

1997

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Andrews University  
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SABBATH THEOLOGIES  
OF A. H. LEWIS AND J. N. ANDREWS

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

by  
Siegfried H. A. Roeske

April 1997

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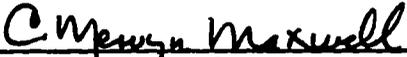
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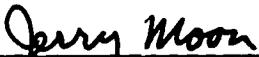
  
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ABSTRACT

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SABBATH THEOLOGIES  
OF A. H. LEWIS AND J. N. ANDREWS

by

Siegfried H. A. Roeske

Chair: C. Mervyn Maxwell

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SABBATH THEOLOGIES OF  
A. H. LEWIS AND J. N. ANDREWS

Name of researcher: Siegfried H. A. Roeske

Name and degree of faculty chair: C. Mervyn Maxwell, Ph.D.

Date completed: April 1997

Problem

Although Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists share a common heritage in the Sabbath doctrine, it has been recognized that significant differences in the Sabbath theologies of the denominations are distinguishable. However, literature that substantiates the nature of the differences in theology has not been researched and compared. The purpose of this study was primarily to investigate and compare differences in the theology of the two denominations as seen in the writings of representative theologians Seventh Day Baptist A. H. Lewis and Seventh-Adventist J. N. Andrews, and secondarily to consider how the

differences may have affected the vitality of the respective denominations.

#### Method

The writings of the two theologians were first presented using a thematic descriptive approach with attention given to development or growth of the theologies. Their views were then compared in significant areas, and effects of the theologies on the respective denominations compared.

#### Results

The research ascertained that (1) there is a high degree of similarity in the biblical-historical material, but divergence in the philosophical and prophetic-eschatological perspectives of the two writers; (2) that the emphases of these theologians have significantly impacted the theologies of their respective denominations; and (3) that there is indication that the theologies of the denominations have affected the vitality of the movements.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Special recognition for support and encouragement in my studies is warranted by a number of specific individuals. My gratitude is extended to Don Sanford and Janet Thorngate of the Library and Archives at the Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society at Janesville, Wisconsin, for help with locating original source material for the study of A. H. Lewis's writings. I am grateful also for the helpfulness of the staff members at the Ellen G. White Research Center and the Heritage Center at Andrews University, and to the library staff at Union College.

My thanks goes to Jim Mules and Mrs. May Lorensen for research assistance and to Dr. Robert Jochmans for aiding me in translating articles in Les Signes des Temps.

I express special appreciation to my Doctoral Committee, Dr. C. Mervyn Maxwell, chair, Dr. Robert M. Johnston, and Dr. Raoul Dederen for guidance in developing and refining the document, and to Bonnie Proctor, Andrews University Dissertation Secretary, for consistently returning my submissions so promptly.

I owe a great debt of appreciation to my wife, Carol, whose encouragement and many hours of assistance in research, editing, and typing have played an indispensable part in the completion of this dissertation.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The Sabbath doctrine has wound its way through history like a mountain stream, at times sparkling above ground, then dropping from view, surfacing and disappearing from time to time, but never ceasing to flow. Among Christians today it is most openly defended by the Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists<sup>1</sup> and is an obvious pivotal point for each of these denominations. The Sabbath theologies developed by the two churches vary considerably and, for both, their peculiar understanding of the Sabbath doctrine greatly affects their self-perception and their sense of mission.

#### Statement of the Problem

In the historical chain of Sabbathkeepers, as Seventh Day Baptists passed their Sabbath doctrine directly to Seventh-day Adventists, one would surmise that although there might be major differences in other doctrinal areas,

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<sup>1</sup>A list of other Sabbath-keeping Christian bodies can be found in Richard A. Wiedenheft, ed., Directory of Sabbath-Observing Groups 6th ed. (Fairview, OK: Bible Sabbath Association, 1986). All these groups except the Worldwide Church of God are relatively small in size and impact upon the Christian world.

the Sabbath theologies of the two bodies would be basically the same. But study of the maturation of their theologies reveals how their views quickly diverged and how this divergence has affected each denomination.

It was expressed during the early days of the Seventh-day Adventist movement that the proclamation of the Sabbath doctrine made Seventh-day Adventists and Seventh Day Baptists two denominations with basically the same mission and purpose.<sup>1</sup> The Sabbath issue was so large that for a time other doctrinal differences between the two denominations were not focused upon. It appears that some members of both denominations felt the two bodies might eventually merge in order to strengthen their impact upon the world. They exchanged representatives to General Conference sessions; in 1869 Seventh-day Adventists chose a committee to foster friendly relations and open

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<sup>1</sup>This sentiment was so strong among some of the pioneers of the Advent Movement that J. N. Andrews, one of the principal authors with which this dissertation deals, compared the two denominations to "two wings of the same army." "Business Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Session of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists," The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, 2 January 1872, 20, hereafter abbreviated RH. There was a good measure of agreement and cooperation between the denominations in a number of areas. Agreement can be seen in the assumed history of Sabbath and Sunday as well as in the biblical nature of their Sabbath theologies. Both groups shared concern for propagating the Sabbath doctrine, appeared together in the United States Senate in defense of religious liberty, and even agreed not to do any "sheep-stealing." However, a number of RH articles published during the years 1869-1879 gave expression to differences in theology between the two denominations regarding the state of the dead, eschatology, and spiritual gifts.

correspondence between the two bodies;<sup>1</sup> a feeling of brotherhood and unity regarding the Sabbath found frequent expression in the Review and Herald, especially between 1869 and 1879.<sup>2</sup> The Sabbath Recorder occasionally printed articles by Seventh-day Adventist writers.

In 1871, J. N. Andrews wrote, "This [the spreading of the Sabbath doctrine] is no sectarian work, but one which should unite the best energies of the loyal people of God. Herein our hearts are as yours [Seventh Day Baptists'] and in this sacred work we desire to be helpers with you."<sup>3</sup> Andrews spoke openly of uniting the two churches, but with the accompanying and qualifying stipulation that it could not be at the expense of sacrificing Bible truth.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Business Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Session of the General Conference of S. D. Adventists," RH, 25 May 1869, 172-173.

<sup>2</sup>For further examples of expressions of unity and common purpose in articles printed in RH see RH, 19 September 1871, 108-109; RH, 2 January 1872, 20; RH, 30 September 1873, 124; RH, 9 June 1874, 205; 27 October 1874, 142; 3 November 1874, 148; 12 October 1876, 116; 3 January 1878, 4; 20 November 1879, 164; 4 December 1879, 180; See also, Sabbath Recorder, 25 January 1872, 17. The Sabbath Recorder, hereafter abbreviated SR, for nearly a century and a half has been recognized as the voice of the Seventh Day Baptist denomination, although for most of its years its existence was only indirectly tied to their General Conference.

<sup>3</sup>J. N. Andrews, "Visit to the S. D. Baptist General Conference," RH, 19 September 1871, 109.

<sup>4</sup>J. N. Andrews, "Seventh-Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists," RH, 24 October 1878, 132. Almost forty years later, A. H. Lewis, another of the principal authors

That some Seventh Day Baptist leaders had similar sentiments of oneness with Seventh-day Adventists can be gathered from remarks made by Elder N. Wardner, speaking as the Seventh Day Baptist representative to the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference of 1871. "I believe that in all matters of practice," he said, "so far as practical duties are concerned, we are a unit. . . . I am very much interested in that despised sentiment which we all hold; that is, the Sabbath."<sup>1</sup>

The strong agreement of the two denominations regarding the "great fundamental doctrines of the perpetuity of the moral code and the changeless character of the ancient Sabbath of the Jehovah"<sup>2</sup> apparently led to the presumption by some that there was a common ground for all their respective Sabbath theologies. But, in truth, it was the differences in the implications of their Sabbath

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with which this dissertation deals, spoke of the work of propagating the Sabbath, using much the same language as had Andrews: "Sabbath reform becomes a large question. It no longer appears a small, or legalistic, or casuistical, or ceremonial issue. It instantly transcends sectarianism." Abram Herbert Lewis, Spiritual Sabbathism (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1910), vii.

<sup>1</sup>"Business Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Session of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists," RH, 2 January 1872, 20-21.

<sup>2</sup>James White, "Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists," RH, 20 November 1879, 164. Here White notes differences and points of unity between Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists.

theologies that eventually caused the denominations to draw apart from each other.

Increasingly during the late 1860s and onward a difference in the vibrancy of the denominations began to be recognized. Seventh Day Baptist leaders, while recognizing the difference in growth, did not attempt to put their finger on the reason why their people lacked a sense of urgency in dedicating themselves to the promotion of the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup>

William Jones, a Seventh Day Baptist pastor of the famous Mill Yard Church in London, in June 1874 referred to a statement of Ellen G. White which spoke of Adventists as not doing one-twentieth of what they might do. Jones went on to say of Seventh Day Baptists, "If this be true of Seventh-day Adventists, what shall be said of our lack and ability? Shall it be said that Seventh Day Baptists are not doing one-fortieth of what they might do?" Then quoting an unknown author, Jones continued, "The Adventists are compassing the world; so might we if we were more devoted."<sup>2</sup> A. H. Lewis, although he did not attempt an explanation of difference in growth patterns, continually

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<sup>1</sup>See N. V. Hull, Nathan Wardner, T. R. Williams, and G. B. Utter, "Response from the Seventh-Day Baptists," RH, 23 November 1869, 176.

<sup>2</sup>W. M. Jones, "Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-Day Adventists," RH, 9 June 1874, 205, reprinted from The Sabbath Recorder, 28 May 1874.

urged his people to more aggressive efforts in spreading the Sabbath doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

Adventist leaders, as an explanation of the disparity in vigor and zeal, began to point to the difference in theological grounding of the two Sabbath traditions, crediting the vigilance of their own movement to the unique prophetic setting of their teaching. J. N. Andrews presented a sizeable list of important aspects of faith which he saw as making the church what it then (1873) was in size and vigor: (1) fulfilled prophecy, (2) a second personal advent of Christ, (3) belief in immortality through Christ alone, (4) change of heart through the operation of the Holy Spirit, (5) observance of the Sabbath of the fourth commandment, (6) the mediatorial work of Christ, (7) development of a holy character by obedience to the perfect and holy law of God, (8) practice of believer

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<sup>1</sup>See Lewis's articles on "Aggressive Sabbath Efforts" in SR, 26 March, 2 April, 9 April, 1863; "Aggression? Yes," 6 October 1870. Some time later, speaking of the Seventh-day Adventists' peculiar beliefs, Lewis comments, "Under the inspiration of this faith, the Seventh-day Adventists have pushed the knowledge of their views with great earnestness, and success. . . . Their power is proportionately much greater than their age, and is steadily increasing." A. H. Lewis, A Critical History of the Sabbath and the Sunday in the Christian Church (Alfred Centre, NY: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1886), 504. Also see Theodore L. Gardiner, Rev. Abram Herbert Lewis, D.D. LL.D., A Biographical Sketch (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1909), 87. Hereafter, Gardiner, Sketch. Lewis's name appears at times as Abram Herbert Lewis, at times as A. H. Lewis, in his published works. In this dissertation, except for first references to books in which his full name appears on the title page, his name will appear as A. H. Lewis.

baptism, and (9) gifts of the Spirit.<sup>1</sup> The rapid numerical growth of the Adventists was attributed by L. R. Conradi in 1912<sup>2</sup> to the strength that the "sure word of prophecy has been to the Sabbath movement."<sup>3</sup> James White gave an Adventist perspective on this matter saying,

S. D. Adventists could hardly be tempered down to the moderation of S. D. Baptists, and it would be equally difficult for the S. D. Baptists to come

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<sup>1</sup>J. N. Andrews, History of the Sabbath and the First Day of the Week, 2d ed., enl. (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Assn., 1873), 507-508. Regarding gifts of prophecy in the church, Andrews referred to his understanding of Rev 12:17 and Rev 19:10, saying, "The Spirit of Prophecy therefore has a distinct place assigned to it in the final work of Sabbath reform." Ibid. These two texts are used by Seventh-day Adventists to help establish a biblical foundation for the belief that the prophetic gift should be evident in the last-day church.

<sup>2</sup>Conradi was a prominent Seventh-day Adventist preacher who after the death of J. N. Andrews revised and enlarged Andrews's History of the Sabbath. J. N. Andrews, History of the Sabbath and the First Day of the Week, 4th ed., rev. and enl. by L. R. Conradi (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1912).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 779. See also, *ibid.*, 776-781. Conradi further stated that "the Seventh Day Baptists do not lack men of education, of talent, and of means, but they do lack the power of the prophetic message to make the Sabbath a live issue." Ibid., 779. For a more contemporary expression of the same idea, see Raymond F. Cottrell, "The Sabbath in the New World," in The Sabbath in Scripture and History, ed. Kenneth A. Strand (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1982), 259: "This understanding of Scripture [Sabbath in the setting of Rev 14] made the Sabbath 'present truth' during the years 1846 to 1849 in a supremely important sense, and gave it an ultimate importance it never had for Seventh Day Baptists. It is also an important factor in the phenomenal growth of Seventh-day Adventists and for their high level of dedication."

under the inspiration of the advent faith, and keep pace with the vigilant movements of our people.<sup>1</sup>

In summary, one can say that, though it is logical to think of the differences between Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists in terms apart from Sabbath theology, in actuality significant differences in Sabbath theology make the denominations distinguishable<sup>2</sup> and have affected their attitudes toward both Sabbathkeeping and the promulgation of the Sabbath doctrine.

#### Purpose and Scope of the Study

The purpose of this study is to seek to understand and to compare the Sabbath theologies of A. H. Lewis (1836-1908), Seventh Day Baptist, and J. N. Andrews (1829-1883), Seventh-day Adventist, in the context of their denominational settings. As each was a prolific witness to

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<sup>1</sup>James White, "Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists," RH, 4 December 1879, 172. Regarding the success of the Seventh Day Baptists, J. N. Andrews commented, "I . . . speak freely, with respect to the obstacles in the way of their success. One of these is found in the lack of a sense of the sacredness of the Sabbath on the part, I fear, of a considerable number." J. N. Andrews, "Visit to the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference," RH, 30 September 1873, 124.

<sup>2</sup>C. Mervyn Maxwell expresses this fact well. "The Sabbath theology of Seventh-day Adventists owes much to the views held by Seventh Day Baptists in the early nineteenth century. Seventh-day Adventists have constructed a unique Sabbath theology by taking what they learned from the Seventh Day Baptists and uniting it to a complex Biblical eschatology." C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Joseph Bates and Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath Theology," in Sabbath in Scripture and History, 352.

the topic of the Sabbath in the nineteenth century, we shall observe the impact of their work and writings upon the vitality of their respective denominations.

Because we must presume that every theologian's work bears the marks of his culture and training, in chapter 1 I present a brief historical background of Seventh Day Baptists and of Seventh-day Adventists as well as a brief sketch of the political, social, and religious milieu in America during the time in which Lewis and Andrews wrote. In chapters 2 and 3 brief biographies are provided of these writers, and I approach the primary task of investigating the heart and purpose of their Sabbath theologies, pursuing each of the figure's theological positions on the Sabbath in a descriptive way and as objectively as possible, closing with a short critique. Attention is drawn to unique approaches, insights, developments, and departures as they appear. In chapter 4 differences and similarities in the writers' theological approaches are noted. I also observe the temperament and mode of operation of each denomination in an attempt to assess how the denominational influences impacted the authors. Further, I look for indications of where attitudes within the respective denominations were in turn noticeably impacted by the work of these leading Sabbath theologians.

