleansing of the sanctuary takes place in the same sanctuary where the daily ministration is carried out. He charged the non-Sabbatarians of inconsistency for admitting that "our great High Priest has been performing his ministerial office since he entered heaven," while arguing that "he must leave heaven and come

¹[S. Bliss], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," AH, Apr. 16, 1853, 125. Two weeks later (April 30), the Advent Herald came out with an unsigned article (most certainly by Bliss himself) suggesting that while Hebrews 9:23 refers to a cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary immediately after Christ's ascension, Daniel 8:14 alludes to the future cleansing of the "mountain on which Jerusalem was built," "when the whole earth shall be purified by the fires of the last day." The dichotomy between these two passages was justified by the assumption that while the sanctuary mentioned in Daniel 8:14 must be literally "trodden under foot" (Dan 8:13), the sanctuary of Hebrews 9:23 cannot be trodden in that way, because it is in heaven. [S. Bliss], "Atonement," AH, Apr. 30, 1853, 141. J. N. Andrews responded to this view in his "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, May 12, 1853, 205.

²J. N. A[ndrews], "Position of the Advent Herald [sic] on the Sanctuary Question," RH, May 12, 1853, 204.

to this dark, sublunary globe" in order to cleanse the sanctuary.¹

In regard to the nature of the cleansing, James White asserted in 1853 that the earthly sanctuary was "cleansed, not as we would cleanse a room or garment, but from sin."² To which J. N. Andrews added that as "the earthly sanctuary was cleansed by blood," so "the heavenly sanctuary must be cleansed by better sacrifice, that is, by the blood of Christ" (cf. Heb 9:22-24). Consequently, "the idea of cleansing the sanctuary by fire has no support in the Bible."³

While acknowledging that "this earth will be purified by fire" (cf. 2 Pet 3:7, 10), Uriah Smith wrote in 1855 that "this event is as independent of, and as foreign to, the cleansing of the Sanctuary, as was the destruction of Sodom [Gen 19], to the ministration at Jerusalem."⁴ A year later (1856), he pointed out that the sanctuary "is cleansed by means of blood, and not by the destruction of the wicked; (Lev. xvi; Heb. ix, 22, 23:) it is cleansed of sin, and not of sinners," because "sinners are never

¹J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 30.

²[J. White], "Sanctuary and 2300 Days," RH, Mar. 17, 1853, 173.

³J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," Feb. 3, 1853, 147. See also page 148.

⁴U. S[mith], "Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 9, 1855, 157.

permitted to inhabit God's Sanctuary."¹ In 1857, the same author explained that since "the renovation of the earth by fire will not take place at the second coming of Christ, but 1000 year after," that renovation "has no connection with the 2300 days."²

J. N. Andrews noted in 1855 that "certain persons" acknowledged that the 2300 days ended in 1844 and that the sanctuary to be cleansed was the one referred to in Hebrews 9:23, but denied "that the Sanctuary is now being cleansed." Those individuals were portrayed as placing a "preliminary work" between the beginning of the antitypical day of atonement in 1844 and a future cleansing of the sanctuary. This theory was seen by Andrews as a "direct contradiction" of Daniel 8:13, 14, which declares specifically that the sanctuary would be cleansed at the end of the 2300. Thus, according to Andrews, "this supposed preliminary work" had to transpire prior to the ending of the 2300 days.³

The following year (1856), Andrews added that a "preliminary work" implies that "the antitype of the offerings" mentioned in Numbers 29:7-11 has to be inserted "between the ending of the 2300 days and the cleansing of

¹[U. Smith], "Comprehensive View of the Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 24, 1856, 132.

²[Uriah Smith], "The 2300 Days: What Takes Place When They Terminate?" RH, May 7, 1857, 5.

³J. N. Andrews, "The Sanctuary and Its Cleansing," RH, Oct. 30, 1855, 69.

the Sanctuary." This would require Christ to "return to earth and die in a manner similar to that in which he died at first, and after that return to heaven and complete the work in the holiest of all." It would actually demand Christ to "die as many times as there were different times of offering sacrifices specified in the law." The "absurdity" of this theory was seen by Andrews as directly opposed to the biblical testimony that Christ died "once for all" (Heb 10:10; cf. 9:25, 26; 10:10-12).¹

The heavenly sanctuary needs to be cleansed, according to Uriah Smith, because it has been defiled by the "continual transfer of sins from the people" to that sanctuary through Christ's mediation for the forgiveness of sins.² Smith explained also that the "silence in heaven [for] about the space of half an hour" (Rev 8:1) has to be placed after the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary is finished.³

The actual cleansing of the sanctuary continued to be related during the period under consideration (1850-1863) to the concepts of (1) the open and shut doors, (2) the

¹J. N. A[ndrews], "The Cleansing of the Sanctuary: Does the Work Commence at the End of the 2300 Days?" RH, Feb. 21, 1856, 165.

²[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 16," RH, Feb. 25, 1858, 124-25.

³[Uriah Smith], "Is the Silence in Heaven during the Cleansing of the Sanctuary?" RH, Dec. 18, 1856, 52.

preadvent investigative judgment, and (3) the atonement for the blotting out of sins.¹

Open and Shut Doors

During the early 1850s, Sabbatarian Adventists continued the process of expanding their view of the shut door (cf. Matt 25:10; Luke 13:25) through the notion that the ending of the 2300 days in 1844 brought about not only the *closing* of the door of the Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary but also the *opening* of the door of the Most Holy Place of that sanctuary (cf. Rev 3:7, 8).² That open-and-shut-door transition was viewed as caused by the initiation of the work of cleansing the heavenly sanctuary (cf. Lev 16; Heb 9:6, 7; Rev 11:19).³

References are still found in the early 1850s to the theory that Christ's mediation for "the world" (those who had rejected the Second Advent message) ended in 1844. Joseph Bates, for example, wrote in November 1850 that at the end of the 2300 days (in 1844) Christ "rose up and *shut the outer door* of his daily ministration with the world" and "*opened the door into the holiest of all; where the ten*

¹See pp. 102-17, above.

²See pp. 103-7, above.

³J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," Feb. 3, 1853, 147-48; [James White], "The Shut Door," RH, Apr. 14, 1853, 188-89; [U. Smith], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, Oct. 28, 1862, 173.

commandments are seen, (Rev. xi, 19,)."¹ And in June 1851, James White wrote that the closing of Christ's "mediation for all the world" at the end of the 2300 days did not mean that "the door of God's mercy is closed, or ever was to be closed to those who do not reject the offers of mercy."²

But such statements were soon superseded by the increasing realization that Sabbatarian Adventists had still to preach the third angel's message to the world. Insights toward this realization are already found in the following statement James White himself wrote in 1853:

No one then [late 1844 and early 1845] saw the work of the third angel, and the general impression was that our work was done. We may now [in 1853] see that Bro. Miller applied Dan. xii, 10; Zech. xiii, 9; Mal. iii, 18, and Rev. xxii, 11, to the wrong period. His reasoning is correct; but the texts apply in the future, to the period when Christ shall leave the heavenly Sanctuary, instead of the seventh month, 1844.³

In 1855, J. N. Andrews declared that the theory that "human probation must close when our Lord enters the holiest" is not endorsed either by the Old Testament types or by the New Testament explanation of the antitype. Andrews pointed out that "the work in the holiest" was not

¹Joseph Bates, "The Laodicean Church," RH, Nov. 1850, 8.

²[J.] W[hite], "Parable, Matthew xxv, 1-12," RH, June 9, 1851, 101-2.

³James White, "Remarks on This Work," leaf added in 1853 to all unsold copies of AR 48-page Special, [Sept.] 1850, [49].

only for the cleansing of the sanctuary but "also for the sins of the people" (Lev 16; Heb 9:7).¹

The following year (1856), C. W. Sperry asserted that "if there was no mercy in the time of cleansing the Sanctuary, then when the Priest went in it would have been said, 'He that is holy let him be,' &c. [Rev 22:11]; but this was not so." Sperry argued that while Christ "is cleansing the Sanctuary we must live without sin or he must still intercede for us; and while he intercedes for sin he does for sinners."²

Two years later (1858), Uriah Smith stated: "We understand that by the open and shut doors is simply brought to view the change of ministration in the Sanctuary." The idea that "the doors of both apartments of the heavenly Sanctuary are now open" and that, consequently, "a ministration is carried on in both apartments at the same time," was rejected by Smith because of the references to a shut door in Matthew 25:10 and Revelation 3:7. Smith denied that the concept of a shut door implied individual determinism either for salvation or for downfall. He explained that "the only difficulty that can arise here is from allowing the virgins [referred to in Matt 25:1-13] to

¹J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary and Its Cleansing," RH, Oct. 30, 1855, 69. Partially reprinted in [James White], "Is There Probation during the Cleansing of the Sanctuary?" RH, June 2, 1863, 2-3.

²C. W. Sperry, "The Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 7, 1856, 148.

represent individuals instead of a class." Maintaining that the virgins represent two distinct classes, Smith pointed out that "an individual may, without difficulty, though belonging at one time to one class, at another, help compose the other."¹

Preadvent Investigative Judgment

The cleansing of the sanctuary continued to be seen during the 1850s and early 1860s as comprising a preadvent investigative judgment of God's people. Although the expression "investigative judgment" was first used in Sabbatarian Adventist publications² in a letter penned by Elon Everts on December 17, 1856, and published in the Review of January 1, 1857,³ the concept conveyed by this expression was already fostered by Sabbatarians in the late 1840s.⁴

¹[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 24," RH, Apr. 29, 1858, 188-89.

²Paul A. Gordon explained in 1983 that "though for many years Seventh-day Adventists have believed that James White first used the phrase 'investigative judgment,' recent study shows that Elon Everts employed it in a letter published in the Review and Herald and written on December 17, 1856." Gordon, Sanctuary, 1844, and the Pioneers, 87. See also P. Gerard Damsteegt, "Continued Clarification (1850-1863)," in Holbrook, ed., Doctrine of the Sanctuary, 88; Maxwell, "Investigative Judgment: Its Early Development," in *ibid.*, 147.

³E[lon] Everts, "Communication from Bro. Everts," RH, Jan. 1, 1857, 72.

⁴See pp. 111-17, above.

Evidences of this judgment were found between 1850 and 1863, for instance, in (1) the typical Day of Atonement (Lev 16; 23:26-32); (2) the "breast plate of judgment" (Exod 28:15-30; 39:8-21); (3) the judicial scene of Daniel 7:9-14; (4) the parable of the wedding banquet of Matthew 22:1-14; (5) the opening of "some men's sins" before hand "to judgment" (1 Tim 5:24); (6) the judgment of the "house of God" (1 Pet 4:17); (7) the name "Laodicea" (Rev 3:14-22); (8) the measuring of "the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein" (Rev 11:1); (9) the rewarding at the Second Coming of those previously recognized as worthy of receiving everlasting life (cf. 1 Cor 15:51, 52); and (10) the proclamation of "the hour of his judgment is come" (Rev 14:7).

The typical Day of Atonement (Lev 16; 23:26-32) was viewed as a time of judgment that foreshadowed the judicial dimension of Christ's priestly ministry after the ending of the 2300 days in 1844.¹ Elon Everts stated in January 1854

¹J. Bates, "Midnight Cry in the Past," RH, Dec. 1850, 22; E. Everts, "Review of the New Time Theory," RH, Jan. 10, 1854, 201; J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 30; U[riah] S[mith], "The Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 52; E. Everts, "'Be Zealous and Repent'," RH, Jan. 8, 1857, 75; J[ames] W[hite], "The Judgment," RH, Jan 29, 1857, 100-1; J. B. Frisbie, "Communication from Bro. Frisbie," RH, Feb. 12, 1857, 115; E. Everts, "A Few Thoughts on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, June 11, 1857, 45; G. W. Amadon, "'Who May Abide the Day of His Coming?'" RH, Oct. 29, 1857, 205; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 21," RH, Apr. 8, 1858, 164; [idem], "To Correspondents," RH, Mar. 15, 1860, 136.

that "light on the Sanctuary shows that the judgment commenced on the tenth of the 7th month, at the end of the 2300 days."¹ A month later (February 1854), J. N. Loughborough explained that the Day of Atonement was a day of "judgment" and "decision," in which the sounding of the trumpet "called the attention of the people to the sanctuary." The Israelites "were required," according to Loughborough, "to gather around the sanctuary and afflict their souls." Those who afflicted their souls "received the blessing of the high priest when he came out," while "those who did not afflict themselves, were to be put to death."² In 1857, James White declared that "the judgment of the house of God is evidently shadowed forth by the events of the tenth-day atonement of the house of Israel," which "in a certain sense was a day of judgment" (cf. Lev 16; 23:26-32).³

The notion that the high priest wore "the breast plate of judgment" (Exod 28:15-30; 39:8-21) into the Most Holy Place in the Day of Atonement⁴ was perceived as additional evidence of the judicial nature of the Day of Atonement, whose antitype began with the ending of the 2300

¹E. Everts, "Review of the New Time Theory," RH, Jan. 10, 1854, 201.

²J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 30.

³J. W[hite], "Judgment," RH, Jan 29, 1857, 100.

⁴See pp. 112-16, above.

days in 1844.¹ Uriah Smith asserted in 1855 that "the work of cleansing the earthly sanctuary was a work of judgment," in which "the high priest went into the most holy place, bearing the breast-plate of judgment" with "the names of the twelve children of Israel." This prefigured, according to Smith, the "time of decision" and judgment "for the human race" during the antitypical cleansing of the sanctuary.²

A description of the post-1844 heavenly court was recognized in the judicial scene of Daniel 7:9-14 (cf. Rev 20:12).³ Daniel 7:10 and Revelation 20:12 were perceived by Uriah Smith (in 1855) as pointing out that the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary comprises a work of judgment, based on the books of the records "of the acts of all men."

¹Joseph Bates, "New Testament Testimony," RH, Dec. 1850, 13; idem, "Midnight Cry in the Past," RH, Dec. 1850, 21-22; [J.] W[hite], "Parable, Matthew xxv, 1-12," RH, June 9, 1851, 102; Joseph Bates, "Our Labor in the Philadelphia and Laodicean Churches," RH, Aug. 19, 1851, 13; J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 30; U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 52; J. W[hite], "Judgment," RH, Jan. 29, 1857, 100; [Uriah Smith], "Israel," RH, Sept. 3, 1857, 140; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 21," RH, Apr. 8, 1858, 164.

²U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 52-53.

³U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 52-53; J. W[hite], "Judgment," RH, Jan. 29, 1857, 100; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 21," RH, Apr. 8, 1858, 164. See also [James White], "The Seventh Angel," RH, June 9, 1851, 104; [idem], "Shut Door," RH, Apr. 14, 1853, 189; R. F. Cottrell, "Where Is the Truth?" RH, June 20, 1854, 165; J[ames] W[hite], "The Marriage of the Lamb," RH, Feb. 21, 1856, 165; [idem], "Revelation xviii-xxi," RH, Mar. 5, 1857, 141; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 22," RH, Apr. 15, 1858, 172.

That work was portrayed as embracing "the examination of individual character" of all children of God "who are living" and "who have ever lived, whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life."¹ For James White (1857), that preadvent "investigative judgment of the saints" was based on the heavenly records "of the acts of all accountable men" (cf. Rev 20:12; Dan 7:10; Mal 3:16).²

The examination of the guests for the wedding banquet (Matt 22:11) was seen as an illustration of the judicial trial of God's professed people.³ Under the notion that "the cleansing of the Sanctuary [Dan 8:14], the Judgment on the house of God [1 Pet 4:17], and the marriage of the Lamb [Matt 22:1-14]" were "synonymous events,"⁴ Uriah Smith suggested in 1858 that "the king's coming in to see the guests" (Matt 22:11) represents "the inspection of our individual cases, as they come up for examination before the great tribunal of the heavenly Sanctuary."⁵

¹U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 52-53.

²J. W[hite], "Judgment," RH, Jan 29, 1857, 100.

³[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 22," RH, Apr. 15, 1858, 172; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 28," RH, June 10, 1858, 28; [idem], "The Wedding Garment," RH, Apr. 2, 1861, 156. Cf. [J.] W[hite], "Parable, Matthew xxv, 1-12," RH, June 9, 1851, 103; R. F. C[ottrell], "The Wedding Garment," RH, Jan. 8, 1857, 77.

⁴[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 22," RH, Apr. 15, 1858, 172.

⁵[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 28," RH, June 10, 1858, 28.

In 1861, Smith stated that during the examination of "the guests," the characters of all those whose names have been written in the "book of life" (Rev 20:12, 15; 21:27) "pass in review before the great tribunal of heaven." He explained that

the sins of those who have repented will be blotted out, and their names retained in the Lamb's book of life; while the sins of those who have not sought forgiveness and pardon, will stand against them, and their names will be blotted out of the book of life.¹

This investigation will determine, according to Smith, "who are worthy of translation" or of being raised "in the first resurrection when the angels are sent forth to bring those who are prepared, to the marriage supper of the Lamb."²

Allusions were also made to 1 Timothy 5:24, "Some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment; and some men they follow after," in support of the concept that the righteous are judged prior to the wicked.³ G. W. Holt, for example, commented on this text in 1852 explaining that while "the sins of the righteous go beforehand to the

¹[U. Smith], "Wedding Garment," RH, Apr. 2, 1861, 156.

²Ibid.

³G. W. Holt, "The Day of the Lord," RH, Mar. 23, 1852, 107; J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 30; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Apr. 4, 1854, 85; idem, "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 53; J. W[hite], "Judgment," RH, Jan. 29, 1857, 100; Louisa M. Morton, "An Appeal to the Brethren in Wisconsin, and All Others Who Have Forsaken the Third Angel's Message," RH, Mar. 19, 1857, 157; F. F. Camp, "From Sister Camp," RH, June 11, 1857, 47.

Sanctuary and are blotted out by the High Priest," "the sins and evil deeds of the wicked remain unforgiven, and go to judgment afterwards."¹ James White suggested in January 1857 that

some men lay open, or confess their sins, and they go to judgment while Jesus' blood can blot them out, and the sins be remembered no more; while sins unconfessed, and unrepented of, will follow, and will stand against the sinner in that great day of judgment of 1000 years [cf. Rev 20].²

But Charles O. Taylor cautioned in the summer of 1857 that 1 Timothy 5:24 merely says that the spiritual situation of some people is more clearly reflected in their actions than that of others.³

Support for the concept of a judicial trial of God's people was also found in the allusion in 1 Peter 4:17 to the judgment of the "house of God."⁴ James White spoke in 1854

¹G. W. Holt, "Day of the Lord," RH, Mar. 23, 1852, 107.

²J. W[hite], "Judgment," RH, Jan. 29, 1857, 100.

³Cha[rles] O. Taylor, "1 Timothy, v, 24, 25," RH, July 2, 1857, 70.

⁴J. Bates, "Midnight Cry in the Past," RH, Dec. 1850, 22; E. Everts, "Review of the New Time Theory," RH, Jan. 10, 1854, 201; J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 30; [James White], "The Seventh Angel: Events to Occur during His Sounding," RH, Mar. 7, 1854, 52; U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 53; J. N. Loughborough, "Is the Soul Immortal? An Examination of the Scripture Testimony Concerning Man's Present Condition and His Future Reward or Punishment," RH, Dec. 11, 1855, 82; J. H. W[aggoner], "The Kingdom of God.--No. 6. Letters to Bro. Sperry," RH, Oct. 9, 1856, 181; J. W[hite], "Seven Churches," RH, Oct. 16, 1856, 189; E. Everts, "Communication from Bro. Everts," RH, Jan. 1, 1857, 72; J. W[hite], "Judgment," RH, Jan. 29, 1857, 100;

of this judgment as "a period of judgment and decision" distinct from "the judgment, the day of judgment, the time of the dead that they should be judged."¹ For Uriah Smith (1855), this preadvent judgment of the "house of God" consisted of "the examination of individual character," in which "the lives of the children of God, not only those who are living, but all who have ever lived, whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life," will "pass in final review before that great tribunal."² Distinguishing "between the judgment of the house of God, and that of the world," J. H. Waggoner explained in 1856 that

in the first, God himself acts as Judge, and Jesus Christ, whose ministration can alone insure salvation and fullness of mercy in judgment, sits in counsel with the Father. Zech. vi, 12, 13. But in that of the world, the Father commits the judgment into the hands of the Son; Christ is Judge, and the saints are his counsellors and ministers in determining who shall be beaten with few and who with many stripes; to whom the judgment shall be more tolerable, and to whom most intolerable.³

Another evidence of the preadvent investigative judgment was found in the etymology of the name "Laodicea"

E. Everts, "A Few Thoughts on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, June 11, 1857, 45; J. N. Loughborough, "Judgment," RH, Nov. 19, 1857, 10; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 21," RH, Apr. 8, 1858, 164; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 22," RH, Apr. 15, 1858, 172; [idem], "To Correspondents," RH, Mar. 15, 1860, 136.

¹[J. White], "Seventh Angel," RH, Mar. 7, 1854, 52.

²U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 53.

³J. H. W[aggoner], "The Kingdom of God.--No. 6. Letters to Bro. Sperry," RH, Oct. 9, 1856, 181.

(Rev 3:14-22).¹ The Sabbatarian Adventists were perceived by James White in October 1856 as living since 1844 in the period of the "Laodicea" church, which "signifies 'the judgment of the people,' or, according to Cruden, 'a just people.'" For White, this "fitly represents the present state of the church, in the great day of atonement, or judgment of the 'house of God' while the just and holy law of God is taken as a rule of life."² Elon Everts wrote in the following December (1856) that "we are [since 1844] in the Laodicean or judging-of-the-people condition."³

The measuring of "the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein" (Rev 11:1) was regarded by J. N. Loughborough in 1854 as directly related to the judgment installed by the opening of the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary in 1844 (cf. Rev 11:19). He penned that "the antitypical day of atonement has come" and "the third angel is commissioned to perform his work of measuring the temple of God and them that worship in it" with "golden

¹J. W[hite], "Seven Churches," RH, Oct. 16, 1856, 189; E. Everts, "Communication from Bro. Everts," RH, Jan. 1, 1857, 72. Cf. W. Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History (1836), 120-21; J. Bates, "Laodicean Church," RH, Nov. 1850, 8.

²J. W[hite], "Seven Churches," RH, Oct. 16, 1856, 189.

³E. Everts, "Communication from Bro. Everts," RH, Jan. 1, 1857, 72.

reed" of "the commandments of God."¹

A major argument for the preadvent investigative judgment was also the concept that the Second Coming will bring the reward for those whose cases will have been previously recognized as worthy of receiving everlasting life (cf. 1 Cor 15:51, 52).² Elon Everts asserted on December 17, 1856, that "the righteous dead have been under investigative judgment" in the heavenly sanctuary "since 1844." Starting with the "righteous Abel," this judgment will continue, according to Everts, until the cases of "all who share in eternal life at the coming of Christ" are decided (1 Pet 4:5, 6, 17). That this judgment must take place before the Second Coming "and during the existence of the last generation on earth" was seen as evident from the fact that when Christ "comes it will be to raise the righteous saints, and change the living saints, in a *moment*,

¹J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 30. See also [U. Smith], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, Oct. 28, 1862, 172. For a more recent study on the indebtedness of Revelation 11:1 to the typical Day of Atonement of Leviticus 16 and 23:26-32, see Kenneth A. Strand, "An Overlooked Old-Testament Background to Revelation 11:1," AUSS 22 (Autumn 1984): 317-25.

²E. Everts, "Communication from Bro. Everts," RH, Jan. 1, 1857, 72; J[ames] W[hite], "The Judgment," RH, Jan. 29, 1857, 100; E. Everts, "A Few Thoughts on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, June 11, 1857, 45; J. N. Loughborough, "Judgment," RH, Nov. 19, 1857, 10; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 20," RH, Apr. 1, 1858, 156; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 21," RH, Apr. 8, 1858, 164; R. F. Cottrell, "A Discourse Written for the Seneca Indians, to Be Delivered through an Interpreter. No. 2," RH, June 10, 1858, 29; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:198-99.

in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet" (1 Cor 15:51, 52; Rev 22:11, 12), allowing "no time at that moment for judgment."¹ In January 1857, James White explained that both the wicked and the righteous "will be judged before they are raised from the dead." While the wicked will be judged during the 1000 years of Revelation 20 and "raised at the close of that period" (cf. Rev 20:4-6), the "dead and living" saints are judged "before the first resurrection" (cf. 1 Pet 4:5-7).²

The following November (1857), J. N. Loughborough argued that to talk of the saints "being judged after immortality is bestowed upon them, would imply that there was a possibility of their losing eternal life after they have laid hold upon it" (cf. John 10:27, 28).³ And in April 1858, Uriah Smith observed that "the line of distinction between the righteous and the wicked must be drawn before" "probation closes" and "our Saviour makes his appearance." Smith pointed out that the idea of a judgment of the saints "after the righteous dead are raised" and "the living saints changed and caught up to meet the Lord in the

¹E. Everts, "Communication from Bro. Everts," RH, Jan. 1, 1857, 72.

²J. W[white], "Judgment," RH, Jan 29, 1857, 100.

³J. N. Loughborough, "Judgment," RH, Nov. 19, 1857, 10.

air" requires the admission "that there may possibly have been some mistake in the matter."¹

The initiation of the judgment under consideration was seen as proclaimed through the announcement of the first angel of Revelation 14 that "the hour of his judgment is come" (Rev 14:7).² This has been noted earlier³ and receives further attention later in this chapter.⁴

Related to the concept of the preadvent investigative judgment was also the notion that Daniel would stand in his "lot" (Dan 12:13) by enduring the judgment that began at the end of the 2300 and 1335 days.⁵

Sabbatarians saw this investigative judgment of the saints as distinct from the judgment against the little horn

¹[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 20," RH, Apr. 1, 1858, 156.

²J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 29-30; R. F. Cottrell, Bible Class, 118; U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 53-54; E. Everts, "A Few Thoughts on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, June 11, 1857, 45; J. N. Loughborough, "Judgment," RH, Nov. 19, 1857, 9-11; R. F. Cottrell, "Discourse Written for the Seneca Indians . . . No. 2," RH, June 10, 1858, 29; [U. Smith], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, Nov. 18, 1862, 197.

³See pp. 121-23. above.

⁴See pp. 303-5, below.

⁵J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 30; U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 54; J. W[hite], "Judgment," RH, Jan. 29, 1857, 100; H[iram] Edson, "Daniel Standing in His Lot," RH, July 30, 1857, 101; D. J. Frisbie, "From Sister Frisbie," RH, Aug. 6, 1857, 111; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 19," RH, Mar. 25, 1858, 148; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 8, 1863, 116.

(Dan 7:26),¹ which was equated with the taking away of the dominion of the Papacy in 1798.² J. N. Andrews argued that the judgment against the little horn should not be confused with that of God's people because "the work of cleansing the Sanctuary is not that of a king taking vengeance on his adversaries, but that of a priest concluding his work in the tabernacle of God."³

Atonement for the Blotting out of Sins

The cleansing of the sanctuary was defined by Sabbatarian Adventists not only in terms of the preadvent

¹Insightful arguments against the identification of the little horn of Daniel 7 with Antiochus Epiphanis are found, for instance, in J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 23, 1852, 121-22; [J. White], "Daniel Chapters viii and ix," RH, Nov. 21, 1854, 116-17 (reprinted in RH, Apr. 30, 1857, 203); [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth," RH, Dec. 10, 1857, 36-37. For more recent studies on the subject, see Shea, Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation, 25-55; Ricardo Obos-Padilla, Plädoyer für Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, 47 1/2 Thesen über das Buch Daniel: Martin Luther zum 500. Jahrestag seiner Geburt dargebracht (Bad Homburg, Germany: n.p., 1983) (translated and reprinted in idem, "Defensa de Antioco IV Epifanes: 47 1/2 tesis sobre el libro de Daniel," Theo 6, no. 1 (1991): 76-183); William H. Shea, "Early Development of the Antiochus Epiphanes Interpretation," in Holbrook, ed., Symposium on Daniel, 256-328; Gerhard F. Hasel, "The 'Little Horn,' the Heavenly Sanctuary and the Time of the End: A Study of Daniel 8:9-14," in ibid., 378-461.

²H[iram] Edson, "The Times of the Gentiles, and the Deliverance and Restoration of the Remnant of Israel from the Seven Times, or 2520 Years of Assyrian or Pagan and Papal Captivity Considered," RH, Jan. 24, 1856, 129-31; J. N. Loughborough, "Questions," RH, Apr. 22, 1858, 181.

³J. N. A[ndrews], "Questions by Bro. Stone," RH, Apr. 28, 1853, 200.

investigative judgment but also as an atonement for the blotting out of sins.¹ Crucial for this atonement were two basic concepts.

The first of those concepts was the teaching that Christ is presently blotting out the sins of the righteous in the heavenly sanctuary by means of His blood shed at Calvary.² Joseph Bates, in November 1850, referred to the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary as Christ's work of "blotting out the errors of the house of Israel."³ In 1857, James White explained that "the sins of all who shall have part in the first resurrection will be blotted out," not "when they are forgiven," but during "the great day of atonement," "when Jesus offers his blood for the blotting out of sins."⁴

The second concept related to the atonement for the blotting out of sins was the notion that a special preparation is required of God's people on earth while that

¹See pp. 107-11, above.

²J. Bates, "Laodicean Church," RH, Nov. 1850, 8; idem, "Midnight Cry in the Past," RH, Dec. 1850, 22; J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 30; J. W[hite], "Judgment," RH, Jan 29, 1857, 100; M. S. Avery, "Signs of the End: A Letter from M. S. Avery to Her Sister," RH, Apr. 2, 1857, 170; E. Everts, "A Few Thoughts on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, June 11, 1857, 45; H. Edson, "Daniel Standing in His Lot," RH, July 30, 1857, 101; J. N. Loughborough, "Judgment," RH, Nov. 19, 1857, 11.

³J. Bates, "Laodicean Church," RH, Nov. 1850, 8.

⁴J. W[hite], "Judgment," RH, Jan 29, 1857, 100.

atonement is being carried on in heaven (cf. Acts 3:19, 20).¹ Ellen White saw in 1851 that God's people must prepare themselves, while probation lasts, to "live in the sight of the Lord, without a High Priest in the Sanctuary, through the time of trouble." As a result, they should "be drawing nearer and nearer to the Lord" and "purify their souls in obeying the whole truth." They should also "obtain the victory over every besetment, all pride, selfishness, love of the world, and over every wrong word and action."² In 1853, J. N. Andrews stated that while Christ is ministering in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary, "the host, or church, are waiting the completion of the great work, the putting away of their sins."³ And in 1857, James White warned that while that atoning work is still going on, God's people should fully obey the calls and counsels "brought to view in the testimony to the Laodiceans [Rev 3:14-22], and parallel portions of the word of God."⁴

The atonement for the blotting out of sins and the preadvent investigative judgment were perceived as

¹[E. G. White], Sketch of the Christian Experience, 58-59; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 148; Francis Gould, "From Bro. Gould," RH, Oct. 24, 1854, 87; M. Edson, "From Bro. Edson," RH, Feb. 6, 1855, 175; C. W. Sperry, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 7, 1856, 148; J. W[hite], "Judgment," RH, Jan 29, 1857, 100-1.

²[E. G. White], Sketch of the Christian Experience, 58-59.

³J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 148.

⁴J. W[hite], "Judgment," RH, Jan 29, 1857, 100-1.

interrelated concepts. While the preadvent investigative judgment was seen as disclosing the names (1) of all those worthy of having their sins blotted out and (2) of all those whose names have to be blotted out of book of life,¹ the actual blotting out either of sins or of names was also regarded as a work of judgment.² Elon Everts, for instance, spoke in June 1857 of "the great and solemn work of judgment in blotting out the sins of the people of God of all ages."³ In November (1857), J. N. Loughborough stated that "the blotting out of the sins of God's people, must be the decision of their cases, in other words, must be their judgment," for their "sins are to be remembered no more. Heb. viii, 12."⁴

Within the broad atoning work extending from the cross to the end of probation,⁵ the atonement under

¹See pp. 276-78, above.

²J. W[HITE], "Judgment," RH, Jan. 29, 1857, 101; E. Everts, "A Few Thoughts on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, June 11, 1857, 45; J. N. Loughborough, "Judgment," RH, Nov. 19, 1857, 11; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 28," RH, June 10, 1858, 28; R. F. Cottrell, "Discourse Written for the Seneca Indians . . . No. 2," *ibid.*, 29.

³E. Everts, "A Few Thoughts on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, June 11, 1857, 45.

⁴J. N. Loughborough, "Judgment," RH, Nov. 19, 1857, 11.

⁵See E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:149, 158, 162-63, 170, 198-99. For further study on the Sabbatarian Adventist view on the atonement, see, for example, J. M. Stephenson, "The Atonement," 9-part series in RH, Aug. 22, 1854, 9-11; Sept. 26, 1854, 49-51; Oct. 3, 1854, 57-60; Oct.

consideration was regarded by Ellen White in 1858 as the "final atonement for all who could be benefitted by his [Christ's] mediation."¹ J. B. Frisbie explained in 1857 that "when Christ shall finish his work of atonement, and the judgment of the righteous ends, there will be no more mercy for sinners" (Prov 1:24-31; Isa 59:16-20).²

Having finished the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary, Christ was portrayed as transferring the blotted-out sins back to their ultimate author, Satan, who will carry them as the antitypical scapegoat (cf. Lev 16:5, 7-10,

17, 1854, 73-77; Oct. 31, 1854, 89-91; Nov. 7, 1854, 97-100; Nov. 14, 1854, 105-7; Nov. 21, 1854, 113-16; Dec. 5, 1854, 121-24 (reprinted in idem, The Atonement [Rochester, NY: Advent Review Office, 1854]); E. B. Saunders, "Thoughts on the Atonement," RH, Apr. 15, 1862, 155; J. H. W[aggoner], "Reason Not Against an Atonement," RH, June 2, 1863, 1-2; idem, "The Moral System," 2-part series in RH, June 9, 1863, 13-14; June 16, 1863, 17-18; idem, "The Atonement--Part II," 12-part series in RH, Sept. 8, 1863, 117-18; Sept. 15, 1863, 125-26; Sept. 22, 1863, 133-34; Oct. 6, 1863, 150-51; Oct. 13, 1863, 157-58; Oct. 20, 1863, 165; Oct. 27, 1863, 173-74; Nov. 3, 1863, 181-82; Nov. 10, 1863, 189-90; Nov. 17, 1863, 197; Nov. 24, 1863, 205-6; Dec. 1, 1863, 6-7. See also the reprints from non-Sabbatarian Albert Barnes in "The Atonement," 5-part series in RH, Aug. 27, 1861, 97-99; Sept. 3, 1861, 105-6; Sept. 10, 1861, 113-15; Sept. 17, 1861, 121-23; Sept. 24, 1861, 129-31 (reprinted from idem, The Atonement, in Its Relations to Law and Moral Government [Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan, 1859], 156-67, 171-72, 176-79, 180-88, 193-95, 200-16, 238-39, 244-47, 252-57, 259-69, 278-84, 303, 306-7, 311-12, 314-15, 339-44, 357-58); cf. J. H. Waggoner, "Barnes on the Atonement," RH, Sept. 10, 1861, 116.

¹E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:162.

²J. B. Frisbie, "Communication from Bro. Frisbie," RH, Feb. 12, 1857, 115.

20-22; Rev 20:1-3).¹ J. N. Andrews explained in 1853 that "the work of cleansing the sanctuary is succeeded by the act of placing the sins, thus removed, upon the head of the scape-goat, to be borne away for ever from the sanctuary."² And in 1854, Uriah Smith added that while the sins of all those who have been pardoned through His blood will be placed upon Satan, "the sins of all those who are not forgiven will rest upon themselves and sink them down into everlasting ruin."³

Thus, significant developments took place during the 1850s and early 1860s in the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the basic components of Daniel 8:14. Holding to their previous views on the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 as a two-apartment heavenly sanctuary/temple and on the 2300 days as extending from 457 B.C to the autumn of 1844, the Sabbatarians enhanced these teachings while responding to non-Sabbatarian Adventist challenges.

¹J. Bates, "Midnight Cry in the Past," RH, Dec. 1850, 22; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 146, 148; idem, "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, May 12, 1853, 205; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Apr. 4, 1854, 85; [idem], "The Scape-Goat," RH, Nov. 27, 1856, 28-29; [idem], "What Is the Penalty of the Law?" RH, Apr. 9, 1857, 180-81; [idem], editorial note to "The Seventh Month Movement," RH, Sept. 10, 1857, 145; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 18," RH, Mar. 18, 1858, 140-41; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:199; [U. Smith], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, Dec. 30, 1862, 36; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 1, 1863, 108-9.

²J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 148.

³U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Apr. 4, 1854, 85.

Sabbatarian Adventists also further developed the concept that the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary began in 1844, when Christ closed the door of the Holy Place and opened the door into the Most Holy Place of that sanctuary. That cleansing work was viewed as comprising a preadvent investigative judgment that corroborates the names of all those worthy of having their sins blotted out and of receiving everlasting life at Christ's Second Coming.

As already noted, the formation of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was much indebted to the foundational role played within that system by both the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 and the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12. Having surveyed the Sabbatarian Adventist interpretation of that sanctuary, the discussion turns now to the Sabbatarian interpretation of the three angels' messages.