In the process, this research seeks to address these questions:

1. Where did Lewis and Andrews walk similar theological paths? Where did they differ? What were the motivating factors underlying the respective Sabbath theologies? Did the writings of either appear to influence the writings of the other?<sup>1</sup>

2. To what degree did other teachings of the denominations affect their Sabbath theologies and that of their respective writers?

3. In what ways did the Sabbath theologies of Lewis and Andrews influence their denominations?

4. How might each of the denominations benefit from the approach of the other's Sabbath theology as seen in these two writers?

#### Justification

Lewis and Andrews were chosen as subjects of this study because each was viewed by his denomination as the foremost Sabbath theologian of his time.<sup>2</sup> Further, inasmuch as each was part of the respective denominational

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<sup>1</sup>J. N. Andrews published the first edition of his Sabbath history in 1861, nine years before Lewis published his first book on the Sabbath. Both of their books were revised several times.

<sup>2</sup>Besides the many publications they authored on the topic of the Sabbath, both men wrote their denomination's leading Sabbath histories. See the accompanying bibliography and sections of this paper which present surveys of the writings of each theologian.

leadership, each man's writings may be looked upon as genuinely representative of his people.<sup>1</sup>

Seventh Day Baptists have expressed high regard for the life and work of their most accomplished Sabbath reformer. In a biographical sketch by Theodore L. Gardiner, a well-known minister and leader among the Seventh Day Baptists, Lewis is described as "called of God

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<sup>1</sup>Some leadership positions A. H. Lewis held were: pastor of churches in the States of New York and New Jersey; Professor of Church History in Alfred Theological Seminary; editor of The Sabbath Recorder and Sabbath Outlook; president of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference and corresponding secretary of the American Sabbath Tract Society. He held numerous posts in local churches. Regarding additional leadership roles see "Biographical Sketches," in Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America, 3 vols. (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1910), 2:1381. J. N. Andrews is considered by many Seventh-day Adventists to be one of their church's founders. A list of some of the leading positions held by him will substantiate this claim. Andrews was an early member of the publishing committee of the church (see masthead, RH, November 1850, 1). He was chairman of the committee to draft the first constitution for the denomination ("Third Annual Session of the General Conference, Battle Creek," RH, 23 May 1865, 196.) He was elected president of the General Conference of the Seventh-day Adventists, a position he held for two years ("Fifth Annual Session of the General Conference, Battle Creek," RH, 28 May 1867, 281-283). He was appointed as editor of the Review and Herald, an office he held for a about one year ("Business Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Session of the Conference of SDA," RH, 25 May 1869, 173). He was chosen to be on a committee designated to cultivate friendly relations with the Seventh Day Baptists (ibid.). He spent much time attending to the church's needs and preaching in association with James and Ellen White. James White, "Eastern Tour," RH, 8 November 1853, 140; "Eastern Tour," 15 November 1853, 148; J. N. Andrews, "The Testimony of Jesus," RH, 3 March 1868, 177-178. On 15 September 1874, Andrews sailed to Europe on the Atlas to become the denomination's first official overseas missionary. He helped to build a strong work on the European continent. J. N. Andrews, "Our Embarkation," RH, 22 September 1874, 112.

to labor for the restoration of the down-trodden Sabbath in the nineteenth century just as certainly as was Isaiah or Jeremiah called to labor for the uplifting of God's truth in the days of Israel's apostasy."<sup>1</sup>

What was true for Lewis in his denomination seems also to be true for J. N. Andrews in his. In a letter to the Sabbathkeepers in Switzerland, Ellen G. White wrote, "We sent you the ablest man in all our ranks."<sup>2</sup> Andrews was not only the leading Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath theologian of his time, he was also the one leader who had the closest connection with Seventh Day Baptists.

The fact that these two men had much in common in their roles as leaders in their denominations, as well as in their personal lives,<sup>3</sup> makes a comparison of their theologies intriguing. Both were men of keen intellect, men whose zeal at times drove them to overwork to the point of exhaustion. As contemporaries they wrote in similar

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<sup>1</sup>Gardiner, Sketch, 33. Gardiner (1844-1938) was president of Salem College, a Seventh Day Baptist institution, 1892-1906, and editor of The Sabbath Recorder, 1907-1931. See SDBEA, 3:191.

<sup>2</sup>Ellen G. White to "Dear Brethren in Switzerland," August 29, 1878, Ellen G. White Research Center, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI.

<sup>3</sup>Both men at times dropped out of denominational work on account of ill health, both at times suffered from insufficient finances to support their families and sustain the evangelistic work in which they were so heavily involved, and in the end both had to struggle with a sense of failure and lack of accomplishment in the work to which they had given their lives.

political, social, and spiritual environments, facing similar challenges.

Both A. H. Lewis and J. N. Andrews made large and significant contributions to the Sabbath literature of the nineteenth century, but commentary on neither of their works has found large place in the discussion of twentieth-century Sabbath theologians. This dissertation seeks to advance to a more deserved level of awareness in the Sabbath literature the Sabbath theologies of A. H. Lewis<sup>1</sup> and J. N. Andrews.<sup>2</sup>

The timeliness of the topic of this dissertation is made apparent by Lewis's terse declaration of 1908 in which he seems to have spoken with prophetic insight into our time, describing the spirit of his time: "Our time is burdened with materialistic philosophy and 'scientific

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<sup>1</sup>Seventh Day Baptists still recognize Lewis as their major foundational Sabbath theologian, but his theology has not made significant impact outside of the denomination. Even ministerial trainees within the denomination are exposed to Lewis's writings only through summer institutes. Unfortunately, Lewis's theology has not been taken advantage of by Seventh-day Adventists, the main proponents of the seventh-day Sabbath.

<sup>2</sup>Seventh-day Adventist literature contains a considerable amount of biographical material regarding Andrews and some evaluation of his contribution to the denomination, but very little on the actual content of his writings. An explanation for this lack may be that because his Sabbath theology was so foundational to his denomination, scores of Seventh-day Adventist writers since have studied and written on the same topics, and Andrews is often not perceived as one of the original writers of the theology. A recent book edited by Harry Leonard, J. N. Andrews, the Man and the Mission (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1985), contains some evaluation of his writings.

unfaith.' . . . Spirituality and the eternal verities are out of date, for they can neither be verified in the laboratory nor cashed at the bank."<sup>1</sup> He continued, "Three words are on trial for their life--the words 'sacred,' 'eternal,' and 'Sabbath'."<sup>2</sup>

### Limitations

It is beyond the scope and intent of this study to investigate in detail the development of the Sabbath theology in the two Sabbath traditions outside the writings of the selected representatives, Lewis and Andrews. Neither do I focus upon antecedent Sabbath theology or on the full impact of their writings upon their respective denominations in years following their active careers.<sup>3</sup>

The area of concentration is limited to the materials of A. H. Lewis and J. N. Andrews during the period 1844-1910. The beginning date, 1844, was chosen because the Sabbath was introduced to Adventists in 1844, and the ending date, 1910, marks the publishing of Lewis's last book.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis, Spiritual Sabbathism, vi.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., vii.

<sup>3</sup>Exceptions are made occasionally when helpful for illuminating the thoughts of the two writers.

<sup>4</sup>J. N. Andrews died in 1883. The third edition of The History of the Sabbath was published in 1887. A. H. Lewis died in 1908. His last book, Spiritual Sabbathism, was published in 1910.

Review of the Literature

Writings or commentaries on the theology of A. H. Lewis are virtually non-existent, although he is much quoted by Seventh Day Baptists. Regarding his life and accomplishments, two sources are of special consequence. A biographical sketch by Theodore Gardiner covers a cross section of pertinent events both in Lewis's personal life and in his work for the Seventh Day Baptist denomination. The book supplies details concerning Lewis's career and publications, but does not deal with his theology.<sup>1</sup>

Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America, vols. 1-3, deals primarily with the history of the Sabbath doctrine and the Seventh Day Baptist denomination. Volumes 2 and 3 contain some biographical information concerning Lewis.<sup>2</sup>

Two books by Seventh Day Baptist writers, The Sabbath: Symbol of Creation and Re-Creation by Herbert E. Saunders, and A Choosing People: The History of the Seventh Day Baptists by Don A. Sanford, should be mentioned. Saunders's book deals with theology; its author quotes Lewis

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<sup>1</sup>Theodore L. Gardiner, Rev. Abram Herbert Lewis, D.D. LL.D., A Biographical Sketch (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1909).

<sup>2</sup>SDBEA, 1: 23-37; see p. 11, n. 1 above. The first two volumes of SDBEA were published in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the organization of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, celebrated at Ashaway, Rhode Island, August 20-25, 1902, and consisted of a series of papers written by their own historians. The third volume was written by Albert N. Rogers, published in 1972. The three-volume set presents a history of the Seventh Day Baptist denomination.

profusely and reflects his theology in many areas.<sup>1</sup>

Sanford's book is an insightful interpretation of the life and work of Seventh Day Baptists.<sup>2</sup>

The life and theology of J. N. Andrews has been written about in a number of books and papers. The most significant is a volume edited by Harry Leonard, J. N. Andrews, the Man and the Mission,<sup>3</sup> in which fifteen leading theologians and scholars of the Seventh-day Adventist church comment on aspects of Andrews's life and work. The book contains chapters by K. F. Mueller entitled, "The Theologian of the Sabbath," and "The Architect of Adventist Doctrine," which briefly present Andrews's contributions to major Seventh-day Adventist doctrines but from a historical rather than theological point of view.

John Nevins Andrews, Flame for the Lord,<sup>4</sup> by Virgil Robinson, is strictly biographical but provides background material for a study of Andrews's writings. Similar is the

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert E. Saunders, The Sabbath: Symbol of Creation and Re-Creation (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1970). Twenty percent of his references are to Lewis's writings, all of them dealing with the meaning of the Sabbath.

<sup>2</sup>Don Sanford, A Choosing People: The History of Seventh Day Baptists (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1992).

<sup>3</sup>Harry Leonard, ed., J. N. Andrews, the Man and the Mission (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1985).

<sup>4</sup>Virgil Robinson, John Nevins Andrews: Flame for the Lord (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1975).

M.A. thesis of Gordon Balharrie<sup>1</sup> which contributes a history and chronology of Andrews's life and writings, but does not include the theological perspective.

In Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission,<sup>2</sup> P. Gerard Damsteegt presents evidence for Andrews's major contributions to Seventh-day Adventist theology, quoting him many times.

Various term papers written for course requirements at Seventh-day Adventist universities explore aspects of Andrews's life and work.<sup>3</sup>

Several general studies comparing Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists have been written in book form, term papers, and master's theses. Notable are William C. Burdick's Seventh Day Baptist pamphlet, Seventh Day Baptists as Distinguished from Seventh-day Adventists;<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gordon Balharrie, "A Study of the Contribution Made to the Seventh-day Adventist Movement by John Nevins Andrews" (M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 1949), 135.

<sup>2</sup>P. Gerard Damsteegt, Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1971).

<sup>3</sup>See: Johan A. Van Bignoot, "J. N. Andrews, Seventh-day Adventist Missionary-Editor in French Speaking Europe" (M.A. project report, Andrews University, 1980); Andrew Pak, "Sabbath Observance Practices of Seventh-day Adventist Pioneers" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1989). Arthur Schmidt's "J. N. Andrews in Defense of the Sabbath" discusses Andrews's running polemic with O. R. L. Crozier during the 1850s (Term paper, Andrews University, 1978). For a complete listing, see the Bibliography.

<sup>4</sup>William L. Burdick, Seventh Day Baptists as Distinguished from Seventh-day Adventists (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1930).

Gordon O. Martinborough's M.A. thesis on American Sabbatarian Adventists;<sup>1</sup> Russel J. Thomsen's book, Seventh Day Baptists—Their Legacy to Adventists;<sup>2</sup> and Robert M. Johnston's term paper, "Relationships between Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists."<sup>3</sup> In The Sabbath in Scripture and History, chapters by C. Mervyn Maxwell and Raymond F. Cottrell<sup>4</sup> address interesting aspects of Sabbath theology in the Seventh Day Baptist and Seventh-day Adventist denominations. Several other books and papers comparing the two denominations are listed in the footnote.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gordon O. Martinborough, "The Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath Among American Sabbatarian Adventists, 1842-1850" (M.A. thesis, Loma Linda University, 1976).

<sup>2</sup>Russel J. Thomsen, Seventh Day Baptists—Their Legacy to Adventists (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1971).

<sup>3</sup>Robert M. Johnston, "Relationships between Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1962).

<sup>4</sup>Maxwell, "Joseph Bates and Seventh-day Adventist Theology," 352-363, and Cottrell, "The Sabbath in the New World," 244-263

<sup>5</sup>W. H. Littlejohn, Seventh-day Adventists and Seventh Day Baptists (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., n.d.); Ernest Dempsey, "The Relationship between Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1964); Carl Albert Metzger, Unterscheidungslehren der S.T. Baptisten und S.T. Adventisten (Hamburg: Advent Verlag, n.d.); Clarence Henry Small, "Why Aren't Seventh Day Baptists Growing? A Comparative Study of Two Sabbathkeeping Bodies" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1979). A number of articles in RH and SR compare the two denominations.

The major works of A. H. Lewis and J. N. Andrews are available in book form and are briefly reviewed in chapters 2 and 3; they serve as foundational materials for this study. In addition, hundreds of journal articles, pamphlets, sermons, and both published and unpublished letters by these authors form an important part of the research material.<sup>1</sup> The main resource centers are Seventh Day Baptist and Seventh-day Adventist libraries.<sup>2</sup>

### Methodology

This dissertation is written in a historical-theological comparative framework.

Two approaches are used: First, the thematic-descriptive approach by which the major themes that keep emerging and which permeate the entire theological output of the authors is studied and compared. Attempts are made to keep the description as objective as possible. Occasional evaluative statements are added to clarify theological positions of the writers. Second, the chronological

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<sup>1</sup>Inquiries at research centers listed in the following footnote indicate that no correspondence between Lewis and Andrews is available.

<sup>2</sup>Main resource centers are: (1) the Seventh Day Baptist Library and Archives at their headquarters in Janesville, Wisconsin, (2) the Heritage Center and the White Estate Branch Office at Andrews University, (3) the Seventh-day Adventist Archives in Washington, DC, (4) the J. N. Andrews Center, Collogne-sous-Saleve, France, (5) the Loma Linda Heritage Center, and (6) the library shelves of Andrews University and Union College.

approach is used to seek understanding of the observable development or growth in the respective Sabbath theologies.

The views of the two writers are compared in order to point out similarities and divergences. Ways in which one theological approach might inform and strengthen the other are suggested.

Practical and theological implications of the respective approaches and views are noted. Some attempts are made to probe a "cause and effect" relationship between the philosophical and theological framework of the respective Sabbath theologies and the vibrancy and growth patterns of each movement.

#### Historical Background of the Study

As a background to this study I present here a brief historical sketch of Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists and describe the nineteenth-century milieu in which Lewis and Andrews wrote.

#### Seventh Day Baptists

Traditionally, Seventh Day Baptists see themselves as part of a succession of Sabbath witnesses unbroken from the first century down to the Reformation.<sup>1</sup> While not all

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<sup>1</sup>J. Lee Gamble and Charles H. Green, "The Sabbath in the British Isles," in SDBEA, 1:23-37. See also, Lewis, Spiritual Sabbathism, 173: "There had always been some Sabbath-keeping dissenters during all the centuries back to Christ, and the English Seventh-day Baptists [sic] were their spiritual heirs."

references for this chain of Sabbathkeepers are of equal strength, accounts of seventh-day Sabbathkeepers among the Waldenses during the mid to later years of the Dark Ages are, they say, well documented.<sup>1</sup> Among Sabbathkeepers during the Reformation were Anabaptists whose concepts of religious reform, according to the example of Christ, led them to keep the seventh day.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, to the influence of the sabbatizing of Sunday among the Puritans that Seventh Day Baptists connect the official organization of the Seventh Day Baptist denomination.<sup>3</sup> The logical thinking of the Puritans in regard to sabbatizing Sunday, and their strict adherence to biblical principles, led some to an observance of the seventh day as Sabbath.<sup>4</sup> Don

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<sup>1</sup>SDBEA 1:32, 33.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 36. See also, Sanford, Choosing People, 24-25. For a study of the Sabbatarian Anabaptists see Gerhard F. Hasel, "Sabbatarian Anabaptists of the Sixteenth Century, Part 1," AUSS 5 (1967): 101-121, and idem, "Sabbatarian Anabaptists of the Sixteenth Century, Part 2," AUSS 6 (1968): 19-28.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis assesses that "the first denominational [italics supplied] result of Puritanism was the English Seventh-day Baptists" [sic]. Lewis, Spiritual Sabbathism, 173. The modern choice of spelling for the denominational name is "Seventh Day Baptist." This spelling is used throughout this study except for alternate spellings which are contained in direct quotations. The spelling "Seventh-day Baptist" was used throughout the text of SDBEA, vols. 1 and 2, but when the books were published in 1910, the title page and preface used the spelling "Seventh Day Baptist."

<sup>4</sup>Walter B. Douglas, "The Sabbath in Puritanism," in Strand, ed., Sabbath in Scripture and History, 229. Here Douglas states, "There was the small group of Puritans who . . . bas[ed] their views entirely on the authority of Scripture. These believed that the seventh day of the

Sanford, leading historian in the Seventh Day Baptist denomination today, notes that Puritans who were willing to "take whatever steps were needed, . . . to put their ideas into practice" became the Separatists,<sup>1</sup> out of whom came the first Seventh Day Baptists.<sup>2</sup>

Sanford, in his recently published history of the Seventh Day Baptists, traces historic roots no further back than Reformation times. He sees the Reformation as similar to the experience of the Israelites on the borders of the promised land. Just as many at that time refused to enter, preferring the traditionalism of the past, so many during Reformation times were content to leave the journey unfinished.<sup>3</sup> Seventh Day Baptists, says Sanford, arose from among those who continued in the spirit of the Reformation, looking for "more truths yet to break out of His Holy Word." The concept of the Sabbath became "one of

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fourth commandment of the Decalogue was never changed and that obedience to God's law requires the proper observance of Saturday as the Sabbath."

<sup>1</sup>Sanford, Choosing People, 36.

<sup>2</sup>It is not conclusive that those historic church groups were the direct forerunners of the Seventh Day Baptists of today. Modern-day writer Robert M. Johnston says, "Seventh Day Baptists lay claim to a history of antecedent Sabbath keepers among the Anabaptists, the Lollards, the Waldensians, and others throughout the history of the Christian Church. . . . It is more likely the case that seventh-day Sabbatarianism has arisen independently and repeatedly wherever there have been nonconformist spirits who bound themselves by the Bible alone." Johnston, 3.

<sup>3</sup>Sanford, Choosing People, 23-24.

the areas in which they shed new light as they chose to follow the Scriptures."<sup>1</sup>

Torchbearers in this emergence of truth include Nicolas Bownde, whose book The Doctrine of the Sabbath was first published in 1595.<sup>2</sup> Although speaking primarily of Sunday as the Sabbath, the book nevertheless served as an evangelistic tool to stimulate many Puritans to reexamine the biblical record regarding the Sabbath of the fourth commandment.<sup>3</sup> Some who helped to form the background for the Seventh Day Baptist denomination by promoting the seventh-day Sabbath were John and Dorothy Trask,<sup>4</sup> Theophilus Brabourne,<sup>5</sup> Peter Chamberlen,<sup>6</sup> John James,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 24, 25.

<sup>2</sup>Nicholas Bownde, The Doctrine of the Sabbath: Plainely layd forth and soundly proved by testimonies both of holy scripture, and also of old and ecclesiastical writers (London: n.p., 1595).

<sup>3</sup>Sanford, Choosing People, 47.

<sup>4</sup>Seventh Day Baptists maintain that Trask, pastor of the Mill Yard Church in London, led his congregation into Sabbathkeeping. SDBEA 1:39. Sanford says, "There is no evidence that Traske [alternate spelling] was ever associated with any church which later became known as a Seventh Day Baptist church." Sanford, Choosing People, 51. Nevertheless it is agreed that Trask is not unimportant in the development of the Sabbath doctrine.

<sup>5</sup>Brabourne wrote convincingly of the seventh-day Sabbath but did not himself observe it. Sanford, Choosing People, 52.

<sup>6</sup>Chamberlen, personal physician to Charles I and Charles II of England, took a strong stand for the seventh-day Sabbath through writing and debate and reportedly kept it for more than 30 years. Ibid., 62.

Francis Bampfield, and the Stennett family, from which came several Baptist and Seventh Day Baptist preachers.<sup>1</sup>

Acknowledging difficulties in setting a specific date, Seventh Day Baptists claim the early years of the 1650s as marking the beginning of their denomination.<sup>2</sup>

Stephen Mumford, a Seventh Day Baptist from London, is credited with organizing the first Seventh Day Baptist church in the New World.<sup>3</sup> Between 1671 and 1802 (the date of the organization of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference) the denomination in America grew from a handful to over one thousand members.<sup>4</sup>

The Sabbath doctrine has been a singular and indispensable rallying point and reason for the existence of the Seventh Day Baptists,<sup>5</sup> especially since all their other

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 68-76. For more on Seventh Day Baptist pioneers and their contributions to the development of their denomination, see SDBEA, 1:39-113; A. H. Lewis, A Critical History of the Sabbath and the Sunday in the Christian Church, 2d ed., rev. (Plainfield, NJ: American Tract Society, 1903), 273-295; Sanford, Choosing People, 50-75.

<sup>2</sup>Sanford, Choosing People, 58.

<sup>3</sup>SDBEA, 1:122. Five who broke away from the Baptist church to join Mumford were Samuel and Tacy Hubbard and their daughter Rachel, Roger Baster, and William Hiscox.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 154-156.

<sup>5</sup>Ahva John Clarence Bond speaks to this point: "Seventh Day Baptists bring to the church, humbly but confidently, the Sabbath of Christ as their peculiar contribution." Sabbath History I, Before the Beginning of Modern Denomination, 2d ed. (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1927), 10-11. In a pamphlet prepared by the Seventh Day Baptists, entitled A Baptist

teachings are shared with one or a number of other Protestant denominations. Additional stress is laid upon the importance of the Sabbath doctrine when it is recognized that one of the foremost Seventh Day Baptist teachings is "freedom of thought" for the individual believer.<sup>1</sup> A statement of belief sets forth the fundamental positions held by the Seventh Day Baptists but avoids the authoritarianism or the urging of their views in order to make converts. The Seventh Day Baptist theology of the Sabbath is grounded in three basic concepts: (1) the Sabbath is a creation ordinance, (2) the Sabbath is enshrined in the fourth commandment in God's holy law, and (3) the Sabbath is vindicated and perfectly embodied in the life and teachings of Jesus Christ.<sup>2</sup>

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Church That's a Little Different (Janesville, WI: Seventh Day Baptists, n.d., 2, is the statement: "It is the joy of the Sabbath that makes Seventh Day Baptists just a little different."

<sup>1</sup>"Seventh Day Baptists cherish liberty of thought as an essential condition for the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Therefore they have no binding creed to which members must subscribe. They hold, however, that certain beliefs and practices, having the support of Scripture and adhered to by followers of Christ through the centuries, are binding upon all Christians." A Baptist Church That's a Little Different, 1. See also Don A. Sanford, A Free People in Search of a Free Land, 3d ed. (Janesville, WI: Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society, 1987), 103-104.

<sup>2</sup>A discussion of Lewis's understanding of the concepts listed above is presented in chapter 2.

## Seventh-day Adventists

Seventh-day Adventists see themselves as a body of New Testament Christians, a part of the Christian Church with a tightly integrated network of biblical teachings clearly rooted in Scripture, and standing in the tradition of the Protestant Reformers. They regard themselves as "part of the last-day segment of God's chosen line of witnesses spanning the entire Christian era."<sup>1</sup>

Seventh-day Adventists emerged from the Millerite movement of the 1800s. After the "Great Disappointment" suffered by that movement in October 1844<sup>2</sup> some of the

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<sup>1</sup>LeRoy Edwin Froom, Movement of Destiny (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1971), 28. He further notes: "Our roots did not simply begin in 1844—nor even with the antecedent worldwide Second Advent Awakening and the Movement of the early decades of the nineteenth century, particularly in 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." Ibid., 27-28.

<sup>2</sup>The "Great Disappointment" refers to the 1844 experience of the Millerites (followers of William Miller of Low Hampton, New York), when their expectations of Jesus' coming to this earth on October 22 or 23, 1844, did not materialize. William Miller, on the basis of a number of biblical references, primarily from the book of Daniel, concluded that Jesus was to return to earth very soon. Miller, using the prophecies of Dan 8:14 and 9:24-27, calculated that the return of Christ would occur sometime between the spring of 1843 and the spring of 1844 of the Jewish year. At a camp meeting in Exeter, New Hampshire, in August 1844, Samuel Snow preached that Christ would cleanse the sanctuary on the tenth day of the seventh month of the Karaite Jewish year, which fell on October 22-23, 1844. Many people were stirred with excitement as they contemplated the possibility of the personal coming of Christ and the end of the world. When the fateful day passed without the realization of their hopes, all experienced what is referred to as the "Great

Adventists continued to have confidence in Miller's interpretation of the 2300-day prophecy but espoused what they believed to be "additional light" regarding the sanctuary. They also shortly accepted the seventh-day Sabbath as passed on to them through the Seventh Day Baptists.<sup>1</sup> It was the belief in the second coming of Christ as seen in relation to three other singular teachings that distinguished what was to become later the Seventh-day

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Disappointment." See Francis D. Nichol, The Midnight Cry: A Defense of William Miller and the Millerites (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1944), 28-40; J. N. Loughborough, The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Assn., 1905), 118-121.

<sup>1</sup>Acceptance of the Sabbath by early Adventists appears to have been scattered among people without communication with one another until 1849, when an identifiable group of Sabbatarian Adventists began to emerge. A tract by Thomas M. Preble, A Tract, Showing that the Seventh-day Sabbath Should Be observed as the Sabbath, Instead of the First Day; According to the Commandment (dated 13 February 1845, published in The Hope of Israel, 28 February 1845) was a significant link between Millerites and Sabbatarians and a primary means of leading a number of noteworthy Millerites into Sabbatarian Adventism. Among these Millerites were J. B. Cook, who later gave up the Sabbath; Joseph Bates, who became the foremost early promoter of the Sabbath doctrine among the Adventists, and J. N. Andrews, who received Preble's pamphlet from Marian Stowell, a 15-year-old neighbor friend. Where Preble may have received his views from is uncertain, but possibly from Frederick Wheeler, a not-too-distant neighboring pastor who had received his views directly from Seventh Day Baptists through Rachael Oaks early in 1844. See Andrews, History of the Sabbath and the First Day of the Week, 2d ed., enl., 501-504; Robinson, 14-15; Arthur Whitefield Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists, 4 vols. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1961-62), 1:117; Cottrell, "Sabbath in the New World," 247-248.

Adventist church from the other Adventist bodies.<sup>1</sup> These distinctive teachings were: (1) a unique understanding of the work of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary; (2) the discovery of the seventh-day Sabbath seen in its relationship to the sanctuary; and (3) the ministry and work of Ellen G. White, often referred to among Seventh-day Adventists as the "Spirit of Prophecy."<sup>2</sup> Adventists concluded that the relationship among these three distinct teachings was not superficial or mere happenstance, but was based on sound biblical and prophetic interpretation.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>T. Housel Jemison, A Prophet Among You (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1955), 197-200. A. H. Lewis included in his Critical History of the Sabbath and the Sunday, 401, 402, an explanation given by J. N. Andrews of how the prophetic element led to the Sabbath in Seventh-day Adventist theology.

<sup>2</sup>Ellen G. White (1827-1915), along with her husband James White and others, was one of the early pioneers and founders of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. Adventists believe that her visions and dreams (over 2000 in all), passed on through her prolific writings, were given to her under direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Her writings, while not considered on an equal basis with Scripture, are counted trustworthy and authoritative by the Seventh-day Adventist church. Ellen G. White was, and still is today, considered by Seventh-day Adventists as having exercised the gift of prophecy in accordance with Eph 4 and 1 Cor 12, as a true prophet of God. For the contemporary expression of how her writings are viewed in the Seventh-day Adventist church today, see Ministerial Association, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Seventh-day Adventists Believe . . . : A Biblical Exposition of 27 Fundamental Doctrines (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1988), 216.

<sup>3</sup>Joseph Bates, by January 1847, was convinced of the importance of the Sabbath's connection to the doctrine of the Sanctuary. See Joseph Bates, The Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign, from the Beginning, to the Entering into the Gates of the Holy City, According to the Commandment,

Raymond Cottrell, a Seventh-day Adventist theologian, as recently as 1982 expressed the relationship of the Sabbath to the teaching of the second coming in this way:

The second advent of Christ and the Sabbath were bonded together in Adventist theology in an inseparable, symbiotic union in which each was dependent on the other. This union of the Advent and the Sabbath in the setting of the everlasting gospel (Rev 14:6) and the imminent hour of divine judgment (verse 7) is the constitutive dynamic of Seventh-day Adventist theology.<sup>1</sup>

As did founders of the denomination, contemporary Seventh-day Adventists consider themselves a people with a special mission and message to be "brought before the world,"<sup>2</sup> a modern reformatory movement entrusted to proclaim the "Elijah message,"<sup>3</sup> to bring all to the point

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2d ed. rev. and enl. (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1847). Ellen White, during March and April of the same year, spoke of the Sabbath as being in the heart of the law of God which was in the Most Holy compartment of the heavenly sanctuary. See Ellen G. White, Early Writings (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1882), 32, 33.

<sup>1</sup>Cottrell, "Sabbath in the New World," 259.

<sup>2</sup>Ellen G. White spoke clearly: "The third angel's message [referring to the message of the Seventh-day Adventist church] calls for presentation of the Sabbath of the fourth commandment, and this truth must be brought before the world." Idem, "Christ the Center of the Message," RH, 20 March 1894, 177. Also, Froom, Movement of Destiny, 28: "We have simply revived . . . lost or trampled truths. Added to these are those special truths now due the world, in their special 'time of the end,' 'last days,' and 'judgment hour' setting and significance."