**Further Developments in the Sabbatarian Adventist
Understanding of the Three Angels' Messages
of Revelation 14:6-12**

Sabbatarian Adventists broadened significantly their understanding of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 through the years. Chapter 1 dealt with the background to that understanding provided by late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English-speaking non-Millerite Protestant and Millerite expositions. Chapter 2 surveyed the Sabbatarian Adventist interpretation of those

messages up to 1850. This chapter considers the development of that interpretation between 1850 and 1863.

The Chronological Setting of the Three Angels' Messages

The Millerite basic understanding of the three angels' messages as fulfilled by the Second Advent Movement between that movement's inception and the Second Coming of Christ was retained by the Sabbatarian Adventists. During the 1850s and early 1860s the Sabbatarians continued to view the mission of the first angel fulfilled in the Millerite preaching of the Second Advent, and the mission of the second angel as accomplished by those Millerites who came out of the churches. Claiming that these two angels would be immediately followed by the third angel (cf. Rev 14:9), the Sabbatarians saw themselves as fulfilling the mission of this angel, which comprised the keeping of "the commandments of God [including the seventh-day Sabbath], and the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12).¹

¹[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 14-15; J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 81-82; [James White], "The Angels of Rev. xiv," 4-part series in PR, Aug. 19, 1851, 12; Sept. 2, 1851, 20; Dec. 9, 1851, 63-64; Dec. 23, 1851, 69-72; [idem], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 75; *ibid.*, Mar. 17, 1859, 130-31; [Uriah Smith], "The Three Angels' Messages of Rev. xiv," RH, May 29, 1860, 5.

Helpful insights on the development of the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the three angels' messages are provided by James White in J. Bates and U. Smith, "Business Proceedings of B. C. Conference," RH, Oct. 23, 1860, 178.

Sabbatarian Adventists realized that because of their preaching of the third angel's message, with emphasis on "the commandments of God [including the seventh-day Sabbath], and the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12), many non-Sabbatarian Adventists gave up their former position on the fulfillment of the three angels' messages and relocated the proclamation of these messages either to the past or to the future.¹

Those who argued for a past fulfillment of the three angels' messages usually restricted these messages either (1) to pre-October-1844-Disappointment Millerism,² (2) to the pre-Reformation and Reformation movements,³ or (3) to the Apostolic Age.⁴

¹J. N. A[ndrews], "'Watchman, What of the Night?'" RH, May 27, 1852, 14; [James White], "Babylon," RH, June 24, 1852, 82 [actually 28]; [idem], "The Angels of Revelation xiv," RH, Nov. 29, 1853, 164.

²J[oseph] Turner, "The Sabbath Question: A Response to Brother Moulton," AW, Mar. 24, 1852, 60 (cf. D. E. Moulton, "Letter from Bro. Moulton," AW, Mar. 17, 1852, 54-55).

³C. Stowe, "The Three Angels of Rev. 14th," 2-part series in AH, July 5, 1851, 161-62; July 12, 1851, 169-70; [Sylvester] B[liss], "The Angels of Rev. 14:6-12," 3-part series in AH, Apr. 17, 1852, 125; Apr. 24, 1852, 132-33; May 1, 1852, 141.

⁴Luther Boutell placed the three angels' messages in the early Apostolic Age when he alleged in 1853 that the third angel's message was "laid aside more than 1800 years ago." L. Boutell, "Bro. Luther Boutell Writes from North Dartmouth[,] Mass., Mar. 16," AW, Mar. 30, 1853, 55.

In 1856, I. T. Sweet connected the first angel of Revelation 14:6, 7 with the Apostolic church, while the second angel (Rev 14:8) was equated with the moral fall of the Catholic Church as early as the sixth century and the

Joseph Turner, coeditor of the Second Advent Watchman, confined these messages to the Millerite preaching up to the October 1844 Disappointment and placed the post-1844 mission focus on the content of Revelation 14:13, with emphasis on the preaching of the conditional immortality of the soul. While asserting that "the three messages were given before the Sabbatarians began their work," Turner still regarded those messages as "the latest messages of mercy to this fallen world."¹

In response to this theory, J. N. Andrews asserted that the "latest message of mercy" of the third angel cannot be replaced by the preaching of "blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth" (Rev 14:13). Andrews argued also that the third angel's message could not be fulfilled apart from the post-1844 restoration of the seventh-day Sabbath implied in "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12), because "justifying faith" does not "make void the law" of God (Rom 3:31).²

third angel (Rev 14:9-12) with those reformers who called the people out of the apostate Church during the "great tribulation" of 1260 years. I. T. Sweet, "The Seal of the Living God--The 144,000--The Everlasting Gospel--Fall of Babylon, and the Third Angel's Message.--Rev. 7th and 14th Chapters," 3-part series in WC, Apr. 9, 1856, [4]; Apr. 16, 1856, [1-2]; Apr. 23, 1856, [1].

¹J. Turner, "The Sabbath Question," AW, Mar. 24, 1852, 60 (*italics supplied*).

²J. N. A[ndrews], "'Watchman, What of the Night?'" RH, May 27, 1852, 14-16.

All attempts to place the mission of the three angels of Revelation 14:6-12 prior to 1798 were rejected by the Sabbatarians. They argued that since the apocalyptic prophecies related to the judgment were sealed until the "time of the end" (Dan 12:4, 9), the mission of the three angels could not be fulfilled before the "time of the end" began in 1798, with the ending of the 1260 days.¹

That either the Apostles or the Reformers proclaimed the message of "the hour of his judgment is come" (Rev 14:7) was denied because (1) the Apostles spoke of the time for God's judgment as in the future (cf. Acts 17:31; 24:25; 2 Thess 2:3, 4),² (2) Martin Luther³ regarded the day of judgment as about "three hundred years" in the future,⁴ and

¹J. N. A[ndrews], "The Three Angels of Rev. xiv," RH, Sept. 2, 1851, 21; J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 29; J. N. Andrews, "The Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, 162; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 13," RH, Feb. 4, 1858, 100; J. W[hite], "Signs of the Times," RH, Mar. 17, 1859, 130.

²J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, 161-62; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 13," RH, Feb. 4, 1858, 100; idem, "As He Hath Declared to His Servants the Prophets," RH, Aug. 13, 1861, 84-85; [idem], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, Oct. 21, 1862, 164.

³See [Martin Luther], The Familiar Discourses of Dr. Martin Luther, (the Great Reformer), Which He Held with Various Learned Men at His Table, &c., new ed., rev. and corr. by Joseph Kerby (London: Baldwin, Craddock, and Joy, 1818), chap. 1, p. 7. Cf. Froom, Prophetic Faith, 2:278-79.

⁴[J. White], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 74-75; J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb 14, 1854, 29; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, 162; [U. Smith],

(3) John Wesley¹ thought the Lord would come about 1836 and not in his day.²

In 1855, J. N. Andrews presented the following four reasons for rejecting any past-age fulfillment of the three angels' messages: (1) "No proclamation of the hour of God's judgment come, has ever been made in any past age"; (2) "if such a proclamation had been made many centuries in the past, as some contend, it would have been a false one"; (3) "the prophecies on which such a proclamation to men in a state of probation must be based, were closed up and sealed to the time of the end"; and (4) "the Scriptures plainly locate the message of warning respecting the judgment in a brief space immediately preceding the advent of our Lord" (cf. Rev 14:14).³ Andrews argued also that since God's people are called out of Babylon (Rev 18:4) "just before the seven last plagues are poured out" and "those plagues are future," that call "cannot be applied to the events of the

"Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 13," RH, Feb. 4, 1858, 100; J. W[hite], "Signs of the Times," RH, Mar. 17, 1859, 130; J. H. Waggoner, "Present Truth," RH, Feb. 23, 1860, 105; [U. Smith], "Three Angels' Messages of Rev. xiv," RH, May 29, 1860, 5; idem, "As He Hath Declared to His Servants the Prophets," RH, Aug. 13, 1861, 84-85; [idem], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, Oct. 21, 1862, 164.

¹See John Wesley, Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament, new ed. (New York: Carlton & Phillips, 1854), 416, 421-22. Cf. Froom, Prophetic Faith, 2:692-95.

²J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb 14, 1854, 29.

³J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, 161-62.

16th century."¹ And in August 1857, Uriah Smith suggested that to reset the three angels' messages "back to the time of Luther and his coadjutors" means to "ignore the mighty move that has taken place on [*sic*] the Advent doctrine, not in this country [the United States] only, nor in Europe only, but throughout the world, within the last twenty years."²

The "Age-to-Come" Adventists (who believed that probation will still continue for the unregenerate during a post-advent millennial reign of the saints on this earth)³ believed that the three angels' messages would all be preached after the Second Coming, in the millennial state (cf. Rev 20). They found support for this theory in the fact that in the book of Revelation these messages (14:6-12) appear immediately after the description of the 144,000 (Rev 14:1-5; cf. 7:1-8).⁴

Sabbatarian Adventists objected to this theory, stating that the simple fact that the three angels' messages appear in Revelation 14 after the portrayal of the 144,000

¹Ibid., Mar. 6, 1855, 187.

²[Uriah Smith], "The Two-horned Beast: Argument Misapprehended," RH, Aug. 20, 1857, 125.

³See pp. 362-67, below.

⁴Henry Jones, "Thoughts on Rev. xiv, 6," AHBA, Feb. 8, 1851, 267; [O. R. L.] C[rozier], "Exposition of Rev. xiv, 1-13," 4-part series in AHBA, Oct. 4, 1851, 126; Oct. 11, 1851, 134; Oct. 18, 1851, 140-41; Oct. 25, 1851, 150; [idem], "The Third Angel," AHBA, Feb. 7, 1852, 266-67.

does not prove that those messages will be preached after the final gathering of the 144,000. The expression "and I saw another angel" in Revelation 14:6 was seen as the beginning of a new vision or view (cf. Rev 10:1; 15:1; 19:11, 17, 19; 20:1, 11; 21:1) that will reach its climax in the events related to the Second Coming (Rev 14:14-20).¹

J. N. Andrews argued in 1851 that the three angels' messages cannot be placed after the Second Coming because (1) the preaching of the everlasting gospel (Rev 14:6) cannot be extended further than to "the end" (Matt 24:14; cf. Gal 1:8); (2) after the Second Coming the saints will be neither in Babylon (Rev 14:8; 18:4) nor exposed to the wrath of the beast and his image (Rev 14:9-11; cf. 20:6); (3) there will be no need for the saints to exercise patience (Rev 14:12) after the coming of the Lord (Heb 10:35-39; Jas 5:7); and (4) the blessing promised to those who "die in the Lord from henceforth" (Rev 14:13) can be applied only to "a period prior to the first resurrection" (cf. Rev 20:4-6).²

In 1855, Andrews explained that the theory that places the second angel's message (Rev 14:8) and the subsequent call to "come out" of Babylon (Rev 18:4) after

¹[J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 1," RH, Aug. 19, 1851, 12; J. N. Andrews, "Review of O. R. L. Crosier on Rev. xiv, 1-13," RH, Dec. 9, 1851, 60; idem, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, 161; idem, "Third Angel's Message Not in the Age to Come: Review of O. R. L. Crosier on Rev. xiv, 1-13," RH, Aug. 14, 1856, 113.

²J. N. Andrews, "Review of O. R. L. Crosier on Rev. xiv, 1-13," RH, Dec. 9, 1851, 60-61.

the Second Advent leads to the absurd conclusion that at His coming Christ will "take his people to Babylon" instead of meeting them "in the air" (1 Thess 4:16, 17).¹ And in 1856 the same author stated that "those who have gotten the victory over the Beast and his Image" (Rev 20:4; cf. 14:9-12) were portrayed by the "age-to-come" theorists not as living and reigning "with Christ a thousand years" (Rev 20:4) but as being "still in Babylon, exposed to the wrath of the Beast and his Image, still in the period of their patience, and yet liable to the grasp of death!"²

In 1860, J. H. Waggoner argued that the three angels' messages could not be placed in the "age to come" because "the Third Message precedes the plagues [Rev 14:9-11; 15:1; 16:2], and the plagues precede the coming of Christ" (Rev 16:12-15).³ Three years later (1863), James White explained that the Review was still teaching that Revelation 14 "contains the prophetic outlines of the great Advent movement, down to the Second Advent," as "once held by all American Adventists."⁴

¹J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, 161.

²J. N. Andrews, "Third Angel's Message Not in the Age to Come," RH, Aug. 14, 1856, 114.

³J. H. Waggoner, "Present Truth," RH, Feb. 23, 1860, 106.

⁴[James White], "The Great Movement," RH, May 12, 1863, 188.

Meanwhile, Sabbatarian Adventists continued to regard the three angels' messages as successively fulfilled. James White, for instance, stated in December 1850 that "the third angel *FOLLOWS* [Rev 14:9] the other two, that is, does not go on his mission with the others, but follows, after they have finished their work."¹ In September 1851, White added that to extend the preaching of the first angel to the Second Coming gives "no place for the two that *follow*." He argued that "to say that these three messages are to be given at the same time, is as absurd as to teach that the seven angels of Revelation all sound at once."²

Although the *missions* of the first two angels were regarded as already fulfilled,³ the *messages* of those angels were increasingly seen as abiding under the preaching of the third angel's message. Uriah Smith, for example, stated in February 1854 that although the mission of the first angel was fulfilled up to 1844, "the mighty move that roused the world in 1843-4, is not over yet." Smith

¹[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 15.

²[J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 2," RH, Sept 2, 1851, 20.

³[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 15; J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 82; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 2," RH, Sept. 2, 1851, 20; [idem], "Signs of the Times," RH Sept. 13, 1853, 75; [Uriah Smith], "The Third Message," RH, May 15, 1856, 36; J. W[hite], "Signs of the Times," RH, Mar. 17, 1859, 130-31; [U. Smith], "Three Angels' Messages of Rev. xiv," RH, May 29, 1860, 5.

explained that "the Advent doctrine [which was seen as a basic component of the first angel's message] is not a doctrine to claim attention for a while and then pass off and be forgotten."¹

A more explicit integration of the first two angels' messages to the preaching of the third angel was the result of moving away from the shut-door theory that claimed that those who had not joined the Second Advent movement prior to the October 1844 Disappointment could not be reached by the message of the third angel. Thus, Ellen White penned in 1858 that "the first and second angels' messages" "were given at the right time, and accomplished the work God designed they should." "Many who embraced the third message had not an experience in the two former messages," but gladly "embraced them in their order, and followed Jesus by faith into the heavenly Sanctuary."² And in 1860, James White explained further that "the first and second messages are in the past; but we have all the truth of those messages in the third." He explained that "the second message announcing the fall of Babylon was given fifteen years

¹U. S[mith], "Why Can We Not Believe in the New Time," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 29.

²E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:150, 165-66.

since, yet what was true of Babylon's fall in 1844, is true also in 1860."¹

The First Angel's Message

The message of the first angel of Revelation 14:6, 7 was perceived as "a symbol of the Advent message,"² intended to cure the churches from their Babylonian apostasy.³ Such identification was based on the fact that the mission of this angel involved the proclamation not only of the "everlasting gospel" but also of the message that "the period to expect the judgment 'is come.'"⁴

The "everlasting gospel" was equated with the "gospel of the kingdom" of Matthew 24:14.⁵ Still reflecting a shut-door influence, James White held in December 1850 that although "the 'everlasting gospel' has not lost its power to affect the hearts of those who are

¹J[ames] W[hite], "The Loud Voice of the Third Angel," RH, Apr. 26, 1860, 177-78. This article was reprinted, with a few deletions, in RH, June 11, 1861, 20.

²[J. White], "Seventh Angel," RH, June 9, 1851, 104. See also [idem], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 75; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Feb. 6, 1855, 169.

³[J. White], "Babylon," RH, June 24, 1852, 82 [actually 28].

⁴[J. White], "Angels of Revelation xiv," RH, Nov. 29, 1853, 164.

⁵[J. White], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 75; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Feb. 6, 1855, 169.

still within the reach of mercy, and salvation," "it has ceased to arouse and move men to repentance as in 1843."¹

J. N. Loughborough explained in 1857 that while claiming that the gospel mentioned in Revelation 14:6 "is the same gospel that Paul preached," "we do not believe that Paul" proclaimed the first angel's message because it includes the announcement that "the hour of his judgment is come" (Rev 14:7; cf. Acts 24:25).²

The expression "the hour of his judgment" was seen as a reference to the preadvent investigative judgment connected with the cleansing of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14.³ James White stated in December 1850 that the "calculation of the 2300 days" (as beginning in 457 B.C. and ending in A.D. 1844) was "the burden of the first angel's message" and "the foundation of the judgment hour cry."⁴

¹[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 14.

²J. N. Loughborough, "Judgment," RH, Nov. 19, 1857, 10.

³J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 29-30; R. F. Cottrell, Bible Class, 118; U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 53-54; E. Everts, "A Few Thoughts on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, June 11, 1857, 45; J. N. Loughborough, "Judgment," RH, Nov. 19, 1857, 9-11; R. F. Cottrell, "Discourse Written for the Seneca Indians . . . No. 2," RH, June 10, 1858, 29; [U. Smith], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, Nov. 18, 1862, 197.

⁴[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 14. See also Roswell F. Cottrell, "To the Sabbath-keepers Who Have Not Heard the Third Angel's Message," RH, June 10, 1852, 22; J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 29-30.

Similarly, J. N. Loughborough explained in 1857 that by finding the specific time for the cleansing of the sanctuary, one finds also the "definite time for the session of judgment, and a locality for the First Angel's Message, which was to announce that judgment."¹ Therefore, as pointed out by Uriah Smith in 1858, the preadvent investigative judgment of the saints came with the proclamation that "the hour of his judgment is come" (Rev 14:7).²

Equating the first angel of Revelation 14:6, 7 with the angel of Revelation 10, J. N. Andrews suggested in 1855 that the angel of Revelation 10 preached from the same "little book" of prophetic time, from the book of Daniel, which provided the basis for the proclamation, "the hour of his judgment is come" (Rev 14:7).³

Speaking of "the error in regard to the event to take place at the termination" of the 2300 days, R. F. Cottrell argued in 1852 that that error "does not prove that the preaching of the time did not fulfill the prophecy" of Revelation 14:6, 7, any more than the disciples' supposition

¹J. N. Loughborough, "Judgment," RH, Nov. 19, 1857, 11.

²[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 21," RH, Apr. 8, 1858, 164.

³J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Feb. 6, 1855, 169. See also [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 13," RH, Feb. 4, 1858, 100; idem, "As He Hath Declared to His Servants the Prophets," RH, Aug. 13, 1861, 84-85.

that Jesus would restore the kingdom to Israel at His First Coming "proved that they had nothing to do with the fulfillment of the prediction" of Zechariah 9:9.¹

Sabbatarian Adventists rejected the idea that the expression "the hour of his judgment is come" could be applied to the deadly wounding of the Papacy in 1798 because that would require the placing of the first angel's message prior to 1798, when the book on which "that message was founded" was still sealed (cf. Dan 12:4, 9).²

J. N. Andrews explained in 1855 that neither the close of probation nor the Second Coming takes place at the end of the proclamation, "the hour of his judgment is come" (Rev 14:7), because there are "two other and later proclamations [Rev 14:8-12], before the close of human probation."³

The Second Angel's Message

Sabbatarian Adventists viewed the expression "and there followed another angel" (Rev 14:8) as implying that

¹R. F. Cottrell, "To the Sabbath-keepers Who Have Not Heard the Third Angel's Message," RH, June 10, 1852, 22.

²J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 29.

³J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Feb. 6, 1855, 171.

the mission of this angel began after the first angel of Revelation 14:6, 7 "had given the burden of his message."¹

Significant discussions about the understanding of the mystical "Babylon" of Revelation 14:8 took place within Sabbatarian Adventism during the 1850s. Sabbatarian Adventists continued to hold during that period that the Protestant churches from which they were expelled by 1844 for embracing the Second Advent message were part of Babylon.² There was, however, disagreement during the 1850s between James White and J. N. Andrews in regard to the inclusion of the Roman Catholic Church in the Babylonian category.

Following Joseph Bates's earlier exposition of the subject,³ J. N. Andrews stated in May 1851 that "all corrupt Christianity," including the "Papal church," is part

¹[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 15. See also J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 81; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 2," RH, Sept. 2, 1851, 20; [idem], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 3," RH, Dec. 9, 1851, 63; [idem], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 75.

²J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 81; [idem], "Three Angels of Rev. xiv," RH, Sept. 2, 1851, 21; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 3," RH, Dec. 9, 1851, 63-64; [idem], "Babylon," RH, June 10, 1852, 20-21; [idem], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 8, 1853, 67; S. B. Warren, "Babylon Fallen!" RH, Aug. 1, 1854, 204; J. H. Waggoner, "Babylon Is Fallen!" RH, Sept. 5, 1854, 29-30; D. Hildreth, "Babylon Is Fallen," RH, June 30, 1863, 35.

³See p. 124, above.

of Babylon.¹ James White, however, claimed in December (1851) that the Roman Catholic Church could not be regarded as part of Babylon because (1) no Roman Catholic ever joined the Millerite movement in acceptance of the call to come out of Babylon (Rev 18:4); and (2) the Roman Catholic Church, "being always about as low as it possibly could be," never actually fell (cf. Rev 14:8).² And in June 1852, White added that the term "Babylon, signifying 'confusion, or mixture,' could not be applied to the Roman church, she being a unity."³

Since White continued arguing for the exclusion of Roman Catholicism,⁴ J. N. Andrews sent him a letter in early 1854 stating that Babylon comprises "all the corrupted religious bodies which ever have existed, or which exist at the present time, united to the world, and sustained by civil power." Tracing the roots of mystical Babylon back to slayer Cain (Gen 4:8-16), Andrews placed under this category the corrupt Jewish, Papal, and Greek churches, as well as

¹J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 81; [idem], "Three Angels of Rev. xiv," RH, Sept. 2, 1851, 21.

²[J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 3," RH, Dec. 9, 1851, 63-64.

³[J. White], "Babylon," RH, June 10, 1852, 21.

⁴See [J. White], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 8, 1853, 67.

"the great body of the Protestant churches."¹ In February 1855, Andrews stressed once more that Babylon comprises the corrupt Papal, Greek, and Protestant churches.²

That White was not convinced at that time by Andrews's arguments seems evident from the fact that in March 1859 he again insisted that the Roman Catholic Church was not part of Babylon because (1) "she has always been low and corrupt" and (2) the people of God "have been, and many still are, in the Protestant sects," and not "in the Roman Catholic church."³ Yet, by 1868 White was already on Andrews's side in defining Babylon as "all the false and corrupt systems of Christianity," including the "Romish," "Greek," and "Protestant churches."⁴ White's move was influential in uniting Seventh-day Adventist on the view that Babylon includes both the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches.⁵

That Babylon was a religious (rather than political) power was seen by Andrews as pointed out by the facts (1) that "Babylon is distinct from, though unlawfully united with the kings of the earth" (cf. Rev 18:9), and (2) that

¹J. N. Andrews, "What Is Babylon?" RH, Feb. 21, 1854, 36.

²J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Feb. 20, 1855, 178. See also *ibid.*, Mar. 6, 1855, 186.

³J[ames] W[hite], "Babylon," RH, Mar. 10, 1859, 122.

⁴J. White, Life Incidents, 231.

⁵See Damsteegt, Foundations, 179.

"the people of God are in her just before her overthrow" (cf. Rev 18:4).¹ Among the characteristics of Babylon were included (1) sectarianism caused by "different creeds" and "confusion of doctrines,"² (2) a state of "lifeless formality" and "love of the world" (cf. Rev 18:3, 15),³ (3) acceptance of the theory of the immortality of the soul, which provides the basis for spiritual manifestations and necromancy (cf. Rev 18:23),⁴ and (5) the oppressive power that emerges whenever the church is allowed to use civil authority to carry out her intentions (cf. Rev 18:24).⁵

¹J. N. Andrews, "What Is Babylon?" RH, Feb. 21, 1854, 37; idem, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Feb. 20, 1855, 178.

²[J. White], "Babylon," RH, June 24, 1852, 82 [actually 28]; [idem], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 8, 1853, 67. See also J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 85; J. H. Waggoner, "Babylon Is Fallen!" RH, Sept. 5, 1854, 30.

³[J. White], "Babylon," RH, June 24, 1852, 82 [actually 28]; [idem], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 8, 1853, 67; S. B. Warren, "Babylon Fallen!" RH, Aug. 1, 1854, 204.

⁴[J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 3," RH, Dec. 9, 1851, 64; [idem], "Babylon," RH, June 24, 1852, 29; R. F. Cottrell, "Babylon Might Have Been Healed," RH, Aug. 4, 1853, 46; [J. White], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 8, 1853, 70-71; J. N. Andrews, "What Is Babylon?" RH, Feb. 21, 1854, 37; J. H. Waggoner, "Babylon Is Fallen!" RH, Sept. 5, 1854, 30; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Mar. 6, 1855, 187; J. W[hite], "Babylon," RH, Mar. 10, 1859, 122-23.

⁵J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 85-86; idem, "What Is Babylon?" RH, Feb. 21, 1854, 36-37.

A Babylonian tenor was perceived by Andrews in the near "six hundred three score and six" Protestant sects (cf. Rev 13:18),¹ each attributing infallible status to the conflicting teachings of their respective denominations. He argued that

to speak in the language of their several pretensions, Romanists never *can* err; Protestants never *do* err. If Romanists claim infallibility in advance for the decrees and ordinances of their churches, it is also true that Protestant bodies never *afterward* acknowledge wherein their churches or their councils have been in error. So that Protestant churches have all the advantages of infallibility, and leave to the Romanists all the odium of claiming it.²

That Protestants did not forbear to use oppressive power when "the civil arm" was under their control was seen by Andrews as evident not only in the drastic way that (1) the Protestants of Geneva burned Michael Servetus, (2) the Church of England persecuted all her dissenters, and (3) the Puritan Fathers hung Quakers and whipped and imprisoned Baptists, but also in the nasty fact that (4) mid-nineteenth-century Protestants still held "many hundred thousand slaves" in the United States.³

¹J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 85.

²J. N. Andrews, "What Is Babylon?" RH, Feb. 21, 1854, 36.

³J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 85-86; idem, "What Is Babylon?" RH, Feb. 21, 1854, 36; idem, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Feb. 20, 1855, 178. James White stated in August 1862 that "for the past ten years the Review [*sic*] has taught that the United States of America were a subject of prophecy, and that slavery is pointed out in the prophetic

During the 1840s and 1850s, Several Sabbatarian Adventists followed George Storrs¹ in regarding the incorporation of the churches under civil law as an evidence that those churches had become part of Babylon.² Some even claimed that the adoption of an official denominational name resembled the Babylonian presumption of "let us make us a name" (Gen 11:4).³ These concepts, however, were gradually superseded by the Seventh-day Adventist organizational movement of the late 1850s and early 1860s.⁴

Responding to those anti-organizational sentiments, J. N. Loughborough argued in May 1860 that as individual Christians do not become part of Babylon either by holding property legally or by marrying legally, so the church would

word as the darkest and most damning sin upon this nation" ([J. White], "The Nation," RH, Aug. 12, 1862, 84).

For a more detailed overview of the abolitionist views of the founders of Seventh-day Adventism, see R. G. Davis, "Conscientious Cooperators," 45-73; Steven J. Sherman, "Slavery in America: A Moral Issue for Early Adventists" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1988).

¹See pp. 60-61, above.

²J. Bates, "Letter from Bro. Joseph Bates," JS, May 29, 1845, 90; idem, Second Advent Way Marks, 23; O. Nichols, "Babylon," RH, Jan. 13, 1852, 75; J. N. Andrews, "What Is Babylon?" RH, Feb. 21, 1854, 37; R. F. C[ottrell], "Making Us a Name," RH, Mar. 22, 1860, 140-41.

³R. F. C[ottrell], "Making Us a Name," RH, Mar. 22, 1860, 140; M. E. Cornell, "'Making Us a Name'," RH, May 29, 1860, 8.

⁴See pp. 228-36, above.

not join Babylon simply by legal incorporation, for "the law does not call upon us to take a human creed by any means."¹

The fall of Babylon (Rev 14:8) was defined by the Sabbatarians as a moral fall caused by the rejection of the first angel's message, and occurred prior to her final destruction (cf. Rev 18).² J. N. Andrews explained in May 1851 that "the fall of Babylon precedes her destruction, for the people of God are called out of her after her fall, and while her destruction is yet pending" (cf. Rev 18:4).³ In response to the non-Sabbatarian Adventist view of the fall of Babylon as a future, literal destruction of the city of Rome,⁴ Andrews inquired in December 1851 as to "how the people of God can be called out of Rome after it has been destroyed?"⁵

¹J. N. Loughborough, "To Bro. Loughborough," RH, May 17, 1860, 204-5.

²J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 81-82; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 3," RH, Dec. 9, 1851, 63; [idem], "Babylon," RH, June 10, 1852, 21.

³J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 82.

⁴[O. R. L.] C[rosier], "Exposition of Rev. xiv, 1-13," AHBA, Oct. 18, 1851, 140-41; [Miles Grant], "Rome," WC, July 20, 1859, 82.

⁵J. N. Andrews, "Review of O. R. L. Crosier on Rev. xiv, 1-13," RH, Dec. 9, 1851, 60. See also idem, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 81; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 3," RH, Dec. 9, 1851, 64; [idem], "Babylon," RH, June 10, 1852, 21; [idem], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 8, 1853, 67; J. N. Andrews, "Third Angel's Message Not in the Age to Come," RH, Aug. 14, 1856, 114; [Uriah Smith], "Babylon," RH, Aug. 4, 1859, 84.

Further evidence of the fallen state of the churches was seen in the decline of the revivalist spirit that had characterized the Second Great Awakening (1790s-1830s).¹ James White stated in the summer of 1852 that the spirit of revival, which was still present in the churches ten years earlier, had given place to "a state of lifeless formality." He noticed that "many powerful revivalists" who had traveled "from city to city and from town to town, laboring with their might for the conversion of sinners," became "settled pastors of churches, and preach year after year without seeing one real conversion."² Although a new Holiness Movement revival awakened many churches in the late 1850s,³ that revival was regarded by the Sabbatarian Adventists as a false revival, because it did not lead the churches back to the Bible truth as understood by the Sabbatarians.⁴

¹[J. White], "Babylon," RH, June 24, 1852, 82 [actually 28]; [idem], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 8, 1853, 67, 70; S. B. Warren, "Babylon Fallen!" RH, Aug. 1, 1854, 204; A. P. Lawton, "Babylon," RH, Mar. 6, 1855, 190.

²[J. White], "Babylon," RH, June 24, 1852, 82 [actually 28].

³Insightful discussions of the Holiness Movement revival of the late 1850s (usually referred to as the 1858 Revival) are provided in T. L. Smith, Revivalism & Social Reform, 63-237, passim; Melvin E. Dieter, The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century, Studies in Evangelicalism, no. 1 (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1980), 18-95; Charles E. White, The Beauty of Holiness: Phoebe Palmer as Theologian, Revivalist, Feminist, and Humanitarian (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1986), 44-48.

⁴R. F. Cottrell, "The Present 'Revivals' in Babylon," RH, May 13, 1858, 206; J. White, "Babylon," RH, Mar. 10, 1859, 122; [Uriah Smith], "The Recent Revivals,"

The "wine of the wrath of her fornication" (Rev 14:8) was interpreted as a synonym of "false doctrines." J. N. Andrews included in 1855 among those doctrines (1) "the doctrine of natural immortality of the soul"; (2) "the doctrine of the Trinity," which "destroys the personality of God, and his Son Jesus Christ"; (3) "the corruption of the ordinance of baptism" by changing it "to sprinkling, or purging"; (4) "the change of the fourth commandment" by requiring the observance of "the first day of the week"; (5) "the doctrine of a thousand years of peace and prosperity before the coming of the Lord"; (6) "the doctrine of the saint's inheritance beyond the bounds of time and space"; (7) "the spiritual Second Advent"; (8) "the right to hold human beings in bondage and to buy and sell them" as slaves; and (9) "the lowering of the standard of godliness to the dust."¹ In 1861, J. N. Loughborough stated that the "wine" mentioned in Revelation 14:7 was "the unscriptural doctrines of Babylon," which derived from "her mystical principle of interpreting the Scriptures."²

Underlying the Sabbatarian Adventist interpretation of Babylon was the concept that while "God's revealed truth

RH, Apr. 21, 1859, 172-73. Cf. E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:171-73.

¹J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Mar. 6, 1855, 185-86.

²J. N. Loughborough, "Questions for Bro. Loughborough," RH, Nov. 12, 1861, 192.

is a unity" that "points out one way" (cf. John 17:21; 1 Cor 1:10; Eph 4:13), "error is legion" with a plurality of ways.¹ While acknowledging "the duty of all to answer a 'good conscience' toward God" (1 Pet 3:21), J. H. Waggoner highlighted in 1854 that "a good conscience is one which is enlightened by the word of God, and has a sensibility in regard to its teachings." To this he added: "That the churches neither believe nor do right, is evident, or they would believe and do alike; as there can be but one right way."²

The call to "come out" of Babylon (Rev 18:4) was regarded by James White in 1853 as implying that God still has "ministers and people in Babylon who are striving for heaven amid the moral darkness that involves her."³ In 1860, the same author added that "when the church shall stand united perfectly in spirit and sentiment, then they can take care of the thousands in Babylon and the world yet to be brought out by the loud cry."⁴

¹[J. White], "Babylon," RH, June 10, 1852, 20; J. H. Waggoner, "Babylon Is Fallen!" RH, Sept. 5, 1854, 30. See also J. N. A[ndrews], "Consistency," RH, Nov. 7, 1854, 101; R. F. C[ottrell], "Truth Is Harmonious," RH, June 4, 1857, 36; idem, "Truth," RH, Aug. 18, 1863, 90-91.

²J. H. Waggoner, "Babylon Is Fallen!" RH, Sept. 5, 1854, 30.

³[J. White], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 8, 1853, 71.

⁴J. W[hite], "Loud Voice of the Third Angel," RH, Apr. 26, 1860, 178.

The Third Angel's Message

Sabbatarian Adventists understood the expression "and the third angel followed them" (Rev 14:9) as indicating that this angel began his mission after the first two angels of Revelation 14:6-8 had "finished their work."¹

The Sabbatarians usually equated the "beast" mentioned in Revelation 14:9, 11 with the ten-horned beast of Revelation 13:1-10, whom they identified as the Papacy.² It was pointed out that although the 1260-year oppression of the saints by that beast ended in 1798 (cf. Dan 7:25; Rev 11:2, 3; 12:6, 14; 13:5),³ the beast would recover from his

¹[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 15. See also J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 81; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 2," RH, Sept. 2, 1851, 20; [idem], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 3," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 69; [idem], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 75; [U. Smith], "Third Message," RH, May 15, 1856, 36; J. W[hite], "Signs of the Times," RH, Mar. 17, 1859, 130-31; [U. Smith], "Three Angels' Messages of Rev. xiv," RH, May 29, 1860, 5.

²J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 82; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 69; J. N. Andrews, "'Watchman, What of the Night?'" RH, May 27, 1852, 15; idem, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Mar. 20, 1855, 193-94; [Uriah Smith], "Revelation xii & xiii," RH, May 29, 1860, 4; J. N. Loughborough, "Image to the Beast," RH, Jan. 15, 1861, 69.

³Some non-Sabbatarian Adventist authors argued that the beast mentioned in Revelation 14:9, 11 could not be the Papacy, because the domain of the Papal beast ended in 1798. See e.g., J. Turner, "Sabbath Question," AW, Mar. 24, 1852, 60.

"deadly wound" and again start oppressing the saints (cf. Rev 13:12).¹

As the ten-horned beast was seen as "a church" (the Roman Catholic Church) "clothed with civil power and authority" (cf. Rev 13:5-8; Dan 7:23-26), so the "image" of the beast (Rev 14:9, 11; cf. 13:14, 15) was understood to be "another church" (the fallen Protestant churches) clothed with the same power and authority.² They believed that this image was to be formed by the two-horned beast of Revelation 13:11-18 in the United States of America through the union of church (Protestant religious power) and state (civil power of the Republic).³

¹J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 82; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 69; J. N. Andrews, "'Watchman, What of the Night?'" RH, May 27, 1852, 15.

²J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 84; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 70; J. N. Loughborough, "The Two-horned Beast," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 74; M. B. Cornell, "They Will Make an Image to the Beast," RH, Sept. 19, 1854, 42-43; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Apr. 3, 1855, 203; J. N. Loughborough, "A Letter to a Friend, on the Mark of the Beast," RH, Oct. 22, 1857, 197; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 25," RH, May 20, 1858, 4; [idem], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, Nov. 11, 1862, 188.

³J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 82-83; [J. White], "Three Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 1," RH, Aug. 19, 1851, 12; [idem], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 69-70; J. N. Loughborough, "The Image to the Beast," RH, Sept. 20, 1853, 85; J. B. Frisbie, "From Bro. Frisbie," RH, Nov. 8, 1853, 142; J. N. Loughborough, "Two-horned Beast," RH, Mar. 21, 1854, 66-67; M. B. Cornell, "They Will Make an Image to the Beast," RH, Sept. 19, 1854, 42-43; [Uriah Smith], "The Two-horned Beast.--Rev. xiii. Are the United States a Subject of

Several historical evidences were presented by the Sabbatarians in response to non-Sabbatarian Adventist attempts to identify the two-horned beast with entities other than the United States of America.¹ J. N. Andrews, for example, pointed out in 1851 that since "the march of civilization and of Christianity, like the course of the natural sun, has ever been westward," the two-horned beast (the United States of America) was located westward of the territory of the ten-horned beast (Europe). He argued also that the territory of the two-horned beast was the very

Prophecy?" RH, Mar. 19, 1857, 156; J. N. Loughborough, "The Two-horned Beast of Rev. xiii, a Symbol of the United States," RH, July 2, 1857, 65; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 25," RH, May 20, 1858, 4; [idem], "Revelation xii & xiii," RH, May 29, 1860, 4; idem, "Queries," RH, July 23, 1861, 61; idem, "The Two Horns," RH, Mar. 18, 1862, 124-25; T. M. S., "The Two-horned Beast," RH, Sept. 29, 1863, 142.

¹Non-Sabbatarian Adventist authors identified the two-horned beast of Revelation 13:14, 15, for instance, as (1) the "Grecian, or Eastern" empire ("The Two-Horned Beast," AH, Nov. 10, 1849, 116-17); (2) "the protestant civil government of the world, as opposed to the papacy, originating in the revolt of Henry VIII" (J. Turner, "Sabbath Question," AW, Mar. 24, 1852, 60); (3) "the union of the Greek and Latin churches under one head, sustained and upheld by the Czar" (W. M. Allison, "Symbolic Wild Beasts of the Apocalypse," AHBA, Apr. 8, 1854, 330); (4) France (A. Decker, "The Image of the Beast," WC, Dec. 29, 1855, [4]); (5) "Russia and England" ([P. Alling], "The Scarlet Colored Beast, and Two Horned Beast. No. II," WC, Apr. 1, 1857, 19); and (6) "Spiritualism" (H. Pratt, "Two-Horned Beast," 8-part series in WC, Nov. 24, 1858, 48, 47; Dec. 1, 1858, 50; Dec. 8, 1858, 55; Dec. 15, 1858, 58; Dec. 22, 1858, 61; Dec. 29, 1858, 66; Jan. 5, 1859, 69-70).

field where the three angels' messages would be preached.¹ The fact that the thirteen colonies, which later became the United States, declared their independence (1776) shortly before the overthrow of the Papacy by the French Revolution (1789) was seen by Andrews as having prepared the way for the two-horned beast to act "its part after the first beast has lost its power, and received its deadly wound" (cf. Rev 13:2, 3, 11, 12).²

In 1854, J. N. Loughborough declared that because the two-horned beast is called "another beast" (Rev 13:11), "it cannot be part of the first beast." Based on the principle that "two governments cannot rule over the same territory at the same time," Loughborough concluded that as "the first beast had the dominion of the eastern continent" (Europe), "the two-horned beast, then, must be located on the western continent" (the Americas). Since all other territories of the Americas were still by 1798 under the dominion of portions of the first beast (Spain, Portugal, etc.), the only place able to fulfill the prophetic expectancy was the United States.³ In 1857, Uriah Smith

¹J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 83. See also idem, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Mar. 20, 1855, 195-96.

²J. N. A[ndrews], "Three Angels of Rev. xiv," RH, Sept. 2, 1851, 21.

³J. N. Loughborough, "Two-horned Beast," RH, Mar. 21, 1854, 65-66. See also idem, "Two-horned Beast of Rev. xiii," RH, June 25, 1857, 58-59; [U. Smith], "Two-horned Beast," RH, Aug. 20, 1857, 124-25.

suggested that the two horns "like a lamb" (Rev 13:11) provided an "additional evidence of the youthful character" of the United States, whose independence was declared only twenty-two years prior to the deadly wound of the Papacy (1798).¹ For J. N. Loughborough, those "lamb-like horns" represented (1) "the youthfulness of the power" and (2) "its mild profession."²

Loughborough suggested in 1861 that the Roman Catholic Church assumed her position as the ten-horned beast by (1) "making a creed," (2) establishing that creed as "a rule of faith and test of fellowship," (3) transforming that creed into "the tribunal by which men were judged," (4) branding "all as heretics who did not subscribe to the creed," and (5) obtaining "the aid of the civil law to enforce penalties on those whom they had branded as heretics." He felt that the American Protestant churches had already taken, at that time, the first four of these steps, which were leading those churches toward their rule as "the two-horned beast."³

¹[U. Smith], "Two-horned Beast," RH, Mar. 12, 1857, 148. See also idem, "Two-horned Beast," RH, Aug. 20, 1857, 125.

²J. N. Loughborough, "Two-horned Beast of Rev. xiii," RH, July 2, 1857, 65.

³J. N. Loughborough, "Image to the Beast," 2-part series in RH, Jan. 15, 1861, 69-70; Jan. 22, 1861, 76-77. Cf. J. N. Loughborough, in J. Bates, "Doings of the Battle Creek Conference," RH, Oct. 8, 1861, 148.

From the fact that the two-horned beast was described in Revelation 13:16, 17 as imposing the "mark" of the ten-horned beast upon all humankind, the Sabbatarians concluded that this mark referred to an institution "on which the Papal and Protestant churches agree,"¹ actually "an institution of [the] Papacy, enforced by Protestantism."² No institution better fit the prophetic account than the observance of the first day of the week (Sunday).³

The "forehead" and the "hand," where the mark of the beast is received (Rev 14:9), were seen as symbols "of the mind and affections" and "of the outward actions"

¹[J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 70.

²J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 85. See also J. N. Loughborough, "Letter to a Friend," RH, Oct. 22, 1857, 197.

³J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 85; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 71; J. N. Loughborough, "Two-horned Beast," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 75, 79; [James White], "The Position of the Remnant. Their Duties and Trials Considered," RH, Sept. 12, 1854, 36; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Apr. 3, 1855, 203; [Uriah Smith], "The Seal of the Living God," RH, May 1, 1856, 20; J. N. Loughborough, "Two-horned Beast of Rev. xiii," RH, July 9, 1857, 73-76; R. F. C[ottrell], "Mark of the Beast," RH, Aug. 6, 1857, 109; [U. Smith], "Two-horned Beast," RH, Aug. 20, 1857, 124; J. N. Loughborough, "Letter to a Friend," RH, Oct. 22, 1857, 197; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 26," RH, May 27, 1858, 12; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 27," RH, June 3, 1858, 20; R. F. C[ottrell], "Mark of the Beast, and Seal of the Living God," RH, July 28, 1859, 77-79; idem, "The Messages of Rev. xiv, 9-12," RH, Nov. 4, 1862, 181; Moses Hull, "The Mark of the Beast, and Seal of the Living God. A Discourse on Rev. xiv, 9-12," RH, Sept. 29, 1863, 137-38.

respectively.¹ People worshiped the beast (Rev 14:9, 11), according to Uriah Smith, "by obeying his institutions in preference to those of Jehovah," so that "the observance of such institutions becomes a mark or sign between him and his worshipers."² Moses Hull added in 1863 that the worshipping of the beast "is a sin universally practiced" (cf. Rev 13:3; 17:8) that stands in opposition to the keeping of the "commandments of God" (Rev 14:12).³

Sabbatarian Adventists included spiritualist manifestations among the "great wonders" performed by the two-horned beast (Rev 13:13; cf. 19:20).⁴ The "wine of God's wrath" was identified as the seven last plagues (Rev 15:1, 5-8; 16:1-21).⁵

The torment "with fire and brimstone" (Rev 14:10) was viewed by J. N. Andrews and James White as a reference

¹R. F. C[ottrell], "Mark of the Beast, and Seal of the Living God," RH, July 28, 1859, 77-78.

²[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 27," RH, June 3, 1858, 20.

³M. Hull, "Mark of the Beast, and Seal of the Living God," RH, Sept. 15, 1863, 121-22.

⁴J. N. Loughborough, "Two-horned Beast," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 74; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Apr. 3, 1855, 201-2; J. N. Loughborough, "Two-horned Beast of Rev. xiii," RH, July 2, 1857, 67-68.

⁵J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 86; [J. White], "Seventh Angel," RH, June 9, 1851, 104; [idem], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 70; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 149; J[ames] W[hite], "The Third Angel's Message," RH, Aug. 7, 1856, 108; J. H. Waggoner, "Present Truth," RH, Feb. 23, 1860, 106.

to the final execution of judgment and the second death at the end of the Millennium described in Revelation 20.¹ Uriah Smith, however, held that although there will be a "lake of fire" at the end of the "thousand years" (Rev 20:14), Revelation 19:20 (cf. Isa 34:8-10) suggests that the torment mentioned in Revelation 14:10 will be inflicted upon the wicked at the Second Coming.²

D. P. Hall explained in 1854 that Revelation 14:11 does not say that the wicked "are tormented forever and ever, but that the smoke of their torment ascendeth up forever and ever." That this torment will not last the whole of eternity was concluded from the facts that (1) although the wicked will be tormented "in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb" (Rev 14:10), the time will come when they "shall be punished with everlasting destruction *from* (not *in*) the presence of the Lord, and *from* the glory of his power" (2 Thess 1:9); (2) the statement that "they will have no rest day nor night" (Rev 14:11) connects that torment "with *day* and *night*" and not with eternity (cf. Rev 22:5); and (3) the book of

¹J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 86; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv-No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 70; idem, "Third Angel's Message," RH, Aug. 7, 1856, 108.

²[U. Smith], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, Nov. 18, 1862, 197.

Revelation itself declares that the wicked will finally be completely destroyed (Rev 11:18; 20:9, 14).¹

The "patience of the saints" (Rev 14:12) was understood by the Sabbatarians as their enduring waiting for the Lord's return (cf. Heb 10:35-39) after the October 1844 Disappointment.² Equating the "patience of the saints" with the "little while" of Hebrews 10:37 (cf. vss. 35-39), James White explained in February 1853 that this refers to "the waiting, watching, trying time, in which the last work of mercy is to be accomplished, to prepare the saints for the day of wrath, and to stand when the Son of man shall appear."³ The following October (1853), J. B. Frisbie defined the "patience of the saints" as "to endure the persecution of those who make war upon them that keep the commandments of God."⁴

The "commandments of God" (Rev 14:12) continued to be identified as the Decalogue (Exod 20:3-17; Deut 5:7-21),

¹D. P. Hall, "Man Not Immortal, the Only Shield Against the Seductions of Modern Spiritualism," RH, Dec. 19, 1854, 139.

²[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 15; [idem], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 70-71; [idem], "The Patience of the Saints," RH, July 22, 1852, 45; [idem], "The Faith of Jesus," RH, Aug. 5, 1852, 52.

³[James White], "The Immediate Coming of Christ," RH, Feb. 17, 1853, 156.

⁴J. B. Frisbie, "From Bro. Frisbie," RH, Nov. 8, 1853, 142. See also E. S. Sheffield, "From Bro. Sheffield," RH, Sept. 2, 1852, 70.

with special reference to the commandment that requires the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath (Exod 20:8-11; Deut 5:12-15).¹ This commandment, standing in opposition to the "mark" of the beast (Rev 14:9, 11), was seen as the seal of God's law with which the servants of God are sealed (Rev 7:2-8; cf. Isa 8:16; Ezek 20:12, 20).²

J. N. Andrews argued in 1855 that "it is because the commandments of God will be vindicated, and the unscriptural character of the Sunday-Sabbath exposed, that the two-horned beast will require all to receive the mark" of the beast

¹[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 15; [idem], "The Sabbath and Ten Commandments Taught and Enforced in the New Testament," RH, June 2, 1851, 90; H. Edson, "The Commandments of God, and the Mark of the Beast Brought to View by the Third Angel of Rev. xiv, Considered in Connection with the Angel of Chap. vii, Having the Seal of the Living God," RH, Sept. 2, 1852, 65-66; [J. White], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 75; U[riah] S[mith], "The Relation Which the Sabbath Sustains to Other Points of Present Truth," RH, July 25, 1854, 196; [J. White], "Position of the Remnant," RH, Sept. 12, 1854, 36; M. E. Cornell, "The Last Work of the True Church," RH, Apr. 17, 1855, 214; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 26," RH, May 27, 1858, 12; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 27," RH, June 3, 1858, 20; R. F. Cottrell, "Messages of Rev. xiv, 9-12," RH, Nov. 4, 1862, 181.

²H. Edson, "Commandments of God, and the Mark of the Beast," RH, Sept. 2, 1852, 65-66; M. E. Cornell, "Last Work of the True Church," RH, May 1, 1855, 218-19; [U. Smith], "Seal of the Living God," 2-part series in RH, Apr. 24, 1856, 12; May 1, 1856, 20-21; R. F. C[ottrell], "Mark of the Beast, and Seal of the Living God," RH, July 28, 1859, 77-79; [U. Smith], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, Sept. 9, 1862, 116; idem, "The Seal of the Living God," *ibid.*, 116-17; M. Hull, "Mark of the Beast, and Seal of the Living God," 3-part series in RH, Sept. 15, 1863, 121-22; Sept. 22, 1863, 129-30; Sept. 29, 1863, 137-38; Isaac Sanborn, "Here Are They that Keep the Commandments of God. Rev. xiv, 12," RH, Oct. 20, 1863, 161-62.

(Rev 13:16, 17). This will take place because, according to Andrews, "the lack of *scriptural* argument has been the chief cause why men have resorted to the argument of fire and faggot to convince dissenters."¹

Significant refinements took place during the 1850s and early 1860s in the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the "faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12). The fact that both the "commandments of God" and the "faith of Jesus" are referred to in Revelation 14:12 as entities to be kept led Sabbatarian Adventists to a more doctrinal understanding of the faith of Jesus (cf. Acts 6:7; 13:8; Rom 1:5; Phil 1:27; 2 Tim 4:7; Jude 3; Rev 2:13).² James White, for instance, stated in June 1851 that "the testimony, or faith of Jesus, includes every New Testament requirement peculiar only to the gospel, such as repentance, faith, baptism, Lord's supper, &c."³ The following December (1851), White argued that "the faith of Jesus embraces all the doctrines and precepts taught by Christ and his apostles, peculiar to the

¹J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Apr. 17, 1855, 209.

²See [J. White], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 75; [idem], "The Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 28, 1854, 44; [idem], "The Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 20, 1855, 182; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Apr. 17, 1855, 211-12.

³[J. White], "The Sabbath and Ten Commandments Taught and Enforced in the New Testament," RH, June 2, 1851, 90.

new covenant."¹ In the same year (1851), Ellen White declared that "the faith of Jesus takes in the whole life and divine character of Christ."²

By connecting the faith of Jesus with the expression "now the just shall live by faith" in the context of Hebrews 10:35-39 (cf. Hab 2:4; Rom 1:17; Gal 3:11), James White concluded in July 1852 that the faith of Jesus implies (1) "faith in the fulfillment of prophecy in the Advent movement," (2) faith "that 'He that is to come will come' in a 'little while'" (Heb 10:37), and (3) "faith that conveys present saving power to the soul."³

Still holding to his earlier view of the faith of Jesus as embracing all "the sayings of Christ and the apostles," James White suggested in August 1852 a more explicit Christ-centered understanding of this faith. He affirmed that

the faith of Jesus embraces the sufferings, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ, also his priesthood in the True Tabernacle above, including his work of cleansing the Sanctuary since the termination of

¹[J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 71. See also [idem], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 75; [idem], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 28, 1854, 44; [idem], "Position of the Remnant," RH, Sept. 12, 1854, 36; M. E. Cornell, "Last Work of the True Church," RH, Apr. 17, 1855, 214.

²E. G. White to [Stephen] Pierce, (letter 2) 1851, TL, EGWRC-AU.

³[J. White], "Patience of the Saints," RH, July 22, 1852, 45.

the 2,300 days, and his coming the second time in glory to reign in judgment.¹

In the late winter of 1854, White mentioned several lifestyle teachings he regarded as part of that portion of the faith of Jesus, "which relates to the present duty of the disciples of Christ."² White urged his fellow-believers (1) to "let the blood of Jesus" purify their words "from all sin" (Matt 12:34-37; Eph 4:29-32; 5:4; Col 4:5, 6; Jas 3:2-13; Rev 14:5); (2) to manifest "the fruit of the spirit" (Gal 5:22-23; 1 Pet 1:13-16);³ and (3) to eat, drink, and behave "to the glory of God" and not to self-gratification (1 Cor 10:31).⁴ In February 1855, he explained that "the faith of Jesus is the plan of salvation through Jesus Christ, with which is connected the requirements of Jesus in person, and those written by his inspired apostles." "To keep the faith of Jesus" was, according to the same author, "to obey all the requirements of the New Testament."⁵

¹[J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Aug. 5, 1852, 52.

²[J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 28, 1854, 44.

³[J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Mar. 7, 1854, 53-54. See also [idem], "Watchfulness," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, 164.

⁴[J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Mar. 14, 1854, 60.

⁵[J. White], "The Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 20, 1855, 182. (This entire article was reprinted in idem, "An Appeal to Those Who Profess the Third Angel's Message," RH, Nov. 20, 1856, 20-21.)

Without denying his previous equation of the "testimony of Jesus Christ" of Revelation 12:17 with the "faith of Jesus" of Revelation 14:12,¹ James White stated in December 1855 that the true interpretation of that "testimony" is provided in Revelation 19:10, which reads, "for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." By correlating the expressions "thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus" (Rev 19:10) and "thy brethren the prophets" (Rev 22:9), he concluded that the "testimony of Jesus Christ" mentioned in Revelation 12:17 was a reference to the end-time manifestation of the "gift of prophecy" within the remnant church.² This interpretation implied that the gift of prophecy is part of the faith of Jesus of Revelation 14:12. Similarly, M. E. Cornell equated in March 1857 the faith of Jesus with the "spirit of prophecy," which he saw as one of "the gifts of the Spirit."³

Ellen White stated in December 1857 that the faith of Jesus involves "all the teachings of Jesus in the New Testament," and "the whole New Testament which relates to

¹See [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 71.

²J[ames] W[hite], "The Testimony of Jesus," RH, Dec. 18, 1855, 92-93. See also idem, "The Gifts.--Their Object," RH, Feb. 28, 1856, 172; idem, "Revelation Twelve," RH, Jan. 8, 1857, 76.

³M. E. Cornell, "Conferences in Michigan," RH, Mar. 26, 1857, 165.

Jesus."¹ In 1860, Uriah Smith enumerated, more explicitly, several teachings he believed were included under the category of the "faith of Jesus." Among those teachings were (1) the personal return of Christ, (2) "the signs of his coming," (3) "the great doctrine of the resurrection of the body," (4) the future "general day of judgment," (5) "the gifts of the Spirit," and (6) the ceremony of foot-washing (John 13:1-17).² And in 1862, R. F. Cottrell spoke of the faith of Jesus as "the plan of salvation through Christ, and the ordinances of the Christian church."³

By referring to both the "commandments of God" and the "faith of Jesus," the third angel's message was seen as correcting the distorted tendencies of emphasizing one of those elements to the detriment of the other (cf. Rom 3:31). This was held to imply a specific rebuke not only to the Jewish rejection of the faith of Jesus but also to the Christian forsaking of the commandments of God.⁴

The mission of the third angel was connected also with (1) the parable of the wedding banquet of Matthew 22:1-14 and Luke 14:16-24, (2) the sealing angel of Revelation

¹[Ellen G. White] to [Stephen] Pierce, Dec. 3, 1857, TL, EGWRC-AU.

²[Uriah Smith], "The Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 2, 1860, 84.

³R. F. Cottrell, "Messages of Rev. xiv, 9-12," RH, Nov. 4, 1862, 181.

⁴[J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Aug. 5, 1852, 52; [idem], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 28, 1854, 44.

7:1-3, (3) the prophesying of Revelation 10:11, and (4) the angel of Revelation 18.

The third angel's message was referred to by James White in 1851 as "a test, by which the guests [the professed people of God] are now [during the marriage of the Lamb] being examined" (cf. Matt 22:1-14; Luke 14:16-24).¹

Support to this view was provided by the equation of the three invitations to the wedding banquet of Matthew 22:1-14 and Luke 14:16-24 with the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12.²

The mission of the third angel of Revelation 14 and the task of the sealing angel of Revelation 7:1-3 were viewed as identical. Both angels were regarded by Hiram Edson in 1852 as restoring "that precept [of God's law] which contains the signature, or name and seal of Jehovah" (i.e., the fourth commandment, which requires the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath).³ And Uriah Smith argued in 1856 that "since the events which followed the Third Angel's

¹[J.] W[hite], "Parable, Matthew xxv, 1-12," RH, June 9, 1851, 103. Cf. R. F. C[ottrell], "Wedding Garment," RH, Jan. 8, 1857, 77.

²J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, 162; R. F. Cottrell, Bible Class, 117; J. N. Loughborough, "Letter to a Friend," RH, Mar. 26, 1857, 163; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No 28," RH, June 10, 1858, 28; [idem], "To Correspondents," RH, June 17, 1858, 40; Francis Gould, "The Early and Latter Rain," RH, Mar. 15, 1860, 130.

³H. Edson, "Commandments of God, and the Mark of the Beast," RH, Sept. 2, 1852, 65.

work of Rev. xiv, and those which follow the angel of chap. vii, are identical, the angels are also identical."¹

The statement of Revelation 10:11, "Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings," was seen as portraying the mission of the third angel of Revelation 14.² Tryphena N. Elliot asserted in 1858 that "the third Angel is now following the first two, and he must prophecy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings."³

Up to 1850, the angel of Revelation 18 was usually equated by the Sabbatarians with the second angel of Revelation 14:8.⁴ From the early 1850s, however, the angel of Revelation 18 was increasingly viewed as a distinct angel that will enhance the proclamation of the third angel of Revelation 14:9-12 during the final, special outpouring of the Holy Spirit during the "latter rain" (Hos 6:3). The joining of these two angels will carry, according to the Sabbatarians, the third angel's message to its climactic

¹[U. Smith], "Seal of the Living God," RH, Apr. 24, 1856, 12. See also [idem], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, Sept. 9, 1862, 116.

²R. F. C[ottrell], "Definite Time," RH, June 26, 1855, 253; [Uriah Smith], "Remarks," RH, Apr. 24, 1856, 14; Tryphena N. Elliot, "From Sister Elliot," RH, July 22, 1858, 79.

³T. N. Elliot, "From Sister Elliot," RH, July 22, 1858, 79.

⁴See pp. 125-27, 194-95, above; J. Bates, "Laodicean Church," RH, Nov. 1850, 8.

proclamation in the so-called "loud voice" or "loud cry" of the third angel.¹ James White explained in 1852 that the message of the angel of Revelation 18, "in connection with the great truths of the third angel" of Revelation 14, "will manifest the 144,000 [Rev 14:1-5; cf. 7:1-8], who are to be 'redeemed from among men' [Rev 14:4], and changed to immortality at the coming of Christ."²

The expression "with a loud voice," which describes the preaching of the first and third angels (Rev 14:7, 9), was seen by James White as an evidence that the missions of these two angels would be carried out by two mighty movements (by Millerism and by Sabbatarian Adventism respectively). The fact that no reference to a "loud voice" appears in the message of the second angel (Rev 14:8) was perceived as in harmony with the more restricted proclamation of this message by some Millerites in 1844.³

Thus, the Sabbatarian Adventist expositions of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 during the 1850s and early 1860s (1) corroborated the previous

¹[J. White], "Babylon," RH, June 24, 1852, 29; [E. G. White], Supplement to the Christian Experience, 3-4; J[ames] W[hite], "The Third Angel's Message," RH, Aug. 14, 1856, 116; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:172, 182, 193-96; J. W[hite], "Loud Voice of the Third Angel," RH, Apr. 26, 1860, 177-78; [U. Smith], "Thoughts on the Revelation," RH, Dec. 16, 1862, 20.

²[J. White], "Babylon," RH, June 24, 1852, 29.

³[J. White], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 75.

Sabbatarian Adventist view of the chronological setting of the mission of those angels and (2) refined the understanding of basic components of the angels' messages.

The mission of the first angel was seen as carried out by the Millerite preaching, with special emphasis on the proclamation of "the hour of his judgment is come." That proclamation was regarded as announcing the ending of the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 in the autumn of 1844, which marked the beginning of the preadvent investigative judgment of the saints in the heavenly sanctuary.

The preaching of the second angel's message was viewed as leading many Millerites in 1844 out of the Babylonian bondage of the churches. By 1850, about two hundred who had left those churches had already embraced the post-1844 Sabbatarian Adventist proclamation of the third angel's message.¹ That proclamation was perceived as raising up a remnant people committed to restore the Bible truths in an end-time eschatological setting (Rev 14:12), despite the opposition of "the beast and his image" (Rev 14:9-11).

Having surveyed the Sabbatarian Adventist interpretations of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 and the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12, the discussion moves now to the major developments that took place between 1850 and 1863 in regard to the integration of the main

¹See p. 222, above.

Sabbatarian Adventists distinctive doctrines with both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

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THE SANCTUARY AND THE THREE ANGELS' MESSAGES
1844-1863: INTEGRATING FACTORS IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF SEVENTH-DAY
ADVENTIST DOCTRINES

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

by
Alberto Ronald Timm

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Volume 2

CHAPTER IV

THE PERIOD OF DOCTRINAL CONSOLIDATION

1850-1863: PART 2

Further Developments in the Relationship of the Sabbatarian Adventist Distinctive Doctrines to the Sanctuary and the Three Angels' Messages

The basic structure of the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was established, as demonstrated in chapter 3, during the period between 1844 and 1850. That period saw the formation of a theological structure in which the sanctuary and the three angels' messages integrated such doctrines as the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath, Christ's heavenly ministry, Christ's Second Coming, the conditional immortality of the soul, and the gift of prophecy.

Although the basic components of that system were in place by 1850, significant refinements took place within the system during the 1850s and early 1860s. The following pages intend to provide a brief overview of major issues involved in the development of each of those doctrines, followed by more specific attention to the relationship of that doctrine to the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

The Perpetuity of God's Law and the Seventh-day Sabbath

Refinements of the Doctrine

Sabbatarian Adventists responded between 1850 and 1863 to many non-Sabbatarian Adventist attempts to deny the abiding nature of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath.¹

¹For an overview of the non-Sabbatarian Adventists criticism to the seventh-day Sabbath, see, for example, "The Lord's Day--the Christian Sabbath," AH, Apr. 19, 1851, 76-77; J. B. C[ook], "Questions Answered," AHBA, June 7, 1851, 405; H. Grew, "The Sabbath," AHBA, June 14, 1851, 410; [Joseph Marsh], "Seventh-day Sabbath Abolished," AHBA, Sept. 27, 1851, 113-14 (4th reprinting in the same periodical); [idem], "Seventh Day Sabbath Abolished," 2-part series in AHBA, Nov. 1, 1851, 157; Nov. 8, 1851, 165; [idem], "Seventh Day Sabbath Abolished," AHBA, Dec. 27, 1851, 222; W. D. Tuller, "Seventh-day Sabbath," AW, Dec. 17, 1851, 154-55; [Joseph Marsh], "Seventh Day Sabbath Abolished," AHBA, Jan. 17, 1852, 245; [idem], "Seventh Day Sabbath Abolished," AHBA, Jan. 24, 1852, 252; Mary A. Seymour, "Seventh Day Sabbath," AHBA, Jan. 31, 1852, 264; W. Sheldon, "A Dialogue on the Sabbath Question," AHBA, Feb. 7, 1852, 272; J. B. C[ook], "Notes on the Sabbath Question," AHBA, Feb. 14, 1852, 274-75; [O. R. L.] C[rozier], "The Sabbath. The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, and the Bible Class on the Sabbath Question," 8-part series in AHBA, Mar. 20, 1852, 316-17; Mar. 27, 1852, 325-26; Apr. 3, 1852, 334; Apr. 17, 1852, 349; Apr. 24, 1852, 356; May 1, 1852, 364; May 8, 1852, 374; May 15, 1852, 381-82; J. Turner, "Sabbath Question," AW, Mar. 24, 1852, 60; "The Sabbath Day and the Lord's Day," AHBA, June 12, 1852, 409-11 (reprinted from Elpis Israel); "The Sabbath," 2-part series in AH, July 3, 1852, 212; July 10, 1852, 220; [Joseph Marsh], "Seventh Day Sabbath Abolished," AHBA, July 17, 1852, 36; W. Sheldon, "Seventh Day Sabbath--The Advent Review," AHBA, Mar. 26, 1853, 328; "The Sabbath," AH, Apr. 23, 1853, 132; E. R. Pinney, "The Three Sabbaths," 2-part series in AHBA, Mar. 18, 1854, 305-6; Mar. 25, 1854, 313-14; "The Institution of the Sabbath," AH, May 24, 1856, 164; [O. R. L.] C[rozier], "The Sabbath: Replies to the Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, Number One," AHBA, May 29, 1852, 398; [Joseph Marsh], "To the Editor of the Sabbath Recorder," AHBA, July 3, 1852, 21-22; [O. R. L.] C[rozier], "Commandments," AHBA, Aug. 7, 1852, 61-62; J. B. Cook, "The Sabbath Question: The Truth Made Plain to the Candid Mind, in a Letter to Bro. O.

As early as autumn of 1851, James White came out with a two-part series in the Review¹ in response to Joseph Marsh's claims that the seventh-day Sabbath is abolished.² In 1852, J. N. Andrews³ authored two series of articles⁴ in response to O. R. L. Crozier's attacks on the Sabbath.⁵ Andrews's Refutation of the Claims of Sunday-Keeping to

Nichols," AHBA, Nov. 6, 1852, 165-67; W. Sheldon, "Seventh-day Sabbath," 5-part series in WC, June 4, 1856, [2]; June 11, 1856, [4]; June 18, 1856, [1] (reprinted on June 25, 1856, [4]); July 30, 1856, [2]; Oct. 15, 1856, [4]; R. Wakefield, "The Sabbath," WC, Oct. 1, 1856, [2]; Oct. 15, 1856, [4]; B. P. Hildreth, "The Sabbath of the Lord; and the Lord's Sabbath," WC, Oct. 29, 1856, [1]; William Shepherd, "'The Lord's Day': An Exposition of Rev. i, 10," 4-part series in WC, Nov. 19, 1856, [1-2]; Nov. 26, 1856, [1]; Dec. 3, 1856, [1]; Dec. 10, 1856, [1]; Investigators, "The Sabbath," 4-part series in WC, Nov. 19, 1856, [2]; Nov. 26, 1856, [2]; Dec. 3, 1856, [1-2]; Dec. 24, 1856, [3]; [J. V. Himes], "On the Sabbath," AH, Dec. 5, 1857, 389.

¹[James White], "The Seventh-day Sabbath Not Abolished: The Article by Joseph Marsh, Editor of the 'Harbinger and Advocate,' Entitled 'Seventh-day Sabbath Abolished,' Reviewed," 2-part series in RH, Oct. 21, 1851, 41-47; Nov. 25, 1851, 51-52. See also [idem], "The Sabbath," RH, Dec. 9, 1851, 61-62.

²[J. Marsh], "Seventh-day Sabbath Abolished," AHBA, Sept. 27, 1851, 113-14.

³For a more complete listing of J. N. Andrews's main publications on the Sabbath, see p. 216, n. 2, above.

⁴J. N. Andrews, "Remarks of O. R. L. Crozier on the Institution, Design and Abolition of the Sabbath: Reviewed," 2-part series in RH, Feb. 3, 1852, 81-86; Feb. 17, 1852, 89-93; idem, "The Sabbath: Letters to O. R. L. Crozier," 7-part series in RH, May 6, 1852, 1-4; May 27, 1852, 9-13; June 10, 1852, 17-20; June 24, 1852, 25-82 (actually 28); July 8, 1852, 33-37; July 22, 1852, 41-45; Aug. 5, 1852, 49-52. See also idem, Review of the Remarks of O. R. L. Crozier.

⁵See p. 337, n. 1, above.

Divine Authority (1853)¹ and First Day of the Week Not the Sabbath of the Lord (1854)² responded to the basic arguments used by non-Sabbatarians in advancing Sunday observance.

Challenging non-Sabbatarian opponents, the editor of the Review published fourteen times between August 11, 1853, and April 11, 1854, two short entries requesting (1) "one plain text from the New Testament that teaches, 'without note or comment,' that the seventh-day Sabbath has been abolished," and (2) "one text from the New Testament that teaches" that "the Sabbath has been changed from the seventh to the first day of the week"; "or the example of Christ and the Apostles, recorded in the New Testament, favoring such a change."³

Following a strategy used previously by Seventh Day Baptists,⁴ the editors of the Review offered in October

¹Andrews, Refutation of the Claims of Sunday-Keeping to Divine Authority.

²Andrews, First Day of the Week Not the Sabbath of the Lord.

³See "A Request!" and "Another Request!" RH, Aug. 11, 1853, 52; Aug. 28, 1853, 64; Sept. 8, 1853, 68; Sept. 13, 1853, 76; Sept. 20, 1853, 84; Sept. 27, 1853, 96; Oct. 11, 1853, 108; Dec. 13, 1853, 180; Dec. 20, 1853, 188; Dec. 27, 1853, 196; Jan. 24, 1854, 4; Feb. 21, 1854, 36; Mar. 21, 1854, 68; Apr. 11, 1854, 92.

⁴See "The Present Sabbath Agitation--Plain Talk," RH, Apr. 8, 1858, 167 (reprinted from Sabbath Recorder); Waitstill Phillips, "Five Hundred Dollars Reward: To Rev. J. McCandlish, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Lewiston," RH, Jan. 24, 1854, 2-3 (reprinted).

1859 a "\$500 Reward" to their opponents for any Bible text proving that Christ changed the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week. Ironically, they granted a "temporal millennium" to their opponents to find such a text.¹ This device would be used later by many Seventh-day Adventist ministers in their evangelistic efforts.²

A significant landmark in the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of Sabbath observance was, as mentioned earlier,³ the publication of J. N. Andrews's article "Time for Commencing the Sabbath" in the Review for December 4, 1855.⁴ This article was influential in uniting the Sabbatarian Adventists on the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath from sunset Friday to sunset Saturday.

J. N. Andrews's ninety-six-page tract, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week (1859),⁵ reprinted from a four-part series in the Review,⁶ briefly surveyed the history of the seventh-day Sabbath from the creation

¹"\$500 Reward," RH, Oct. 20, 1859, 175.

²A few examples of the more recent use of this device can be found in the collection of "Evangelistic Advertising Fliers" in the Adventist Heritage Center, at Andrews University.

³See pp. 237-38, above.

⁴J. N. Andrews, "Time for Commencing the Sabbath," RH, Dec. 4, 1855, 76-78.

⁵Andrews, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week (1859).

⁶See p. 216, n. 2, above.

(Gen 2:1-3) up to the rise of Sabbatarian Adventists in the mid-nineteenth century. The infiltration of Sunday observance into Christian circles was portrayed in that tract as the result of the post-apostolic apostasy of the Christian church (cf. Acts 20:29, 30; 2 Thess 2:3, 4).

Andrews's history of the Sabbath was significantly expanded in 1862 into a twenty-six-part series in the Review,¹ which was reprinted the same year in a 340-page book under the same title, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week.²

An analysis of the Sabbatarian Adventist publications up to 1863 dealing with the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath shows that for the Sabbatarians (1) the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath was instituted by God at the creation week (Gen 2:1-3), before the fall (Gen 3);³ (2) the Sabbath commandment was

¹See p. 216, n. 2, above.

²Andrews, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week (1862).

³"When Was the Sabbath Instituted?" RH, Nov. 1850, 1 (reprinted); "The Weekly Sabbath Instituted at Creation and Not at Sinai," RH, Mar. 1851, 54-55; [J. White], "Seventh-day Sabbath Not Abolished," RH, Oct. 21, 1851, 41-44; J. N. Andrews, "Remarks of O. R. L. Crozier," RH, Feb. 3, 1852, 81-84; idem, "Sabbath . . . No. I," RH, May 6, 1852, 1-2, 4; [James White], "The Sabbath: A Weekly Memorial of the Living God," RH, Apr. 18, 1854, 101; W. S. Ingraham, "Thoughts on the Institution and Perpetuity of the Sabbath," RH, May 16, 1854, 129; [Uriah Smith], "The Institution of the Sabbath," RH, June 19, 1856, 57-60; J. H. W[aggoner], "The Sabbath," RH, Oct. 16, 1856, 185-86; [Uriah Smith], "'The Sabbath of the Lord; and the Lord's Sabbath'," RH, Nov. 13, 1856, 12; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 26," RH, May

known (cf. Exod 16:4, 22-30) prior to the proclamation of the Decalogue at Sinai (Exod 20:1-17);¹ (3) the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath was proclaimed at Sinai in the Decalogue as a memorial of creation (Exod 20:8-11);² (4) neither Christ nor the apostles ever abrogated the Decalogue

27, 1858, 12; Henry E. Carver, "Why I Keep the Sabbath," RH, Nov. 18, 1858, 205.

¹"Weekly Sabbath Instituted at Creation and Not at Sinai," RH, Mar. 1851, 55; Otis Nichols, "The True Seventh Day," RH, Apr. 7, 1851, 61; [J. White], "Seventh-day Sabbath Not Abolished," RH, Oct. 21, 1851, 41-42; [idem], "Sabbath," RH, Dec. 9, 1851, 61-62; [idem], "A Perversion of the Word of God," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 68; J. N. Andrews, "Remarks of O. R. L. Crozier," RH, Feb. 3, 1852, 81-83; idem, "Sabbath . . . No. I," RH, May 6, 1852, 3-4; idem, "Sabbath . . . No. II," RH, May 27, 1852, 9-12; Obadiah Davis, "The Sabbath," RH, Jan. 6, 1853, 133; [James White], "The Sabbath," RH, Apr. 11, 1854, 92-93; W. S. Ingraham, "Thoughts on the Institution and Perpetuity of the Sabbath," RH, May 16, 1854, 129; R. F. Cottrell, "Sixteenth of Exodus," RH, Sept. 19, 1854, 45; Alvares Pierce, "The Sabbath of the Lord," ibid., 46.