<sup>3</sup>The term, "Elijah message," is derived from Mal 4:5, 6. Although fulfilled in the life and work of John the Baptist (Matt 11:14), an eschatological fulfillment of the "Elijah message" is expected. See Damsteegt, 250-253.

of decision concerning allegiance to Christ. They do not regard themselves as simply another denomination but as a group called by God to be restorers of old truths and "repairers of the breach" in the law of God--the "breach" being understood to be the breaking of the seventh-day Sabbath of the fourth commandment.<sup>1</sup>

Adventist historian C. Mervyn Maxwell declares:

Seventh-day Adventists do not regard themselves as making up any mere "religious society." They look at their church as a dynamic spiritual movement entrusted with a momentous message and motivated by an impelling sense of mission. . . . Their mission is to take such good news and tell it to the world—for it doesn't belong only to the people who happen to be Seventh-day Adventists today. It is a universal message for everyone everywhere.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the name "Seventh-day Adventist" was chosen to express the indispensable interrelationship of the Sabbath with the major eschatological teachings of the denomination.<sup>3</sup> It set the Sabbath of Adventism apart from

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<sup>1</sup>Isa 58:12-15. For the traditional Seventh-day Adventist view of the term "repairers of the breach," see "Isaiah," SDA Bible Commentary, ed. F. D. Nichol (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1953-57), 4:307.

<sup>2</sup>C. Mervyn Maxwell, Tell It to the World: The Story of Seventh-day Adventists (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1976), preface.

<sup>3</sup>Spalding, Origin and History, 1: 302-303. Church leader Ellen G. White says, "The name Seventh-day Adventist carries the true features of our faith in front, and will convict the inquiring mind. Like an arrow from the Lord's quiver, it will wound the transgressor of God's law, and will lead to repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ." Idem, Testimonies for the Church, 9 vols. (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1855-1908), 1:223-224.

the Sabbath of other Sabbathkeeping denominations. This eschatological perspective of the Sabbath doctrine was the rallying point for the pioneer Seventh-day Adventist church and still today is the catalyst that

transcends all social, economic, racial, and national barriers, uniting Adventists around the world in a bond of loyalty to Christ and one another. The name 'Seventh-day Adventist' aptly expresses the raison d'être of the church.<sup>1</sup>

### The Nineteenth-Century Milieu

America in the mid- to later-nineteenth century was characterized by a spirit of ferment and reform in social, political, and religious spheres.<sup>2</sup> This condition, combined with the ongoing spirit of freedom and democracy identified with the frontier mentality, provided an appropriate soil in which the Sabbath reform discussed in this study could grow. With the end of the Civil War, the character of the American population began changing rapidly as a result of the industrial explosion and the continuing influx of immigrants. Power and position in both secular and religious circles had earlier been primarily in the

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<sup>1</sup>Cottrell, "The Sabbath in the New World," 259.

<sup>2</sup>For the historical setting of the nineteenth century see Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1972); Jerome L. Clark, 1844: Religious Movements, Social Movements, Intellectual Movements, 3 vols. (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Assn., 1968); Gary Land, ed., The World of Ellen G. White (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1987), 105; see especially Jonathan Butler, "When America Was Christian," in *ibid.*, 97-110.

hands of affluent Protestants, many of whom were little concerned with the wretched conditions suffered by some in the lower classes. Some immigrants brought with them to America the rather godless mentality of the "continental Sunday" as a day dedicated not to worship but to pleasure seeking, public amusements, and frequenting of saloons. The continued increase of affluence and the independent thinking encouraged in higher education left men feeling less and less dependent upon God. A contrasting but constituent element of the times was the continuance of the religious awakening and fervor of the preaching of the imminent return of Christ, which had marked the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The combination of elements noted above at once posed a threat to Protestant control in America and precipitated (from both within and without established Protestantism) the numerous reform movements by which it was hoped the Protestant values that America was built upon would be preserved.<sup>2</sup> From this milieu emerged several major movements that are significant to this study: (1) the

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<sup>1</sup>History recognizes the general spiritual awakening both in Europe and America beginning in the eighteenth century. Out of this awakening emerged an interest in the study of prophecy and the preaching of the imminent return of Christ, which climaxed in the preaching of William Miller directly preceding the 1844 disappointment.

<sup>2</sup>"There was an increased interest both in acquiring the comforts of this world and in preparing oneself and others for the next." R. W. Schwarz, Light Bearers to the Remnant (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1979), 22.

Sunday legislation movement as an attempt to preserve the Protestant Puritan Sabbath;<sup>1</sup> (2) the growing concepts of immanentism and pietism that protested intellectualism, churchly formalism, and ethical passivity, and emphasized the subjective experience with God rather than emphasizing dogma; and (3) the reaction to the rise of liberal thinking, which included both the higher critical method of biblical interpretation and the evolutionary theories coming into prominence during this period.

In the complex intermingling of social and intellectual elements, Protestants were divided in their response. A large number took up the long-prevailing attempt to legislate Sundaykeeping on the level of the spirituality of the Puritan Sabbath. Groups such as the National Reform Movement and the American Sabbath Union saw national problems as indications that God was angry with America. They started a move for national Sunday Laws in 1879, holding that the passing of such laws would mean "national recognition of divine sovereignty."<sup>2</sup> Others, especially among Seventh Day Baptists and the growing Seventh-day Adventist church, greatly resisted these

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<sup>1</sup>The Sunday law movement became closely associated with the prohibition movement, both of which had an intermingling of both religious and secular motivations.

<sup>2</sup>More discussion on Sunday law movements is included in chapter 2.

efforts, which obviously at times contained secular as well as religious motives.<sup>1</sup>

In the clash between modernist and fundamentalist religious thinking the division in thought came not only between the secular and the religious but within the Protestant church itself. Many, especially among intellectual Protestants, accepted forms of higher criticism and evolution; indeed, in some circles these ideas were held to be synonymous with scholarship. The controversy brought deep heart-searching on the part of sincere<sup>2</sup> churchmen who sought to harmonize the concept of evolution with Bible teachings.<sup>3</sup>

The kaleidoscope of these issues forms the background to this study of the Sabbath theologies of A. H. Lewis and J. N. Andrews.

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<sup>1</sup>They tried to eliminate all secular work and recreation on the first day of the week.

<sup>2</sup>Clark, 1:288.

<sup>3</sup>Everett Dick, in *ibid.*, foreward.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SABBATH THEOLOGY OF A. H. LEWIS

#### Historical Background

#### Biographical Sketch

Abram Herbert Lewis was a man with an overwhelming passion. One of the most prolific writers and promoters of the Sabbath doctrine in the nineteenth century, his constant theme throughout years of pastoring, lecturing, writing, and itinerate preaching was one facet or another of teachings concerning the seventh-day Sabbath. Rarely in his writings, published sermons, or reports is there one found in which, if his main topic was not the Sabbath, he did not in some way address the subject.<sup>1</sup> He was characterized as the "apostle" in his denomination's work for Sabbath reform.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Of his many articles in the Sabbath Recorder, though he wrote on the family, home, young preachers, etc., by far the majority were on the topic of the Sabbath. In this chapter, all SR articles without the author's name are from the pen of A. H. Lewis; similarly, all titles of books without the author's name refer to works of A. H. Lewis. Article titles from the SR are generally not included for incidental references not directly addressing the Sabbath question.

<sup>2</sup>SDBEA, 1:447. According to Lewis's biographer, Theodore Gardiner, Lewis's hopes and aspirations even before he entered seminary were in the field of work for

Lewis was born in 1836 in Cortland County, New York, and raised in a devout Seventh Day Baptist home, his spiritual roots deep in the soil of a solid Seventh Day Baptist community. His own personality contained a poetic, almost romantic vein,<sup>1</sup> and from his early childhood he was specially attuned to look through nature to nature's God. As a young man he imbibed the culture and characteristics of Indians in the area.<sup>2</sup> When only seventeen he came under the influence of the rationalism of a brilliant skeptic who called himself a spiritualist. How seriously we should take his own testimony that he "became a 'medium' after the rude manner of those times," we can only wonder.

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Sabbath reform. In speaking of Lewis's feelings concerning Sabbath work Gardiner says, "It was without doubt God's call to a special work. Indeed, who shall say that Mr. Lewis was not called of God to labor for the restoration of the down-trodden Sabbath in the nineteenth century just as certainly as was Isaiah or Jeremiah called to labor for the uplifting of God's truth in the days of Israel's apostasy?" Gardiner, Sketch, 33-34.

<sup>1</sup>Gardiner, Sketch, 29. An old friend of Lewis's, describing their "poetry-reading" nights of younger days, told of Lewis's eloquence, his "love of poetry and tender, human sympathies." L. C. Randolph, "A Thought or Two More," SR, 31 January 1898, 67. A favorite illustration of Lewis's was of the "old arm chair," "sacred in proportion to the love we bore for 'the mother who sat there.'" Idem, "Origin and Nature of the Sabbath," SR, 10 November 1864, 178.

<sup>2</sup>Gardiner, Sketch, 17.

Nonetheless, these incidents indicate something of his nature,<sup>1</sup> and the experiences which shaped his thinking.

From his youngest years Lewis was an avid scholar.<sup>2</sup> His decision to enter the ministry came after an intense personal struggle with his ambition to become a lawyer with the hope of seeking a seat in Congress.<sup>3</sup> On two occasions during his young life, both before he settled into the Seventh Day Baptist ministry, his connection with his denomination was threatened. One such time was his brush with skepticism mentioned above;<sup>4</sup> another was when as a student at Milton Academy in 1859 he became inclined toward the Second Advent doctrines of the sleep of death and the imminent coming of Christ. He began writing to the editor of the Sabbath Recorder asking for explanations of these two doctrines which he felt the Seventh Day Baptist people

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<sup>1</sup>Possibly reminiscent of his earlier experience with "spiritualism," in an oration given at his commencement from the classical course at Milton College in 1861 he warned about the susceptibility of the mind to the influences of "delusive" and "subtle" philosophy, and trying to "get at the secret things of God by short cuts." Ibid., 23.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 4-5, 14, 22-23. Lewis felt compelled to "crowd to the head of his class" during his first years of school. He was valedictorian of his graduating class at Milton College in 1860.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 25-26.

<sup>4</sup>"Through the rationalism of this dangerous man," wrote Lewis in later life, "my faith in the Bible and in orthodox Christianity was much shaken." At that time Lewis asked to have his name removed from the Seventh Day Baptist church list, but his church did not comply. Ibid., 16.

were treating with wrongful indifference.<sup>1</sup> After 1859 no articles from his pen on these subjects appeared. However,

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis urged his own people not to reject the teaching of the soon return of Christ because of its unpopularity or "because it is not Seventh Day Baptistism." He queried, "Is there not by far too great a lethargy upon us, in this direction?" Lewis became specific about the Advent movement, saying "if the entire 'advent movement' (as it seems plainly to be), is of God, better acknowledge it, even though unpopular, than oppose, lest haply we be found to fight against God. . . . But say you this is 'Adventism'? Brother, if it be truth, it will make no difference with 'our Father' by what name it is called. . . . This should not hinder us in our researches for truths; and that which is founded upon the Bible, claims at least a candid investigation. "Thoughts by the Wayside, No. 3," SR, 17 November 1859, 93. A few weeks after writing the above, Lewis wrote again, challenging readers of the Sabbath Recorder on another controversial subject, the nature of man or the "state of man in death." The Millerites (forerunners of Seventh-day Adventists) based their belief in man's mortality on such scriptures as Eccl 9:5 and 1 Cor 15:51-55. They held that man has only delegated immortality, God alone having inherent immortality; that man is a unity, and at death, all of the whole dies, but that when the saints are resurrected at the second coming of Christ, all of man is resurrected and transformed into a glorious image of Christ. In Lewis's article on this subject he was in debate with Wm. B. Maxson and V. Hull in the SR. See Lewis, "To the Editor of the Sabbath Recorder," SR, 9 February 1860, 142; N. V. Hull, "For the Sabbath Recorder," SR, 9 February 1860, 142; Wm. Bliss Maxson, "Reply to A. H. Lewis," SR, 16 February 1860, 146. Lewis felt the subject warranted investigation and chided Seventh Day Baptists, saying, "Upon the Sabbath question, we have ever claimed, and fought with this claim as one of our most prominent and effective weapons, that 'the Bible says what it means, and means what it says,' in other words, that we are bound to take its plain, literal meaning, . . . while upon the 'nature of man,' we are forced to acknowledge that there is no direct proof of inherent immortality, it was either assumed or provided it by implication." "To the Editor of the Sabbath Recorder," 142. In 1864 and again in 1866, Seventh-day Adventist R. F. Cottrell and Seventh Day Baptist N. V. Hull carried on debates regarding the nature and destiny of man through the pages of the SR. See "Nature and Destiny of Man," 7 January, 1; 26 April, 65; 9 June, 89; 30 June 1864, 101; 23 March, 46; 5 April, 54; 19 April 1866, 62.

although his doctrinal views satisfied those who examined him before ordination,<sup>1</sup> apparently it was not until after Lewis's arrival at Alfred University, through the mentorship of President Jonathan Allen,<sup>2</sup> that he settled these questions in his own mind.<sup>3</sup> In later years Lewis wrote with warmth of Christ's second coming but did not emphasize it; his comments on the nature of man made in 1900 indicate he believed that those who die in Christ enter immediately into eternal glory.<sup>4</sup> He maintained a

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<sup>1</sup>See R. G. Burdick, "Ordination At Berlin," SR, 20 March 1862, 46: "After a thorough examination . . . with reference to . . . doctrinal views, it was resolved that [he] be ordained."

<sup>2</sup>The "David and Jonathan" friendship formed between Lewis and Allen became a formative influence in Lewis's thinking. See p. 126, n. 3; p. 139, n. 2; p. 310, n. 1 below.

<sup>3</sup>Gardiner, Sketch, 26-27. The Seventh Day Baptist position is for openness of doctrine except in the case of the Sabbath and a few fundamental beliefs, including the immortality of the soul. In the Seventh Day Baptist Handbook, written by Lewis himself in 1896, he describes his church's position: "Each individual church adopts its own Covenant of Faith, and may formulate its own creed" in accord with the covenant to "keep the commandments of God," providing they "walk in the faith of Jesus, . . . take the Bible as [the] guide of faith and practice," basically uphold each other, bring men to Christ, and support the church financially. A. H. Lewis, Seventh Day Baptist Handbook (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1896), 34-35.

<sup>4</sup>Abram Herbert Lewis, Letters to Young Preachers and Their Hearers (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1900), 200-201. Thirty-some years after his questioning, he speaks of eternal judgment vaguely, saying "The righteous will be everlastingly justified, and the wicked everlastingly condemned." Seventh Day Baptist Handbook, 38. In the handbook he says nothing of the Seventh Day Baptist view of eschatology.

good, but not close, relationship with the Seventh-day Adventist denomination through the years.<sup>1</sup>

Having been ordained to the ministry in 1861,<sup>2</sup> Lewis received his theological training at Alfred University, the Seventh Day Baptist seminary in Alfred, New York, from which he graduated in 1863.<sup>3</sup> His first pastoral position<sup>4</sup> in Pawcatuck Church in Westerly, Rhode Island (1864-67), placed him in close proximity both to libraries where he was able to gather material for his historical research on the Sabbath, and to Union Theological Seminary, where he was able to take additional studies.