²[J. White], "Weekly Sabbath Instituted at Creation and Not at Sinai," RH, Mar. 1851, 54; [idem], "Remarks," RH, June 2, 1851, 94; [idem], "Repairing the Breach," ibid., 95; J. N. Andrews, "Remarks of O. R. L. Crozier," RH, Feb. 3, 1852, 83; idem, "Reply to Mary A. Seymour," RH, Mar. 2, 1852, 101; H. Edson, "Commandments of God, and the Mark of the Beast," RH, Sept. 16, 1852, 74; J. H. Waggoner, "The Law of God: An Examination in Both Testaments," RH, Nov. 15, 1853, 145; J. N. A[ndrews], "Objections to the Saturday Sabbath to Be Considered," RH, Jan. 24, 1854, 5; [James White], "Sabbath Discussion: Meetings at Clarence--Position Taken, &c.," RH, Sept. 19, 1854, 44; U[riah] S[mith], "'Don't Break the Sabbath'," RH, Oct. 24, 1854, 86; J. H. W[aggoner], "Sabbath," RH, Oct. 16, 1856, 185; [Uriah Smith], "'The Law of the Christian Sabbath'," RH, July 23, 1857, 92; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 26," RH, May 27, 1858, 12.

or changed the seventh-day Sabbath;¹ (5) the change of the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week was a human endeavor which took place in the context of the post-apostolic apostasy of the Christian church (Dan 7:25; Acts 20:29, 30; 2 Thess 2:3, 4);² (6) there have been seventh-day Sabbath observers throughout the history of Christendom;³ (7) God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath would be restored more distinctively in the time of the end through the preaching of the third angel's message (Rev 14:12);⁴ (8) the dispute between God's true seventh-day Sabbath and Satan's first-day counterfeit observance will be

¹[J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Aug. 5, 1852, 53; J. N. Andrews, "Is the First Day of the Week the Sabbath?" RH, Mar. 31, 1853, 178-80; H. Edson, "Commandments of God, and the Mark of the Beast," RH, Sept. 2, 1852, 66; [James White], "The Sabbath Law in the New Testament," RH, Aug. 11, 1853, 52; W. S. Ingraham, "Thoughts on the Institution and Perpetuity of the Sabbath," RH, May 16, 1854, 129-30; J. H. W[aggoner], "Sabbath," RH, Oct. 23, 1856, 193-95; H. C. Crumb, "Address to a Friend," RH, Jan. 7, 1858, 66-67; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:27, 112-13; M. Hull, "Mark of the Beast, and Seal of the Living God," RH, Sept. 29, 1863, 137.

²[J. N. Andrews], "History of the Sabbath," RH, Apr. 14, 1853, 186-88; J. H. Waggoner, "Learned Folly," RH, July 18, 1854, 188; [James White], "Exposition of Daniel vii, 31-44: Or the Vision of the Four Beasts," RH, Nov. 14, 1854, 109-10; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Apr. 3, 1855, 203-4; M. E. Cornell, "Last Work of the True Church," RH, May 15, 1855, 228; J. H. W[aggoner], "Sabbath," RH, Oct. 23, 1856, 195-96; idem, "Sabbath," RH, Oct. 30, 1856, 203-4; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:110-11; idem, "The Power of Satan," RH, May 6, 1862, 187.

³[Andrews], History of the Sabbath (1854), 3-6, 15-23, 31-40; J. H. W[aggoner], "Sabbath," RH, Oct. 23, 1856, 195; Andrews, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week (1859), 41-86, passim; *ibid.* (1862), 193-340, passim.

⁴See pp. 324-26, above.

the climactic issue in the final controversy between those who serve God and those who follow Satan;¹ and (9) the seventh-day Sabbath will continue to be observed by the redeemed saints in "the new heavens and the new earth" (Isa 66:22, 23).²

Answering to an inquiry whether Seventh-day Adventists "make the Sabbath a test of fellowship," James White stated in 1861 that "God has made" the Sabbath "a test," and "if the law of the great God be not a test, what can be a test?"³ In 1862, Uriah Smith referred to the seventh-day Sabbath in similar terms.⁴

Meaningful in the development of the doctrines of the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath were the linkages between these doctrines and the teachings of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

¹See pp. 321-22, 324-26, above.

²[James White], "Objections to the Sabbath Answered," RH, May 5, 1851, 74; [idem], "The Two Laws," RH, Aug. 5, 1851, 5; [idem], "Bro. J. B. Cook on the Sabbath," RH, Aug. 19, 1851, 11; Hiram Edson, "The Two Laws," RH, Oct. 7, 1851, 37; [J. White], "Seventh-day Sabbath Not Abolished," RH, Oct. 21, 1851, 44; J. N. Andrews, "Remarks of O. R. L. Crozier," RH, Feb. 3, 1852, 84; [U. Smith], "'Law of the Christian Sabbath'," RH, July 23, 1857, 93.

³[James White], "Questions," RH, July 23, 1861, 60.

⁴U[riah] S[mith], "The Visions a Test," RH, Jan. 14, 1862, 52-53.

Relationship to the Sanctuary

Sabbatarian Adventists continued to relate the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath to the heavenly sanctuary through the basic idea that the Ten Commandments (cf. Exod 20:3-17) are in "the ark of his testament" in the heavenly temple (Rev 11:19).¹ J. N. Andrews, for instance, explained in 1855 that

the entrance [in 1844] of our High Priest to the most holy place to minister before the ark of God, calls the attention of the church to the commandments of God contained within that ark. The commandments of God have been shining out from the heavenly Sanctuary since that time.²

Based on the view that the "testimony" in Revelation 11:19 is a reference to the Ten Commandments (cf. Exod 25:16; 30:6; 31:18; 32:15, 16), James White argued in 1852 that if the ark seen by John was empty, it could never be called "the ark of his testament."³ In 1854, Uriah Smith stated that "man may affirm that the law of God is abolished; but see how far from truth this is, when we learn

¹[J. White], "Ark and the Mercy-seat," RH, May 27, 1852, 13; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Apr. 4, 1854, 84-86; R. F. Cottrell, "Where Is the Truth?" RH, June 20, 1854, 165; U. S[mith], "Relation Which the Sabbath Sustains to Other Points of Present Truth," RH, July 25, 1854, 196; idem, "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 54; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 19," RH, Mar. 25, 1858, 148.

²J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Apr. 17, 1855, 211.

³[J. White], "Ark and the Mercy-seat," RH, May 27, 1852, 13.

that it occupies the choicest place in heaven" (cf. Rev 11:19).¹

J. N. Andrews explained in 1851 that "the 'blood of Christ,' when sprinkled upon the mercy-seat, (the top of the ark,)" does not blot out "the holy law contained within that ark" (cf. Heb 9:4; Rev 11:19).² In 1853, Andrews added that "the blood of the Lamb of God" was shed "for our transgression of God's law" and those who want to receive "the blessing of God, at the hand of our High Priest, must keep the commandments contained in the ark, before which he ministers."³

"The subjects of the Sanctuary and the Sabbath" were regarded by Uriah Smith in 1854 as "inseparably connected," for "whoever admits the truth of the first, must admit also on [sic] the second." He explained that "the Sanctuary contains the ark, the ark contains the law, and the law contains the fourth commandments unabolished and unchanged." So, "if we admit that the 2300 days terminated in the past, . . . we must admit the truth in regard to the Sanctuary. If we admit this, we must admit the Sabbath."⁴ Thus, as Smith stated in 1855, "no person can receive the true light

¹U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Apr. 4, 1854, 84-85.

²J. N. A[ndrews], "'Watchman, What of the Night?'" RH, May 27, 1852, 16.

³J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," Feb. 3, 1853, 147-48.

⁴U. S[mith], "Relation Which the Sabbath Sustains to Other Points of Present Truth," RH, July 25, 1854, 196.

on the Sanctuary, and the present position and work of our great Mediator, without having his attention especially directed to the ten commandments."¹ And in 1858, the same author added that the "ark of his testament" (Rev 11:19) "must also contain similar tables" as the ones in the ark of the earthly sanctuary (cf. Exod 25:16, 22; 31:18), else the former "was not prefigured" by the later.²

God's people were portrayed by Ellen White in 1858 as being "tested and proved" in regard to the seventh-day Sabbath since 1844, when "Jesus opened the door of the Most Holy" and "the light of the Sabbath was seen" (cf. Rev 11:19).³ In 1862, E. B. Saunders suggested that both those under the old covenant and Christians have been tested alike by the "one moral law" which is kept in the heavenly sanctuary. He reasoned:

But the test under the old covenant, at least, was the ten commandments; hence the duties enjoined in these commandments will be required of some in heaven. Now, if, as some contend, Christians are tested by a different law, it follows that they will obey a different law in heaven; and if this be true there will be different and opposing laws in heaven, which would make it a kingdom divided against itself. This conclusion is false because the premises are false; hence we must conclude that Christians are not tested by

¹U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 54.

²[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 19," RH, Mar. 25, 1858, 148. See also [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 8, 1863, 116.

³E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:163. See also ibid., 164.

a different law, and that there is but one moral law in heaven.¹

The rejection of the heavenly sanctuary teaching was viewed by R. F. Cottrell in 1854 as largely due to the widespread aversion to the seventh-day Sabbath. He declared that "none would reject the Bible Sanctuary" if the Most Holy Place "did not contain the ark"; and "the ark would form no objection, if it did not contain the tables of the covenant; and these would not be objected to, if they contained but nine commandments." According to Cottrell, it is the "transgression of the forth commandment" that "makes a person blind to all the beauties of the heavenly Sanctuary." Yet, "regardless of what men approve or disprove," "the lovers of truth will not desire to rob that temple and ark of one of the precepts deposited there."²

The close relationship between the sanctuary and God's law, which includes the seventh-day Sabbath, was also emphasized by Uriah Smith when he wrote in 1857 that to change God's law, man would have to

ascend to heaven, dethrone Jehovah, burst through the angel guards into the sacred temple, wrest from the ark the mercy-seat, and with his own would-be omnipotent finger, change the writing of the imperishable tables.³

¹E. B. Saunders, "Thoughts on the Atonement," RH, Apr. 15, 1862, 155.

²R. F. Cottrell, "Where Is the Truth?" RH, June 20, 1854, 165-66.

³[Uriah Smith], "'And No Man Can Shut It'," RH, May 28, 1857, 28. See also [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 19," RH, Mar. 25, 1858, 148; [idem], "Sanctuary,"

And R. F. Cottrell perceived the sanctuary in 1863 as providing a tower of strength for the Sabbath, for "if the sanctuary cannot be demolished, the Sabbath cannot be reached."¹

Relationship to the Three Angels' Messages

The perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath were directly connected to the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 through the allusion of the third angel to "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" (vs. 12).² J. N. Andrews wrote in 1853 that "the third angel, with the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus," gives the "last message of mercy" to the world, "while our High Priest ministers for us before the ark containing the commandments."³

The work of both the third angel (Rev 14:9-12) and the sealing angel (Rev 7:2-8)⁴ was perceived by Hiram Edson in 1852 as "to obey the mandate of Isa. viii, 16, and seal the law by restoring the seal of the living God to his commandments, and to seal the servants of God by leading

RH, Sept. 8, 1863, 116.

¹R. F. Cottrell, "The Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 15, 1863, 21.

²See pp. 324-26, 330, above.

³J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 148.

⁴See pp. 324-26, 331-32, above.

them to keep the same."¹ J. N. Loughborough stated in 1854 that the third angel is measuring during the antitypical Day of Atonement "the temple of God" and "them that worship therein" (Rev 11:1) with the "golden reed" of "the commandments of God."² And R. F. Cottrell declared in 1859 that "the third angel's message, (Rev. xiv, 9-12,) is the sealing message, containing the seal of the living God."³

The reference in the third angel's message to both the "commandments of God" and the "faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12) was regarded by James White in 1852 as a reproach to the heretical theory that "the faith of Jesus abolishes and makes void the commandments of God" (cf. Rom 3:31).⁴

The perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath were also indirectly related to the third angel's message through the notion that the two-horned beast will show its oppressive power by opposing the Bible doctrine of the seventh-day Sabbath and imposing Sunday observance.⁵

An indirect connection between the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath, on the one hand, and

¹H. Edson, "Commandments of God, and the Mark of the Beast," RH, Sept. 2, 1852, 66.

²J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 30.

³R. F. C[ottrell], "Mark of the Beast, and Seal of the Living God," RH, July 28, 1859, 77.

⁴[J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Aug. 5, 1852, 52. See also [idem], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 28, 1854, 44.

⁵See pp. 321-22, above.

the second angel's message of Revelation 14:8, on the other, was made by J. N. Andrews in 1855 through a reference to the "wine of the wrath of her fornication." Regarding this expression as synonymous with "false doctrines," Andrews included among those doctrines "the change of the fourth commandment" to "the first day of the week."¹

Thus, the doctrines of the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath continued to be directly connected during the 1850s and early 1860s to both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. These doctrines were linked to the sanctuary through the basic idea that God's law, which requires the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath, is preserved unaltered within the "ark of his testament" in the heavenly sanctuary (Rev 11:19; cf. Exod 20:3-17). God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath were equated also with the "commandments of God" mentioned in the third angel's message (Rev 14:12). The counterfeit Sunday observance was seen as imposed by the two-horned beast (cf. Rev 14:9, 11) and as a major component of the "wine of the wrath" of Babylon's fornication (Rev 14:8).

¹J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Mar. 6, 1855, 185-86.

Christ's Heavenly Ministry

**Refinements of the
Doctrine**

Sabbatarian Adventists responded during the 1850s and early 1860s to several arguments raised by non-Sabbatarian Adventists against the doctrine of Christ's two-phase priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary.¹ One of those arguments held that since Christ was enthroned at "the right hand of God" at His ascension (Heb 10:12), He could not have begun His ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary in 1844.² In response to this allegation, Andrews asserted in 1853 that as Christ will be "at 'the right hand of the power of God' when descending from heaven" (cf. Matt 26:64; Mark 14:62; Luke 22:69), so He can be "at the Father's right hand" while ministering in "the two holy places" of that sanctuary.³ Andrews saw the fact that God's glory filled the entire Mosaic tabernacle (Exod 40:34, 35) and the whole Jerusalem temple (1 Kgs 8:10, 11; 2 Chr 5:13, 14; 7:1, 2) as evidences that God's presence

¹See pp. 250-54, above.

²[Sylvester Bliss], "The Antitypical Tabernacle," AH, June 18, 1853, 197; [idem], "'The Antitypical Tabernacle'," AH, July 30, 1853, 244.

³J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 146-47. See also [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 16," RH, Feb. 25, 1858, 124; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 25, 1863, 100.

in the heavenly sanctuary could not be confined only to the mercy-seat of the Most Holy Place.¹

Another reaction to the Sabbatarian doctrine of Christ's two-phase heavenly ministry was the view that the expression "the holiest of all," in the King James Version of Hebrews 9:8 (and 10:19), proved that Christ began His ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary at His ascension.² Andrews argued in 1853 that this allegation was based on an inaccurate translation of the original Greek plural τῶν ἁγίων, which the same version rendered as "sanctuary" in Hebrews 8:2. He pointed out that by using τῶν ἁγίων instead of Ἁγία Ἁγίων (the Greek expression for the "Holiest of all," cf. Hebrews 9:3), the text of Hebrews 9:8 should actually read "the holy places" and not "the holiest of all."³ The assertion that τῶν ἁγίων functions as a "plural of excellence" in Hebrews 9:8⁴ was rejected by Andrews because "in this text the word is

¹J. N. Andrews, "Antitypical Tabernacle," RH, July 7, 1853, 27.

²[S. Bliss], "Antitypical Tabernacle," AH, June 18, 1853, 197; [idem], "'Antitypical Tabernacle'," AH, July 30, 1853, 244.

³J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 147; idem, "Antitypical Sanctuary," RH, July 7, 1853, 26. See also [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 16," RH, Feb. 25, 1858, 124; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 25, 1863, 100.

⁴[S. Bliss], "'Antitypical Tabernacle'," AH, July 30, 1853, 244.

used to designate the antitype of the two holy places, named in the six verses preceding" (Heb 9:2-7).¹

Andrews also warned his readers in 1853 against the use of the reference to the anointing of "the most Holy" in Daniel 9:24 to prove that Christ's heavenly ministry is carried out only in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary.² He explained that this anointing refers to the anointing of the entire heavenly sanctuary, including the Most Holy Place (cf. Exod 30:23-29; 40:9-11; Lev 8:10; Num 7:1), which was foreshadowed as taking place prior to the installment of the ministration in the Holy Place of that sanctuary (cf. Lev 8-10; Heb 9:6, 7).³

¹J. N. Andrews, "'Antitypical Tabernacle'," RH, Aug. 28, 1853, 60.

²While William Miller had spoken of the anointing of "the most Holy" of Daniel 9:24 as the anointing of Christ himself (W. Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History [1838], 59-60; *ibid.* [1842], 62-63; cf. *ibid.* [1833], 16), Josiah Litch equated it with the anointing of the heavenly sanctuary (Litch, Address to the Public, 85; [idem], "Rise and Progress of Adventism," ASR 1 [May 1844]: 75; *idem*, The Restitution, Christ's Kingdom on Earth; the Return of Israel, together with Their Political Emancipation; the Beast, His Image and Worship; also, the Fall of Babylon, and the Instruments of Its Overthrow [Boston: J. V. Himes, 1848], 89). Although non-Sabbatarian Adventist authors did not seem inclined by 1853 to use Daniel 9:24 against the Sabbatarian doctrine of Christ's two-phase heavenly ministry, J. N. Andrews pointed out that this text "may be urged [by some] as proof that he [Christ] ministers only in the second apartment of the heavenly sanctuary." J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 146.

³J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 146. See also [J. White], "Questions by Bro. Frisbie," RH, Apr. 28, 1853, 200; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 78; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 16," RH, Feb. 25, 1858, 124; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 18, 1863, 92;

The theory that Christ "at his ascension began his ministration" in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary was considered by Andrews, in 1853, to require either (1) "that the ministration in the first apartment typified nothing," or (2) "that it met its antitype" not only "contemporary with its existence as a type" but also "before the death of our Lord."¹ Andrews rejected the first of these positions for charging "God with folly," and the second because it was the shedding of Christ's blood that (1) became "the dividing point between the shadow and the substance" (cf. Col 2:14-17; Heb 9:8) and (2) "laid the foundation" for His heavenly ministration (cf. Heb 9:11-26). The same author challenged his opponents with two inquiries: (1) "On what principle is the fulfillment of a large part of the shadow of good things to come [Heb 10:1; cf. 8:5; Col 2:17], located in the very period of that shadow?" and (2) "On what principle of interpretation can it be shown that the antitype of the daily ministration existed contemporary with the type and ceased with it?"²

[idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 25, 1863, 100.

¹Sylvester Bliss asserted in 1853 that "the services of the first apartment" of the earthly sanctuary "signified the way of approach to God during the period anterior to his [Christ's] death." [S. Bliss], "Antitypical Tabernacle," AH, June 18, 1853, 197.

²J. N. Andrews, "Antitypical Sanctuary," RH, July 7, 1853, 26-27.

The notion that Christ's priestly ministry is confined to the period between His ascension and His Second Coming was perceived by James White in 1854 as evident in the successive (and not simultaneous) fulfillment of Christ's offices of "Prophet, Priest and King." White explained that Christ (1) was *Prophet and Teacher* during His life and ministry on earth (Deut 18:15; Acts 3:22), (2) is now *Priest* in the heavenly sanctuary (Heb 8:1, 2), and (3) will be *King* at His Second Coming (Rev 19:16). That Christ was not a priest during His earthly ministry was viewed as clearly stated in Hebrews 8:4, "For if he were on earth, he should not be a priest."¹

In 1858, Uriah Smith pointed out that "three hundred and sixty-four days of that service which was performed unto the 'example and shadow of heavenly things,' was accomplished" in the Holy Place, "and only one day out of the year, in the most holy." Therefore, Smith added, if "Christ ministers only in the most holy place, the first, and by far the greater, part of the earthly ministration is without an antitype."²

¹[James White], "Exposition of Daniel II, 31-44: Or Nebuchadnezzar's Dream," RH, Oct. 31, 1854, 94. See also S. Woodhull, "Questions for Consideration," RH, May 21, 1857, 20.

²[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 16," RH, Feb. 25, 1858, 124-25. See also [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 25, 1863, 100.

Meanwhile, Sabbatarian Adventists continued to connect Christ's heavenly ministry with the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

Relationship to the Sanctuary

Christ's heavenly ministry was related to the sanctuary, as mentioned earlier,¹ through the basic idea that the heavenly sanctuary is the actual place where Christ has been carrying on His two-phase priestly ministry.

The first phase of that ministry was viewed as taking place in the Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary from Christ's ascension (A.D. 31) to the end of the 2300 days (October 22, 1844). For the Sabbatarians, this phase was prefigured by the daily ministry of the earthly priesthood (Lev 1-5) and factually attested by John's vision (in A.D. 96) of Christ "in the midst of the seven candlesticks" (Rev 1:12, 13) in the Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary (cf. Exod 24:3, 4; Heb 9:2).²

Referring to the beginning of this phase, Ellen White stated in 1858 that after Christ's great sacrifice on the cross had been offered and accepted,

¹See pp. 147-48, above.

²[J.] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Jan. 1851, 29; [idem], "Parable, Matthew xxv, 1-12," RH, June 9, 1851, 101; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 147-48; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 78; [idem], "Sanctuary of the New Covenant," RH, Oct. 2, 1856, 172.

the Holy Spirit which descended on the day of Pentecost carried the minds of the disciples from the earthly Sanctuary to the heavenly, where Jesus had entered by his own blood, and shed upon his disciples the benefits of his atonement.¹

The second phase of Christ's heavenly ministry was regarded as carried on in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary from the end of the 2300 days (October 22, 1844) to shortly before the Second Coming. This conclusion was reached by connecting the typology of the annual Day of Atonement ministry of the earthly sanctuary (Lev 16; 23:26-32) with the cleansing of the sanctuary at the end of the 2300 days (Dan 8:14) and the opening of the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary under the sounding of the seventh angel (Rev 11:19).² Further evidence of Christ's move from the Holy into the Most Holy Place was found in the reference of Daniel 7:13, 14 to the Son of Man coming to the Ancient of days.³

Support for the two-phase ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary was perceived by Uriah Smith in 1854 in the typology of the earthly sanctuary. Smith argued that

¹E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:170.

²See pp. 265-90, above.

³[J. White], "Seventh Angel," RH, June 9, 1851, 104; [idem], "Shut Door," RH, Apr. 14, 1853, 189; R. F. Cottrell, "Where Is the Truth?" RH, June 20, 1854, 165; J. W[hite], "Marriage of the Lamb," RH, Feb. 21, 1856, 165; J. H. W[aggoner], "When Will the Nations Be Dashed in Pieces?" RH, Apr. 10, 1856, 3; J. W[hite], "Revelation xviii-xxi," RH, Mar. 5, 1857, 141; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 22," RH, Apr., 15, 1858, 172.

as the blood of those sacrifices of which Christ was the antitype, was offered in both apartments of the earthly sanctuary, so his blood must be ministered in both apartments of the heavenly Sanctuary to fulfill the type.¹

J. N. Andrews explained in 1853 that it was because of the work of cleansing the heavenly sanctuary that Christ's priestly ministry changed from the Holy to the Most Holy Place (cf. Lev 16; Heb 9:6, 7; Rev 11:19). Andrews portrayed Christ as standing now by the mercy-seat of the heavenly sanctuary, offering "his blood, not merely for the cleansing of the sanctuary, but also for the pardon of iniquity and transgression."² Uriah Smith added in 1854 that "great and momentous is that work which the world's High Priest is now consummating before the ark of God in heaven" (cf. Rev 11:19).³

Relationship to the Three Angels' Messages

Christ's heavenly ministry was closely related during the period under consideration (1850-1863) to the preaching of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12. J. N. Andrews wrote in 1855 that these messages "are not the general work of the gospel, but special warnings addressed to the world as the great work of our High Priest

¹U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 78. See also idem, "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 54.

²J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," Feb. 3, 1853, 148.

³U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Apr. 4, 1854, 86.

is closing up."¹ In 1858, Uriah Smith explained that the preaching of the first and second angels' messages were "preparatory to the Sanctuary work," which is the "very root and foundation" of the third angel's message.²

The proclamation of the third angel's message was viewed by the Sabbatarians as taking place while Jesus is interceding in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary.³ Ellen White declared in 1858 that when Jesus moved from the Holy to the Most Holy Place, "and stood before the ark containing the law of God, he sent another mighty angel to earth with the third message." That angel was viewed as "pointing upward, showing the disappointed ones the way to the Holiest of the heavenly Sanctuary."⁴

Another connection between Christ's heavenly ministry and the third angel's message is found in the notion that "the wine of the wrath of God" mentioned in this

¹J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, 162.

²[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 19," RH, Mar. 25, 1858, 148. See also [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 25," RH, May 20, 1858, 4; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 8, 1863, 116.

³[James White], "To Ira Fancher," RH, Mar. 1851, 52; G. W. Holt, "From Bro. Holt," RH, Sept. 2, 1851, 24; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 148; J. N. Loughborough, "Hour of His Judgment Come," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 30; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, 162; U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 54; J[ames] W[hite], "The Mystery of God," RH, Mar. 27, 1856, 205; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:162-63.

⁴E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:162-63.

message (Rev 14:10; cf. 15:1) can be poured out only after Christ finishes His priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary.¹ James White wrote in 1851 that "the mediation of Jesus in the Heavenly Sanctuary, prevents the wrath of God [Rev 14:10] from coming on a guilty world." While Jesus is in the heavenly sanctuary, White continued, "the four angels (Rev. vii, 1-3) hold the four winds until the servants of God are sealed by the last warning message" of the third angel of Revelation 14:9-12.² In 1852, the same author added that the vials of God's wrath will be poured out in "that period when there shall be 'no Intercessor'" (Isa 59:16) in the heavenly sanctuary.³

James White also linked Christ's post-1844 heavenly ministry to the third angel's message by suggesting that this ministry is part of the "faith of Jesus" mentioned in the third angel's message (Rev 14:12).⁴

Thus, Sabbatarian Adventists continued to view Christ's heavenly ministry during the 1850s and early 1860s

¹[J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 70; [idem], "Babylon," RH, June 24, 1853, 29; [idem], "The Seventh Angel; Events to Occur During His Sounding," RH, Mar. 7, 1854, 52; W. J. Lusk, "Communication from Bro. Lusk," RH, Apr. 11, 1854, 95; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Apr. 17, 1855, 209, 211; [Uriah Smith], "The Seven Last Plagues," RH, June 18, 1857, 52.

²[J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 70.

³[J. White,], "Babylon," RH, June 24, 1853, 29.

⁴[J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Aug. 5, 1852, 52.

as directly related to both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. That ministry was linked to the sanctuary through the basic idea that the heavenly sanctuary is the actual place where Christ carries on His two-phase priestly ministry. The same ministry was related to the three angels' messages through the notion that while the first two of those messages prepared the way for the acceptance of Christ's Most Holy Place ministry, the third message is preached during this part of Christ's ministry. Allusions were also made to Christ's heavenly ministry as part of the "faith of Jesus" referred to in the third angel's message (Rev 14:12) and as preventing the pouring out of "the wine of the wrath of God" mentioned in the same message (Rev 14:10; cf. 15:1).

Christ's Second Coming

Refinements of the Doctrine

New developments in the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrine of the Second Coming were marked during the 1850s and early 1860s by a large number of criticisms of the "age-to-come" theory. The followers of this theory believed that the Second Coming would bring about a millennial reign of the saints on this earth, in which probation would still continue during the millennium for the unregenerate.¹

¹Insightful discussions of the "Age-to-Come" Adventists are provided in Arthur, "'Come out of Babylon'," 224-27, 352-71; Neufeld, ed., Seventh-day Adventist

The first major non-Sabbatarian Adventist exposition of the "age-to-come" theory appeared in a series of nineteen editorials by Joseph Marsh, published in the Advent Harbinger between January 5 and June 8, 1850.¹ This was followed by a series of eleven articles in the same magazine, in which J. B. Cook affirmed and L. D. Mansfield denied alternatively this theory.² Another landmark defense of the same theory was Joseph Marsh's 128-page

Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Messenger Party"; Knight, Millennial Fever, 288-89.

¹[Joseph Marsh], "The Age to Come," 19-part series in AHBA, Jan. 5, 1850, 228; Jan. 12, 1850, 236; Jan. 19, 1850, 244; Jan. 26, 1850, 252; Feb. 2, 1850, 260; Feb. 9, 1850, 268; Feb. 23, 1850, 284; Mar. 2, 1850, 292; Mar. 9, 1850, 300; Mar. 16, 1850, 308; Mar. 23, 1850, 316; Mar. 30, 1850, 324-25; Apr. 6, 1850, 332; Apr. 13, 1850, 340; Apr. 20, 1850, 348; Apr. 27, 1850, 356; May 11, 1850, 372-73; May 25, 1850, 388; June 8, 1850, 404.

²See L. D. Mansfield and J. B. Cook, "Discussion on 'The Age to Come'," 11-part series in AHBA, Aug. 10, 1850, 57-58 (by Cook); Aug. 24, 1850, 73-75 (by Mansfield); Aug. 31, 1850, 81-82 (by Cook); Sept. 14, 1850, 97-98 (by Mansfield); Sept. 21, 1850, 105-6 (by Cook); Oct. 12, 1850, 129-30 (by Mansfield); Oct. 19, 1850, 137-38 (by Cook); Nov. 2, 1850, 153-54 (by Mansfield); Nov. 23, 1850, 177-78 (by Cook); Nov. 30, 1850, 185-86 (by Cook); Jan. 4, 1851, 225-26 (by Cook).

This debate followed the basic "rules of debate" and "propositions for discussion" which appeared in L. D. Mansfield, "The Age to Come," AHBA, July 27, 1850, 46. A short remark on that debate was also provided in J. B. Cook, "Response, by Bro. J. B. Cook," *ibid*.

Between December 14, 1850, and January 11, 1850, L. D. Mansfield criticized the "age-to-come" theory through a series of three articles in the Advent Herald. L. D. Mansfield, "The Future Age. Inquiries Respecting Its Character," 3-part series in AH, Dec. 14, 1850, 366-67; Jan. 4, 1851, 390; Jan. 11, 1851, 398.

tract, The Age to Come (1851).¹ Endorsing Marsh's views, George Storrs suggested that the "age to come" was the last of the seven "periods," "ages," or "dispensations" in which human history is divided.²

As early as September 1850, Hiram Edson pointed out that "we can have no faith in the new doctrine, now being taught, of probation in the age to come, after the second Advent." This doctrine was perceived by Edson as opposed to the Bible teachings (1) that Christ will finish "the great plan and work of salvation" by the ministration of His blood in the heavenly sanctuary before the Second Coming (Rev 22:11, 12; Acts 4:12); and (2) that this earth will remain desolate during the thousand years that follow the Second Advent (Jer 4:23-29; Rev 20). Edson regarded "this new doctrine of probation in the age to come" as "a devise [sic]

¹Joseph Marsh, The Age to Come, or Glorious Restitution of All Things Spoken of by the Mouth of All the Holy Prophets since the World Began (Rochester, NY: Advent Harbinger Office, 1851).

²[George Storrs], "The Advent Harbinger," BE, Sept. 1851, 140. Storrs divided human history into the following "periods" or "dispensations": (1) "THE ADAMIC AGE," (2) "THE ANTEDILUVIAN AGE," (3) "FROM NOAH TO ABRAHAM," (4) The "PATRIARCHAL AGE," (5) "THE MOSAIC AGE," (6) "THE GOSPEL AGE," and (7) "AGE OF MESSIAH'S PERSONAL REIGN." George Storrs, "'Ages to Come'," BE, Aug. 1851, 120-21 (reprinted in AHBA, Aug. 23, 1851, 76-77). These seven periods closely resemble the seven dispensations proposed in 1909 in C. I. Scofield, ed., The Scofield Reference Bible (New York: Oxford University Press, 1909), 5, 10, 16, 20, 94, 1115, 1250. A short historical overview of dispensation theories is provided in Charles C. Ryrie, Dispensationalism Today (Chicago: Moody Press, 1965), 65-85.

of the enemy, to draw the mind away from the present sealing truth of the third angel's message."¹

Although a few other reproaches to the "age-to-come" theory appeared in the Review during the first half of 1850s,² it was not until 1854 that more extensive criticisms to this theory began to appear in that periodical. Such criticisms were penned largely in response to infiltrations of the theory among the Sabbatarian Adventists in Wisconsin and other places through the influence of J. M. Stephenson, D. P. Hall, and a few others.³

¹H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 14.

²Lebbeus Drew, "From Bro. Drew," RH, July 22, 1852, 46; M. E. Cornell, "Joseph Marsh's Misrepresentations," RH, Sept. 16, 1852, 78; Henry Lyon, "From Bro. Lyon," ibid., 79; P. Gibson, "Extract of Letter," RH, Oct. 28, 1852, 103; David Seely, "Communication from Bro. Seely," RH, Nov. 25, 1852, 109; Wm. B. Putnam, "From Bro. Putnam," RH, Mar. 31, 1853, 183; Wm. S. Ingraham, "The Parable--Matt. xxv," RH, June 9, 1853, 9.

³For further study of J. M. Stephenson's and D. P. Hall's influence in spreading the "age-to-come" theory within Sabbatarian Adventist circles by the mid-1850s, see "The Review 'Sectarian'," RH, Dec. 4, 1855, 80; J. H. W[aggoner], "The 'Age to Come'," RH, Dec. 11, 1855, 84-85; C. Bates, "Extracts of Letters," RH, Jan. 3, 1856, 111; J[ames] W[hite], "The Review 'Sectarian'," RH, Feb. 14, 1856, 160; Joseph Bates, "From Bro. Bates," RH, Mar. 13, 1856, 190; J[ames] W[hite], "The Age to Come," RH, July 24, 1856, 96; J. H. W[aggoner], "The Cause in the West," RH, Aug. 7, 1856, 109-10; J[ames] W[hite], "How They Understand," RH, Feb. 5, 1857, 112; *idem*, "As We Expected," RH, May 28, 1857, 28-29; J. H. W[aggoner], "When a Man Forsakes the Truth, Which Is the Loser?" RH, Sept. 24, 1857, 165; J[ames] W[hite], "A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Present Truth," RH, Jan. 14, 1858, 77; C. W. Sperry, "Meetings in Crane's Grove, Ill[inois]," RH, Jan. 28, 1858, 93; J. H. W[aggoner], "The Cause in the West," RH, May 6, 1858, 197-98; J[ames] W[hite], "Western Tour," RH, Sept. 23,

In response to the above-mentioned theory, J. B. Frisbie stated in January 1854 that at the Second Coming all the wicked will be destroyed, as in the days of Noah (Matt 24:37-39; Luke 17:26, 27) and Lot (Luke 17:28-30), leaving no "probationers" for the thousand years.¹ In April (1854), Uriah Smith accused the Advent Harbinger of apostasy for openly renouncing "all connection with the Advent faith" through the "belief in a future age and temporal reign of Christ on earth." Smith perceived this theory as "a slight modification of that siren doctrine of the Devil--the temporal millen[n]ium."²

Many other articles came out in the Review from the mid-1850s to the early 1860s in reply to the "age-to-come" theory.³ An analysis of those articles shows that

1858, 140. See also Loughborough, Rise and Progress, 204-7; idem, Great Second Advent Movement, 331-33; Lowell Tarling, The Edges of Seventh-day Adventism: A Study of Separatist Groups Emerging from the Seventh-day Adventist Church (1844-1980) (Barragga Bay, Bermagui South, NSW, Australia: Galilee, 1981), 25.

¹J. B. Frisbie, "Age to Come," RH, Jan. 24, 1854, 6.

²U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Apr. 4, 1854, 86.

³[Uriah Smith], "The 'Age to Come'," RH, Mar. 20, 1856, 196-97; J[ames] W[hite], "The Age to Come," RH, Apr. 10, 1856, 5; idem, "The Second Advent, Its Manner and Objects Considered," 2-part series in RH, Dec. 27, 1855, 100-1; Jan. 3, 1856, 108-9; J. H. W[aggoner], "When Will the Nations Be Dashed in Pieces?" 10-part series in RH, Jan. 24, 1856, 132-33; Jan. 31, 1856, 140-41; Feb. 7, 1856, 145-47; Feb. 28, 1856, 169; Mar. 6, 1856, 177-78; Mar. 13, 1856, 185-86; Mar. 20, 1856, 193-94; Apr. 10, 1856, 1-3; May 15, 1856, 33-34; May 29, 1856, 41-42; J[ames] W[hite], "Letter to H. V. Reed," 2-part series in RH, Mar. 6, 1856, 180-81; Mar. 13, 1856, 188-89; R. F. C[ottrell], "What Will Become

mainstream Sabbatarian Adventists (1) were much concerned with infiltrations of this theory into their circle and (2) considered it to be directly opposed to their understanding of the large spectrum of events related to the Second Coming as portrayed in the Scriptures.

The importance Sabbatarian Adventists attributed to the doctrine of the Second Coming was expressed by Uriah Smith when he spoke in 1862 of this doctrine as a test of fellowship.¹

Since this doctrine had been set before 1850, no significant positive developments took place from 1850 to 1863 in its understanding besides the agitation against the "age to come" on the basis of previously settled positions.

of the 'Age-to-Come' City When the New Jerusalem Comes Down?" RH, May 15, 1856, 36-37; J. H. W[aggoner], "The Kingdom of God. Letters to Bro. Sperry," 6-part series in RH, Aug. 7, 1856, 109; Aug. 14, 1856, 117-18; Sept. 11, 1856, 149; Sept. 18, 1856, 156-57; Sept. 25, 1856, 164-65; Oct. 9, 1856, 180-81; idem, "The Kingdom of God," RH, Jan. 22, 1857, 93; idem, "The Kingdom of God," RH, Mar. 12, 1857, 148-49; J. N. Andrews, "Third Angel's Message Not in the Age to Come," RH, Aug. 14, 1856, 113-14; Joseph Bates, "A Consecutive View of the Prophecies Concerning the Kingdom of God and Its Establishment on the Earth," 4-part series in RH, Aug. 28, 1856, 129-30; Sept. 4, 1856, 137-39; Sept. 11, 1856, 145-47; Sept. 18, 1856, 153-54; S. A. Bragg, "Is the One Thousand Years' Reign of Christ Less Glorious than This Dispensation?--Yes, If the Age-to-Come Theory Is Correct," RH, Sept. 4, 1856, 142-43; F. M. B., "Israel," RH, Nov. 13, 1856, 10-11; J. B. Frisbie, "Communication from Bro. Frisbie," RH, Feb. 12, 1857, 115; J[ames] W[hite], "Revelation xviii-xxi," RH, Mar. 5, 1857, 140-41; R. F. Cottrell, "The Age to Come," RH, Sept. 3, 1861, 108-9.

¹U. S[mith], "Visions a Test," RH, Jan. 14, 1862, 52-53.

Of special relevance for the purpose of the present study are the ways in which Sabbatarian Adventists linked the doctrine of Christ's Second Coming to both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

Relationship to the Sanctuary

Sabbatarian Adventists regarded the sanctuary and the 2300 days as "the main pillar in the faith of those who are waiting for the Lord, and are expecting him soon."¹ They argued that when Christ finishes His priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, He will lay aside His priestly attire, put on the "garments of vengeance" (Isa 59:17), and descend from heaven on the great "white cloud" (Rev 14:14) to redeem His waiting people.²

Uriah Smith stated in 1863 that our great High Priest will "come forth from the sanctuary to pronounce the everlasting blessing upon his waiting people."³ He perceived the subject of the sanctuary as throwing

over the great doctrine of the Lord's soon coming, an air of nearness and certainty, beyond all other subjects. It is calculated to inspire in the church on

¹[J. White], "Sanctuary and 2300 Days," RH, Mar. 17, 1853, 172. See p. 258, above.

²J. Bates, "Laodicean Church," RH, Nov. 1850, 8; J. Bates, "Midnight Cry in the Past," RH, Dec. 1850, 22; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 70; W. J. Lusk, "Communication from Bro. Lusk," RH, Apr. 11, 1854, 95; J. W[hite], "Third Angel's Message," RH, Aug. 14, 1856, 116.

³[U. Smith], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 1, 1863, 109.

earth a spirit of unwonted watchfulness, self-examination and prayer.¹

Smith declared that "the light of the sanctuary" in regard to the ending of the 2300 days in 1844 elucidates that no prophetic period reaches "to the coming of the Lord," so that "no time can again be set for the coming of the Lord."²

Relationship to the Three Angels' Messages

Christ's Second Coming was directly connected with the three angels' messages through four basic concepts. One of those concepts was the idea that the three angels' messages are intended to prepare a people for the Second Coming.³ David Arnold stated in 1853 that "the truths of the three angels' messages" "are calculated to sanctify and prepare a people for translation at the coming of Christ."⁴ In 1856, James White pointed out that it is the receiving or

¹Ibid., Sept. 8, 1863, 116.

²Ibid. See also [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 11," RH, Jan. 21, 1858, 85; idem, "As He Hath Declared to His Servants the Prophets," RH, Aug. 13, 1861, 84-85.

³David Arnold, "Rapology Explained: Or the Origin, Character, Works, and Final Destiny of Satan and His Followers; and a Sketch of the Restitution," RH, July 21, 1853, 36; J. W[hite], "Third Angel's Message," RH, Aug. 7, 1856, 108; [idem], "Great Movement," RH, May 19, 1863, 196; M. Hull, "Mark of the Beast, and Seal of the Living God," RH, Sept. 15, 1863, 121.

⁴D. Arnold, "Rapology Explained," RH, July 21, 1853, 36.

rejection of the third angel's message that ripens "the harvest of the earth" for the Second Coming (Rev 14:14-20).¹ And in 1863, White added that the three angels' messages are intended to "gather out of the rubbish of this treacherous world a loyal people who shall with joy welcome the coming of their King."²

A second concept through which the event of the Second Coming was related to the three angels' messages was the view that since the October 1844 Disappointment, God's remnant people are living in the period of "the patience of the saints" mentioned in the third angel's message (Rev 14:12), waiting for the Second Coming.³ James White referred in 1852 to Hebrews 10:36, 37, which speaks of the "need of patience" in waiting for the Lord's return as "the binder, which fastens the time of the patience of the saints to the period after their disappointment relative to the time of Christ's coming."⁴

The event of the Second Coming was also linked with the three angels' messages through the notion that this

¹J. W[hite], "Third Angel's Message," RH, Aug. 7, 1856, 108.

²[J. White], "Great Movement," RH, May 19, 1863, 196.

³[J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 70-71; [idem], "Patience of the Saints," RH, July 22, 1852, 45; [idem], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Aug. 5, 1852, 52.

⁴[J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Aug. 5, 1852, 52.

event takes place shortly after the third angel finishes the proclamation of his message (Rev 14:14).¹ Yet the ending of that proclamation "should not," according to Ellen White, "be hung on time; for time never will be a test again."²

A fourth connecting concept between the doctrine of Christ's Second Coming and the three angels' messages was the conclusion that this doctrine is part of the "faith of Jesus" alluded to by the third angel (Rev 14:12).³ Equating the faith of Jesus with the teachings of the New Testament, Uriah Smith perceived in 1860 both Christ's Second Coming and the signs of that coming as part of the faith of Jesus.⁴

A few additional indirect links helped to strengthen the relationship between the doctrine of the Second Coming and the three angels' messages. This doctrine was indirectly connected to the second angel's message (Rev 14:8) in J. N. Andrews's 1855 statement that the mystical

¹[J. White], "Babylon," RH, June 24, 1852, 29; [idem], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Aug. 19, 1852, 60; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Feb. 3, 1853, 149; [J. White], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 75; H. Edson, "Times of the Gentiles," RH, Jan. 17, 1856, 122; [U. Smith], "Three Angels' Messages of Rev. xiv," RH, May 29, 1860, 5; [idem], "Our Weak Points," RH, Dec. 22, 1863, 28.

²[E. G. White], Sketch of the Christian Experience, 48. See also U. S[mith], "Why Can We Not Believe in the New Time," RH, Feb. 14, 1854, 29.

³[J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Aug. 5, 1852, 52; [U. Smith], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 2, 1860, 84.

⁴[U. Smith], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 2, 1860, 84.

Babylon, whose fall had been announced by that message, will be finally destroyed "in immediate connection with the Second Advent."¹ The same doctrine was indirectly related by J. N. Loughborough to the third angel's message (Rev 14:9-12) when he remarked in 1861 that Protestantism has been, in its process of becoming the two-horned beast, strongly opposed to the Bible doctrine of the "near coming of the Lord."²

Thus, the Sabbatarian Adventist teaching of Christ's Second Coming was directly connected with both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. The connection with the sanctuary was based on the concept that the Second Coming takes place when Christ, having finished His priestly ministry, comes out of the heavenly sanctuary to this earth. The connection with the three angels' messages was related to the conclusions that (1) these messages are preparing a people for the Second Coming; (2) the "patience of the saints" (Rev 14:12) means the enduring waiting for the Lord's return; (3) the Second Advent takes place shortly after the third angel of Revelation 14 finishes his proclamation; and (4) the Second Coming is part of the "faith of Jesus" mentioned in Revelation 14:12. Allusions were made also to the destruction of Babylon (cf. Rev 14:8)

¹J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Mar. 6, 1855, 187.

²J. N. Loughborough, "Image to the Beast," RH, Jan. 22, 1861, 76.

at the Second Coming and to the opposition to the doctrine of the Second Advent by the two-horned beast (cf. Rev 14:9-11).

Conditional Immortality of the Soul

Refinements of the Doctrine

Some non-Sabbatarian Adventist groups confined their post-1844 mission largely to the preaching of the conditional-immortality-of-the-soul doctrine (cf. Rev 14:13).¹ The Sabbatarian Adventists, on the other hand, defined their mission in terms of the third angel's message (Rev 14:9-12) and only in the early 1850s began to emphasize more explicitly the doctrine of conditional immortality in their preaching. James White explained in 1868 that it was not until the rise of Spiritualism that Sabbatarian Adventists began to realize the importance of the issue.²

The modern revival of Spiritualism was much indebted to the widely reported "mysterious rappings" that were first

¹Under the assumption that the preaching of all three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 had been fulfilled prior to the October 1844 Disappointment, Joseph Turner suggested in 1852 that the post-1844 Adventist mission was "the promulgation of the doctrine of life and death, or immortality only through Christ" as indicated by Revelation 14:13. J. Turner, "Sabbath Question," AW, Mar. 24, 1852, 60. Such non-Sabbatarian Adventist periodicals as the Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate, the (Second) Advent Watchman, and the World Crisis advocated the doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul during the 1850s and early 1860s.

²See J. White, Life Incidents, 154-55.

noticed at the home of the John D. Fox family in Hydesville, New York, in late March 1848,¹ and then in Rochester and other places in western New York.² Influential for that

¹The significance of the 1848 Fox sisters' experience for modern Spiritualism is acknowledged in a cornerstone inscription in the site of the Fox home in Hydesville, New York, which reads as follows, "THE BIRTHPLACE AND SHRINE OF MODERN SPIRITUALISM. ERECTED BY THE MOST GENEROUS CONTRIBUTIONS OF SPIRITUALISTS AND THEIR FRIENDS THE WORLD OVER, IN HONOR OF EVERY GIFTED SPIRITUAL MEDIUM FROM THE TIME OF THE FOX SISTERS IN 1848 TO OUR SPIRITUAL MEDIUMS OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE. THIS CORNER-STONE WAS PURCHASED AND LAID BY THE MINISTRY OF SPIRITUAL AND DIVINE SCIENCE AND FRIENDS, ON JULY 4TH 1855." Copied from a photograph of the original cornerstone taken by Alberto R. Timm in Hydesville, New York, on June 22, 1992. See also Centennial Book of Modern Spiritualism in America (Chicago: National Spiritualist Association of United States of America, 1948), 8-12.

²Insightful contemporary discussions of those "mysterious rappings" are found in Eliab W. Capron and Henry D. Barron, Explanation and History of the Mysterious Communion with Spirits, Comprehending the Rise and Progress of the Mysterious Noises in Western New-York, Generally Received as Spiritual Communications, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Auburn, NY: Capron and Barron, 1850); [Dellon M. Dewey], History of the Strange Sounds or Rappings, Heard in Rochester and Western New-York, and Usually Called the Mysterious Noises! Which Are Supposed by Many to Be Communications from the Spirit World, together with All the Explanation That Can as Yet Be Given of the Matter (Rochester, [NY]: D. M. Dewey, 1850); William T. Cogg[e]shall, The Signs of the Times: Comprising a History of the Spirit-Rappings, in Cincinnati and Other Places; with Notes of Clairvoyant Revelments (Cincinnati, [OH]: The author, 1851); H. Mattison, Spirit Rapping Unveiled! An Exposé of the Origin, History, Theology and Philosophy of Certain Alleged Communications from the Spirit World, by Means of ["]Spirit Rapping," "Medium Writing," "Physical Demonstrations," etc. (New York: Mason Brothers, 1853). For more recent discussion of the subject, see, for example, Ernest Isaacs, "The Fox Sisters and American Spiritualism," in Howard Kerr and Charles L. Crow, eds., The Occult in America: New Historical Perspectives (Urbana, [IL]: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 79-110; Ruth Brandon, The Spiritualists: The Passion for the Occult in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), 1-41.

revival was also the 1852 Cleveland, Ohio, convention called for all those who considered themselves Spiritualists.¹ A report pointed out that by March 1853 there were already "tens of thousands" of mediums and "not less than half a million" of "firm believers" in "Spiritual manifestations" in the United States.²

Believing that such manifestations were part of Satan's end-time deceptions (cf. 2 Cor 11:14; Rev 12:12; 13:13, 14),³ Sabbatarian Adventists dealt during the 1850s and early 1860s with the issues of Spiritualism and the state of the dead in many of their publications.⁴

¹George A. Mather and Larry A. Nichols, Dictionary of Cults, Sects, Religions and the Occult (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1993), 263.

²Spiritual Telegraph, Mar. 26, 1853, quoted in D. Arnold, "Rapology Explained," RH, July 21, 1853, 35.

³As early as March 24, 1849, Ellen White had seen in vision that "the mysterious knocking in N[ew] Y[ork] and other places, was the power of Satan; and that such things would be more and more common." E. G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," PT, no. 3, Aug. 1849, 21.

⁴See e.g., D. Arnold, "Rapology Explained," RH, July 21, 1853, 34-37; [J. White], "Signs of the Times," RH, Aug. 28, 1853, 58-59, 62-63; *ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1853, 65-67, 70-71; *ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1853, 73 (reprinted in *idem*, The Signs of the Times, Showing that the Second Coming of Christ Is at the Doors. Spirit Manifestations, a Foretold Sign That the Day of God's Wrath Hasteth Greatly [Rochester, NY: Review Office, 1853], 36-98); [E. G. White], Supplement to the Christian Experience, 4-10 (reprinted in *idem*, Spiritual Gifts, 1:173-79); D. P. Hall, "Mortality of Man," 7-part series in RH, Aug. 29, 1854, 17-19; Sept. 5, 1854, 25-28; Sept. 12, 1854, 33-36; Sept. 19, 1854, 41-42; Dec. 12, 1854, 129-32; Dec. 19, 1854, 137-39; Dec. 26, 1854, 145-47 (reprinted in *idem*, Man Not Immortal: The Only Shield against the Seductions of Modern Spiritualism [Rochester, NY: Advent Review Office, 1854]); J. N. Loughborough, "Is

Ellen White spoke in 1854 of the doctrine of "the state of the dead" as a present truth. She penned,

I saw that the saints must get a thorough understanding of the present truth, which they will have to maintain from the Scriptures. They must understand the state of the dead; for the spirits of devils will yet appear to them, professing to be beloved friends and relatives, who will declare to them that the Sabbath has been changed, and, also, other unscriptural doctrines.¹

In 1858, White added that "Satan's first lesson upon the immortality of the soul" was given in Eden in his

the Soul Immortal?" 9-part series in RH, Sept. 4, 1855, 33-36; Sept. 18, 1855, 41-43; Oct. 2, 1855, 49-52; Oct. 16, 1855, 57-60; Oct. 30, 1855, 65-68; Dec. 4, 1855, 73-75; Dec. 11, 1855, 81-83; Dec. 18, 1855, 89-91; Dec. 27, 1855, 97-100 (reprinted in idem, An Examination of the Scripture Testimony Concerning Man's Present Condition and His Future Reward or Punishment [Rochester, NY: Advent Review Office, 1855], 3-187); M. E. Cornell, "Immortality of the Soul--Frank Confession," RH, June 3, 1856, 110; [Uriah Smith], "Annihilation," RH, Feb. 21, 1856, 164; [idem], "Progress of Truth and Error," RH, May 15, 1856, 36; J. H. W[aggoner], "The Nature and Tendency of Modern Spiritualism," 7-part series in RH, Nov. 26, 1857, 17-18; Dec. 3, 1857, 25-26; Dec. 17, 1857, 42-43; Dec. 24, 1857, 49-50; Jan. 7, 1858, 65-66; Jan. 28, 1858, 89-90; Feb. 4, 1858, 97-99; [U. Smith], "By Their Fruits," RH, June 17, 1858, 36; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:113-19; J. H. W[aggoner], "Dr. Randolph and Spiritualism," RH, Jan. 6, 1859, 52-53; [Uriah Smith], "Mortal or Immortal? Which? or, An Inquiry into the Present Constitution and Future Condition of Man," 6-part series in RH, Sept. 1, 1859, 113-15; Sept. 8, 1859, 121-23; Sept. 15, 1859, 129-31; Sept. 22, 1859, 137-39; Sept. 29, 1859, 145-48 Oct. 6, 1859, 153-56; [idem], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Mar. 1, 1860, 116-17; E. G. W[hite], "Phrenology, Psychology, Mesmerism, and Spiritualism," RH, Feb. 18, 1862, 94-95; Moses Hull, "The Mission of Spiritualism," RH, Mar. 25, 1862, 131-32; R. F. Cottrell, "Is Man Immortal?" RH, Oct. 20, 1863, 164; D. M. Canright, "Origin of the Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul and Eternal Misery," 2-part series in RH, Dec. 8, 1863, 9-10; Dec. 15, 1863, 21-22; B. F. Snook, "The Time of Rewards and Punishment," RH, Dec. 29, 1863, 33-34.

¹[E. G. White], Supplement to the Christian Experience, 6.

slanted statement to Eve, "Ye shall not surely die" (Gen 3:4). Since that time Satan has succeeded in leading many to "believe that the words of God, The soul that sinneth it shall die [Ezek 18:4, 20], mean that the soul that sinneth it shall not die, but live eternally in misery."¹

Under the theory of the natural immortality of the soul, Satan was seen as leading people to believe either that the sinners will "live in eternal misery" or that all saints and sinners "will at last be saved" in God's kingdom. While the first belief causes people to perceive God as "a revengeful tyrant," the second leads them away from spiritual concerns. Against such beliefs, White stated that at the end of the Millennium all the wicked, including Satan and his angels, will be finally destroyed.²

In 1860, Uriah Smith pointed out that "the modern teaching of the consciousness of man in death" renders "wholly useless" the Bible teaching of "the resurrection of the body" (cf. 1 Cor 15). Smith inquired, "if at death the righteous enter the presence of God where there is fullness of joy, and the wicked descend to their place of punishment, *what need is there of a resurrection?*"³

¹E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:113-14. See also idem, "The Power of Satan," RH, May 6, 1862, 187.

²E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:114-19, 217-18.

³[U. Smith], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 2, 1860, 84.

Replying to the question, "Do you make the belief in the non-immortality of the soul a test of fellowship?" James White stated in 1861 that "the truth, not we, does the testing."¹ In 1862, Uriah Smith added that "the sleep of the dead" and "the destruction of the wicked" were tests of fellowship.²

During that same period (1850-1863), Sabbatarian Adventists continued to associate the doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul with the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

Relationship to the Sanctuary

The doctrine of conditional immortality of the soul was indirectly related to the sanctuary through two main ideas. One was the awareness that the unconscious state of the dead is foundational to the preadvent investigative judgment of the saints, which is being carried on in the heavenly sanctuary.³

A second indirect linking idea between the conditional immortality of the soul and the sanctuary was the view that the gift of immortality will be granted to the saints at Christ's Second Coming, which takes place shortly

¹[James White], "Questions," RH, July 23, 1861, 60.

²U. S[mith], "Visions a Test," RH, Jan. 14, 1862, 53.

³See pp. 282-84, above.

after He finishes His priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary.¹ G. H. Holt, for example, penned in 1851 that "the work of the High Priest in the Sanctuary is almost finished," and soon "the sleeping multitude, that no man can number," "will be seen rising from their dusty beds, clothed with glorious immortality, and, with the living that are changed, be caught up to meet the Lord in the air."²

Relationship to the Three Angels' Messages

Several connections between the doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul and the three angels' messages were suggested during the 1850s and early 1860s. This doctrine was directly linked to the third angel's message through three basic concepts. One of those concepts was the idea that this doctrine is part of the "faith of Jesus" mentioned in the third angel's message (Rev 14:12). Regarding the faith of Jesus as embracing all the teachings of the New Testament, Uriah Smith suggested in 1860 that "the great doctrine of the resurrection of the body" (1 Cor 15), which presupposes the unconsciousness of the dead, is part of the faith of Jesus.³

¹See pp. 368-69, above.

²G. W. Holt, "The Covenant Made in Horeb," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 66.

³[U. Smith], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 2, 1860, 84. Cf. [Uriah Smith], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Mar. 1, 1860, 116-17.

Another link was the belief that immortality would be the final reward of those who follow the third angel's message (Rev 14:12). James White stated in 1856 that those "who really keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus, will be ripened for immortality."¹

A third concept by which the doctrines of the conditional immortality of the soul and the final annihilation of the wicked were directly related to the third angel's message is the references to the "wine of the wrath of God" and the torment "with fire and brimstone" (Rev 14:10). James White suggested in 1851 that the message of the third angel contains not only "a warning of the terrors of the first death" through the seven last plagues (Rev 16) but also a description of the "scene of torment at the second resurrection, when the wicked dead will be raised with bodies capable of standing in the presence of the Lamb and the holy angels." This later scene was regarded as culminating in the final destruction of the wicked by fire (Rev 20:7-15).²

The teachings of the conditional immortality of the soul and the unconscious state of the dead were also regarded by James White in 1853 as safeguards against the

¹J. W[ite], "Third Angel's Message," RH, Aug. 7, 1856, 108.

²[J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 70.

Spiritualist delusions of the Babylon referred to in the second angel's message (Rev 14:8).¹

Significant indirect links between the doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul and the three angels' messages were suggested also through the antithetical theory of the natural immortality of the soul. One of those links was the notion that modern Spiritualistic manifestations, based on the natural-immortality-of-the-soul theory, arose as parallel counterfeits to those messages. David Arnold suggested in 1853 that "Satan with his legions of fallen angels" was using "Psychology, Mesmerism, and the so-called spirit manifestations" to blind the minds of the people "to the truths of the three angels' messages which are calculated to sanctify and prepare a people for translation at the coming of Christ."² In 1856, Uriah Smith added that simultaneously "with the rise of the third Angel's Message," "the last merciful warning to a world in danger, commenced [*sic*] the wonders of Psychology, Mesmerism, and Spiritualism, the last great deception of the Enemy of all truth."³

¹[J. White], "Sings of the Times," RH, Sept. 8, 1853, 70-71. See also idem, "Babylon," RH, Mar. 10, 1859, 122-23.

²D. Arnold, "Rapology Explained," RH, July 21, 1853, 36.

³[U. Smith], "Progress of Truth and Error," RH, May 15, 1856, 36.

Another indirect connection between the conditional immortality of the soul and the three angels' messages was the concept that the theory of the natural immortality of the soul is one of the main teachings of Babylon mentioned in the second angel's message (Rev 14:8). James White stated in 1853 that the theories "that all men have immortality, and that the dead have knowledge," which form "the very basis of Spiritualism," are "found in all the creeds of Babylon."¹ And in 1855, J. N. Andrews identified "the doctrine of natural immortality of the soul" as one of the false doctrines that comprises "the wine of the wrath of" Babylon's fornication (Rev 14:8).²

A third indirect link between the conditional immortality of the soul and the three angels' messages was the idea that Spiritual manifestations are part of the "wonders" performed by the two-horned beast in his efforts to lead people to worship the ten-horned best (Rev 13:12, 13; cf. 14:9, 11). J. N. Loughborough placed in 1854 "the astounding wonders of *Spirit Manifestations*" among those "wonders."³

¹[J. White], "Sings of the Times," RH, Sept. 8, 1853, 70-71. See also idem, "Babylon," RH, Mar. 10, 1859, 122-23.

²J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Mar. 6, 1855, 185.

³J. N. Loughborough, "Two-horned Beast," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 74.

References were also made to God's warning in Isaiah 8:19, 20 to seek "the law" and "the testimony" instead of the "familiar spirits" as suggesting that Spiritualistic manifestations are in direct opposition to "the commandments of God, and the faith" or "testimony of Jesus Christ" referred to in the third angel's message (Rev 14:12; cf. 12:17).¹

The doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul was also indirectly linked to the third angel's messages through the blessing found in Revelation 14:13 for those who "die in the Lord." James White stated in 1856 that Revelation 14:13 "pronounces the blessing upon those who die in the Lord during the Third Message."² In 1863, Uriah Smith suggested that the blessing mentioned in Revelation 14:13 is for "those who have fallen asleep under" the third angel's message, and who will be "raised according to Dan. xii, 2, a short time previous to their translation" to be among the 144,000 "living saints at the time of Christ's second coming."³

Thus, Sabbatarian Adventists continued to connect the doctrine of conditional immortality of the soul to both

¹H. Edson, "Commandments of God, and the Mark of the Beast," RH, Sept. 2, 1852, 65; I. Sanborn, "Here Are They that Keep the Commandments of God," RH, Oct. 20, 1863, 161.

²J. W[hite], "Third Angel's Message," RH, Aug. 14, 1856, 116.

³U[riah] S[mith], "The One Hundred and Forty-four Thousand," RH, Oct. 20, 1863, 166.

the sanctuary and the three angels' message. This doctrine was indirectly related to the sanctuary through (1) the idea that the unconscious state of the dead is foundational to the preadvent investigative judgment of the saints, which is being carried on in the heavenly sanctuary, and (2) the view that the gift of immortality will be granted to the saints at Christ's Second Coming, which takes place shortly after He finishes His priestly ministry in that sanctuary.

The doctrine of conditional immortality of the soul was also directly linked to the three angels' messages through (1) the idea that this doctrine is part of the "faith of Jesus" mentioned in the third angel's message (Rev 14:12); (2) the notion that the gift of immortality will be the final reward of those who follow the third angel's message (Rev 14:12); (3) the view that the final annihilation of the wicked, which is subservient to the teaching of the conditional immortality of the soul, is the final result of the outpouring of the "wine of the wrath of God" and the torment "with fire and brimstone" referred to in the third angel's message (Rev 14:10); and (4) the conclusion that the teachings of the conditional immortality of the soul and the unconscious state of the dead are safeguards against the Spiritualist delusions of the Babylon referred to in the second angel's message.

Indirect links between the doctrine under consideration and the three angels' messages were suggested

through (1) the notion that modern Spiritualistic manifestations, based on the natural-immortality-of-the-soul theory, arose as parallel counterfeits to those messages; (2) the concept that the theory of the natural immortality of the soul is one of the main teachings of Babylon mentioned in the second angel's message; (3) the idea that Spiritual manifestations are part of the "wonders" performed by the two-horned beast in his efforts to lead people to worship the ten-horned best (Rev 13:12, 13; cf. 14:9, 11); (4) the conclusion that those manifestations are in direct opposition to "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" referred to in the third angel's message (Rev 14:12; cf. Isa 8:19, 20; Rev 12:17); and (5) the blessing found in Revelation 14:13 for those who "die in the Lord" during the third angel's message.

Gift of Prophecy

Refinements of the Doctrine

Strong opposition was raised against Ellen White's prophetic gift during the 1850s and early 1860s. That opposition derived not only from non-Sabbatarian Adventists¹ but also from alleged Sabbatarian Adventists

¹O. R. L. Crozier, "Brief Tour," AHBA, Aug. 16, 1851, 70; M. A. Seymour, "Seventh Day Sabbath," AHBA, Jan. 31, 1852, 264; A. N. Seymour, "Delusion.--E. White's Visions," AHBA, Mar. 26, 1853, 323; idem, "From Bro. A. N. Seymour," AHBA, Feb. 4, 1854, 529 (actually 259); idem, "The Shut Door Sabbatarians," AHBA, June 3, 1854, 395; M. A. Seymour, "The Cleansing of the Sanctuary," AHBA, June 10,

associated with the "age-to-come" theory,¹ the "Messenger" party,² and the "Marion" party.³

Sabbatarian Adventists authored several articles in response to that opposition.⁴ One of the main concepts furthered by those articles was the abiding nature of the

1854, 403.

¹See J. W[hite], "Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Present Truth," RH, Jan. 14, 1858, 77.

²See Joseph Bates, "Letter from Bro. Bates," RH, Jan. 26, 1860, 76-77.

³See B. F. Snook, "A Rebel Conference," RH, Jan. 6, 1863, 46; U[riah] S[mith], "The Secession Movement in Iowa," RH, Jan. 13, 1863, 52-53.

⁴See e.g., [James White], "The Gifts of the Gospel Church," RH, Apr. 21, 1851, 69-70 (reprinted with the omission of two sentences in RH, June 9, 1853, 13-14 and RH, Oct. 3, 1854, 60-61); [idem], "Dreams," RH, Apr. 21, 1851, 70-71; idem, "A Test," RH, Oct. 16, 1855, 61-62; idem, "Testimony of Jesus," RH, Dec. 18, 1855, 92-93; David Arnold, "Visions and Dreams: Their Origin, Nature, and Utility," RH, Feb. 28, 1856, 170-72; J. W[hite], "Gifts," RH, Feb. 28, 1856, 172-73; idem, "Unity and Gifts of the Church," 4-part series in RH, Dec. 3, 1857, 29; Dec. 10, 1857, 37; Dec. 31, 1857, 60-61; Jan. 7, 1858, 68-69; R. F. C[ottrell], "Spiritual Gifts," RH, Feb. 25, 1858, 125-26 (reprinted with the omission of one paragraph and the addition of another nine paragraphs in E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:5-16, and RH, Mar. 24, 1859, 137-39); [Uriah Smith], "The Gift of Tongues," RH, May 6, 1858, 196; idem, "Visions a Test," RH, Jan. 14, 1862, 52-53; idem, "Objections to the Visions," RH, Jan. 21, 1862, 62-64; [James White], "Perpetuity of Spiritual Gifts," 4-part series in RH, Feb. 4, 1862, 76-77; Feb. 11, 1862, 84; Feb. 18, 1862, 92-93; Feb. 25, 1862, 100; [idem], "Questions," RH, Feb. 1862, 77; R. F. Cottrell, "There Is a Place of Rest," RH, Mar. 11, 1862, 116; W. H. Ball, "A Confession," RH, May 6, 1862, 179; Oliver Hoffer, "Spiritual Gifts," RH, June 17, 1862, 23; S. T. Cranson, "Spiritual Gifts," RH, Oct. 21, 1862, 162-62 (written in 1855); D. T. Bourdeau, "Spiritual Gifts," RH, Dec. 2, 1862, 5-6; U[riah] S[mith], "Do We Discard the Bible by Endorsing the Visions?" RH, Jan. 13, 1863, 52.

gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor 12:28; Eph 4:11-14), with specific reference to the gift of prophecy. James White, for example, argued in 1851 that instead of being "designed for a limited portion of the gospel age," the gifts of the Spirit were intended "to exist in the church as long as the saints in their mortal state needed the teaching of the Bible and the Holy Spirit." Support for an end-time manifestation of the gift of prophecy promised in Joel 2:28-32 was found in the fact that this promise is for the last days, and "the last days certainly extend to the Second Advent." The events on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2) were seen by White as having fulfilled only *partially* that promise, because (1) the signs in the sun and moon, and "the wonders in the heavens and in the earth" (Joel 2:30, 31) were not seen on that day, and (2) "there is no evidence that any of the disciples had visions" on that day, "and it is not at all likely that any of them were asleep, dreaming dreams on that very exciting occasion."¹

Another major concept fostered by the Sabbatarian Adventist articles on the gifts of the Spirit was the need for a modern manifestation of the gift of prophecy. James White declared in 1851 that since the purpose of the gifts is to bring God's people into "the unity of the faith" (Eph 4:13) and the Christian church is today more divided than

¹[J. White], "Gifts of the Gospel Church," RH, Apr. 21, 1851, 69-70. See also [idem], "Perpetuity of Spiritual Gifts," RH, Feb. 25, 1862, 100.

ever before, the gifts are "tenfold more necessary now to bring together the scattered members of the body of Christ."¹ In 1856, David Arnold stated that God's purpose in granting the gift of prophecy in the last days (cf. Joel 2:28-32) is to purify "to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works, which are to stand with the Lamb on mount Zion, having the Father's name written in their foreheads" (Rev 14:1).² And in 1858, R. F. Cottrell suggested that if "a special work of the Spirit was necessary to prepare a people for the first Advent of Christ," such a work is "much more" needed in regard to the Second Coming, because "the last days were to be perilous beyond all precedent" (cf. 2 Tim 3:1) and many false prophets would appear trying to deceive "the very elect" (Matt 24:24).³

In addition to the abiding nature of the gifts of the Spirit and the need for a modern manifestation of the gift of prophecy, Sabbatarian Adventists dealt quite extensively during the 1850s and early 1860s with the relationship between the prophetic gift and the Bible. James White, for instance, pointed out in 1851 that the purpose of a modern manifestation of the gift of prophecy

¹[J. White], "Gifts of the Gospel Church," RH, Apr. 21, 1851, 69.

²D. Arnold, "Visions and Dreams," RH, Feb. 28, 1856, 171.

³R. F. C[ottrell], "Spiritual Gifts," RH, Feb. 25, 1858, 125-26.

was to bring people back to the true teachings of the Bible. Since the burden of every Christian is "to take the Bible as a perfect rule of faith and duty," those who turn from the Scriptures to learn their "duty through any of the gifts" take "an extremely dangerous position." "But," White continued, "if a portion of the church err from the truths of the Bible," we should allow God to correct such shortcoming through "the gifts of the Spirit."¹ Also in 1851, Ellen White herself wrote:

I recommend to you, dear reader, the word of God as the rule of your faith and practice. By the Word we are to be judged. God has, in that Word, promised to give visions in the "LAST DAYS;" not for a new rule of faith, but for the comfort of his people, and to correct those who err from [B]ible truth.²

Seeking to avoid the prejudice of non-Sabbatarians, the editors of the Review published "none of the visions [of Ellen White] in the paper for nearly five years" (1850-1855).³ Thus, in response to the charge that "the REVIEW and its conductors make the views of Mrs. White a Test of doctrine and [C]hristian fellowship," James White came out on October 16, 1855, with the following statement:

¹[J. White], "Gifts of the Gospel Church," RH, Apr. 21, 1851, 70.

²[E. G. White], Sketch of the Christian Experience, 64.

³A. L. White, Ellen G. White, 1:326-27. Some of Ellen White's vision were published, in the early 1850s, in RH Extra, July 21, 1851, [1-3, 4]; [E. G. White], Sketch of the Christian Experience; and [idem], Supplement to the Christian Experience.

What has the REVIEW to do with Mrs. W[hite]'s views? The sentiments published in its columns are all drawn from the Holy Scriptures. No writer of the REVIEW has ever referred to them as authority on any point. The REVIEW for five years has not published one of them. Its motto has been, "The Bible, and the Bible alone, the only rule of faith and duty." Then why should these men charge the REVIEW with being a supporter of Mrs. W.'s views?¹

The attempt to avoid external prejudice by not publishing Ellen White's visions in the Review facilitated, however, the widespread internal state of indifference to those visions that characterized Sabbatarian Adventism by the mid-1850s. The Sabbatarian leaders, who gathered at the November 1855 Battle Creek, Michigan, conference repented for having neglected the visions.² This marked the beginning of a new emphasis on spiritual gifts within Sabbatarian Adventism.³

Addressing again the relationship between the gift of prophecy and the Bible, James White declared in 1856 that the object of the gifts of the Spirit is not to "supercede the necessity of searching the Scriptures for truth and duty" but "to lead out his people into the broad field" of

¹J. W[hite], "Test," RH, Oct. 16, 1855, 61.

²See [James White], "The Conference," RH, Dec. 4, 1855, 75; Joseph Bates and Uriah Smith, "Business Proceedings of the Conference at Battle Creek, Mich.," ibid., 76; Joseph Bates, J. H. Waggoner, and M. E. Cornell, "Address of the Conference Assembled at Battle Creek, Mich., Nov. 16th, 1855," ibid., 78-79; E. G. White, "Communication from Sister White," RH, Jan. 10, 1856, 118.

³See A. L. White, Ellen G. White, Messenger to the Remnant, 52-53; idem, Ellen G. White, 1:326-36.

Bible truth.¹ In 1863, Uriah Smith explained further that Seventh-day Adventists obeyed "the Bible by endorsing the visions." Smith illustrated this principle through the image of a voyage, in which the owner of a vessel gives "a book of directions" to the crew before they start their cruise. By reading the book, the crew realizes that while containing instructions for the "whole journey," it also promises "a pilot" to help face the challenges of "quicksands and tempests" at the last part of the voyage. But when that pilot appears and offers his services, some of the crew raise up against him, claiming that they have "the original book of directions" and that is enough for them. Then Smith inquired, "Who now heed that original book of directions? those who reject the pilot, or those who receive him, as that book instructs them?"²

The gifts of the Spirit and the making of a creed were portrayed by James White in 1861 as in direct opposition to one another. White explained that if the Lord would give "new light" through the gifts, His people would have either to "remain true to the gifts" and give up the creed or to remain bound to the creed and bar up "the way to all future advancement."³

¹J. W[white], "Gifts," RH, Feb. 28, 1856, 172.