Lewis's life was devoted to the furtherance of the affairs of the Seventh Day Baptist church as a pastor, professor, or agent of the Seventh Day Baptist Tract

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<sup>1</sup>See this dissertation, chapter 4, for more on Lewis's association with Seventh-day Adventists.

<sup>2</sup>See Burdick, "Ordination," SR, 20 March 1862, 46: "By a request of the churches at Dacotah and Berlin, Wis., a council met at Dacotah, November 15, 1861, for the purpose of ordaining . . . A. Herbert Lewis to the gospel ministry."

<sup>3</sup>Later Alfred University conferred upon A. H. Lewis the degree of A.M. in 1866, of D.D. in 1881, and of LL.D. in 1901. "Doctor A. H. Lewis," Alfred Sun, 9 November 1908. Alfred University School of Theology was a separate school within Alfred University and existed from 1871 to 1963. In 1963 requirements for academic accreditation in terms of student population and number of degrees of its faculty forced it to close. See Sanford, A Choosing People, 213-14.

<sup>4</sup>A news item in SR, 31 December 1863, 206, reads: "Elder A. H. Lewis is expected to enter upon his duties as pastor of the Pawcatuck Seventh Day Baptist church with first Sabbath in January."

Society.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding the heavy responsibilities of these positions, his pen was continually producing material on different aspects of the Sabbath. While employed by the Tract Society his responsibilities included publishing a column in the Sabbath Recorder<sup>2</sup> as well as travelling and lecturing extensively. More than once he pressed himself to the point of exhaustion, when he would of necessity ask for relief from his work to recover his health.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"In September, 1835, the Seventh-day Baptist General Tract Society, also called the American Seventh-day Baptist Tract Society, was organized, and commenced the issuing of tracts and other literature. . . . The work of the society was pursued along the general lines of publishing, and then distributing through agents and colporteurs or distributors." SDBEA, 1:429, 436. Itinerary "agents" took extended tours distributing tracts and giving public lectures. Lewis was active in the work of the society before he was placed in its regular employ (see news item, "The Sabbath Tract Society," SR, 5 October 1865, 157) and promoted it strongly in his writings. Speaking of his own entry into the work of the society he stated, "In January, 1868, the writer entered the work as lecturing agent of the Sabbath Tract Society. There were no definite calls for work, no fields open," but "before the end of the year the calls for special Sabbath reform work exceeded the ability of the Society ten-fold." "In New Fields," SR, 14 December 1871, 202. For references to his work in the Tract Society, see SR, 28 November 1867, 186; 30 April 1868, 70; 1 October 1868, 150; 22 October 1868, 169.

<sup>2</sup>Between 1869 and 1872 he prepared a regular column under the heading, "Tract Society Department," in the Sabbath Recorder, on issues concerning the Sabbath.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis's "Salutatory" column for the Tract Society appeared in the SR, 28 January 1869, 18. In July of 1869 he was compelled to ask for relief from his work for health reasons. "We regret the necessity which drives to this step, but an overworked brain insists on having its rights," he wrote. "Tract Society Department," SR, 22 July 1869, 118. He struggled with ill health and overwork until June of 1872, when, again unable to carry on, he expressed

He held pastorates in Shiloh, New Jersey (1873-1877) and in Alfred, New York (1877-1880). In 1880 he became pastor of the Plainfield, New Jersey church, where, among people who were in sympathy with his writing goals and financially able to help carry them out, for sixteen years he devoted one-half of his time to pastoring and the other half to writing.<sup>1</sup> During these years he did extensive writing and public speaking in opposition to Sunday-law legislation.<sup>2</sup> In 1895 the Tract Society, supported by the

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the disappointment he felt in leaving the work of the Tract Society: "We entered upon this work . . . expecting to make Sabbath Reform a 'life work.' . . . Repeated overwork in the lecture field has unfitted us for the wear and tear of life away from home." "Valedictory," SR, 20 June 1872, 102.

<sup>1</sup>From Lewis's farewell address at the Plainfield Church, handwritten in his sermon book of 1896, we discover that during his pastorate in Plainfield, in addition to preaching and lecturing he wrote 5 books totaling 1400 pages, editorial columns equal to 30 "duodecimo volumes," and numerous other articles. Lewis in this sermon gives credit to his parishioners for their part in his work. "You have borne with me when my time has been partly absorbed by other work. You have granted me 'furlough' when important things could not be accomplished otherwise. . . . I shall try to avoid all which appeals to the emotions, at this time, I must do that in order to preach at all." A. H. Lewis, handwritten notes in Sermon Book for 1896, Seventh Day Baptist Heritage Room, Janesville, WI. See also Gardiner, Sketch, 96.

<sup>2</sup>Especially during the years 1888 and following he prepared much material and spoke publicly in opposition to Sunday legislation. Under his leadership thousands of signatures from 20 states were gathered in resistance to Sunday legislation; he attended the National Sabbath Convention in 1888, remonstrated with Congressional and Legislative committees, spoke before the Nineteenth Century Club of New York City and the Baptist National Congress held in Philadelphia during 1892; he took a prominent part in discussions where speakers of national reputation argued

General Conference, passed a resolution, implemented in late 1896, to set Lewis aside to full-time ministry in Sabbath reform.<sup>1</sup> Thus the dream of his life came true. He spent his remaining active years in extensive writing and lecturing about the Sabbath, always pleading for greater spirituality and stronger activity in Sabbath-reform work among his people.

Lewis's last years were difficult, as he struggled to care for an invalid wife and to maintain his own health. He died in 1908. He was described as a "noble" man of "clear and tender conscience"<sup>2</sup> and a peace-loving spirit.<sup>3</sup>

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the concept of Sunday legislation before committees of Congress both in January and February of 1893; also in 1893 he presented "masterly addresses" at the World's Parliament of Religions as well as at the Baptist Ministers' Conference of New York. Gardiner, Sketch, 76-88. See also p. 47, n. 4, p. 116, n. 1 below.

<sup>1</sup>SDBEA, 1:446-448; Gardiner, Sketch, 91-92. In 1894 when Lewis was called to devote full time to the work of Sabbath reform, William L. Clarke's recommendation was "that you call Bro. A. H. Lewis, D.D. to devote his entire time to the cause of Sabbath Reform. Dr. Lewis is pre-eminently our apostle in this work." SDBEA, 1:447.

<sup>2</sup>Gardiner, Sketch, 6.

<sup>3</sup>In regard to Lewis's peace-loving attitude, Gardiner described his approach at the Seventh Day Baptist Council at Chicago in 1890: "Amid the diversity of opinions which prevailed before the time of meeting, Dr. Lewis stood as a peacemaker. . . . He was never a stickler for his point regardless of the feelings of others, but was ever ready to examine a question from another's point of view. If parties were irreconcilable, he would seek some common ground, if such could be found, upon which both could agree." Ibid., 83-84.

His obituary named him "Dean of the Plainfield clergy" and "the leading clergyman of the Seventh Day Baptist church."<sup>1</sup>

A. H. Lewis's Contribution to Seventh  
Day Baptist Literature

A period of almost fifty years (1859-1908) spanned Lewis's writing career. His first published writings consisted of articles that appeared in the official Seventh Day Baptist paper, the Sabbath Recorder, to which he remained a regular contributor throughout his career.<sup>2</sup> He published nine volumes on the Sabbath-Sunday debate, containing a total of over two thousand pages.

As a student at Milton Academy (1858-1861), Lewis first conceived the idea of writing a history of the Sabbath and Sunday. He noted a keen lack of scholarly literature in the English language on the history of and the reasons for observing either day,<sup>3</sup> and also on the

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<sup>1</sup>Alfred Sun, 9 November 1908.

<sup>2</sup>He wrote at first under the pen name of "Gleaner," but by 1866-67 his true name or initials began to appear with his articles, and he eventually dropped the pen name.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis felt that much of what had been written was based on assumptions and supported by inaccurate sources, with little or no understanding of the church fathers brought to bear upon the topic. He believed investigations should deal with both the methods and the theories by which the Sabbath had been displaced and Sunday placed in its stead. In many of the historical writings on the Sabbath and Sunday he saw problems in that "forged writings [had] been treated as genuine, . . . unknown dates . . . assumed to be definite." Books written within 50 years of his own time he felt were written hastily to meet the demands of some convention, or some emergency in the defense of Sunday and thus lacked patient and efficient original research

relation of Sabbath observance to the life of the Christian church.<sup>1</sup> In the early 1860s he began research for the book, which became a carefully documented history of the Sabbath and Sunday containing both biblical and secular perspectives and a strong theological emphasis. He maintained that God's word and the facts of history together formed the keys to understanding the Sabbath question.<sup>2</sup> Though he completed the manuscript of his first major work in 1867, financial constraints caused a delay in publishing as well as significant reduction of the original

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which the subject warranted. Lewis, A Critical History of the Sabbath and the Sunday in the Christian Church, iv-v. Hereafter, Critical History. References to this work are to the 1886 edition unless otherwise noted.

<sup>1</sup>At the time of Lewis's first published book on the history of the Sabbath, J. N. Andrews, the other principal subject in this dissertation, had published a history of the Sabbath, 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 Assn., 1862?). See p. 176, n. 3 below. Lewis himself, in an article, "A New Book on the Sabbath," SR, 7 July 1864, 106, speaks highly of Andrews's work as a "valuable addition to the Sabbath literature." He felt, however, that the book suffered "from not being in connection with a discussion of the doctrine." Andrews's book does contain doctrine; Lewis apparently referred to the fact that Andrews does not present the more philosophical-theological perspectives Lewis does in his own writings.

<sup>2</sup>Critical History, iii.

material. The book, The Sabbath and the Sunday, was published in 1870.<sup>1</sup>

Three separate volumes were eventually published using the text from the first book, the work initially cut from the first manuscript, and some additionally prepared material. Biblical Teachings Concerning the Sabbath and the Sunday,<sup>2</sup> published in 1884 (revised in 1888), contained the biblical and theological material of the first edition.

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<sup>1</sup>A. H. Lewis, The Sabbath and the Sunday: Part I, Argument; Part II, History (Alfred Centre, NY: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1870); hereafter, Sabbath and Sunday (1870). A perusal of the Sabbath Recorder shows an interesting time line of progress on his book. In October of 1866 he wrote, "I am steadily prosecuting the revision and rewriting of my Sabbath History. . . . I set no time for its completion, since I can give it only the little leisure granted by my pastoral and pulpit labors." "The American Sabbath Tract Society," SR, 18 October 1866, 164. Exactly one year later a progress report stated, "The history of the first five centuries is now ready for the printer. By pressing the work, I hope to complete the manuscript by the 1st of May, 1868." "History of the Sabbath," SR, 17 October 1867, 165. On 31 December 1870, he reported, "The book entitled The Sabbath and the Sunday had been placed in the hands of the printers just before the date of my last report. It was delayed much beyond the time promised." Along with general comments and summary of the book came the announcement: "The Sabbath and the Sunday is ready for market. It will be sold for one dollar and a quarter." "Ready for Market," SR, 31 December 1870, 210.

<sup>2</sup>A. H. Lewis, Biblical Teachings Concerning the Sabbath and the Sunday (Alfred Centre, NY: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1884); hereafter, Sabbath and Sunday (1884). The 1888 edition is referenced hereafter as Sabbath and Sunday (1888). Significant additions to the 1888 edition included a section on the covenants (14-22), indication of change of thought concerning 24-hour creation days (7-8), an appendix on the origin of the week, and a chart of languages showing how the word Sabbath links the weeks and the Sabbath.

A Critical History of the Sabbath and the Sunday in the Christian Church,<sup>1</sup> published in 1886, was a presentation of Lewis's historical argument for the Sabbath, supported by many pages of lengthy quotations.<sup>2</sup> A Critical History of Sunday Legislation from A.D. 321 to 1888,<sup>3</sup> published in 1888, contained Lewis's thesis that the basis for Sunday legislation had always been and, in his time, continued to be religious in nature. Using a compilation of Sunday laws enacted throughout the centuries, Lewis portrayed Sunday legislation as an attempt to control conscience and, as such, neither appropriate nor effective.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The word "critical" in this title suggests that this work is not intended to present a superficial or sectarian view, but a thorough, objective investigation of the facts of history concerning the Sabbath.

<sup>2</sup>In a 1903 edition the last several chapters that dealt with situations current in society at the time of the original writing were omitted. See p. 6., n. 1 above for full reference of the 1886 edition.

<sup>3</sup>A. H. Lewis, A Critical History of Sunday Legislation from A.D. 321 to 1888 (New York: D. Appleton, 1888); hereafter, Sunday Legislation.

<sup>4</sup>Lewis's research on this subject was published the very year of the attempt by the United States Congress to pass a national Sunday law. It was Lewis, representing the Seventh Day Baptist denomination, along with A. T. Jones, representing the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, who spoke against the proposed Sunday legislation in the "Blair Sunday Rest Bill." The Congressional hearing for this bill took place Thursday, December 13, 1888. The bill was entitled "A bill to secure to the people the enjoyment of the first day of the week, commonly known as the Lord's day, as a day of rest, and to promote its observance as a day of religious worship." "Sunday Rest Bill, Minutes of the 50th Congress, 2nd Session. Mis. Doc., No 43. In the Senate of the United States, January 17, 1889." From the Seventh Day Baptist Library and Archives, Janesville, WI.

A sermon, "The Sabbath and Pure Christianity,"<sup>1</sup> first published in pamphlet form, grew into the book, Paganism Surviving in Christianity,<sup>2</sup> published in 1892. By "pure Christianity," Lewis meant Christianity free from pagan influences. The underlying rationale of this book was to associate Sundaykeeping with nonbiblical motivations.

Similar in approach (regarding the Sabbath-Sunday issue) were the next two volumes that came from Lewis's pen. The first of these, a short work entitled The Catholicization of Protestantism on the Sabbath Question, or Sunday Observance Non-Protestant, published in 1897,<sup>3</sup> pointed out that Protestants who claim to base their faith and practice on the Bible alone have no basis for Sunday-keeping. In Swift Decadence of Sunday; What Next? published in 1899,<sup>4</sup> Lewis's premise was that Sunday

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<sup>1</sup>The sermon was first preached by Lewis at the Seventh Day Baptist Missionary Society's 24th anniversary, 6 September 1866, held at Alfred, NY.

<sup>2</sup>Abram Herbert Lewis, Paganism Surviving in Christianity (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1892); hereafter, Paganism Surviving.

<sup>3</sup>Abram Herbert Lewis, The Catholicization of Protestantism on the Sabbath Question, or Sunday Observance Non-Protestant (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1897); hereafter, Catholicization of Protestantism.

<sup>4</sup>Abram Herbert Lewis, Swift Decadence of Sunday; What Next? (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1899); hereafter, Swift Decadence. A second edition was published in 1900 containing the same material but with

holiness cannot be maintained by legislation, since the Holy Spirit and conscience cannot be controlled by man's laws.

Studies in Sabbath Reform, a Complete View of the Sabbath from the Standpoint of the Bible was published in 1898.<sup>1</sup> The title aptly describes the book. In it he showed how a reinvestigation of the scriptural basis for the Sabbath addressed the very issues concerning a day of worship being so widely debated in his time in both political and religious circles.