²U. S[mith], "Do We Discard the Bible by Endorsing the Visions?" RH, Jan. 13, 1863, 52.

³[James] White, in J. Bates, "Doings of the Battle Creek Conference," RH, Oct. 8, 1861, 148.

That by the early 1860s the gift of prophecy was already regarded as a major Seventh-day Adventist doctrine is evident from the fact that the gifts of the Spirit were referred to by that time as a condition for becoming a Seventh-day Adventist. J. N. Loughborough, for instance, stated in 1861 that "we do not take" into the fellowship of the church any who "reject the gifts of the Spirit of God, if we know it."¹ And in 1862, Uriah Smith explained that

the perpetuity of the gifts is one of the fundamental points in the belief of this people; and with those who differ with us here, we can have union and fellowship to no greater extent than we can with those who differ with us on the other important subjects of the coming of Christ, baptism, the Sabbath, &c.²

Following the same strategy previously used in regard to the Sabbath issue,³ James White offered in 1862 "a reward of \$500 to any one who will find one text in the New Testament which teaches that the gifts have been by divine authority taken from the church."⁴

Speaking of the unifying role played by the gift of prophecy within the Seventh-day Adventist community, James White stated in 1863 that "the faith of our people in the perpetuity of spiritual gifts has saved them from those

¹J. N. Loughborough, "A Letter Answered," RH, Nov. 5, 1861, 181.

²U. S[mith], "Visions a Test," RH, Jan. 14, 1862, 53.

³See pp. 339-40, above.

⁴[J. White], "Perpetuity of Spiritual Gifts," RH, Feb. 11, 1862, 84.

schisms which have rent others," especially the non-Sabbatarian Adventists.¹

Significant in the development of the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the gift of prophecy was also the relationship between this gift and the teachings of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

Relationship to the Sanctuary

Several components of the sanctuary theology had been confirmed and clarified, as noted earlier,² through some of Ellen White's early visions. Her Great Controversy vision (March 14, 1858) provided further endorsement of the 1844 beginning of Christ's ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary (cf. Dan 8:14; Rev 11:19) within the context of the proclamation of the three angels' messages (Rev 14:6-12).³

An indirect link between the gift of prophecy and the sanctuary was suggested by Francis Gould in 1854. Gould argued that while "the great High Priest is in the Most Holy Place, blotting out the errors of his people," the "gifts" are "placed in the church for the express purpose of

¹[J. White], "Great Movement," RH, May 19, 1863, 196.

²See pp. 166-68, above.

³E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:133-73, 193-201.

bringing to light and exposing those errors which have been undesignedly committed by God's people" (Jas 5:19, 20).¹

Relationship to the Three Angels' Messages

Up to 1850, only a few sparse references to the three angels' messages had appeared in Ellen White's writings.² It was not until the publication of the 1858 Great Controversy vision that a major confirmation of the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the three angels' messages (Rev 14:6-12) came from the pen of Ellen White.³

Meanwhile, Sabbatarian Adventists directly connected the gift of prophecy with the three angels' messages through the concept that this gift is part of the "faith of Jesus" mentioned in the third angel's message (Rev 14:12). James White hinted in 1855 at such a connection by equating the "gift of prophecy" with the "testimony of Jesus Christ" (Rev 12:17; cf. 19:10; 22:9),⁴ which he elsewhere interpreted as synonymous with the "faith of Jesus" of Revelation 14:12.⁵ In 1857, M. E. Cornell defined the "Faith of Jesus"

¹F. Gould, "From Bro. Gould," RH, Oct. 24, 1854, 87.

²See pp. 168-69, above.

³E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:133-73, 193-201.

⁴J. W[white], "Testimony of Jesus," RH, Dec. 18, 1855, 92-93.

⁵[J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 71; idem, "Revelation Twelve," RH, Jan. 8, 1857, 76.

specifically as the "spirit of prophecy."¹ And in 1860, Uriah Smith spoke of "the gifts of the Spirit" as part of the teachings of the New Testament that comprise the "faith of Jesus."²

An indirect link between the gift of prophecy and the three angels' messages was also suggested through the notion that this gift would be restored during the proclamation of the third angel's message to that church that would obey this message.³ James White, for example, stated in 1854 that the gifts of the Spirit would be given to the remnant under the condition of living that portion of "the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12) "which relates to the present duty."⁴

In 1856, David Arnold explained that the gifts of the Spirit might be expected "in that church who," after coming out of the world and of Babylon through the proclamations of the first and second angels' messages (Rev 14:6-8), are now "following on to know the Lord" by keeping "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" (Rev

¹M. E. Cornell, "Conferences in Michigan," RH, Mar. 26, 1857, 165.

²[U. Smith], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 2, 1860, 84.

³[J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Mar. 7, 1854, 53; D. Arnold, "Visions and Dreams," RH, Feb. 28, 1856, 171; J. W[hite], "Gifts," ibid., 172; R. F. C[ottrell], "Spiritual Gifts," RH, Feb. 25, 1858, 125-26; idem, "There Is a Place of Rest," RH, Mar. 11, 1862, 116; U. S[mith], "Do We Discard the Bible by Endorsing the Visions?" RH, Jan. 13, 1863, 52.

⁴[J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Mar. 7, 1854, 53.

14:12) and striving to live "by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God" (Matt 4:4).¹ And in 1862, R. F. Cottrell added that "visions have accompanied the third message from its very rise."²

Thus, endorsements of the Sabbatarian Adventist teachings of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages were still provided during the 1850s and early 1860s by Ellen White's prophetic gift. Of special significance, though, was the integration of this gift as a doctrine with both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. An indirect connection between the gift of prophecy and the sanctuary was suggested through the view that while Christ is blotting out the sins of His people in the heavenly sanctuary, this gift is placed in the church for the exhortation of God's people.

The gift of prophecy was directly related to the three angels' messages through the concept that this gift is part of the "faith of Jesus" mentioned in the third angel's message (Rev 14:12). An indirect link between the same gift and the three angels' messages was suggested through the notion that this gift would be restored during the proclamation of the third angel's message to that church that would obey this message.

¹D. Arnold, "Visions and Dreams," RH, Feb. 28, 1856, 171.

²R. F. Cottrell, "There Is a Place of Rest," RH, Mar. 11, 1862, 116.

A Maturing System of Doctrines

Sabbatarian Adventists expanded significantly during the 1850s and early 1860s the doctrinal system they started to develop shortly after the October 1844 Disappointment. That expanding process was still carried on under the basic assumption that the present abiding truths of Scripture form a harmonious whole, connected by the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

Chapter 2 of this study pointed out (1) some of the major characteristics of the Sabbatarian Adventist system of present truth, (2) the integrating function of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages within that system, and (3) the configuration of the system as of 1850.¹ The following pages consider (1) some of the foundational themes of the system, (2) the configuration of the system as of 1863, and (3) a few major post-1863 developments related to the system.

Foundational Themes of the System

An analysis of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system shows that the sanctuary and the three angels' messages were directly related to other foundational themes of that system. This section surveys the interrelationship between such themes as (1) God, (2) the cosmic controversy,

¹See pp. 169-211, above.

(3) the covenant, (4) the sanctuary, (5) the three angels' messages, and (6) the remnant.¹

God

No formal doctrine of God was developed by Sabbatarian Adventists between 1844 and 1863. Yet, their publications reflected during that period a popular Christian Connection belief² that the Nicene Trinity formula was a non-biblical concept that confuses the distinct personalities of the Father and the Son.³ This

¹A few previous attempts to correlate some of these themes have been made in Alberto R. Timm, "The Sanctuary as an [sic] Unifying Principle" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1989); idem, "The Sanctuary System and Its Relationship to the Three Angels' Messages and the Platform of Truth" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1991); idem, "The Relationship between the Covenant and the Sanctuary in Early Seventh-day Adventism" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1991).

For further study of the concept that the integration of a theological system should not be restricted to the role played by one single theme but rather take into consideration the broader spectrum of interrelated themes, see, for instance, Gerhard F. Hasel, Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate, 4th ed., rev., updated & enl. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1991), 139-71; idem, New Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1978), 140-70; Vern S. Poythress, Symphonic Theology: The Validity of Multiple Perspectives in Theology (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987).

²An insightful discussion of the development of the Christian Connection anti-Trinitarian views between 1800 and 1844 is provided in Thomas H. Olbricht, "Christian Connection and Unitarian Relations, 1800-1844," RQ 9 (third quarter 1966): 160-86.

³See e.g., Bates, Autobiography, 204-5; J. White, "Letter from Bro. White," DS, Jan. 24, 1846, 25; Bates, Vindication, 69-70; [J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Aug. 5, 1852, 52; idem, "Western Tour," RH, June 9, 1853, 12;

Arian position died out between the 1890s and the 1940s in Seventh-day Adventist circles.¹

God was perceived by early Sabbatarian Adventists as involved in a *cosmic controversy* with Satan and his angels. That controversy was described as (1) having started in heaven when Lucifer became jealous of the Son of God and rebelled against the sovereignty of God (cf. Isa 14:12-14; Rev 12:7-9); (2) extending throughout human history (cf. Rev 12:9-17); and (3) ending with the final triumph of God and

J. M. Stephenson, "Atonement," RH, Nov. 14, 1854, 105; idem, "Atonement," RH, Nov. 21, 1854, 114; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Mar. 6, 1855, 185; J[ames] W[hite], "'Preach the Word'," RH, Dec. 11, 1855, 85; idem, "The Word," RH, Feb. 7, 1856, 149; Sarah Haselton, "From Sister Haselton," RH, July 10, 1856, 87; J. B. F[riskie], "The Trinity," RH, Mar. 12, 1857, 146; R. Rockwood, "From Bro. Rockwood," RH, Oct. 29, 1857, 207; J. N. Loughborough, "Questions for Bro. Loughborough," RH, Nov. 5, 1861, 184.

¹For further study of the early Seventh-day Adventist anti-Trinitarian views, see Christy M. Taylor, "The Doctrine of the Personality of the Holy Spirit as Taught by the Seventh-day Adventist Church up to 1900" (B.D. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1953); Erwin R. Gane, "The Arian or Anti-Trinitarian Views Presented in Seventh-day Adventist Literature and the Ellen G. White Answer" (M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 1963); Russell Holt, "The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination: Its Rejection and Acceptance" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1969); Froom, Movement of Destiny, 146-87 (cf. book review by C. Mervyn Maxwell in AUSS 10 [1972]: 121-22); Hans Varmer, "Analysis of the Seventh-day Adventist Pioneer Anti-Trinitarian Position" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1972); J. Daryll Ward, "Reasons for Anti-Trinitarianism among Early Adventist Authors" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1973); C. M. Maxwell, "J. M. Stephenson: The Atonement," in idem, ed., "Source Book for the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Theology," 382-83.

His allies over Satan and his confederates (cf. Rev 20:7-10, 15).¹

Within the context of this controversy, God was described as offering salvation through His covenant to the human beings in their fallen condition. God's salvation was regarded as becoming effective only for those who, being justified by faith in Christ (cf. Rom 3:9-31), obey, by God's grace, the commandments of God, which are the basis of the old and new covenants (cf. Exod 34:27, 28; Jer 31:31-33; Heb 8:8-10).²

The God who made those covenants was seen as having dwelt temporarily in the earthly sanctuary (Exod 25:8) and as abiding permanently in the heavenly sanctuary/temple (cf. Isa. 6:1; Rev 7:15). The earthly sanctuary was described by O. R. L. Crosier as "the heart of the typical system," where "the Lord placed his name, manifested his glory, and held converse with the High Priest relative to the welfare of

¹Up to 1863, the most extended Sabbatarian Adventist general overview of that controversy was found in Ellen G. White's Spiritual Gifts, vol. 1.

²J. N. Andrews, "Perpetuity of the Law of God," 2-part series in RH, Jan. 1851, 33-37; Feb. 1851, 41-43; H. Edson, "Two Laws," RH, Oct. 7, 1851, 37; Joseph Bates, "Seventh-day Sabbath," RH, May 26, 1853, 3; J. C. Day, "Letter from Bro. Day," RH, Aug. 28, 1853, 61; idem, "The Abrahamic Covenant," RH, Oct. 25, 1853, 121-23; Joseph Baker, "The Covenants," 2-part series in RH, Feb. 7, 1854, 17-19; Feb. 14, 1854, 25-27; J. H. Waggoner, "The Law of God: An Examination of the Testimony of Both Testaments," RH, July 18, 1854, 186-87, 190; idem, "Law of God," RH, July 25, 1854, 193-96.

Israel."¹ David Arnold spoke of God's throne as located "above the Mercy-seat, between the covering Cherubims," in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary.²

From His heavenly sanctuary God sent, according to the Sabbatarian Adventists, the *three angels' messages* to proclaim His last warning messages to the world (Rev 14:6-12). Such messages of divine origin were perceived as calling people back to God and His truth.³

Through the preaching of those messages God was raising up His end-time remnant people (Rev 12:17). These people were viewed as obeying "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12).⁴

The Cosmic Controversy

References to a cosmic controversy between good and evil are found not only within the Jewish-Christian tradition but also in the sacred writings of other ancient religions.⁵ Sabbatarian Adventists, however, further

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 38.

²D. Arnold, "Rapology Explained," RH, July 21, 1853, 34.

³See pp. 302-35, above.

⁴See pp. 324-30, above.

⁵A helpful study of the concept of a cosmic controversy between good and evil in the ancient religious writings of the Egyptians, Mesopotamians, Vedic Indians, Zoroastrians, Jews, and Christians is provided by Norman Cohn, Cosmos, Chaos and the World to Come: The Ancient Roots of Apocalyptic Faith (New Haven, [CT]: Yale University

extended the Christian view of that controversy¹ and used it as the framework for their theological thinking.²

The ultimate conflicting powers of this cosmic controversy were identified as *God* and *Satan*. In his opposition to *God*, *Satan* was described not only as instigating people to worship a great variety of counterfeit gods (cf. Exod 20:3)³ but also as alleging through Spiritualism that human beings themselves can become like gods (cf. Gen 3:4-5).⁴

Within this controversy, *God* was viewed as making His covenant of salvation to liberate human beings from the

Press, 1993).

¹An insightful nineteenth-century exposition of the non-Sabbatarian Christian view of the cosmic controversy is found in H. L. Hastings, The Great Controversy between God and Man: Its Origin, Progress, and End (Rochester, NY: H. L. Hastings, 1858). This book was critically reviewed in "Book Notice," RH, Mar. 18, 1858, 144.

²See pp. 177-81, above. A helpful, more recent Seventh-day Adventist study of the origin of the cosmic-controversy concept, with special reference to Isaiah 14:12-15 and Ezekiel 28:12-19, is provided in José M. Bertoluci, "The Son of the Morning and the Guardian Cherub in the Context of the Controversy between Good and Evil" (Th.D. diss., Andrews University, 1985).

³J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 6, 1853, 129; *ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1853, 145-46; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 17," RH, Mar. 11, 1858, 132; [*idem*], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 1, 1863, 108.

⁴D. P. Hall, "Spiritualism," RH, Dec. 26, 1854, 145-46; J. N. Loughborough, "Is the Soul Immortal?" RH, Sept. 18, 1855, 42-43; J. B. Frisbie, "Immortality of the Soul a Fable," RH, July 23, 1857, 94; J. H. W[aggoner], "Nature and Tendency of Modern Spiritualism," RH, Dec. 24, 1857, 49; M. E. Cornell, "'Let God Be True': Rom. iii, 4," RH, June 3, 1858, 22.

bondage of Satan and to prepare them to live in His own everlasting kingdom (cf. Gen 3:15). Satan, on the other side, was seen as always trying to overthrow that covenant by hindering people from accepting it and by leading those who once embraced it to break it (cf. Isa 24:5).¹

A major struggle between two antithetical sanctuary motifs was described as unfolding throughout human history. On one side was seen God's true sanctuary motif moving typologically from (1) the first sacrifice offered after the fall (cf. Gen 3:21) to (2) the tabernacle of Moses (Exod 25-31, 35-40), (3) the temple of Solomon (1 Kgs 5-8; 1 Chr 2-7), (4) the temple of Zerubbabel (Ezra 1-6), and, finally, (5) the heavenly sanctuary/temple (Heb 8:1, 2; 9:11, 12; Rev 11:19; 14:17; 15:5; 16:17).² On the other side of the struggle, Satan's counterfeit sanctuary motif was perceived as developing from (1) the worship of "strange gods" (Deut 32:16, 17) to (2) the temple of Dagon (Judg 16:23, 24), (3) the rival sanctuary at Bethel and the worship of golden calves (1 Kgs 12:26-33; Amos 7:13), (3) the temple of Belus at Babylon, where the vessels of Jehovah's temple were deposited (Dan 1:2; Ezra 1:7; 5:14; 2 Chr 36:7), (4) the

¹J. C. Day, "Abrahamic Covenant," RH, Oct. 25, 1853, 121-23; David Arnold, "The Oneness of the Church and the Means of God's Appointment for Its Purification and Unity," RH, June 26, 1855, 249-51; J. H. W[aggoner], "Kingdom of God.--No. 4," RH, Sept. 18, 1856, 157.

²J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 6, 1853, 131; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 77; idem, "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 52.

Roman Pantheon or "asylum of all the gods," and, lastly, (5) the Papal abomination that turned "away mankind from the mediation of Christ in the heavenly Sanctuary" (Dan 8:11-13; 9:31; 2 Thess 2:4).¹

The three angels' messages were seen both as restoring God's truth in the context of the widespread papal apostasy and as drawing the final dividing line between those who "keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12; cf. 12:17) and those who "worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark" (Rev 14:9, 11).² Meanwhile, Satan and his angels were portrayed by Ellen White as influencing "the minds of individuals" to make void those messages by placing their respective proclamations either in "the future" or "far back in the past."³

¹[J.] W[white], "Our Present Position," RH, Jan. 1851, 28-29; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 6, 1853, 129; *ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1853, 138; *ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1853, 145-46; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 17," RH, Mar. 11, 1858, 132; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 1, 1863, 108.

²J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 85; [J. White], "Sabbath and Ten Commandments Taught and Enforced in the New Testament," RH, June 2, 1851, 90; E. P. Butler, "From Bro. Butler," RH, Aug. 5, 1851, 7; D. Arnold, "Rapology Explained," RH, July 21, 1853, 36; Joseph Bates, "From Bro. Bates," RH, Sept. 19, 1854, 48; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Apr. 3, 1855, 203-4; *ibid.*, Apr. 17, 1855, 209; R. F. C[ottrell], "Mark of the Beast," RH, Aug. 6, 1857, 109; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:162-68; M. Hull, "Mark of the Beast, and Seal of the Living God," 3-part series in RH, Sept. 15, 1863, 121-22; Sept. 22, 1863, 129-30; Sept. 29, 1863, 137-38.

³E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:166.

The remnant were perceived in the context of the cosmic controversy as those who, because of their loyalty to God, have to face the wrath of Satan (Rev 12:17) and of the two-horned beast (Rev 14:9-12).¹ Ellen White declared that the only safe position for God's people within this controversy was to keep one's eyes on Jesus (cf. Heb 12:2).² James White added that God's remnant people are protected in the war with the dragon by "the whole armor of God" (Eph 6:11-17; 2 Cor 10:3, 4).³

¹H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 11-12; [J. White], "To Ira Fancher," RH, Mar. 1851, 52; J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 85; [J. White], "Sabbath and Ten Commandments Taught and Enforced in the New Testament," RH, June 2, 1851, 90; E. P. Butler, "From Bro. Butler," RH, Aug. 5, 1851, 7; O. Nichols, "The Dragon, the Beast, and the False Prophet," RH, Mar. 2, 1852, 98-99; J. N. Andrews, "Sabbath: Letter to O. R. L. Crozier.--No. VI," RH, July 22, 1852, 45; [J. White], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 75; W. S. Ingraham, "Thoughts on the Institution and Perpetuity of the Sabbath," RH, May 16, 1854, 130; U. S[mith], "Relation Which the Sabbath Sustains to Other Points of Present Truth," RH, July 25, 1854, 196; [J. White], "Position of the Remnant," RH, Sept. 12, 1854, 36; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Apr. 3, 1855, 204; M. E. Cornell, "Last Work to the True Church," RH, Apr. 3, 1855, 206; J. W[hite], "Testimony of Jesus," RH, Dec. 18, 1855, 92-93; [U. Smith], "Who Are the Remnant?" RH, Feb. 23, 1856, 176; J. W[hite], "Revelation Twelve," RH, Jan. 8, 1857, 76; J. N. Loughborough, "Two Horned Beast of Rev. xiii," RH, July 17, 1857, 81.

²[E. G. White], Sketch of the Christian Experience, 61.

³[J. White], "Position of the Remnant," RH, Sept. 12, 1854, 36. See also A. S. Hutchins, "Almost Home," RH, June 10, 1858, 32.

The Covenant

Up to 1863, Sabbatarian Adventist expositions of the Bible teaching on the covenants were largely of an apologetic nature.¹ Those expositions were intended mainly to demonstrate that the replacement of the old covenant by the new neither abrogated nor changed the Decalogue and the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath (cf. Deut 4:13; Jer 31:31-33; Matt 5:17-19; Rom 3:31; Heb 8:8-10; 10:16).²

¹For contemporary non-Sabbatarian Adventist expositions on the covenants, see, for instance, O. R. Fassett, "The Two covenants," 3-part series in AH, Oct. 5, 1850, 283; Oct. 12, 1850, 291-92; Oct. 19, 1850, 298-99; W. E. Hitchcock, "The Two Covenants, and the Gathering of the Tribes of Israel into Their Own Land," 2-part series in AH, Mar. 20, 1852, 94; Mar. 27, 1852, 102; "The Covenant of Promise," 2-part series in AHBA, Aug. 28, 1852, 81-82; Sept. 4, 1852, 89-90 (reprinted from the English Literalist); Joel A. Simonds, "The New Covenant.--What Is It?" AHBA, Jan. 8, 1853, 234-35; J. Hemmenway, "The Two Covenants," 2-part series in WC, June 11, 1856, [1-2]; June 18, 1856, [1] (part 2 was reprinted in June 25, 1856, [1]); B. P. Hildreth, "The Covenant with Abraham and His Faith," WC, July 9, 1856, [4].

²See e.g., Otis Nichols, "Remarks on 2 Cor. iii, 6-18," RH, Apr. 7, 1851, 63; Hiram Edson, "The Holy Covenant," RH, May 5, 1851, 80; [J. White], "Sabbath," RH, Dec. 9, 1851, 62-63; G. W. Holt, "Covenant Made in Horeb," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 65-66; idem, "Covenants," RH, Jan. 13, 1852, 76-77; J. H. Waggoner, "The New Covenant," RH, May 26, 1853, 1-2; J. Bates, "Seventh-day Sabbath," ibid., 2-3; J. C. Day, "Abrahamic Covenant," RH, Oct. 25, 1853, 121-23; J. Baker, "Covenants," 2-part series in RH, Feb. 7, 1854, 17-19; Feb. 14, 1854, 25-27; [Uriah Smith], "Hebrews viii, 6-13," RH, Aug. 19, 1858, 108; [idem], "The Covenants," RH, Apr. 12, 1860, 162; Moses Hull, "The Two Laws, and Two Covenants," 4-part series in RH, Apr. 22, 1862, 165-66; Apr. 29, 1862, 173-74; May 6, 1862, 181; May 13, 1862, 189; idem, "Bible Doctrine on the Old and New Covenant," RH, Aug. 4, 1863, 74.

For a more detailed study on the development of the Seventh-day Adventist understanding of the covenants, see Johan A. Japp, "The Sinaitic Covenant: A Study of the Nature of the Sinaitic Covenant in the Writings of Seventh-day

The Bible covenants were regarded as the basis of God's salvific relationship with His people. The transition from the old to the new covenant was viewed as marked by the death of the Son of God as "the testator" (Heb 9:15-17),¹ which installed Him as "the messenger" (Mal 3:1)² and "the mediator" (Heb 8:6)³ of the new covenant. John C. Day referred to Genesis 3:15 as an "everlasting covenant" in which "Christ was presented as a covenant for the people."⁴

Satan was regarded within the context of the *cosmic controversy* as distorting the meaning of the God's covenants (cf. Isa 24:5). One of his most evil strategies was seen as the theory that the new covenant releases those who accepted Christ from obeying the whole Decalogue, which had been at

Adventist Authors, with an Analysis and Evaluation of Their Positions in the Light of Scripture and the Work of E. G. White" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1978); Timm, "Relationship between the Covenant and the Sanctuary in Early Seventh-day Adventism."

¹J. N. Andrews, "Perpetuity of the Law of God," RH, Feb. 1851, 43; idem, "Discourse with Brother Carver," RH, Sept. 16, 1851, 29; G. W. Holt, "Covenant," RH, Jan. 13, 1852, 76.

²J. Bates, "Seventh-day Sabbath," RH, May 26, 1853, 3; M. E. Cornell, "Last Work of the True Church," RH, May 15, 1855, 229.

³Joseph Bates, "The Holy Sabbath," RH, Apr. 7, 1851, 58; G. W. Holt, "Covenants," RH, Jan. 13, 1852, 76; J. Bates, "Seventh-day Sabbath," RH, May 26, 1853, 3; J. Waggoner, "Law of God," RH, July 18, 1854, 187, 190; [U. Smith], "Hebrews viii, 6-13," RH, Aug. 19, 1858, 108.

⁴J. C. Day, "Abrahamic Covenant," RH, Oct. 25, 1853, 121.

the core the old covenant (Deut 4:13).¹ On the other hand, God was viewed as counteracting this Satanic attempt by fulfilling the promise (Jer 31:31-33; cf. Heb 8:8-10; 10:16) of writing "his laws in the hearts of the true Israel with the Holy Spirit" while "Jesus is mediator in the Sanctuary."²

Both the old and the new covenants were seen as having their related sanctuaries. As the old covenant had "a worldly sanctuary" (Heb 9:1), so the new covenant has a heavenly one (cf. Heb 8:2; 9:11, 23, 24).³ Uriah Smith stated that when Paul "connects with that first covenant a Sanctuary and ordinances of divine service [Heb 9:1], he as clearly implies that the second will have a Sanctuary with divine service also."⁴ M. E. Cornell spoke of Christ in

¹E. P. Butler, "Dear Bro. Chamberlain," RH, Dec. 1850, 20; D. Arnold, "Oneness of the Church," RH, June 26, 1855, 251.

²G. W. Holt, "Covenant Made in Horeb," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 66.

³O. R. L. Crosier, "Law of Moses," DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, 38; G. W. Holt, "Covenants," RH, Jan. 13, 1852, 76; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 20, 1853, 138-39; idem, "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, May 12, 1853, 205; U. S[mith], "Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 9, 1855, 156-57; J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary and Its Cleansing," RH, Oct. 30, 1855, 68; [U. Smith], "History of the Worldly Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 21, 1856, 124; [idem], "Sanctuary of the New Covenant," RH, Oct. 2, 1856, 172; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 15," RH, Feb. 18, 1858, 116-17; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 4, 1863, 76-77; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 11, 1863, 84.

⁴[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 15," RH, Feb. 18, 1858, 116.

His post-1844 ministry as the "messenger of the covenant [Mal 3:1] in the second apartment of the Sanctuary" in heaven.¹

The basic message of the new covenant was seen as comprised of "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" proclaimed by the *third angel* of Revelation 14 (vs. 12).² E. R. Seaman insisted that "our only refuge from the gathering storm is to keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus, while our High Priest is finishing up the work of the New Covenant."³ M. E. Cornell stated that to keep "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12) is the most "appropriate covenant" for God's people.⁴

Those who kept the new-covenant message of "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" were regarded

¹M. E. Cornell, "Last Work of the True Church," RH, May 15, 1855, 229.

²Roswell F. Cottrell, "From Bro. Cottrell," RH, Sept. 2, 1851, 23; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 71; Josiah Hebner, "From Bro. Hebner," RH, Mar. 3, 1853, 168.

³E. R. S[eaman], "The True Question at Issue," RH, June 24, 1852, 32.

⁴[M. E.] Cornell, in J. Bates, "Doings of the Battle Creek Conference," RH, Oct. 8, 1861, 148.

as God's remnant people (Rev 12:17; 14:12).¹ Hiram Edson spoke of the remnant as "God's covenant keeping people."²

The Sanctuary

The founders of Seventh-day Adventism dealt quite extensively with the subject of the sanctuary. This subject played, as already demonstrated, a major integrative role in the formation of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system.

Both the earthly and the heavenly sanctuaries were seen as God's dwelling places. While the former was recognized as a dwelling place for God during the first covenant (Exod 25:8), the latter was considered as His permanent habitation (cf. Isa 6:1; Rev 7:15).³ J. N. Andrews spoke of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 as "the habitation of the only living and true God."⁴

The heavenly sanctuary was perceived as protecting the present truths within the context of the *cosmic controversy*. Uriah Smith spoke of that sanctuary as the

¹H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 4; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 71; S. B. Warren, "Another Year Has Gone," RH, Jan. 14, 1858, 78.

²H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, 4.

³J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 6, 1853, 129-30; [J. White], "Sanctuary and 2300 Days," RH, Mar. 17, 1853, 173; U. Smith, "Sanctuary," RH, Mar. 28, 1854, 77; *ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1854, 85; [idem], "History of the Worldly Sanctuary," RH, Aug. 21, 1856, 124; [idem], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 14," RH, Feb. 11, 1858, 108.

⁴J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 6, 1853, 129.

"bulwark of truth on every hand."¹ For James White, the sanctuary was "a citadel of strength" that protects "our system of truth."² R. F. Cottrell referred to the sanctuary in heaven as the "citadel of present truth."³

Both the earthly and the heavenly sanctuaries were seen as material expressions of the respective covenants they belonged to (cf. Heb 9:1, 23, 24). The antitypical sanctuary of the new covenant was regarded as being as real as the typical sanctuary of the first covenant.⁴ The sanctuary services were viewed as the means by which God bestowed to His people the salvific blessings of the covenant.⁵

Sabbatarian Adventists saw the sanctuary theology as proclaimed in an eschatological setting by the *three angels'* messages of Revelation 14:6-12. The first of those angels was seen as having announced the impending cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary (Dan 8:14) to take place during the post-October 1844 "hour of his judgment" (Rev 14:7).⁶ The

¹[U. Smith], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 8, 1863, 116.

²[J. White], "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 1, 1863, 5.

³R. F. Cottrell, "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 15, 1863, 21.

⁴See p. 254, above.

⁵U[riah] S[mith], "Prepare Ye the Way of the Lord," RH, May 30, 1854, 148; J. H. Waggoner, "Law of God," RH, July 18, 1854, 187; U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 52.

⁶See pp. 302-5, above.

second angel (Rev 14:8) was viewed as having freed many Millerites from the creed-bondage of the churches so that they could accept the sanctuary message.¹ The third angel (Rev 14:9-12) was regarded as preaching the sanctuary-integrated system of present truth with emphasis on "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" (vs. 12).²

Those who embrace the teachings connected with Christ's two-phase heavenly sanctuary ministry were considered to be God's end-time remnant people.³

The Three Angels' Messages

Sabbatarian Adventists saw the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 as the very center of their message and mission. Their sequential understanding of these messages was decisive for the formation of the doctrinal system proclaimed under the third angel's message (vss. 9-12). J. N. Andrews even stated in 1855 that "at the

¹See pp. 194-95, above; [J. White], "Babylon," RH, June 24, 1852, 82 (actually 28); Uriah Smith, "The Warning Voice of Time and Prophecy," RH, Apr. 28, 1853, 193; [J. White], "Gospel Order," RH, Dec. 6, 1853, 173; [U. Smith], "The Babel of Christendom," RH, Sept. 24, 1857, 164.

²See pp. 324-30, 359-61, above.

³S. O. Hitchcock, "From Bro. Hitchcock," RH, Dec. 13, 1853, 184; [James White], "'Our Last Paper'," RH, Oct. 24, 1854, 88; Stephen Pierce, "'Be Ye Angry and Sin Not': Eph. iv, 26," RH, Dec. 11, 1855, 87; Frederick Wheeler, "'Ye Are the Light of the World'--Matt. v, 14," RH, Dec. 18, 1856, 54.

present time, no portion of the Holy Scriptures more deeply concerns the church of Christ than Rev. xiv."¹

Both the mission and the messages of those three angels were regarded as of *divine* origin. The mission of those angels was perceived as installed and carried on under God's leadership.² Their messages were seen not only as derived from God and as leading to Him and His truth (Rev 14:6, 7, 12) but also as rebuking all departures from that truth (vss. 8-11).³

According to the Sabbatarian Adventists, the preaching of the three angels' messages was preparing the world for the final scenes of the *cosmic controversy* between good and evil. The proclamation of the third message was perceived as bringing about the eschatological polarization between those who stand on the side of God and His truth (Rev 14:12) and those who follow Satan and his counterfeit teachings (Rev 14:9, 11).⁴

The three angels' messages were regarded as proclaiming God's *covenant* message to the world in its

¹J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, 161.

²[James White], "The Work of the Lord," RH, May 6, 1852, 4-5; O. A. Wheeler, "Extracts from Letters," RH, Oct. 23, 1856, 199; R. F. Cottrell, "Appeal to Seventh-day Baptists," RH, Dec. 4, 1856, 37; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:133-73, *passim*.

³See pp. 302-35, above.

⁴See p. 404, above.

eschatological setting. James White saw the proclamation of the third angel's message as comprising the restoration (1) of "the commandments of God," "which are binding during both the old and new dispensations," and (2) of "the faith of Jesus," "peculiar to the new covenant."¹

Those messages were seen as calling people's attention to the solemn events related to Christ's priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary in connection with the ending of the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14.² James White stated in 1854 that "the subject of the Sanctuary was to be opened to the waiting flock, in the period of the third message" of Revelation 14:9-12.³

The same messages were also perceived as raising up God's end-time remnant people (cf. Rev 12:17; 14:12) and preparing them for the second coming (Rev 14:14). The third angel (Rev 14:9-12), in particular, was seen as (1) uniting "the remnant of God's people" on "the primitive, apostolic platform--the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus,"⁴

¹[J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 71.

²See pp. 359-61, above.

³[J. White], "Twenty-three Hundred Days," RH, Apr. 18, 1854, 100.

⁴R. F. C[ottrell], "Unity of the Remnant Church," RH, Mar. 10, 1859, 125. See also U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 54; Geo[rge] Busk, "The Third Angel's Message," RH, Feb. 2, 1860, 87.

and (2) sanctifying and preparing that remnant to enter the gates of the New Jerusalem (Rev 12:12; 22:14).¹

The Remnant

Sabbatarian Adventists considered themselves as God's end-time remnant people.² Their concept of the "remnant" was derived largely from Revelation 12:17, which defines the remnant as those who "keep the commandments of

¹D. Arnold, "Rapology Explained," *RH*, July 21, 1853, 36; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," *RH*, Apr. 17, 1855, 211; Albert Stone, "Letter from Bro. Stone," *RH*, Jan. 29, 1857, 101; J[ames] W[hite], "The Third Message," *RH*, Nov. 3, 1859, 188; Geo[rge] Busk, "The Third Angel's Message," *RH*, Feb. 2, 1860, 87.

²For more recent Seventh-day Adventist discussions on the remnant, see Gerhard F. Hasel, The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah, Andrews University Monographs, vol. 5 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1972); Keith Crim, ed., The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, suppl. vol. (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1976), s.v. "Remnant," by G. F. Hasel; Lindsay J. Laws, "Do We Still Believe that We Are the Remnant Church?" *AuR*, Nov. 5, 1983, 4; Charles Scriven, "The Real Truth about the Remnant," *Sp* 17 (Oct. 1986): 6-13; Geoffrey W. Bromiley, ed., The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1988), s.v. "Remnant," by G. F. Hasel; Seventh-day Adventists Believe..., 152-69; Hans K. LaRondelle, "A People of Prophecy," 8-part series in *AtR*, June 1, 1989, 8-10; June 8, 1989, 10-12; June 15, 1989, 8-10; June 22, 1989, 12-14; June 29, 1989, 11-13; July 6, 1989, 11-13; July 13, 1989, 10-12; July 20, 1989, 8-10; Provonsha, Remnant in Crisis; Santo Calarco, "God's Universal Remnant," *Min*, Aug. 1993, 5-7, 30; Norman R. Gulley, "The Remnant: An End-time People," *AtR*, Oct. 7, 1993, 8-11; Clifford Goldstein, The Remnant (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1994); Johannes Mager, ed., Die Gemeinde und ihr Auftrag, Studien zur adventistischen Ekklesiologie, vol. 2 (Bern: Biblisches Forschungskomitee der Euro-Afrika-Division, Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten, 1994); Kenneth D. Mulzac, "The Remnant Motif in the Context of Judgment and Salvation in the Book of Jeremiah" (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1995).

God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ."¹ This led James White to the conclusion that the remnant is comprised of those "Christians of the last generation who are embraced in the Sabbath reform, and who keep all of the commandments of God."²

The concept of the remnant was applied exclusively to those whose lives had been dedicated to God. This dedication was perceived by M. E. Cornell as implied by the name "Seventh-day Adventists," which "points to both the Father and Son." Cornell explained that (1) by keeping the seventh-day Sabbath, "we have the Father's name written upon our foreheads," for that day is "God's memorial, and the only shield against idolatry"; and (2) by waiting for the

¹See e.g., [James White], RH, Apr. 7, 1851, 63; [idem], "Sabbath and Ten Commandments Taught and Enforced in the New Testament," RH, June 2, 1851, 90; [idem], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 4," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 71; J. N. Andrews, "Sabbath: Letters to O. R. L. Crozier.--No. 6," RH, July 22, 1852, 45; A. H. Hutchins, "The Sabbath," RH, Jan. 6, 1853, 134; R. F. Cottrell, "From Bro. Cottrell," RH, Mar. 3, 1853, 167; B. Clark, "Two Horned Beast," RH, Oct. 19, 1853, 117-18; [J. White], "Faith of Jesus," RH, Feb. 28, 1854, 44; [idem], "Position of the Remnant," RH, Sept. 12, 1854, 36; M. E. Cornell, "Last Work of the True Church," RH, Apr. 3, 1855, 206; [Uriah Smith], "Who Are the Remnant?" RH, Feb. 28, 1856, 176; J. W[hite], "Revelation Twelve," RH, Jan. 8, 1857, 76; J. N. Loughborough, "Two-horned Beast of Rev. xiii," RH, July 16, 1857, 81; J. W[hite], "Unity and Gifts of the Church. No. 3," RH, Dec. 31, 1857, 60.

²J. W[hite], "Unity and Gifts of the Church. No. 3," RH, Dec. 31, 1857, 60.

imminent Second Coming, our hope is placed upon the Son of God.¹

Although protected by God's sheltering power, the remnant were perceived as still exposed to the tribulation derived from the *cosmic controversy* between the forces of good and the powers of evil (cf. Eph 6:12). By keeping "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12) the remnant was regarded as raising Satan's wrath against themselves.² This wrath was seen as expressed through the two-horned beast's coercive attempts (1) to lead all human beings to "worship the [ten-horned] beast and his image, and receive his mark" (Rev 14:9, 11),³ and (2) to persecute all those who do not accept that worship and that mark.⁴

¹M. E. Cornell, "'Making Us a Name'," RH, Nov. 19, 1861, 197.

²J. Bates, "New Testament Seventh Day Sabbath," RH, Jan. 1851, 32; J. N. Andrews, "Perpetuity of the Law of God," RH, Jan. 1851, 36-37; H. Edson, "Two Laws," RH, Oct. 7, 1851, 39-40; G. W. Holt, "Covenant Made in Horeb," RH, Dec. 23, 1851, 65-66; O. Nichols, "The Dragon, the Beast, and the False Prophet," RH, Mar. 2, 1852, 98-99; U. S[mith], "Relationship Which the Sabbath Sustains to Other Points of Present Truth," RH, July 25, 1854, 196; J. W[hite], "Testimony of Jesus," RH, Dec. 18, 1855, 92-93; idem, "Gifts--Their Objective," RH, Feb. 28, 1856, 172; idem, "Where Are We?" RH, Dec. 11, 1856, 45; J. W[hite], "Unity and Gifts of the Church. No. 3," RH, Dec. 31, 1857, 60; R. F. C[ottrell], "Spiritual Gifts," RH, Feb. 25, 1858, 126.

³See pp. 321-22, above.

⁴J. N. Andrews, "Remarks of O. R. L. Crozier on the Institution, Design and Abolition of the Sabbath. Reviewed," RH, Feb. 17, 1852, 93; G. W. Holt, "Day of the Lord," RH, Mar. 23, 1852, 107; J. W[hite], "Revelation Twelve," RH, Jan. 8, 1857, 76; J. N. Loughborough, "Two-horned Beast of Rev. xiii," RH, July 16, 1857, 81; N. G. Sanders, "Facts vs.

Sabbatarian Adventists saw the personal covenant-commitment of the whole life to God as a basic characteristic of the true remnant. This was considered as implying a personal relationship with God and as obeying God's will as expressed in Scripture. Nobody could keep a covenant relationship with God, according to Sabbatarian Adventists, while consciously disregarding the abiding teachings of the Scriptures (cf. Matt 7:21).¹

The remnant was perceived as composed of those who follow Christ by faith in His priestly ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary (cf. Heb 6:19, 20).² Uriah Smith counseled his readers in 1858:

Never lose sight of the Sanctuary. . . . In the hours of darkness, trial, temptation and persecution, look to the Sanctuary. There is light and glory there. There help has been laid upon one that is mighty. There

Unbelief," RH, Sept. 30, 1858, 150.

¹H. Edson, "Holy Covenant," RH, May 5, 1851, 80; J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 85; [J. White], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 73; S. T. Belden, "The Importance of Obedience," 4-part series in RH, Oct. 11, 1853, 110-11; Oct. 18, 1853, 118-19; Oct. 25, 1853, 124-26; Nov. 1, 1853, 133-34; J. M. Stephenson, "Atonement," RH, Dec. 5, 1854, 122; J. W[HITE], "Testimony of Jesus," RH, Dec. 18, 1855, 93; J. H. W[AGGONER], "Sabbath," RH, Oct. 30, 1856, 204; W. Phelps, "Communication from Bro. Phelps," RH, Mar. 18, 1858, 143.

²W. S. Ingraham, "Parable--Matt. xxv," RH, June 9, 1853, 10; S. Pierce, "'Be Ye Angry and Sin Not'," RH, Dec. 11, 1855, 87; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 19," RH, Mar. 25, 1858, 148; [idem], "Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 8, 1863, 116.

our High Priest ministers for us; and thither our hope has entered, within the vail [sic]. Heb. vi, 19, 20.¹

God's remnant people were seen as raised by the three angels' messages not only to live by these messages but also to proclaim them to the world.² Ellen White saw these messages as "an anchor to hold the body" of God's people and to shield it "against the many delusions of Satan."³ James White challenged that "a MISSIONARY spirit should be cherished by those who profess" the third angel's message.⁴

Thus, Sabbatarian Adventists saw a close interrelationship between such foundational themes as (1) God, (2) the cosmic controversy, (3) the covenant, (4) the sanctuary, (5) the three angels' messages, and (6) the remnant. An analysis of the linkages between those themes shows that the subjects of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages were not regarded as ends in themselves. These subjects were perceived as integrally dependent on

¹[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 19," RH, Mar. 25, 1858, 148.

²J. W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 15; J. N. Andrews, "Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12," RH, Jan. 23, 1855, 162; [J. White], "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," RH, Apr. 24, 1856, 12; idem, "The Third Angel's Message," RH, Sept. 4, 1856, 141; idem, "Judgment," RH, Jan. 29, 1857, 100-1; G. Busk, "Third Angel's Message," RH, Feb. 2, 1860, 87.

³E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:166.

⁴J. W[hite], "Third Angel's Message," RH, Sept. 4, 1856, 141.

such transcendent realities as God, the cosmic controversy, and the covenant, with the missiological purpose of preparing a remnant people worthy to live with God throughout eternity.

The discussion focuses now on some further developments that took place within the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system during the 1850s and early 1860s. Special attention is given to the integrative role played by the sanctuary and the three angels' messages within that system.

Configuration of the System

During the 1850s and early 1860s, the founders of Seventh-day Adventism continued to develop the basic doctrinal system they had established during the second half of the 1840s. The following pages consider (1) major refinements that took place between 1850 and 1863 within that system, and (2) the pictorial descriptions used up to 1863 to describe specific functions of the system.

Major Refinements of the System

Significant refinements took place within the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system during the period under consideration (1850-1863). Of special significance for the present study are (1) the broadening of the concept of present truth and (2) the improvement of the connections between the major doctrinal components of the system and the

integrating factors of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

Sabbatarian Adventists broadened significantly their concept of present truth during that time (1850-1863). That broadening was due to the addition of several new doctrinal components to the early nucleus of present truths (developed up to 1850).¹ For example, the doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul, which was still excluded by 1850 from the nucleus of present truths,² became part of that nucleus during the 1850s.³ Similarly, Ellen White's prophetic gift, which had been regarded up to 1850 more as a sign and a function than as an explicit doctrine,⁴ was also integrated into that nucleus during the 1850s and early 1860s.⁵

This enlarged concept of present truth was expressed in several statements penned by Sabbatarian Adventists in the late 1850s and early 1860s. Uriah Smith, for instance, defined in 1857 the present truth for "the age in which we live" as "a concentration of all truth" pertinent to this end-time generation. This was due, according to Smith, to the fact that "here the chains of prophecy all center, and

¹See pp. 198-202, above.

²See p. 159, above.

³See pp. 373-85, above.

⁴See pp. 165-66, above.

⁵See pp. 392-96, above.

here they terminate," and "a final work of decision and judgment [is] now being accomplished in the courts of heaven."¹

The following year (1858), Smith referred to the present truth in terms of a *system* of truth. He spoke of the inner consistency of that system as follows:

The present truth is harmonious in all its parts; its links are all connected; the bearing of all its portions upon each other are like clock-work; but break out one cog, and the work is stopped; break one link, and the chain is broken; let down one stitch and we may unravel the whole.²

A similar broad present-truth concept was also expressed by James White when he declared in 1863 that this concept includes (1) "truths which have been developed in the course of time, and which show us the position we occupy in the great chains of prophetic events, now hasting to their accomplishment"; (2) "duties which are now especially incumbent upon the church"; (3) "the interpretation of those symbols, which represent bodies of men, and organized governments which are now on the stage of action, fast fulfilling their part in the great drama"; and (4) "the solemn events that immediately follow all these prophecies and symbols." In "the front rank of present truth" White placed (1) "the third angel giving the last message of mercy

¹[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 1," RH, Nov. 12, 1857, 4.

²[Uriah Smith], "Are the Seven Last Plagues in the Future?" RH, Jan. 7, 1858, 72.

to the world"; (2) "our great High Priest consummating the work of salvation in the most holy of the sanctuary above"; (3) "the two-horned beast making ready for the conflict"; and (4) "the seventh angel blowing his trumpet of woe upon the inhabitants of the earth."¹

While the concept of present truth was being broadened, significant refinements were taking place in the relationship between the main Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines and the integrating factors of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. Those refinements comprised not only the development of several new connections between those doctrines and the integrating factors but also the strengthening of connections previously developed.

By 1850, while the doctrines of the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath, Christ's heavenly ministry, and Christ's Second Coming were directly connected to those integrating factors,² the doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul was only indirectly linked to the same integrating factors.³ Meanwhile, Ellen

¹[James White], "The Head and Front of Present Truth," RH, Dec. 15, 1863, 20.

²See pp. 139-44, 147-50, 153-56, above.

³See pp. 159-62, above.

White's prophetic gift was perceived as confirming the interrelationship between major components of the system.¹

Between 1850 and 1863, the relationship between the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath, Christ's heavenly ministry, and Christ's Second Coming and the integrating factors was strengthened either by the development of new connections or by the improvement of linkages previously established.² In addition, the doctrines of the conditional immortality of the soul and the gift of prophecy were related directly to those angels' messages and indirectly to the sanctuary.³

Among the factors that advanced the development of new connections was the broadening of the correlated concepts of the present truth⁴ and "the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12). By viewing the faith of Jesus as comprising all the teachings of the New Testament, Sabbatarian Adventists linked to the third angel's message not only such major distinctive doctrines as Christ's heavenly ministry, Christ's Second Coming, the conditional immortality of the soul, and the gift of prophecy⁵ but also several other New

¹See pp. 166-69, above.

²See pp. 345-51, 357-62, 368-73, above.

³See pp. 378-85, 393-96, above.

⁴See pp. 421-23, above.

⁵See pp. 361, 371, 379, 394-95, above.

Testament teachings.¹ By regarding their doctrines as part either of "the commandments of God" (i.e., God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath) or of "the faith of Jesus" (i.e., almost all other doctrines) mentioned in Revelation 14:12, Sabbatarian Adventists could refer to their doctrinal system as the third angel's message.²

Each of these doctrinal refinements was regarded by Uriah Smith as having a strengthening influence upon the whole system of present truth. Smith explained in 1854:

Such is the connection, relation and dependence of one great truth upon another, that every additional evidence upon one, proportionably strengthens all the rest; and thus, by this reciprocal strength which each point furnishes to the others, the great platform of truth is established, on which God's people will finally be found standing, and which will abide the test of the great day.³

Meanwhile, Sabbatarian Adventist authors continued to emphasize during the 1850s and early 1860s the foundational integrative role played by the sanctuary and the three angels' messages within their doctrinal system of present truth. Ellen White, for instance, penned in 1851 the following insightful words:

There are many precious truths contained in the word of God, but it is "*present truth*" that the flock needs now. I have seen the danger of the messengers running off from the important points of present truth, to dwell upon subjects that are not calculated to unite the

¹See pp. 326-30, above.

²See pp. 195, 292-93, above.

³U. S[mith], "Relation Which the Sabbath Sustains to Other Points of Present Truth," RH, July 25, 1854, 196.

flock, and sanctify the soul. Satan will here take every possible advantage to injure the cause.

But such subjects as the Sanctuary, in connection with the 2300 days [Dan 8:14], the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus [Rev 14:12], are perfectly calculated to explain the past Advent movement, show what is our present position, and establish the faith of the doubting, and give certainty to the glorious future. These, I have frequently seen, were the principal subjects on which the messengers should dwell.¹

In 1858, J. Clarke spoke of the "consistency and beauty of the cleansing of the Sanctuary at the end of the 2300 days [Dan 8:14], connected with the three messages and two-horned beast [Rev 14:6-12]."²

The *theological-historical* integration provided by the sanctuary³ was confirmed by the role played within that system by such major components of Daniel 8:14 as (1) the 2300 days, (2) the sanctuary, and (3) the cleansing of the sanctuary.

The ending of the 2300 days in the autumn of 1844 continued to be seen as providing the basic chronological axis for the integration of the system. James White stated in 1850 that the prophetic period of the 2300 days "has been, and still is, the main pillar of the Advent faith."⁴ And in 1858, Uriah Smith spoke of the 2300 days saying,

¹[E. G. White], Sketch of the Christian Experience, 51.

²J. Clarke, "The Third Angel's Message," RH, Jan. 7, 1858, 72.

³See pp. 188-93, above.

⁴[James] W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 13.

"There stands that great period in the past like a monument of truth; and no efforts have been able to shake its foundation or to overthrow its structure."¹

With the autumn of 1844 as the main historical turning point for the present truth, Sabbatarian Adventists viewed the sanctuary and its cleansing as playing basic integrative functions within their doctrinal system. James White, for example, stated in 1853 that the subject of the sanctuary "lies at the foundation of our faith and hope."² And in 1854, he added that

as the typical sanctuary of the Jews was the center of their religious system, so the "greater and more perfect Tabernacle" above, of which Jesus Christ is a High Priest [Heb 9:11], forms the center of all gospel truth.³

Similarly, Uriah Smith declared in 1855 that as the earthly sanctuary "was the heart and center of the typical system," so the heavenly sanctuary is the "glorious center" of "the present dispensation" "around which cluster the

¹[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 11," RH, Jan. 21, 1858, 85.

²James White, "Remarks on This Work," typeset added in 1853 into all unsold copies of the AR 48-page Special, Sept. 1850; reprinted in Early S.D.A. Periodicals: Facsimile Reproductions of the Present Truth and the Advent Review (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, [1946]), last page.

³[J. White], "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 5, 1854, 124. See also [idem], "Daniel Chapters viii and ix," RH, Apr. 30, 1857, 203-4.

eternal interests of man."¹ In 1856, Smith explained further that around the sanctuary "cluster our eternal interests" and with it "is connected almost every branch of present truth."²

On December 1, 1863, James White referred to the sanctuary as "one of the most important, beautiful and harmonious subjects that can, at the present time, engage the mind of man."³ Two weeks later, R. F. Cottrell added that "the sanctuary in heaven is the grand center of the Christian system, as the earthly was of the typical."⁴

The cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary was perceived by Uriah Smith as the *raison d'être* for the preaching of the three angels' messages. He pointed out in 1855 that "if the 2300 days have ended, the cleansing of the Sanctuary is going on." But "if the Sanctuary is not yet being cleansed, it involves all three of the angels of Rev. xiv, in a failure."⁵

While the sanctuary was viewed as integrating the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system *theological-*

¹U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 52. See also [idem], "Sanctuary of the New Covenant," RH, Oct. 2, 1856, 173.

²[U. Smith], "Comprehensive View of the Sanctuary," RH, Jan. 24, 1856, 132.

³[J. White], "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 1, 1863, 4.

⁴R. F. Cottrell, "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 15, 1863, 21.

⁵U. S[mith], "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 2, 1855, 53.

historically, the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 were still perceived as providing the *historical-theological* integration for that system.¹ By regarding the first two angels' messages as preparatory for the 1844 transition of Christ's heavenly ministry (cf. Dan 8:14) and the third angel's message as initiated by that transition, Sabbatarian Adventists placed their doctrinal system within a specific historical setting.² That setting was seen as extending from 1840, when the first angel's message began to be preached, to the time just prior to the Second Coming, when the third angel will end his mission (cf. Rev 14:14).³

Of special significance for this integrating process was the content of the third angel's message (Rev 14:6-12), which integrated the system in three basic ways. The first of those ways was by providing a major theological converging point for the main components of the system. That converging point was the expression "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12), to which, as already noted, almost all Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal teachings were connected.⁴

Another way by which the third angel's message integrated the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was by

¹See pp. 193-98, above.

²See pp. 359-60, above.

³See pp. 120, 292, 369-71, above.

⁴See pp. 324-30, 423-25, above.

placing that system within the historical end-time phase of the cosmic controversy between God and Satan. This was because the observance of "the commandments of God, and the faith [or testimony] of Jesus" is described in the book of Revelation (1) as in direct opposition to the worship of "the beast and his image" and the acceptance of "his mark" (Rev 14:9-12), and (2) as the cause of Satan's wrath against God's end-time remnant people (Rev 12:17; cf. v. 9).¹

A third way by which the third angel's message integrated the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was by giving an ecclesiological-existential dimension to the system. This dimension derived from the fact that the keeping of "the commandments of God, and the faith [or testimony] of Jesus" is described in the book of Revelation as the basic characteristic of those who are called "the saints" in Revelation 14:12 and "the remnant" in Revelation 12:17. Through the use of these ideas, Sabbatarian Adventists connected their system of present truth with their own historical existence as a people.²

James White alluded to this existential dimension when he explained in 1850 that to establish the "way-mark" of the second angel "we do not have to refer to old musty volumes of history, but to a holy, living experience, wrought in our very beings by the Holy Spirit, and the plain

¹See p. 404, above.

²See pp. 414-19, above.

word of God."¹ A similar dimension was also perceived in the early development of the understanding of the three angels' messages taken as a whole. White explained in 1855 that "when the first message of Rev. xiv, was being given, what did we know of the second and third? We had no just views of them. When they became *present truth* all was made plain."²

Additional helpful insights on the integrative function of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages were provided through the pictorial descriptions Sabbatarian Adventists implemented to explain their doctrinal system.

Pictorial Descriptions of the System

Several metaphors were used by Sabbatarian Adventists up to 1863 to illustrate the interrelationship between the various components of their doctrinal system. While some of those metaphors stressed the function of the three angels' messages, others emphasized the role played by the sanctuary.

The function of the *three angels' messages* was illustrated by such images as (1) the landmarks, waymarks, and high heaps of a pathway, (2) the links of a prophetic

¹J. W[hite], "Our Present Position," RH, Dec. 1850, 15. See also [idem], "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," RH, Apr. 24, 1856, 12.

²[James White], "Unfulfilled Prophecy," RH, Apr. 3, 1855, 204.

chain, (3) the steps of a platform, (4) the farming process, (5) the lapidary process, (6) the sifting process, and (7) a breastwork.

One of the pictures Sabbatarian Adventist authors frequently used to illustrate the role that the three angels' messages played in the development of their religious movement was that of the *landmarks, waymarks, and high heaps* of a pathway (cf. Jer 31:21).¹ As early as 1847, Joseph Bates spoke of the three angels' messages as "waymarks" in the "connected chain of wonderful events and fulfil[ment] of prophecy, which have been developed during the last seven years."² And in 1851, James White referred to the "'way marks' to the kingdom of God so clearly marked out in the fourteenth chapter of Revelation."³

¹Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, 6-16, 17-29, 46, 68-79 (a revised partial reprint appeared in idem, "Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps," 2-part series in AR, Sept. 1850, 51-56; Nov. 1850, 65-70); H. Edson, "Appeal to the Laodicean Church," AR Extra, Sept. 1850, E. P. Butler, "Letter from Bro. Butler," RH, Jan. 1851, 30; [J. White], "To Ira Fancher," RH, Mar. 1851, 52; J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation xiii and xiv," RH, May 19, 1851, 81; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 1," RH, Aug. 19, 1851, 12; 4; Eliza A. Miller, "From Sister Miller," RH, Apr. 14, 1853, 191; [Uriah Smith], "The Last Way-Marks," RH, Dec. 11, 1856, 44; R. F. C[ottrell], "'The Wise Shall Understand'," RH, Dec. 17, 1857, 45.

²Bates, Second Advent Way Marks, [1], 6-16, 17-29, 46, 68-79. See also J. White, "Thoughts on Revelation 14," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock", 10.

³[J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 1," RH, Aug. 19, 1851, 12.

Another metaphor suggested in describing the preaching of the three angels' messages was that of the links of a prophetic chain.¹ Ellen White, for example, pointed out in 1858 that many who "saw the perfect chain of truth in the angels' messages . . . gladly received it. They embraced them in order, and followed JESUS by faith into the heavenly sanctuary."²

The three angels' messages were also perceived as steps leading people to the platform of truth.³ Ellen White saw in 1858 that "step by step" God had brought His people "along, until he had placed them upon a solid, immovable platform" of truth. "The first, second and third

¹J. White, "Thoughts on Revelation 14," in idem, ed., Word to the "Little Flock," 10; Bates, Vindication, 110; [J. White], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 1," RH, Aug. 19, 1851, 12; [idem], "Angels of Rev. xiv--No. 2," RH, Sept. 2, 1851, 20; [idem], "Signs of the Times," RH, Sept. 13, 1853, 73; U. S[mith], "Not Stepping in the Dark," RH, Oct. 4, 1853, 100; J. W[hite], "Third Angel's Message," RH, Aug. 14, 1856, 116; [U. Smith], "Last Way-Marks," RH, Dec. 11, 1856, 44; Daniel Litchfield, "Experience of Bro. Litchfield," RH, Mar. 12, 1857, 146; S. Woodhull, "Christ on the White Cloud and the White Horse," RH, May 21, 1857, 20; R. F. C[ottrell], "'The Wise Shall Understand'," RH, Dec. 17, 1857, 45; J. A. Wilcox, "A Letter," RH, Jan. 28, 1858, 91; [U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 25," RH, May 20, 1858, 4; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:165-66.

²E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:165-66.

³Francis Gould, "From Bro. Gould," RH, Oct. 24, 1854, 87; E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:168-69.

angels' messages" were portrayed as the "three steps" of access to that platform.¹

James White described the three angels' messages in 1859 through images taken from the realms of agriculture and lapidary. With reference to the *farming* process, the first and second angels were described as cutting down "the trees" or breaking "the turf," while the third "prepares the ground" and "produces the golden harvest." With allusion to the *lapidary* process, the first two angels' messages were viewed as roughing the "marble from the mountain, while the last message hews and polishes it for the building of God."²

The *sifting* process was employed by Moses Hull in 1860 to illustrate the function of the three angels' messages. Assuming that these messages were "three sieves," Hull argued that

when the churches were sifted, many of their members were found too large to even pass through the first sieve (first message); and many that passed through the first could not pass the second. While a great many who found no trouble in passing through the two first, can never get through the third.³

¹E. G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:168-69. Helpful insights on Ellen White's metaphor of the "platform" of truth is provided in Coon, Great Visions of Ellen G. White, 1:42-43.

²J. W[hite], "Third Message," RH, Nov. 3, 1859, 188.

³M[oses] Hull, "Thoughts on the Messages," RH, Jan. 5, 1860, 52.

Uriah Smith spoke of the three angels' messages in 1863 as forming "a *breastwork* of truth, which all the hosts of error will never be able to scale or scatter."¹

The role played by the *sanctuary* was portrayed by such metaphors as (1) the key to unlock portals, (2) a bulwark, (3) the nucleus of a constellation, (4) an arena with avenues, (5) the main and central pillar of a system, and (6) a citadel of strength with many columns.

The first five of those metaphors were suggested in 1858 by Uriah Smith in his twenty-eight-part series in the *Review*, entitled "Synopsis of the Present Truth."² In February (1858) Smith referred to the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary as "the golden key to unlock the portals of the future."³

The following March (1858), Smith spoke of the subject of the sanctuary as "a great *bulwark* of the truth on

¹[U. Smith], "Our Weak Points," *RH*, Dec. 22, 1863, 28 (*italics supplied*).

²[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth," 28-part series in *RH*, Nov. 12, 1857, 4; Nov. 19, 1857, 12; Nov. 26, 1857, 20-21; Dec. 3, 1857, 28-29; Dec. 10, 1857, 36-37; Dec. 17, 1857, 44-45; Dec. 24, 1857, 52-53; Dec. 31, 1857, 60; Jan. 7, 1858, 68; Jan. 14, 1858, 76-77; Jan. 21, 1858, 84-85; Jan. 28, 1858, 92-93; Feb. 4, 1858, 100; Feb. 11, 1858, 108-9; Feb. 18, 1858, 116-17; Feb. 25, 1858, 124-25; Mar. 4, 1858, 132; Mar. 18, 1858, 140-41; Mar. 25, 1858, 148; Apr. 1, 1858, 156; Apr. 8, 1858, 164; Apr. 15, 1858, 172; Apr. 22, 1858, 180; Apr. 29, 1858, 188-89; May 20, 1858, 4; May 27, 1858, 12; June 3, 1858, 20; June 10, 1858, 28.

³[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 13," *RH*, Feb. 4, 1858, 100 (*italics supplied*).

every hand" and as the "grand *nucleus* around which cluster the glorious constellations of present truth." This subject was portrayed within the system of present truth as (1) opening "to our understanding the plan of salvation," (2) lifting "the vail [*sic*] from the position of our Lord in heaven," (3) throwing "a halo of glory" upon His ministry, (4) establishing "a divine harmony" in the Word of God, (5) pouring "a flood of light" upon past fulfillment of prophecy, (6) fortifying "the mighty truths of these last days," (7) shedding "a glory" upon the future, and (8) filling "the heart of the believer" with "hope and joy and consolation." "It is impossible for a person," Smith added, "to entertain correct and scriptural views on the subject of the Sanctuary, and yet be at variance with any of the fundamental points of what we consider Present Truth."¹

On April 15 (1858), the same author analogically equated the relationship between the sanctuary and the other present truths with that of an arena with avenues. He declared:

Like a person placed in a great arena with avenues leading in all directions, so we are introduced, by the great question of the Sanctuary, to a variety of subjects, closely and intimately connected. The Judgment; the marriage of the Lamb; the parable of the virgins; the message from the Sanctuary, or the last warning to the world; the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus; and, lastly, the solemn warning of the faithful and true Witness to his lukewarm people; are

¹[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 19," *RH*, Mar. 25, 1858, 148 (*italics supplied*). See also [idem], "Sanctuary," *RH*, Sept. 8, 1863, 116.

themes, which, as the subject opens before us, present almost equal claims to immediate consideration.¹

Two weeks later (April 29, 1858), Smith added that "to demolish the main and central *pillar* of present truth," that is, the 1844 transition of Christ's priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, would "precipitate the whole structure to irrecoverable ruin."²

Allusions were also made to the sanctuary as a *citadel of strength* for the present truth. On December 1, 1863, James White spoke of the sanctuary as "a citadel of strength" where "all the great columns of present truth center." He declared that "our system of truth forever remains unshaken while this citadel stands."³ Two weeks later (December 15, 1863), R. F. Cottrell added that "the sanctuary in heaven is the grand center of the Christian system," "the center and citadel of present truth."⁴

Thus, several major refinements took place within the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system in the 1850s and early 1860s. Among those refinements were (1) the broadening of the concept of present truth to comprise almost all Sabbatarian Adventist teachings, and (2) the

¹[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 22," RH, Apr. 15, 1858, 172.

²[U. Smith], "Synopsis of the Present Truth. No. 24," RH, Apr. 29, 1858, 188 (*italics supplied*). See also p. 258, no. 4, above.

³[J. White], "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 1, 1863, 5.

⁴R. F. Cottrell, "Sanctuary," RH, Dec. 15, 1863, 21.

development of several new connections between the main Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines and the integrating factors of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. Meanwhile, Sabbatarian Adventists continued to emphasize the foundational role of those integrating factors.

The following pages highlight a few post-1863 developments that are helpful (1) for the understanding of the overall theme of the present study and (2) for further studies on the subject.

Post-1863 Insights

After 1863, Seventh-day Adventists continued to emphasize the foundational role of both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages for the integration of their doctrinal system. Specific attention is given now to a few post-1863 statements dealing with (1) the integrative function of the sanctuary, (2) the integrative function of the three angels' messages, and (3) the concept of theological system.

The Sanctuary

Significant statements appeared in post-1863 Seventh-day Adventist literature which portrayed the sanctuary as at the center of Seventh-day Adventist doctrines. J. N. Andrews, for instance, spoke of the sanctuary in 1867 as "the great central doctrine" of the

Seventh-day Adventist doctrinal system, "for it inseparably connects all the points in their faith, and presents the subject as one grand whole."¹

The following year (1868), James White stated that the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary "is the key to the great Advent movement, making all plain," and that "without it the movement is inexplicable."²

One of the most significant post-1863 portraits of the integrative function of the sanctuary was suggested by Uriah Smith in 1877 through an analogy of a wagon wheel. Based on the concept that no other subject so fully "unites together all parts of revelation into one harmonious whole" as the sanctuary does, Smith argued as follows:

The spokes of a wheel, considered by themselves and apart, may be symmetrical and beautiful; but their uses are made apparent and their utility demonstrated only when, fixed together by a central hub and exterior fellyes, they appear as component parts of a perfect wheel. In the great wheel of truth, the sanctuary occupies this central position. In it, the great truths of revelation find their focal point. From it, in every direction, they radiate. It unites the two great dispensations, the Mosaic and the Christian, and shows their relation to each other. It divides with no other subject the high honor of explaining the position and work of our Lord Jesus Christ. Like a brilliant lamp introduced into a darkened room, it illuminates the whole Mosaic economy. In the light of this subject, the books of Moses, with their detail of offerings and sacrifices, their minutiae of rites and ceremonies, usually considered so void of interest and use, if not of meaning also, become animated with life and radiant with consistency and beauty.

¹J. N. Andrews], "The Sanctuary," RH, June 18, 1867, 12.

²J. White, Life Incidents, 308.

It is a key to the interpretation of the most important prophecies which are having their fulfillment at the present time.¹

Four years later (1881), Smith added that the subject of the sanctuary is the "great central subject of that system of truth which belongs to this time," for it (1) "makes provision for a preliminary work of Judgment, which must take place before Christ appears"; (2) "provides a time and place for Christ to confess before the Father and the holy angels the names of his friends, and deny those of his enemies" (Matt 10:32, 33); (3) "provides a time and place for a blotting out of sins before Christ comes" (Acts 3:19, 20), "or the blotting out of names from the book of life" (Rev 3:5); (4) "guards against the error of continually setting times for the Lord to come"; (5) "enables us to distinguish between the work of Christ as an offering for sin, and his work as a High Priest atoning for sin"; (6) "establishes the doctrine of the immutability of the law and the perpetuity of the Sabbath" (Rev 11:19); (7) "establishes the doctrine of the soon coming of Christ"; (8) "establishes the doctrine of the unconscious state of the dead"; (9) "gives us more clear, definite, and beautiful views of Christ's position and work than can be evolved from any

¹U. Smith, Sanctuary and Twenty-Three Hundred Days of Daniel viii, 14 (1877), 10-11. See also idem, Looking unto Jesus, 56-57.

other subject"; and (10) "sets the seal of divine truth, and of divine providence, to the message now going forth."¹

Speaking of the 1844 experience, Ellen White stated forty years later (1884) that Daniel 8:14 was "the scripture which above all others had been both the foundation and central pillar of the Advent faith."² She explained that "the subject of the sanctuary" "opened to view a complete system of truth, connected and harmonious."³ In 1886, she added that "around the sanctuary and its solemn services mystically gathered the grand truths which were to be developed through succeeding generations."⁴

Resembling his 1881 statement,⁵ Uriah Smith wrote in 1887 that the subject of the sanctuary (1) "is essential to an understanding of many of the prophecies"; (2) "provides a place for, and brings to view, the preliminary Judgment which must precede the coming of Christ"; (3) is basic for the understanding of "such prophecies as Rev. 10:5-7 and Rev. 11:19"; (4) "is the most wonderful auxiliary to the argument on the Sabbath question"; (5) is basic for the "the question of the second coming of Christ"; (6)

¹[Uriah Smith], "The Great Central Subject," RH, Nov. 22, 1881, 328.

²E. G. White, Spirit of Prophecy, 4:258.

³Ibid., 268.

⁴E. G. White, "The Two Dispensations," RH, Mar. 2, 1886, 129.

⁵See pp. 440-41, above.

"guards against time-setting for the Lord to come"; (7) "is the only question which explains the great Advent movement of the past"; (8) "holds us to correct views in regard to the condition of man in death"; (9) "guards against two errors, Universalism on the one hand and predestination on the other"; (10) "brings before the mind Christ as a tangible Saviour, and his work as a reality, and they are not brought out in any other theme treated upon in the word of God"; (11) "explains the parable of Matt. 22:1-14"; (12) "explains the important parable of the ten virgins of Matt. 25:1-13"; and (13) "is the foundation of the Third Angel's Message of Rev. 14."¹

A significant further step in portraying the sanctuary as the connecting center of Seventh-day Adventist doctrines was taken by Stephen N. Haskell in the appendix of the 1903 edition of his work, The Story of Daniel the Prophet. In that appendix Haskell presented a diagram in which the "sanctuary" functions as the converging center for the teachings of (1) "Second Advent," (2) "Millennium," (3) "New Earth," (4) "the Law of God," (5) "Sabbath," (6) "Repentance," (7) "Fate of the Wicked," (8) "Christian Help Work," (9) "Spiritual Gifts," (10) "Christian Education," (11) "Ministration of Angels," (12) "Baptism," (13) "Dress Code," (14) "Judgment," (15) "the Lord's Supper," (16)

¹[Uriah Smith], "The Sanctuary," RH, Sept. 27, 1887, 616.

"Righteousness by Faith," (17) "Health Reform," (18) "Life only through Christ," (19) "Tithing," and (20) "Order."¹ Despite its simplicity, Haskell's diagram is one of the most significant graphic expressions of the integrating function of the sanctuary. The following year (1904), Haskell stated that "the truth has come to us as a system"² and that "now salvation is in a system of truth," which has the sanctuary as its "chief corner-stone."³

Another diagram was designed by George J. Parker, an Australian Seventh-day Adventist minister,⁴ showing the historical interrelationship between the sanctuary, the Sabbath, and the Spirit of Prophecy, from 4004 B.C. to the "end" of time. The diagram was entitled, "The Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and the Spirit of Prophecy Are Inseparable," followed by the statement: "When Faithful to the Inspired Word, God's People Have Enjoyed the Blessings of Prophecy, Sabbath Keeping and the Sanctuary Services of Forgiveness, Cleansing, and the Keeping Power of God."⁵

¹Haskell, Story of Daniel the Prophet, 266-73.

²S. N. Haskell, "The Sanctuary," RH, Oct. 27, 1904, 8.

³S. N. Haskell, "The Sanctuary," RH, Nov. 3, 1904, 9.

⁴See W. J. Richards, George J. Parker's obituary, AuR, Sept. 30, 1974, 14.

⁵G. J. Parker, "The Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and the Spirit of Prophecy Are Inseparable," HD, n.d., C. 152, box 51, fld 1, AHC.

The centrality of the sanctuary theme was also perceived by several other Seventh-day Adventist authors.

John L. Shuler, for instance, stated in 1923 that

there is no other subject which so fully unites all parts of the Sacred Volume into one harmonious whole as this subject of the sanctuary. Every gospel truth centers in the sanctuary service, and radiates from it like the rays of the sun.¹

In 1944, LeRoy E. Froom declared that "the sanctuary is the keystone in the great arch of present truth. Both the advent hope and the Sabbath message emphasis of these last days spring from it and are the outgrowth of it."² In 1971, Froom devoted a whole chapter of his Movement of Destiny to the "Sanctuary Truth Pivotal Teaching of Adventism."³ He argued that

the one distinctive, separative, structural truth--the sole doctrinal teaching that identifies and sets Seventh-day Adventists apart from all other Christian bodies past and present--is what we have always designated as "Sanctuary truth." . . .

It consequently behooves us not only to believe and teach the Sanctuary truth today but to give it central place in our distinctive, identifying emphasis for this time. It is consequently incumbent upon us clearly to understand and then to proclaim it in and through our message to men. And for this very simple reason: It is the all-encompassing essence of Adventism.⁴

The next year (1972), Edward Heppenstall asserted that

¹Shuler, Great Judgment Day, 51.

²[L. E. Froom], "Not a Block to Be Moved Nor a Pin Stirred," Min, Dec. 1944, 17.

³Froom, Movement of Destiny, 541-60. Reprinted with some editing in idem, "The Sanctuary: Pivotal Teaching of Adventism," Min, Aug. 1982, 18-20.