In Spiritual Sabbathism, published in 1910, we see Lewis as theologian and scholar approaching the topic of the Sabbath from a fascinating and unusual angle, writing obviously to appeal to the intellectual world.<sup>2</sup> In this book, he goes beyond traditional Seventh Day Baptist

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different paging. In this study, references to this book are from the 1899 edition.

<sup>1</sup>Abram Herbert Lewis, Studies in Sabbath Reform: A Complete View of the Sabbath from the Standpoint of the Bible (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1898); hereafter, Studies in Sabbath Reform.

<sup>2</sup>Spiritual Sabbathism was obviously written against the background of the higher critical method and the rise of the evolutionary theory. Lewis had finished the first draft and started revisions of this book at the time of his death. It was completed by his son, E. H. Lewis. Change in style in the first chapters is noticeable, but an editorial note placed at the beginning of the book and signed by Theodore Gardiner, Arthur E. Main, and William C. Daland states that these men have compared the completed work with the first draft and "find that the revision has been performed with conscientious regard to the spirit and purpose of the author." Spiritual Sabbathism, xiii.

Sabbath theology, combining philosophy and science with a theology of the Sabbath in order to present what he calls the "higher spiritual estimate of the Sabbath."<sup>1</sup> By Sabbathism he means recognition of the spiritual presence of God in the Sabbath.

Beyond these major books, Lewis wrote hundreds of pages as tracts or columns in journals.<sup>2</sup> In his work as a columnist for the Sabbath Recorder, in addition to defending the Sabbath, he wrote repeatedly against the great agitation for Sunday laws. The columns are often in answer to letters to the editor, or commentaries on religious columns and articles in other journals.

He served as editor of several journals over periods of time, including The Sabbath Recorder (1898-1907), The

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., see preface. Conclusions that Lewis had pantheistic leanings, especially near the end of his life, might be based on this book. In reality, the word "mystical" probably describes these leanings more accurately than "pantheistic."

<sup>2</sup>In Lewis's first series of articles in the Sabbath Recorder, "Thoughts by the Wayside," the 4th, published 15 December 1859, 110, was on the Sabbath; in a series in 1863, entitled "Aggressive Sabbath Efforts," SR, 26 March, 2 April, 9 April, 23 April, he urged his church to greater zeal in spreading the Sabbath doctrine. His first major treatise on Sabbath theology was published in the Sabbath Recorder between 10 November 1864 and 7 September 1865, as chapters under the title, "Origin and Nature of the Sabbath," and between 12 January 1865, and 17 August 1865, as chapters under the title "Origin and Nature of the Sabbath. Part II--History." The articles, with some revision, later made up chapters of his first book, The Sabbath and the Sunday.

Outlook (1882-1893),<sup>1</sup> the Sabbath Quarterly (1890-1893), The Light of the Home (1885-1889),<sup>2</sup> The Sabbath of Christ (1902-1903), and the Evangel and Sabbath Outlook (1893-1897).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>He began publishing the Outlook in 1882 while in Plainfield, New Jersey. Described as having "produced a greater effect on the Sabbath question than any similar influence that had ever appeared" (Gardiner, Sketch, 67), it was a journal designed for clergy of all denominations; 55,000 copies of the magazine were mailed regularly to clergy and other thought leaders; a special issue on the Blair Sunday bill was sent to 65,000 lawyers in addition. Lewis states his own goals for the Outlook in "Sabbath Reform Work," in Jubilee Papers (Alfred Center, NY: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1892), 121. Except for the first, these goals could also be stated for Lewis's research as a whole. Speaking of the Outlook, he said, "Its purpose was: (a) To reach all Protestant clergymen in the United States; (b) To investigate, patiently and in detail, the history of the Sabbath and the Sunday in every period of the Christian Church, and in every part of Christendom; (c) To re-examine and dissect all arguments drawn from the Bible and from science, for the Sunday, and against the Sabbath; (d) To unravel the lines of pagan influence upon Christianity, both in regard to Sunday and other fundamental questions touching Christian practices, and the development of historical Christianity." In this chapter, all Outlook articles without the author's name are from the pen of A. H. Lewis.

<sup>2</sup>The Light of Home was for families, 115,000 being sent out monthly, with the mission of "developing a high moral spirituality in each home," with greatest emphasis on the Sabbath and temperance. "Salutatory," Light of Home, August 1885, 2.

<sup>3</sup>In 1893 The Outlook and The Light of Home were combined to create the Evangel and Sabbath Outlook, but their publication ceased in 1897. For both these publications many articles were taken from, or have been incorporated in, one or more of his published books. Many or most columns in the Sabbath Recorder (especially from 1871 forward) and much of his work in the Outlook were tied to Sunday legislation issues. Not only did Lewis have a high interest in these issues himself, but they also served, especially in the Outlook, as good attention-getters.

Lewis's writings were characterized by a colorful use of words and an intense interest in the spiritual welfare of others.<sup>1</sup> Though we find in his writings considerable repetition, overlap, and republishing of articles,<sup>2</sup> it is easily recognized that he accomplished a phenomenal work for his denomination in writing on the Sabbath.<sup>3</sup>

### The Sabbath Theology of A. H. Lewis

The basis of A. H. Lewis's Sabbath doctrine was threefold: (1) the Bible, where he focused upon the creation account, the law, and the teaching and example of

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<sup>1</sup>The style and tenor of Lewis's writing and speaking were indicated in his valedictory address at his graduation from the "normal" course at Milton Academy, 18 July 1860. Coming from a student of 23 years, it was flowery to the point of being amusing to twentieth-century readers, but also showed his passion for God's honor, and his interest in the lessons of history. He begins, "Time has not checked his winged steeds. We have assembled, as we are wont, to note the traces which his chariot wheels have left around us in their course." The advice given to his classmates appears to be have been taken by himself through his life. "Falter before no array of opposition. Swerve to no promptings of self-interest; but with truth for your watchword, and God for your guide, bearing the blessings of those who remain, go forth to do and to dare in the great arena of thought and action." "Valedictory Oration," SR, 23 August 1860, 29.

<sup>2</sup>A quality writer from the beginning, he often lifted sections from articles written early in his career, fitting them with little or no editing into articles he wrote later.

<sup>3</sup>See Bibliography #4: Abraham Herbert Lewis (1836-1908), Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society Library, Box 1678, Janesville, WI, reprinted in SR, 8 May 1922, 600-601, 15 May 1922, 628-629, for a listing of many of his works.

Christ and the apostles; (2) philosophical thought, which is noted particularly in his "a priori argument" and his work on the subject of "Sabbathism;"<sup>1</sup> and (3) the historical argument, which he uses as a pillar to support scriptural and philosophical thinking. These three approaches to the Sabbath question Lewis brought together under the rubric of law, at times using the term "law" to refer to "the way things are in the universe," and at others, to refer to the Ten Commandments. The prime focus of Lewis's theology is to bring about Sabbath reform which, he insists, in order to be effective, must be founded on a thorough reconstruction of popular theology, specifically on the question of the supremacy of God's law as interpreted by Christ's words and example.<sup>2</sup> His three approaches grow out of his own educational background, experiences, and personality and serve to give his writings wide appeal, establishing a broad intellectual platform for

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<sup>1</sup>In his philosophical thought, Platonic idealism is obvious in that he emphasizes spiritual abstractions above literal dimensions. See forthcoming discussion.

<sup>2</sup>See Swift Decadence, 243: "The only hope for genuine Sabbath Reform is in the restoration of the Sabbath based on the unabrogated law of God as written in the Decalogue and as interpreted by Christ." Lewis wrote during a time of political upheaval in America over the matter of Sunday legislation and reform. Though he wrote much on philosophical and historical themes, his approach was, "Base the question of Sabbath and of Sabbath Reform on the Bible." Ibid., 246. Further, "If there is to be Sabbath reform, we can all agree that its watchword must be, Back to Christ! Around no other banner can we rally." Spiritual Sabbathism, xi.

the entire corpus of his Sabbath discussion.<sup>1</sup> They also lend themselves to a defense against specific theories he is refuting.

Lewis is a polemic writer. To understand his writings, we must consider what tenets of his opponents he is answering. Generally speaking one could place these, which are either against the Sabbath or in favor of Sunday as a day of worship, into four categories: (1) The "no-Sabbathism theory,"<sup>2</sup> (2) the "change of day"

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis planned that his first book should be an "exhaustive discussion of [the Sabbath] doctrine, starting with 'first principles,' and elaborating it to the end. Such a discussion . . . shall challenge criticism, [and have] strength enough to agitate thinking men, and to draw them into battle, or force them to acknowledge defeat by their silence." "A New Book," SR, 7 July 1864, 106.

<sup>2</sup>"No-Sabbathism" is a term that appears frequently in the writings of Lewis and represents the belief that the Sabbath was strictly identified with, and limited to, the Jewish national interests between Sinai and the cross. See Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 38. The theory holds that the Sabbath was abrogated at the death of Christ, making all days of the week equal in value as regards sacredness. According to this belief there is no "sacred time" recognized outside the Jewish economy, and a set day of worship simply makes possible a time for corporate public worship. For a description of how this theory developed early in Christianity see pp. 94-97 below. Texts used from the New Testament to support this theory include: Rom 14:1-7; Col 2:16,17; 2 Cor 3:7,8. This theory, in Lewis's estimation, was meant by its early pagan-Christian creators to have full sweep—doing away with the whole Decalogue and all holy time. "Eleven Reasons for Observing Sunday," Sabbath of Christ, October 1902, 103. Later Christians, seeing value in nine of the commandments, said Christ re-enacted them in His teachings; but they disposed of the fourth, thus eliminating the seventh-day Sabbath, and established not a "sabbath" but a "day for worship" in its place. An affirmation of the theory came in England in the Book of Sports published by James I in 1618 which "gave

theory,<sup>1</sup> (3) the concept of "a need for a day of worship,"<sup>2</sup> and (4) the concept of "a need for a day of rest."<sup>3</sup> These four theories become the catalysts around which Lewis organizes much of his material in defense of the Sabbath.

### The A Priori Argument for the Sabbath

Combining philosophy and theology, Lewis built around the scriptural account of creation what he termed an

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full legal sanction to the continental Sunday in England." Spiritual Sabbathism, 171.

<sup>1</sup>The "change-of-day" theory originated with the Puritans and found solid entrance into Sabbath theology through Nicholas Bownde. See p. 109, n. 4 below. By this theory the Sabbath institution was moved from the seventh to the first day in honor of the resurrection, and the attributes of the Sabbath as given in the fourth commandment were transferred to the first day.

<sup>2</sup>The "need for a day of worship" approach stems from the no-Sabbathism which the leaders of the Reformation adopted. If no sacred time is recognized, social worship must depend on an agreed-upon day and time of worship, and many have felt it must be the duty of the state to establish this in order to encourage the spirituality of the people. See p. 116, n. 1 below. During Lewis's time the drive for Sunday laws was a major issue both in political and religious circles. Many supporters of Sunday laws felt divine judgment threatened the United States if they did not recognize God publicly, and perceived that the passage of a Sunday law would be a national recognition of God's sovereignty. See p. 33 above.

<sup>3</sup>The humanitarian aspect is philanthropic but secular, based on the need for a day of rest and recreation. Sunday is the chosen day mostly because it has been already established as a day of rest. The theory became prominent in the United States during the rise of industrialism as a protection for the working class against inconsiderate management. See p. 116, n. 1 below.

"a priori"<sup>1</sup> or antecedent argument for the Sabbath.

Grounding his argument in the creation story, he proceeded to show that the Sabbath is supportable by reason. He was not the first Seventh Day Baptist to combine philosophy and theology, and he must have been familiar with the writings of Seventh Day Baptist theologians Robert Burnside and T. B. Brown.<sup>2</sup> He appears to have assimilated their ideas with

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<sup>1</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 9. By applying the a priori argument (knowledge prior to, and independent of sense experience) to the Sabbath, Lewis shows his love for and familiarity with philosophy. The a priori ideas underlie all of Lewis's writings. His first discussion of the a priori argument is found in "Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178, though he did not use the term a priori at that time. The term is used and the argument presented in the first chapter of Sabbath and Sunday, both 1870 and 1888 editions; in the tract, The Sabbath in the Old Testament: Tracts on the Sabbath Question, No. 5 (Plainfield, NJ: American Tract Society, [ca. 1888]); hereafter, Sabbath in the Old Testament; and in an article, "The Sabbath and the Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 495-504, given originally as an address before the Conference of Baptist Ministers of New York City and vicinity, 16 January 1888; and as chapters 2 and 3 in his book, Studies in Sabbath Reform. Some appearances of the argument are reprints of earlier published material, or the same ideas presented in varied format. In 1898 he used the term "antecedent argument" with the same meaning as the a priori argument. Studies in Sabbath Reform, 16.

<sup>2</sup>Burnside held that the seventh-day Sabbath was a "positive" rather than a "moral" law, undiscoverable by reason or the light of nature, and revokable if it should so please God. Robert Burnside, A.M., Remarks on the Different Sentiments Entertained in Christendom Relative to the Weekly Sabbath (Schenectady, NY: Joseph Stillman, 1827), 22-30. Brown conceded that a positive law such as the Sabbath would be undiscoverable by the light of nature, but insisted this was true only because of the incapability of man's narrow intellect to recognize such a law as a priori. Thus, though recognized by man only as the result of revelation, the Sabbath possessed the attributes of a moral precept because its origin was in the duty of the creature to the creator. Brown believed that positive

aspects of Platonic idealism, emerging with his own philosophical structure of the a priori argument.<sup>1</sup> By this approach he maintained that the origin and nature of the Sabbath is to be found in a study of the origin and nature of the law. Law co-exists eternally with God, and thus antedates the creation of the world and the existence of man. The Sabbath, as based on God's eternal nature, government, and law, shares in their eternal qualities and as such encompasses all life on this planet.

#### Primary Law

In the context of the a priori argument, Lewis uses the term "law" in a larger sense than that of any "enactment." To him, law is a philosophical and primary principle, a "necessity of creation," or that which is true because of the "eternal fitness of things."<sup>2</sup> In Platonic language Lewis defines law as "God's ideas" or "ideals," which are "perfect and absolute." All created realities, whether moral or physical, existed as patterns in God's

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laws, in one sense changeable, are unchangeable "so long as the relation subsists in which they originate." Thomas B. Brown, The Sabbath: Its Moral Nature and Observance (New York: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1853), 28, 29.

<sup>1</sup>In Platonic idealism, the world of the intellect--the world of perfect, unchanging, eternal ideas--is the genuinely real world, while the sense world is made up of shadows of these ideas. Lewis's synthesis of Platonism with Sabbath theology was part of what he considered his new spiritual approach.

<sup>2</sup>"Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178.

mind before finding expression in the actualization of His creation.<sup>1</sup> The pattern became law to the creation, and thus Lewis presents law in its primary meaning as "God's Ideal,"<sup>2</sup> or as "only another name for God's thought."<sup>3</sup> Using Platonic language he can show that the "real" Sabbath is an idea in the mind of God, and though man may batter around a "day," the "real" Sabbath remains untouched.

Lewis supports his position on the unchanging nature of primary law with two rationales. First, as reflecting God's perfect and absolute ideas, the laws could not be altered without destroying their perfection. Second, because the primary law by which an object is created is a part of the creation and operates within it, any alteration

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<sup>1</sup>Note Lewis's comment: "We need to go back to the origin of things, to the hour when--speaking accommodately--God planned the universe and decided to create. Thus deciding, He must have had in mind the pattern of the universe, . . . which pattern was made of his ideas concerning the creation about to be." Ibid. Similarly he states, "The pattern of all things must exist as pure thoughts in the mind of Jehovah before there can be any outward creation." Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 9. In 1888 he phrased the thought: "All created things are God's thoughts objectized--His laws expressed." "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 495.

<sup>2</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 9. Writing in 1870 Lewis used the words "idea" and "ideal" interchangeably. In 1898 he wrote, "Law in its pure primary meaning is another name for God's ideal." Studies in Sabbath Reform, 17.

<sup>3</sup>Sabbath in the Old Testament, 1. In a similar comment written in 1888 he declared, "Every thought of God is an eternal law. . . . These laws are at once the source of created things, and the rule according to which they exist and act." "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 495.

in the primary law would destroy the creation.<sup>1</sup> Even God could not change the original pattern without the creation ceasing to exist.<sup>2</sup> If creation is the result of the progressive function of law, the destruction of that law would bring about the reversal of the creation process.

To illustrate his case for the moral realm, Lewis uses the physical law of gravity. It coexists with creation as a perfect and enduring law, not because it was enacted as such, but because it was one of the pattern ideas. Could the law be abrogated, all physical worlds developed in accordance with it would at once be destroyed.

In the establishment of a moral government, Lewis maintains "the same principle . . . must obtain."<sup>3</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup>In 1864 he wrote, "God being the infinite in wisdom, all His ideas must be intrinsically correct, and all His decisions unchangeable." "Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178. He expressed the same idea in the 1870 and 1888 editions of Sabbath and Sunday, 1, and 9, respectively, and in 1898 in Studies in Sabbath Reform, 17. Other writers promoting Sunday sacredness expressed similar ideas during this period. One such example is from Rev. Joseph Duryea in an essay entitled, "The Sacredness of the Sabbath, Essential and Eternal," in Sabbath Essays, ed. Rev. Will C. Wood (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1880), 16. Duryea says: "God does not wilfully enact laws: he declares that to be good which he first sees to be good; he declares that to be right which he first perceives to be right. Not even the will of God is the fountain of authority, but the nature of God, by means of which spontaneously God's will is as it is."

<sup>2</sup>Thus these laws must antedate creation and be "free from all mutations of time, or place, or dispensation. God Himself cannot change or abrogate them." "Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

chaotic condition of this present world shows undeniably that the transgression of primary law brings disintegration.<sup>1</sup> Lewis can point directly to the evidence of human experience for support of these truths which he has reached by a priori reasoning.<sup>2</sup>

God's thoughts are at once the pattern "by which the work of creation is developed," and the laws by which it is governed.<sup>3</sup> It being in "the nature of things" that the creature should honor the Creator and respect fellow creatures, writing in 1870 Lewis referred to the articulation of primary law which enjoins this type of human conduct as "primary structural law."<sup>4</sup> The expressions of honor to God and man are found in the behavior commanded in the Decalogue. Writing in 1888,

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<sup>1</sup>The autonomy of man (his right to decide whether or not to cooperate with the laws under which he had been created) brought him into confrontation with primary law. The choice to go contrary to these laws has resulted in "discord, evil and ruin, so far as human disobedience can accomplish these." See "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 496: "Even the disobedience of a single subject produces discord and, to a certain extent, breaks up the order of the government." Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 9-10; The Sabbath in the Old Testament, 1.

<sup>2</sup>These truths, he affirms, are "reached by a priori reasoning, [and] are fully supported by human experience." "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 496.

<sup>3</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 9. In a similar statement in 1888 Lewis affirmed that God's thoughts were "at once the source of created things, and the rule according to which they exist and act." "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 495.

<sup>4</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 12-13.

Lewis affirmed that the "Decalogue is made up of primary, fundamental laws; laws by which all things have been developed and are governed, in God's moral government."<sup>1</sup> Thus he can say of the laws of the Decalogue as of laws of creation, they are "another name for God's thought."<sup>2</sup>

Sabbath Tested as a Primary Structural Law

To validate his conclusion that the Sabbath law is a "primary structural law in the moral universe," Lewis establishes four premises by which he insists primary law must be tested and then tries the Sabbath by them. Almost all of the facets of Lewis's theology of the Sabbath relate directly to these criteria.

Lewis first applies to the Sabbath commandment the premise that primary law "must antedate the creation of which it is a law."<sup>3</sup> To do this he presents the creation plan as an indivisible one-week unit. God began the

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<sup>1</sup>Sabbath in the Old Testament, 1. In 1888 and 1898 he expressed similar thoughts: "All human institutions which are right, are the result of obedience to God's thoughts as expressed in the moral universe. These laws, revealed, become the rule of human conduct." "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 495. Also, "Fundamental laws create systems of government; they are not created by government." Studies in Sabbath Reform, 23.

<sup>2</sup>Sabbath in the Old Testament, 1.

<sup>3</sup>"Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178. Writing in 1864 Lewis used a list to present these four characteristics of primary law. His later writings on the topic contained the same thoughts dispersed throughout other related discussions. See Sabbath and Sunday, 9-10.

activities of creation week with a perfect and complete plan. His creation emerges through the week from "embryo" to "full life" and, following immediately, he rests on the seventh day, blesses and sanctifies it.<sup>1</sup> All of this activity transpired within the creation week with no "subsequent enactment."<sup>2</sup> God's activity associated with the seventh day is as clearly a part of the original pattern of creation as was the work of any other day of creation.

Next, Lewis tries the Sabbath on the premise that the law must be universal in its application.<sup>3</sup> By this he means that primary law could not apply to only certain aspects of creation at certain times but must apply to the totality of the creation for which it is a pattern.<sup>4</sup> That the Sabbath is designed for the whole creation is evident in that it is attached to the universal commodity of time,

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<sup>1</sup>"Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178.

<sup>2</sup>In 1864 he says, "We notice that the course of God in resting upon and sanctifying the seventh day in the order of creation, proves it to have been a part of the original plan, and no subsequent enactment." "Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178. He reaffirms the statement over 30 years later in 1898 saying, "This rest follows close upon the completion of the work, as though it were a part of the original pattern." Studies in Sabbath Reform, 18.

<sup>3</sup>"Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178; Sabbath and Sunday, 11. Lewis uses the word "universal" in its meaning of applicable or effective to the whole, not in reference to the physical universe.

<sup>4</sup>"Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178.

which comes to all life on the planet in an identical manner.

The third premise also hinges on universality. Lewis reasons that if it can be shown that the law meets pervasive needs growing out of the nature and surroundings of its subjects, it is logical to conclude such a law is universal and primary.<sup>1</sup> The Sabbath, by its commemorative nature and its call to social worship, answers two recognized responsive demands of man's nature. That man feels compelled to remember his own personal history, to celebrate or mourn in memory of occasions marked with special joy or sorrow and to attach sacredness to objects associated with those he loves, prove an "inwrought demand in our natures for the commemorative."<sup>2</sup> As a religious being, his nature demands some act whereby he commemorates and is reminded of God's power and goodness. This need is met through the Sabbath celebration of the great work of God in creation. In some of his most mature thought, written in 1902, Lewis pointed to the Sabbath idea as

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. See also, Sabbath and Sunday, 11-12.

<sup>2</sup>"Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178. He compares the Sabbath to a birthday: With the opening of the Seventh day [creation] sprang into full being. This therefore, was creation's birthday." Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 13-14. Again, "If Washington's birthday should be celebrated, how much more the birthday of the universe--the day on which our world first drew full breath, and swung through space in the perfection of its completed youthful being." "Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178. He does not use this illustration in his books and later writings, perhaps viewing it as more quaint than scholarly.

growing "from the soul's higher and imperative need to remember God, spiritually, religiously."<sup>1</sup>

Still addressing premise three, Lewis shows how the Sabbath furnishes the environment in which man's social-religious nature is fulfilled by joining with others in worship. Love to man and love to God as the highest actions of his dual nature are linked in social worship and lead him up to God.<sup>2</sup> Lewis is leading here to the idea of a "definite seventh day," affirming that social worship could never become a reality universally or permanently, "without a stated and definite time" fixed by One who has the right to do such, namely, the "author of man's nature and the object of His worship."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Sabbath-day or Holiday?" Sabbath of Christ, November 1902, 126: "Sabbath is essentially a religious idea. It grows from the soul's higher and imperative need to remember God, spiritually and religiously."

<sup>2</sup>"Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178. Also see Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 12, where he declares that "the highest motive that can enter into our relations to each other is, 'Love to man.' . . . This unites the race, and linking with 'Love to God,' leads us up to Him. The universal expression of love to God is worship. Social worship is, therefore, the natural result of the highest action of man's dual nature." The same statement also appears in Sabbath in the Old Testament, 3.

<sup>3</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 12. Lewis declares that it would be "to charge the Perfect One with folly," to say he did not pre-ordain a time for worship. He illustrates: "If a governor orders an election of officers, and appoints no time when the election shall be held, there is not only a want of wisdom in the arrangement, but the election must be a failure. To say that God did not pre-ordain the Sabbath Law, as a structural law in moral government, is to charge the Perfect One with similar folly. This would be a

Lewis has shown that God's patterns for creation embraced (1) a social creature with a need to commemorate significant acts and days and (2) a facility which addressed these needs. It is logical to assume that so long as the needs of man continue uninterruptedly, the Sabbath, which is intended to supply those needs, should also continue.

The fourth of his premises is that perfect obedience to this law must promote the highest good of its subjects and promote the highest honor to the Creator.<sup>1</sup> The implication here is that the Creator knows what is best for His creation. The highest good of man is realized in the fellowship of the creature with his Creator, and Lewis sees that the Sabbath day, keeping ever before man the facts of his relationship to God as Creator, "forms the central thread" of this communion.<sup>2</sup>

Writing in 1870, Lewis adds a premise by pointing out that primary law must meet necessities "which grow out of the relations between the governor and the governed."<sup>3</sup>

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contradiction of terms, an absurdity." Ibid. Also see Sabbath in the Old Testament, 3.

<sup>1</sup>He states only the axiom without explanation in his 1864 writing, but he enlarges on it in his 1870 Sabbath and Sunday, 11.

<sup>2</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 11; see also, Sabbath in the Old Testament, 2.

<sup>3</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 10. From the all-embracing idea of God as "Creator" flow all His rights as Law-giver, and subsequently, Redeemer. Ibid., 11.

The Sabbath affords at once a sign of fealty and a means of blessing for the governed, and provides a "never-ceasing representative in time"<sup>1</sup> for the Governor. Writing much later, in 1898, he fittingly connected this premise back to premise number one, affirming that all laws which meet the relations between God and His creatures and answer the demands of man's nature "must have been coexistent with the relations and demands."<sup>2</sup>

Thus through the a priori argument the Sabbath is established as a primary law. Along with every other law of the Decalogue, it was fixed "in the deepest nature of things" because it was the will of God.<sup>3</sup> It was not right because God spoke it, but God spoke it because it was right and was based on reasonable and just demands.<sup>4</sup> As such it

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<sup>1</sup>This idea of the Sabbath as "God's representative in time" is one of Lewis's favorite and often-used characterizations of the Sabbath.

<sup>2</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 23.

<sup>3</sup>Note his full comment: "It was the will of God thus to fix it, because in the deepest nature of things it was right that it should be. In this respect the fourth commandment is identical, as to its reason and authority, with every other commandment." "Sabbath for Man or the Fourth Commandment Fundamental, Not Ceremonial," SR, 29 July 1886, 3.

<sup>4</sup>Regarding this, Lewis states, "The Sabbath, like every other law of the Decalogue was based on reasonable and just demands, beyond the letter of the law itself. The devout heart, and the honest intellect will easily accept the truth that God's laws are not right and true simply because He uttered them, but the rather, that He commanded them because they were true." "The Reverend Mr. Titsworth on the Sunday Question," SR, 29 January 1885, 3. This kind of thought is reflective of "platonian realism."

must be "as universal and enduring as the system of which it is a part."<sup>1</sup>

### The Sabbath in Scripture

Lewis consistently maintained that in answering the Sabbath question the biblical standpoint must rank above all else.<sup>2</sup> In the scriptural area Lewis's writings largely reflect traditional Seventh Day Baptist thought, being in the mold of "reform," often characterized by the polemic approach with an emphasis on the need to return to the law and Christ's example of upholding the law as the only rule of faith and practice.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Sabbath and Old Testament, 2; Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 11. It is interesting to observe in regard to the a priori argument that while usually in theology the Bible is used to prove theological issues, in this case, philosophy is used to prove the Bible.

<sup>2</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1888), preface; Sabbath in the Old Testament, 1. In Studies in Sabbath Reform, 16, he declares: "We abide by the law and the Book as the guide to Sabbath observance, and the only basis for Sabbath Reform." See also, Spiritual Sabbathism, xii. This stand is in contrast to the strong attempt in his day to bring about reform by the man-made authority of Sunday laws.

<sup>3</sup>See Edwin Shaw, "Catalogue of Publications," SDBEA, 2:1339-1342. Of the limited number of works on the Sabbath by Seventh Day Baptist authors available to nineteenth-century readers at the time of Lewis's first major work in 1870, I have four in my possession along with 17 tracts on the Sabbath. The books include: Thomas B. Brown, Thoughts Suggested by the Perusal of Gilfillan, and other Authors, on the Sabbath (Alfred Center, NY: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1869); Robert Burnside, Remarks of the Different Sentiments Entertained in Christendom Relative to the Weekly Sabbath; William B. Maxson and William Parkinson, A Discussion of the Original Institution, Perpetuity, and Change of the Weekly Sabbath (Schenectady, NY: John Maxson, 1836); Edward Stennet, The

Whereas in the a priori argument Lewis moves from abstract to concrete to arrive at the Sabbath, in scriptural discussions he moves from concrete to abstract. Placing the earthly expression of the Sabbath law in a regression that moves logically back into the sphere of God's own being, he shows how through the Sabbath God has bound all creation to Himself. In this sequence whatever pertains to the Sabbath pertains to the law, and whatever pertains to the law, eventually pertains to God and His sovereign, unchanging nature.

In his biblical argument Lewis continues to tie the Sabbath to the a priori premises, while addressing the two basic contentions against the seventh-day Sabbath, the "no-Sabbath theory" and the "change of day theory." Here he establishes the importance of the "seventhness" of the Sabbath, which remains unanswered in the purely philosophical aspects of the a priori argument.

#### The Sabbath in the Old Testament

Lewis builds his Old Testament defense of the Sabbath around the Decalogue, which he perceives as the central and fundamental feature of the Old Testament. "All

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Royal Law Contended For (London, 1658; republished by the American Sabbath Tract Society, 1848). The 17 tracts on the Sabbath, published at various times, were bound in a volume entitled, Tracts on the Sabbath (New York: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1853). Although these writers included some philosophers the basic approach was a response to the biblical testimony for the Sabbath.

else centers around it as the lesser mountains and the plains center around Sinai."<sup>1</sup>

The opening question in this discussion is whether the institution of the Sabbath and the day of the Sabbath can be separated, allowing for the Sabbath to be moved to another day.<sup>2</sup> Because Lewis defines "institution" as the "result of obeying the law,"<sup>3</sup> he sees the Sabbath institution as the natural outgrowth of the idea (or law)

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<sup>1</sup>The Sabbath of the Old Testament, 1.