⁴Froom, Movement of Destiny, 541-42.

from the sanctuary God directs the battle [between Christ and Satan] to final victory. Here the truths for the last days are laid bare. Here all divine power is ministered, all prayers are heard, all decisions made, all judgments executed.¹

The integrative function of the sanctuary was emphasized by Herbert Douglass when he wrote in 1976 that

the Bible doctrine of the sanctuary, as set forth by the Seventh-day Adventist Church, is the center of gravity for the plan of salvation, the hub of the theological wheel, which explains and connects all the Biblical truths that Christians hold dear.²

A similar concept was also expressed by C. Mervyn Maxwell when he penned in 1981 that "the sanctuary doctrine is related to everything else Seventh-day Adventists believe and has had numerous ramifications in the experience of the Seventh-day Adventist church."³

As the sanctuary continued to be portrayed in the post-1863 era as of foundational nature for the Seventh-day Adventist doctrinal system so were also the three angels' messages.

The Three Angels' Messages

Several major developments took place within the post-1863 view of the three angels' messages. One of those developments was the integration by the mid-1860s of the

¹Heppenstall, Our High Priest, 23.

²Douglass, Why Jesus Waits, 16.

³Maxwell, "Sanctuary and Atonement in SDA Theology," in Wallenkampf and Leshner, eds., Sanctuary and the Atonement, 516.

principles of health reform into the third angel's message.¹ Describing her December 25, 1865, health-reform vision, Ellen White penned that this reform "stands connected with the third angel's message, as part and parcel of the same work."² She explained further that the health reform "is a part of the third angel's message, and is just as closely connected with this message, as are the arm and hand with the human body."³ But she warned that this reform should never be allowed to replace the broader content of the third angel's message.⁴

This integration was largely due to the fact that Seventh-day Adventists realized that obedience to "the commandments of God" (Rev 14:12) also included the

¹For further study of the integration of health reform into the third angel's message, see Damsteegt, Foundation, 228-41; Sarli, "Steps in the Development of the Understanding of the Third Angel's Message," 14-17.

²Ellen G. White, Testimony for the Church, no. 11 (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1867), 19; reprinted in idem, Testimonies, 1:469-70.

³E. G. White, Testimony for the Church, no. 11, p. 41; reprinted in idem, Testimonies, 1:486. See also idem, Testimony for the Church, no. 21 (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1872), 90 (reprinted in idem, Testimonies, 3:62); idem, Testimony for the Church, no. 22 (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1872), 49 (reprinted in idem, Testimonies, 3:161).

⁴Ellen G. White, Testimony for the Church, no. 12 (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1867), 85; reprinted in idem, Testimonies, 1:559. See also *ibid.*, 6:288-93.

observance of the "laws of health." D. T. Bourdeau explained in 1867 that

the Health Reform has come to us as a part of the message; being based on the laws of our being, which are very comprehensive; growing out of the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus [Rev 14:12], especially the sixth commandment [Exod 20:13]; making it obligatory upon us to use all proper and available means within our reach to ameliorate and preserve our health and prolong our lives; making it a sin for us to be sick, if we knowingly and carelessly bring sickness upon ourselves by a violation of the laws of health [cf. 1 Cor 3:16, 17].¹

Another significant development in the post-1863 view of the three angels' messages was the appearance of more explicit statements on the need for a contemporary simultaneous preaching of all three of those messages.²

W. H. Littlejohn, for example, penned in 1884:

I believe that the first, second, and third angels' messages are alike in this particular; i.e., they will continue to be preached to the world so long as probation shall last. They are designed to make ready a people for the coming of the Lord, and they will therefore be proclaimed to the world until the Lord closes his work in the heavenly sanctuary.³

In 1896, Ellen White explained that "the first and second [angels'] messages were given in 1843 and 1844, and

¹D. T. Bourdeau, "Advances of God's People under the Messages, and the Dangers of Backsliding," RH, Feb. 26, 1867, 134.

²Carl Coffman suggested in 1972 that Sabbatarian Adventists seemed already convinced "near the end of 1853" that the three angels' messages run parallel. Coffman, "Development of an Understanding of the Message of the Third Angel of Revelation 14:9-12 from 1844," 24-28.

³W. H. Littlejohn, "The Temple in Heaven: The Second Angel's Message Considered," RH, Dec. 23, 1884, 803.

we are now under the proclamation of the third; but all three of the mes[s]ages are still to be proclaimed."¹

A third major development in the post-1863 Seventh-day Adventist view of the three angels' messages was the more explicit integration of the doctrine of *justification by faith* into the third angel's message. Of special significance for this integration was the new emphasis on that doctrine that followed the 1888 General Conference session in Minneapolis, Minnesota.²

¹[Ellen G. White], "Testimony Concerning the Views of Prophecy Held by Bro. John Bell. No. 2," [T]Ms 32, 1896, EGWRC-AU; published in idem, Selected Messages, 2:104-5.

²For further study of the major discussions about the events related to the 1888 General Conference session in Minneapolis, see Spalding, Captains of the Host, 583-602; Lewis H. Christian, The Fruitage of Spiritual Gifts: The Influence and Guidance of Ellen G. White in the Advent Movement (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1947), 219-45; Robert J. Wieland and Donald K. Short, "1888 Re-examined" (Manuscript presented to the GC leaders, 1950); Norval F. Pease, By Faith Alone (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1962); A. V. Olson, Through Crisis to Victory, 1888-1901: From the Minneapolis Meeting to the Reorganization of the General Conference (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1966); Froom, Movement of Destiny (cf. book review by C. Mervyn Maxwell in AUSS 10 [Jan. 1972]: 119-22); A. V. Olson, Thirteen Crisis Years, 1888-1901: From the Minneapolis Meeting to the Reorganization of the General Conference (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981); George R. Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1987) (cf. book review by Benjamin McArthur in AUSS 26 [Summer 1988]: 187-90); R. J. Wieland and D. K. Short, 1888 Re-examined, rev. and updated ed. (Uniontown, OH: 1888 Message Study Committee, 1987) (cf. book review by C. Mervyn Maxwell in Min, Feb. 1988, 63-64); The Ellen G. White 1888 Materials: Letters, Manuscripts, Articles, and Sermons Relating to the 1888 Minneapolis General Conference, 4 vols. (Washington, DC: Ellen G. White Estate, 1987); Ellen G. White Estate, comp., Manuscripts and Memories of Minneapolis: Selections from Non-Allen White Letters, Articles, Notes, Reports, and

As early as 1857, Albert Stone wrote that "we have talked much of the Commandments of God, and the Testimony of Jesus Christ, but we have had too little of Christ in our hearts."¹ In October 1888, Ellen White exhorted the delegates of the Minneapolis conference, "Now, brethren, we want the truth as it is in Jesus."² A few weeks later, she added that

the third angel's message is the proclamation of the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus Christ [Rev 14:12]. The commandments of God have been proclaimed, but the faith of Jesus Christ has not been proclaimed by Seventh-day Adventists as of equal importance, the law and the gospel going hand in hand. . . . What constitutes the faith of Jesus, that belongs to the third angel's message? Jesus becoming our sin-bearer that He might become our sin-pardoning Saviour. He was treated as we deserve to be treated. He came to our world and took our sins that we might take His

Pamphlets Which Deal with the Minneapolis General Conference Session (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1988); Arnold V. Wallenkampf, What Every Adventist Should Know about 1888 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1988); AtH 13 (Winter 1988) (special issue on the "1888 Minneapolis General Conference"); AtR, January 7, 1988 (special issue entitled, "Christ Our Righteousness"); Min, February 1988 (special 64-page issue on Justification by Faith); Arthur J. Ferch, ed., Towards Righteousness by Faith: 1888 in Retrospect (Wahroonga, N.S.W., Australia: South Pacific Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 1989) (cf. book review by George R. Knight in AUSS 29 [Spring 1991]: 87-89); George R. Knight, Angry Saints: Tensions and Possibilities in the Adventist Struggle over Righteousness by Faith (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1989) (cf. book review by Ralph E. Neall in AUSS 29 [Autumn 1991]: 268-269); D. K. Short and R. J. Wieland, 1888 Re-examined: A Review of What Happened a Hundred Years After 1888 (Paris, OH: 1888 Message Study Committee, 1989).

¹Albert Stone, "Letter from Bro. Stone," RH, Jan 29, 1857, 101.

²Ellen G. White, "Morning Talk by Ellen G. White, Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 24, 1888," in A. V. Olson, Thirteen Crisis Years, 302.

righteousness. And faith in the ability of Christ to save us amply and fully and entirely is the faith of Jesus.¹

In 1890, White stated that the message of justification by faith is "the third angel's message in verity."² In 1892 she added that "the time of the test is just upon us, for the loud cry of the third angel has already begun in the revelation of the righteousness of Christ, the sin-pardoning Redeemer."³

Meanwhile, Seventh-day Adventists continued to emphasize the foundational role of the three angels' messages. Frederick Griggs, for example, declared in 1911 that "the harmony of the system of truth involved in the Third Angel's Message is a source of comfort and constant delight to me as it is to all who love it."⁴

In 1936, Francis D. Nichol penned:

THE touchstone of our preaching is the threefold message in the book of the Revelation. The fourteenth chapter of that book has provided the keynote for our movement from its very beginning, and now, after the passage of all these years, this threefold message has more meaning and timeliness than ever before.⁵

¹[Ellen G. White], "Looking back at Minneapolis," [T]Ms 24, ca. Nov. or Dec. 1888, EGWRC-AU; published in idem, Selected Messages, 3:172.

²E. G. White, "Repentance the Gift of God," RH, Apr. 1, 1890, 193.

³Ellen G. White, "The Perils and Privileges of the Last Days," RH, Nov. 22, 1892, 722.

⁴Frederick Griggs to [Ellen G.] White, Dec. 28, 1911, TL, EGWE.

⁵Nichol, Answer to Modern Religious Thinking, 307.

The integrative function of the three angels' messages was also acknowledged by T. H. Jemison when he penned the following words in 1959:

The angels' messages bring into focus the grand issues of the last days: the gospel, the Sabbath, the judgment, and the decision all will have to make to worship God or His adversary. Every phase of Bible doctrine for today is related to and should be preached and lived in the light of the threefold message. It is the unifying factor that lends special present-day significance to the principles of truth that have been given in Scripture.¹

One of the most significant practical attempts to identify specific Seventh-day Adventist doctrines connected with Revelation 14 was provided by Roy A. Anderson's class handout entitled "Seventh-day Adventist Doctrines Found in Rev. 14" (ca. 1970s). The following thirty teachings were related in this handout to Revelation 14: (1) "Doctrine of the Trinity--God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit" (vss. 1, 14, 13); (2) "salvation by the Lamb of God" (vs. 4); (3) "angels" (vs. 10); (4) "Church--the called out ones" (vs. 3); (5) "purity of beliefs" (vs. 4); (6) "perfection in Christ" (vs. 5); (7) "everlasting Gospel" (vs. 6); (8) "worldwide application of Gospel" (vs. 6); (9) "equality of man, God no respecter [sic] of persons [Acts 10:34]--Gospel to 'every nation'" (vs. 6); (10) "judgment" (vs. 7); (11) "creation as opposed to evolution" (vs. 7); (12) "Sabbath commandment" (vss. 7, 12); (13) "apostate teachings denounced" (vs. 8); (14) "there is a counterfeit church"

¹Jemison, Christian Beliefs, 330.

(vss. 8, 9); (15) "call to separate from apostacy" (vs. 9); (16) "reception of mark of beast separates from God" (vs. 10); (17) "Seal of God, or Father's name in foreheads" (vs. 1); (18) "testing of wicked ('torment' an unfortunate translation)" (vs. 11); (19) "obedience--characteristic of God's people" (vs. 12); (20) "faith of Jesus" (vs. 12); (21) "Steadfast in belief" (vs. 12); (22) "prophecy identifies God's Hour of Judgment; blessing 'from henceforth'" (vs. 13); (23) "God's judgment in the plagues" (vs. 10); (24) "man at 'rest' in death" (vs. 13); (25) "personal, visible return of Christ" (vs. 14); (26) "there is a temple or sanctuary in heaven" (vs. 15); (27) "reaping first harvest of faithful" (vs. 15); (28) "reaping second harvest of unrighteous" (vs. 18); (29) "eternal separation of wicked" (vs. 19); and (30) "final destruction of evil" (vss. 10, 18, 19).¹

The foundational nature of the three angels' messages was also emphasized by Robert S. Folkenberg, president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Folkenberg stated in 1992 that

of all the chapters in God's Word, none has more meaning to Seventh-day Adventists than Revelation 14. In this thrilling, exciting picture of the three mighty angels, we see portrayed God's call to us who live in the days just before Jesus comes back.

¹[R. A. Anderson], "Seventh-day Adventist Doctrines Found in Rev. 14," TMs, n.d., C. 152, box 19, fld 6, AHC.

This chapter meant much to the pioneers of our message, and today it is even more loaded with solemn meaning.¹

Another helpful attempt to identify specific teachings related to the three angels' messages was proposed in 1993 by C. Mervyn Maxwell, professor of Church History at Andrews University. Maxwell suggested that the three angels' messages cover the following seventeen "different topics": (1) "Preaching the eternal gospel"; (2) "fulfilling a global commission"; (3) "calling people to fear God and give Him glory"; (4) "announcing the arrival of judgment hour"; (5) "summoning people to worship the true God"; (6) "championing the doctrine of creation"; (7) "observing the Sabbath"; (8) "declaring the fall of Babylon"; (9) "warning against beast worship"; (10) "warning against the mark of the beast and the image of the beast"; (11) "warning about the undiluted wrath of God"; (12) "warning about torment in the presence of the Lamb"; (13) "challenging people to develop endurance"; (14) "identifying the saints"; (15) "keeping the commandments"; (16) "cherishing the faith of Jesus"; and (17) "historical sequence. The three messages *follow* each other, beginning at the arrival of the judgment hour."²

¹R. S. Folkenberg, "Three Mighty Angels," AtR, Oct. 1, 1992, 12.

²C. Mervyn Maxwell, "What God Hath Joined Together . . ." AtA 7 (Fall 1993): 15.

That the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 continued to be viewed as the basic summary statement of the Seventh-day Adventist message is also evident from the fact that all major Seventh-day Adventist statements of belief have defined the mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church as proclaiming the three angels' messages to the whole world.¹ A similar definition appeared also in the "Mission Statement of the Seventh-day Adventist Church," adopted by the Executive Committee of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in its Spring 1993 meeting. This document reads as follows:

The mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church is to proclaim to all peoples the everlasting gospel in the context of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12, leading them to accept Jesus as personal Saviour and to unite with His church, and nurturing them in preparation for His soon return.²

¹See A Declaration of the Fundamental Principles Taught and Practiced by the Seventh-day Adventists (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1872), 11, art. 17 (reprinted in "Fundamental Principles," STs, June 4, 1874, 3); "Fundamental Principles of Seventh-day Adventists," in Seventh-day Adventist Year Book of Statistics for 1889 (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald, 1889), 150, art. 20; "Fundamental Beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists," in 1931 Year Book of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, [1931]), 379, art. 15; "Fundamental Beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists--Church Manual Revision," AtR, May 1, 1980, 25, art. 12 (reprinted in "Fundamental Beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists," in Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook, 1981 [Washington, DC: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1981], 6; "Fundamental Beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists," Seventh-day Adventist Church Manual, 1981 rev. ed. [Washington, DC: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1981], 37).

²"Mission Statement of the Seventh-day Adventist Church," AtR, Apr. 22, 1993, 7.

Thus, the post-1863 Seventh-day Adventist view of the three angels' messages witnessed such major refinements as the integration of the teachings of health reform and justification by faith into the third angel's message, as well as a more explicit emphasis on the contemporary, simultaneous preaching of all three angels' messages. In addition, the three angels' messages continued to be viewed as providing a summary statement of the Seventh-day Adventist message and place in history.

Having highlighted some major post-1863 insights related to the sanctuary and the three angels' messages, the focus of the discussion now turns now to the concept of doctrinal system after 1863.

Doctrinal System

An analysis of post-1863 Seventh-day Adventist theological literature reveals that no major attempts were made (beyond the level of those previously mentioned)¹ to produce a systematic exposition of Seventh-day Adventist doctrines with the sanctuary and the three angels' messages as its integrating factors. Several reasons might account for the absence of such systematic exposition.

One of those reasons was obviously the strong anti-creed tenor that characterized Seventh-day Adventism from its very inception. While holding to the view that all

¹See pp. 438-55, above.

components of the broad spectrum of truth form a harmonious system,¹ early Seventh-day Adventists saw the formulation of creeds as inhibiting the continuous search for Bible truth.²

Another reason that might have led early Seventh-day Adventists away from developing a formal systematic theology was the increasing world-mission awareness that characterized post-1863 Seventh-day Adventism.³ The attempt to reach people from outside the former-Millerite circles seems to have shifted Seventh-day Adventist doctrinal expositions gradually away from their early more complex theological-system concern (understandable to former-Millerites) to a more evangelistic doctrinal approach (understandable to the larger non-Millerite world).

A third reason that probably influenced Seventh-day Adventists not to develop a formal systematic exposition of their doctrines with the sanctuary and the three angels' messages as its integrating factors was the post-1886

¹See pp. 314-15, above.

²See pp. 311-12, 320, 391, 411-12, above.

³See William A. Spicer, Our Story of Missions for Colleges & Academies (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1921), 78-372; Damsteegt, Foundations, 282-93; Schantz, "Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 237-446; G. R. Knight, "From Shut Door to Worldwide Mission," in Pfeiffer, Träder, and Knight, eds., Die Adventisten und Hamburg, 46-70.

Seventh-day Adventist emphasis on the evangelical components of their message.¹

Nevertheless, a few recent historians have pointed out the foundational role played by the sanctuary and the three angels' messages in the formative period of Seventh-day Adventist doctrines. The most exhaustive of those studies is P. Gerard Damsteegt's Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message (1977), which surveys the development of the whole Millerite and Seventh-day Adventist theology of mission up to 1874.² George K. Knight's Anticipating the Advent (1993)³ and Millennial Fever and the End of the World (1994)⁴ also refer to the integrating function of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

Meanwhile, Fernando L. Canale criticized in 1983 the mainstream Roman Catholic and Protestant theological traditions for following the Aristotelian-Thomistic assumption of a timeless God instead of the biblical view of

¹George R. Knight has perceived the following four stages in the development of Seventh-day Adventist theology: (1) "'What is Adventist in Adventism?' (1844-1886)"; (2) "'What is Christian in Adventism?' (1886-1920)"; (3) "'What is fundamentalist in Adventism?' (1920-1956)"; and (4) "'Adventism in theological tension' (1956-1994)." George R. Knight, "Adventist Theology 1844 to 1994," Min, Aug. 1994, 10-13, 25.

²Damsteegt, Foundations.

³Knight, Anticipating the Advent, 33-37.

⁴Knight, Millennial Fever, 304-19.

God.¹ Since 1987, however, Canale has been teaching that while those traditions have systematized the content of Scripture by means inherited from Greek philosophy, the subject of the sanctuary provides a genuine *biblical* "heuristic principle" for the systematization of Bible doctrines.² But his efforts are confined, thus far, to the level of theoretical presuppositions instead of to an actual systematization of Seventh-day Adventist theology with the sanctuary as that principle.

Summary and Conclusions

The 1850s and early 1860s saw such major developments within Sabbatarian Adventism as (1) the emergence of new leading personalities, (2) the broadening of mission awareness, (3) a rapid growth rate and geographical expansion, (4) the consolidation of the

¹See Fernando L. Canale, "Toward a Criticism of Theological Reason: Time and Timelessness as Primordial Presuppositions" (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1983); idem, A Criticism of Theological Reason: Time and Timelessness as Primordial Presuppositions, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 10 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987).

²See [Fernando L. Canale], "Sanctuary as Biblical System" [Unpublished class notes for THST685 Seminar in Systematic Theology, Andrews University, fall 1988]; [idem], "Sanctuary as 'Heuristic Principle' for Discovering and Constituting the Biblical Paradigm (System) for Theology" [Unpublished class notes for GSEM610 Doctrine of the Sanctuary, Andrews University, fall 1989]; [idem], "Sanctuary Doctrine and Theological System" [Unpublished class notes for GSEM610 Doctrine of the Sanctuary, Andrews University, fall 1989]; [idem], "System, Ecumenism, and Mission" [Unpublished class notes for THST685 Seminar in Systematic Theology, Andrews University, fall 1989].

publishing work, (5) the choosing of a denominational name, (6) the establishment of a basic church organization, and (7) the beginning of the definition and integration into Adventist theology of principles of lifestyle related to Sabbath observance, financial stewardship, health reform, and noncombatancy.

At the same time, Sabbatarian Adventists continued to improve and strengthen the doctrinal system they had established between 1844 and 1850. Holding to their previous views on the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 as a two-apartment heavenly sanctuary/temple and on the 2300 days as extending from 457 B.C. to the autumn of 1844, Sabbatarian Adventists further developed the concept that the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary began in 1844, when Christ closed the door of the Holy Place and opened the door into the Most Holy Place of that sanctuary. That cleansing was perceived as comprising a preadvent investigative judgment of the saints to determine who are worthy of having their sins blotted out and of receiving everlasting life at the Second Coming.

While maintaining their previous view on the chronological setting of the mission of the three angels of Revelation 14:6-12, Sabbatarian Adventists further developed their understanding of some basic components of the angels' messages. The Millerite proclamation of "the hour of his judgment is come" (vs. 7) was viewed as announcing the

ending of the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 in the autumn of 1844, which marked the beginning of the preadvent investigative judgment of the saints in the heavenly sanctuary. While the second angel's message (vs. 8) was regarded as having freed many Millerites in 1844 from the Babylon creed-bondage of the churches, the third angel (vss. 9-12) was perceived as a post-1844 proclamation intended to raise up a remnant people committed to restoring the Bible truths in their end-time eschatological setting.

Also of special significance were the refinements related to the understanding of "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" of Revelation 14:12. While "the commandments of God" were still equated with the Decalogue, "the faith of Jesus" was eventually seen as comprising almost all other Sabbatarian Adventist teachings not classified under those commandments.

The whole Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was significantly expanded from 1850 to 1863 through (1) the broadening of the concept of present truth and (2) the development of several new connections between the main Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines and the integrating factors of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. Of special significance were the linkages related to the doctrines of the conditional immortality of the soul and the prophetic gift, which had not been explicitly integrated up to 1850.

An analysis of the interrelationship between such foundational themes as (1) God, (2) the cosmic controversy, (3) the covenant, (4) the sanctuary, (5) the three angels' messages, and (6) the remnant shows that the subjects of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages were not regarded as ends in themselves. These subjects were perceived as connectedly dependent on the transcendent realities of God, the cosmic controversy, and the covenant, with the missiological purpose of gathering a remnant people prepared to live with God throughout eternity.

The integrative functions of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages were emphasized in a large number of literal and metaphorical descriptions penned between 1850 and 1863. Such descriptions confirmed the theological-historical integrative function of the sanctuary and the historical-theological integrative role of the three angels' messages within the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system.

Although Seventh-day Adventists continued to stress after 1863 the integrating function of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages, no systematic exposition of Seventh-day Adventist doctrines was ever produced with the sanctuary and the three angels' messages as its integrating factors. The absence of such an exposition might be due to (1) the strong anti-creed tenor that characterized Seventh-day Adventism from its very inception, (2) the need for a more evangelistic doctrinal approach generated by the increasing

world-mission awareness that characterized post-1863 Seventh-day Adventism, and (3) the post-1886 Seventh-day Adventist emphasis on the evangelical components of their message.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Sabbatarian Adventists developed their basic doctrinal system between 1844 and 1863. That system was integrated by the sanctuary referred to in Daniel 8:14 and the three angels' messages contained in Revelation 14:6-12. To these integrating factors were connected such distinctive Sabbatarian Adventist doctrines as (1) the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath, (2) Christ's heavenly ministry, (3) Christ's Second Coming, (4) the conditional immortality of the soul, and (5) the gift of prophecy.

Summary

Chapter 1 of the present study, entitled "Pre-1844 Interpretations," briefly surveyed (1) the background-development of the Millerite movement, (2) the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century non-Millerite English-speaking Protestant and Millerite interpretations of Daniel 8:14, and (3) the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century non-Millerite English-speaking Protestant and Millerite interpretations of Revelation 14:6-12.

The sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 was usually seen by non-Millerite Protestant commentators either as the Jewish

temple or as the Christian church. For William Miller, however, that sanctuary referred to both the Christian church and the earth. Some other Millerites (Josiah Litch, Apollos Hale, John Starkweather, and George Storrs) were of the opinion that Palestine was the sanctuary of this text.

The 2300 days (Dan 8:14) were understood by both the overwhelming majority of non-Millerite Protestants and the Millerites as a period of 2300 years. There was an increasing tendency among non-Millerite Protestant authors in the early nineteenth century to see that period as beginning in the 450s B.C. and ending in the A.D. 1840s.

In harmony with some of those Protestant authors, Miller held that the 2300 days started in 457 B.C. and would end in "about A.D. 1843." Further chronological refinements convinced the Millerites that the 2300 days would really end, as suggested by Samuel Snow, on the Jewish "tenth day of the seventh month" of 1844 (i.e., October 22, 1844).

Non-Millerite Protestant commentators related the cleansing of the sanctuary (Dan 8:14), on the negative side, to the cleansing of the Christian church from the antagonistic powers that polluted it, and, on the positive side, either to the conversion and the restoration of the Jews or to missionary and restoration endeavors of the Christian church.

For Miller, the cleansing of the sanctuary was the cleansing of both the earth, by fire, and the church "from

all uncleanness," which included the "last abomination of desolation" set up by the Papacy. Some other Millerites interpreted the cleansing of the sanctuary either as the vindication of Jerusalem and the purification of the promised land (Josiah Litch, Apollos Hale) or the coming of the Ancient of days of Daniel 7:22 (Charles Fitch).

The three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 were regarded by non-Millerite Protestants usually as already fulfilled by the pre-Reformation period, the Reformation movements, or some contemporary movement. While understanding those messages in a contemporary setting, Millerites became increasingly convinced of their own responsibility in carrying out the mission of these angels.

Non-Millerite Protestant interpreters saw the mission of the first angel (Rev 14:6, 7) as fulfilled by Eastern Emperors, Charlemagne, and some bishops of the eighth century; by the Waldenses and Albigenses, John Wickliffe, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague; by Martin Luther and the Lutheran Church; and by the Bible and Missionary Societies and the increasing interest in Bible prophecies.

The Millerite understanding of the first angel's message shifted through the years from a more evangelical to a more adventist emphasis. Up to the early 1840s, Millerites tended to define the mission of this angel with emphasis on the evangelical preaching of "the everlasting gospel" (vs. 6). From the early 1840s on, they tended

increasingly to see that mission as the proclamation of "the hour of God's judgment" (vs. 7) by the Second Advent movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The mission of the second angel (Rev 14:8) was commonly regarded by non-Millerite Protestants as accomplished by the Waldenses and Albigenses, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague; by Martin Luther, Ulric Zwingli, and John Calvin; and by the fall of the Papacy at the French Revolution. From the summer of 1843, many Millerites saw themselves as performing the task of this angel by calling people out of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches who did not accept the doctrine of a literal, imminent Second Coming of Christ.

The mission of the third angel (Rev 14:9-12) was seen by non-Millerite Protestant authors as already fulfilled by Martin Luther, by the church of England, or by the ministers of the gospel. Millerites, however, perceived that mission as God's last judgment warning that was being proclaimed to the world by the Second Advent movement of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 2, entitled "The Period of Doctrinal Integration, 1844-1850," dealt with (1) the background developments of post-October 1844 Disappointment Millerism and the formation of early Sabbatarian Adventism, (2) the early Sabbatarian Adventist interpretation of the sanctuary

of Daniel 8:14, (3) the early Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12, (4) the relationship of the early Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines to the sanctuary and the three angels' messages, and (5) the major characteristics and configuration of the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system.

Early Sabbatarian Adventists held by 1850 (1) that the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 was a heavenly sanctuary/temple in the New Jerusalem, (2) that the 2300 days ended on October 22, 1844, and (3) that the cleansing of the sanctuary began with Christ's move from the Holy into the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary and comprises a preadvent investigative judgment with the blotting out of sins.

The three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 were considered by 1850 as a sequential prophetic history of the Second Advent movement. The mission of the first angel (vss. 6, 7) was regarded as fulfilled by the Millerite adventist preaching between 1840 and 1844. The task of the second angel (vs. 8) was seen as accomplished by those Millerites who left the churches in 1844 to accept the Second Advent faith. And the preaching of the third angel's message (vss. 9-12) was perceived as having started with those Millerites who after the October 1844 Disappointment embraced the Sabbatarian Adventist message.

By 1850, the basic Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines had already been integrated into the theological-historical setting provided by the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. While the doctrines of the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath, Christ's heavenly ministry, and Christ's Second Coming were directly connected to the integrating factors of both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages by 1850, the doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul was only indirectly linked to those integrating factors. Meanwhile, the role played by the prophetic gift of Ellen White within the context of that system up to 1850 was in confirming the interrelationship between major components of the system. This was largely due to the fact that up to 1850 the prophetic gift was viewed by the founders of Sabbatarian Adventism more as a sign and a special function than as an actual doctrine in itself.

The eschatological setting of Daniel 8:14 and Revelation 14:6-12 gave to the early Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system a contemporary pertinent nature. By 1850, such doctrines as the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath and Christ's heavenly ministry were regarded within that setting as of special present-truth relevance. This early nucleus of present truths would be significantly expanded during the 1850s and early 1860s through the integration of other doctrinal dimensions.

Chapters 3 and 4, entitled "The Period of Doctrinal Consolidation, 1850-1863," considered (1) the background provided by major developments within Sabbatarian Adventism between 1850 to 1863, (2) further developments in the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of Daniel 8:14, (3) refinements in the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of Revelation 14:6-12, (4) improvements and developments in the relationship of the Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines to the sanctuary and the three angels' messages, and (5) major developments within the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system from 1850 to 1863 and beyond.

Sabbatarian Adventists continued to develop and strengthen during the 1850s and early 1860s the doctrinal system they had built between 1844 and 1850. Holding to their previous views on the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 as a two-apartment heavenly sanctuary/temple and on the 2300 days as extending from 457 B.C. to the autumn of 1844, Sabbatarian Adventists further developed the concept that the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary began in 1844, when Christ closed the door of the Holy Place and opened the door into the Most Holy Place of that sanctuary.

The work of cleansing the heavenly sanctuary was perceived as comprising a preadvent investigative judgment of the saints to determine who are prepared to have their sins blotted out and to receive everlasting life at the Second Coming. Although the basic concept of a preadvent

investigative judgment of the saints was much in place by 1850, it was during the 1850s that this concept became more clearly enunciated and more widely exposed.

While maintaining their previous view on the chronological setting of the mission of the three angels of Revelation 14:6-12 between 1850 and 1863, Sabbatarian Adventists further developed their understanding of some basic components of the angels' messages. The Millerite proclamation of "the hour of his judgment is come" (vs. 7) was more explicitly referred to as announcing the ending of the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 in the autumn of 1844, which marked the beginning of the preadvent investigative judgment of the saints in the heavenly sanctuary.

A noticeable shift of emphasis occurred in the Sabbatarian Adventist view of the mystical Babylon referred to in Revelation 14:8. Up to the 1850s, Sabbatarians defined Babylon largely in terms of the wide spectrum of organized churches. By the late 1850s and early 1860s, this view was replaced by the notion that Babylon comprised all contemporary religious bodies that were doctrinally opposed to the Bible truth as understood by the Sabbatarians.

Meaningful were also the refinements that took place between 1850 and 1863 in the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus" mentioned in Revelation 14:12. While "the commandments of God" continued to be equated with the

Decalogue, "the faith of Jesus" was eventually seen as comprising almost all other Sabbatarian Adventist teachings not classified under those commandments.

The whole Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was significantly expanded from 1850 to 1863 through (1) the broadening of the concept of present truth and (2) the development of several new connections between the main Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines and the integrating factors of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages. Of special significance were the linkages related to the doctrines of the conditional immortality of the soul and the prophetic gift, which had not been explicitly integrated by 1850.

Although Seventh-day Adventists continued to stress after 1863 the integrating function of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages, no systematic exposition of Seventh-day Adventist doctrines was ever produced with the sanctuary and the three angels' messages as its integrating factors.

Conclusions

The present study showed that Sabbatarian Adventists developed between 1844 and 1863 a doctrinal system in which the sanctuary and the three angels' messages functioned as integrating factors for such major Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines as the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath, Christ's heavenly ministry, Christ's

Second Coming, the conditional immortality of the soul, and the gift of prophecy.

Basic chronological settings and major doctrinal components of that system were inherited from other Christian movements. Thus, the Sabbatarian Adventist calculation of the 2300 days (Dan 8:14) from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1844 came from the Millerites, who were much indebted to early nineteenth-century English-speaking Protestant views on the subject. Likewise, the Sabbatarian Adventist expositions of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12 reflected the basic Millerite time-setting for these messages.

At least three of the five major Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines were also inherited from other Christians--the perpetuity of God's law and the seventh-day Sabbath from the Seventh Day Baptists; Christ's Second Coming from the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Second Advent awakening; and the conditional immortality of the soul from George Storrs and the Christian Connection.

The originality of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was reflected at two main levels. The first of those levels was that of the unique components of the system. This level comprised such teachings related to the integrating factors as (1) the understanding of the cleansing of the sanctuary (Dan 8:14) as a preadvent

investigative judgment of the saints in the heavenly sanctuary, (2) the equation of "the hour of his judgment" (Rev 14:7) with the post-1844 preadvent cleansing of the sanctuary, and (3) the view that the mission of the third angel (Rev 14:9-12) would be fulfilled by Sabbatarian Adventism. Included in this level were also the Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines of (1) Christ's two-phase heavenly ministry and (2) the modern manifestation of the gift of prophecy in the person and writings of Ellen G. White.

The second (and most significant) level at which the originality of the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system was reflected was the configuration of the whole system. That configuration was largely the result of the foundational-integrative role played by the integrating factors of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages.

An analysis of the function of those integrating factors shows that both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages integrated the doctrinal system in an outer and an inner dimension. In the outer dimension, both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages integrated that system within the larger context of salvation history. While the sanctuary typology set the system in line with the unfolding plan of salvation, the three angels' messages placed it within the framework of the historical-cosmic controversy between God and His followers and Satan and his followers.

In the inner dimension, both the sanctuary and the three angels' messages provided the framework for inner integration of the main components of the Sabbatarian system. While the sanctuary typology integrated those components theological-historically, the three angels' messages integrated them historical-theologically. The theological-historical integration was due to the fact that the post-1844 cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary was theologically connected to almost all basic Sabbatarian Adventist teachings. The historical-theological integration of the system was brought about by the incorporation of those teachings into the chronological structure provided by the consecutive preaching of the three angels' messages.

An appraisal of the interrelationship between such foundational themes as (1) God, (2) the cosmic controversy, (3) the covenant, (4) the sanctuary, (5) the three angels' message, and (6) the remnant shows that the subjects of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages were not regarded as ends in themselves. These subjects were perceived as connectedly dependent on the transcendent realities of God, the cosmic controversy, and the covenant, with the missiological purpose of preparing a remnant people to live with God throughout eternity.

The Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal system as a whole shows such major characteristics as (1) a biblical foundation, (2) a historicist prophetic interpretation, (3)

eschatological time-setting, (4) a cosmic-controversy framework, (5) a Christ-centered focus, (6) historical continuity, (7) a present-truth emphasis, and (8) a mission concern.

An overview of the Sabbatarian Adventist theological literature produced between 1844 and 1863 shows that Sabbatarian Adventists regarded the Scriptures (and not Ellen White's writings) as the final source of doctrinal truth. This, however, does not deny the fact that Ellen White's personal influence during that period was much more significant on the development of the Sabbatarian Adventist understanding of Bible doctrines than what is reflected in her contemporary publications.

The fact that by 1863 the system under consideration was still focused quite exclusively on Sabbatarian Adventist distinctive doctrines indicates that the system could still be further expanded by integration with other Bible doctrines. Post-1863 developments have shown that the integrating factors of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages are inherently capable of supporting such an expansion.

That Seventh-day Adventists never produced a formal exposition of a doctrinal system integrated by the sanctuary and the three angels' messages might be due to (1) the strong anti-creed tenor that characterized Sabbatarian Adventism from its very inception, (2) the need for a more

evangelistic doctrinal approach generated by the increasing world-mission awareness that characterized post-1863 Seventh-day Adventism, and (3) the post-1886 Seventh-day Adventist emphasis on the evangelical components of their message.

Suggestions

Any endeavor to carry on the process of integrating Seventh-day Adventist doctrines by means of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages should take into consideration (1) the integrations developed up to 1863, (2) the refinements and new integrations developed after 1863, and (3) the relationship between the sanctuary and the three angels' messages and other foundational themes of Seventh-day Adventist theology.

The interrelationship between the integrating factors of the sanctuary and the three angels' messages and such foundational themes as God, the cosmic controversy, the covenant, and the remnant seems to suggest a system having (1) God as its unfolding center, (2) the cosmic controversy as its framework, (3) the everlasting covenant as its basis, (4) the sanctuary as its organizing motif, (5) the three angels' messages as its eschatological proclamation, and (6) the remnant as its missiological result.

Such a thematic arrangement would provide a helpful basic structure for the systematization of Bible doctrines. Yet, further study will be required to demonstrate how the

broader spectrum of Bible doctrines held currently by Seventh-day Adventists can fit within this thematic structure.

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