<sup>2</sup>Other Seventh Day Baptist theologians had written on the inseparableness of the day and the institution but with a different emphasis. See Rev. Mr. Chadwick, Reasons for Introducing the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment to the Consideration of the Christian Public (New York: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1853), 9-10, where the emphasis is on God's authoritative word tying the day to the institution, so that no change could be made except by the same authority. Thomas B. Brown, in Thirty-six Plain Questions, presenting the mainpoints in the Sabbath Controversy; A Dialogue between a Minister of the Gospel and a Sabbatarian; Counterfeit Coin, reprinted in Tracts on the Sabbath, New York: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1853, 3, emphasized God's activity as the welding point. He questions: "How then, is the institution separable from the day thus 'blessed and sanctified'? How can it be separated from that upon which its very existence depends?"

<sup>3</sup>"Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178. See also, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 15; Studies in Sabbath Reform, 21. Writing in 1888 he says, "All human institutions which are right, are the result of obedience to God's thoughts as expressed in the moral universe." "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 495. Lewis makes an interesting comparison between marriage and the Sabbath as the two institutions which he describes as "meet[ing] us at the threshold of history," both "antedat[ing] sin." He observes, "In the eternal fitness of things the two fundamental institutions through which the stream of human life is kept flowing and pure, in its relations to itself, and equally strong and pure in its relations to God, were born with the race." *Ibid.*, 496.

that God expressed on the seventh day. As such, there is no Sabbath institution apart from the Sabbath law, and, accordingly, there can be no Sabbath day apart from the Sabbath law. By the logic of his a priori argument, to change the law would destroy the institution.<sup>1</sup>

Further, Lewis affirms that though separated historically by 2,500 years from creation, the Sabbath law was linked inseparably to the seventh day of creation by two leading features, commemorativeness and sacredness.<sup>2</sup> No work can be commemorated until it is completed, and creation was only a "becoming" during the six days. None but the seventh day, the first of creation's existence as a finished work, could speak to man's soul through its commemorative sacredness as God designed the Sabbath to speak.<sup>3</sup> "Any other day," Lewis maintained, ". . . has

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis uses an illustration that comes out of the Civil War. Wherever the laws of the United States were rebelled against and disobeyed, he believed that the institutions of the United States government ceased to exist. "So he who refuses to obey the Sabbath law, destroys so far as his power extends, the Sabbath institution." Outlook, April 1888, 496.

<sup>2</sup>These two features answer the questions: (1) Why was the seventh day chosen as the Sabbath, and (2) By virtue of what did it become the Sabbath? See Sabbath in the Old Testament, 4. In the a priori argument, his emphasis was on man's in-built need to commemorate; here, the emphasis is on how the commemorativeness ties the institution to the seventh day.

<sup>3</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 13-14; "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 496. An embryo cannot be celebrated as a baby until the process is completed by birth. "As one cannot celebrate his birthday on a day earlier or later than that on which his birth occurred, so

another language--speaks to other things."<sup>1</sup> Sacredness is also linked inseparably with the day as it arises because of God's initiative in choosing to rest on that day and subsequently blessing it. As the sacredness arises from His example as well as His words, it could not be linked to any other day.<sup>2</sup> Neither could the seventh day stop being sacred, until it ceased to be a fact that God rested on the seventh day and sanctified it.<sup>3</sup>

Perpetuity of the law shown  
in the Old Testament

Moving through the Old Testament, Lewis clearly ties his Sabbath deliberations to the second premise of the a

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Jehovah sanctified the seventh as the only day which could answer the original idea [italics supplied] of the Sabbath law." Ibid. Lewis is once again pointing out the sequence that the "idea" anteceded the "event"--that sanctification of the seventh day was an original idea.

<sup>1</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 15. See Studies in Sabbath Reform, 19: "Applied to any other day the law has no meaning."

<sup>2</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 14-15; Studies in Sabbath Reform, 20. Also note his statement, "The seventh day became the Sabbath by virtue of the acts of Jehovah. God rested on that day, hence the sacredness arising from His example can pertain to no other day." "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 496.

<sup>3</sup>"Origin and Nature," SR, 10 November 1864, 178. Lewis insists: "Those causes, being facts in the history of God's acts, must forever remain in force, for they became facts from the demands of self-imposed law." Ibid. See also "Sabbath Controversy—Almost," SR, 10 January 1867, 5, where he says: "It is clear, therefore, that so long as these acts of God remain [creating in six days, resting on the seventh], being the causes which made the seventh day the Sabbath, so long the result must continue."

priori argument by contending for the universality and perpetuity of the law. Because there appears no account of God's making His law and Sabbath known before Sinai, Lewis uses logic and history to establish that they were both known and kept during that time. Along with traditional Seventh Day Baptist thought, he builds on his own perception of primary law, the knowledge and use of the septenary division of time, the giving of the manna, and Paul's "no law-no sin" argument as applied to the period prior to Sinai.

Primary law. Because the Sabbath serves to meet inherent needs of man's nature, it must necessarily have coexisted with the needs,<sup>1</sup> and it is unreasonable to think God would not have communicated the Sabbath law to Adam and other patriarchs "who walked with [Him] and were taught by Him."<sup>2</sup> God would not have left men to "unwittingly" sin in

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<sup>1</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 23. These demands include man's need to recognize and worship His maker, his need for cyclical rest, his need for social interaction, his in-built need to recognize and commemorate his beginnings. Seventh Day Baptist Thomas B. Brown had emphasized that the Sabbath was given to Adam as representative of the human race, and if God's rest was an example of how man should rest, it was so as soon as there were men to do it. Further, Brown attested that if the Sabbath meets the needs of men it would have been a "monstrous absurdity" for it to be withheld for over 2000 years and then only be given to a fraction of the human race. Brown, The Sabbath: Its Moral Nature and Observance, 4.

<sup>2</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 25. In this regard Lewis reflected other Seventh Day Baptist writers. For example, see Stennet, who insisted Adam knew of the

not keeping the Sabbath, being without "knowledge requisite to obedience."<sup>1</sup>

Septenary division of time. The use of a seven-day cycle indicates a knowledge of creation week and the Sabbath day which closed it, as there is no other rational reason for a seven-day division of time.<sup>2</sup> Lewis makes a significant contribution to the Sabbath argument, using historical data to confirm that the use of the septenary division of time antedated Judaism in civilizations both inside and outside of biblical history. New in the 1888 edition of Sabbath and Sunday was an appendix of fifty pages concerning the origin and identity of the week, including a table of seventy-five ancient and modern languages or dialects which show the order of the week with the word Sabbath consistently linked with the seventh day.<sup>3</sup> As he sees that a language preserves the thoughts and

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commandments before his fall: "The matter of the ten commandments was written in the heart of Adam before his fall," the Sabbath being part of the law, and "instituted by God before the fall of man." Stennet, 7, 27.

<sup>1</sup>"Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 496.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis declares, "The Sabbath, the week and the Old Testament, a trinity of facts, stand unmoved, honoring God, keeping him in the memory of men, thus conferring endless blessings." Sabbath of the Old Testament, 15.

<sup>3</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1888), 90-140. The chart is found on 124-138. Seventh Day Baptist theologian Burnside, publishing in 1827, had devoted approximately 20 pages to research and comment about the use of the week and the Sabbath among non-Jews both before and after the establishment of the Jewish nation. Burnside, 55-75.

habits of a people, it appears very significant to him that in a variety of ancient languages the name of the seventh day of the week is tied to the idea of "rest" or "sabbath."<sup>1</sup> In these languages he sees the history of the week and the Sabbath "as absolutely embalmed and as certainly identified as the mummy of Ramses II."<sup>2</sup>

Story of the manna. The story of the manna in Exod 16, historically preceding Sinai, illustrates in clear terms the people's awareness of the Sabbath command. Further, the people were severely rebuked by God for transgressing the Sabbath law, although it had as yet not been given in its formal setting.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Sabbath and Sunday (1888), 91-92. Lewis cites the Encyclopedia Britannica (date of edition not given, though he calls it the "latest research") telling of an Accadian calendar from about 2200 B.C., passed on to the Assyrians: "The week of seven days was in use from an early period, indeed, the names which we still give to the days can be traced to Ancient Babylonia; and the seventh day was one of sulum, or 'rest.'" Ibid., 92. Biblical incidents implying the use of the weekly cycle include Gen 7:4, 12; 29:26-28. See also, Sabbath and Sunday, 19; "Sabbath for Man, or the Fourth Commandment Fundamental, Not Ceremonial," SR, 29 July 1886, 3; "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 497; "The Identity of the Week and the Sabbath," Outlook, January 1891, 33-38.

<sup>2</sup>"Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 497. It would be interesting, but outside the task of this dissertation, to investigate the strength of his many references.

<sup>3</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 19-21; "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 497. This is a common argument for the Sabbath both in Seventh Day Baptist and Seventh-day Adventist literature. See for example, Burnside, 77-78. Also see chapter 3 of this study where

Paul's no-law, no-sin argument. To clinch the argument of the knowledge of law before Sinai, Lewis declares he is willing to "leave all such assertions in the hands of Paul. See Romans 5:14," he challenges, "His argument is clear and the logic irresistible."<sup>1</sup> If "death reigned from Adam to Moses," and death results from transgression of law, the law most certainly must have existed before Sinai, and within the law is the Sabbath commandment.

#### The two covenants

As part of the biblical argument in favor of the perpetuity of the law and the Sabbath, Lewis addresses the function of the law in the Old and New Covenants. No-Sabbathists, says Lewis, make it a "prominent part of [their] stock in trade," that the Decalogue was annulled along with the Old Covenant made with the Jews.<sup>2</sup> This teaching Lewis attributes to a "superficial" understanding of the eternal nature of God's government which leads to misconception of the word covenant, and to an absence of

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the Seventh-day Adventist position is presented by J. N. Andrews.

<sup>1</sup>"Origin and Nature of the Sabbath," SR, 17 November 1864, 182; Studies in Sabbath Reform, 24. See also Rom 5:13; 3:20.

<sup>2</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 47.

"logical distinction" between the moral and ceremonial laws.<sup>1</sup>

The place of the law in the covenants. Because the law was given at Sinai to the Hebrews, it is often seen as attached to specific, national interests for the Hebrew nation rather than being attached to the more universal reasons, which have always been uppermost and connected with God's purposes and plans for all of creation.<sup>2</sup> Allowing that the law had an important part in the covenant with Israel, Lewis provides a definition of "covenant" as a way of clarifying the law's place in both the Old and New Covenants. Covenant in the biblical sense, he affirms, is a contract between God and man in which man agrees to obey God's law in return for the blessings God promises.<sup>3</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1888), 15. The section on "The Two Covenants" was an addition to the 1888 edition of Sabbath and Sunday.

<sup>2</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 16. Lewis argues that while Israel, in view of their deliverance from bondage, was bidden to obey (Deut 5:15), "that bidding and agreement were by no means the creating of the law requiring obedience." Speaking of the Decalogue, he insists it "must have been from the beginning," and "the specific reasons why that generation should obey have nothing to do with the general laws from which the obligations to obey arose." "Origin and Nature," SR, 17 November 1864, 182.

<sup>3</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 48. In another place he defines the covenant as "the promise of God to man that he shall receive certain temporal or spiritual blessings upon certain conditions." Sabbath and Sunday (1888), 15. This understanding of the term "covenant" is illustrated in the Old Testament story of Noah (Gen 6:18) and of Abraham (Gen 15:18). In Exod 19: 5, 6, obedience is laid down as the

law forms the terms of the covenant but not the covenant itself.<sup>1</sup> To teach that the law was abrogated at the passing away of the Old Covenant would mean the "essential destruction of the New Covenant" as well. Without the law there could be no covenant, because obedience to the law is man's part of both covenants.<sup>2</sup>

The distinction between the ceremonial and the moral law. The continuity between the Old Covenant and the New Covenant can be seen in the fact that they were based on the same law and on the same demands made upon man's obedience. The difference was in the manner of administration.<sup>3</sup> Under the Old Covenant the method of forgiveness in case of transgression came through an application of the ceremonial system.<sup>4</sup> In the New,

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ground on which God promises Israel is to become a kingdom of priests and a holy nation.

<sup>1</sup>Lewis identifies the problem saying, "Since the law of God contains the essential terms of the covenant . . . the law is often spoken of as the covenant, by a common figure, metonymy. . . . The failure to recognize this use has led to no little confusion and error." Sabbath and Sunday (1888), 16.

<sup>2</sup>"Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 498.

<sup>3</sup>There were two aspects to each covenant: obedience to the Decalogue and a method by which man should find forgiveness in case of transgression. Studies in Sabbath Reform, 50.

<sup>4</sup>The distinction between the ceremonial law and the moral law is important for Lewis's case, because by the distinction he shows that the ceremonial law was the law spoken of as "done away," while the moral law or Decalogue continued as the foundation of God's government. The

forgiveness is based on a faith in the more glorious sacrifice of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Rather than drastically discontinuing the obligations of the Decalogue, Lewis saw the New Covenant as presenting a higher, more spiritual view of the same elements.<sup>2</sup> Whereas in the Old Covenant the law was written on tables of stone, in the New it was to be written on the tables of men's hearts. Thus, there is a change of the force of the law from an "outward restraint" of fear to an "inward control" of love. The law's power does not end, but rather is "intensified."<sup>3</sup> The Decalogue was not done away as part of the Old Covenant, but remained as the foundation for the New, "being the rule whereby man is to

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Decalogue was given first in time, written with God's finger, housed inside the ark of God directly under the mercy seat. The ceremonial law was written by Moses on parchment, placed in an outside pocket of the ark. The Decalogue contained the law for the seventh-day Sabbath which was called "the Sabbath of the Lord thy God," while the ceremonial law contained sabbaths called "your sabbaths." "Origin and Nature," SR, 17 November 1864, 182. For a more complete study on the two laws see Studies in Sabbath Reform, 29-46.

<sup>1</sup>In clear terms Lewis substantiates that "when Christ came, the better method of finding forgiveness and salvation from sin superseded that which was more burdensome, and less glorious." "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 498.

<sup>2</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 52. Lewis quotes 2 Cor 3:2-11 where "Paul defines the new covenant as based upon the deeper, spiritual meaning of the law." Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 50.

be guided in keeping his part of the covenant."<sup>1</sup> If the law has been written upon man's hearts under the New covenant, so has the Sabbath.

### The Sabbath in the New Testament

#### Christ and the Sabbath

Although the pages written by Lewis on the topic of Christ and the Sabbath constitute a relatively small fraction of his entire writings, he insists that concerning the Sabbath the Christo-centric focus should be accorded first place.<sup>2</sup> Christ was the central figure in both dispensations, the interpreter of Judaism, and the founder of Christianity; His practices should "form the ultimate authority in all matters of Christianity."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 498.

<sup>2</sup>SDBEA, 1:17. Lewis upheld the scriptural argument for the Sabbath as ranking above all else; even more specifically he claimed Christ's example and words as highest authority. Speaking of the Sabbath, Lewis insisted that the gospels "show how Christ, the Creator and Lord of the Sabbath, observed it, and what he taught concerning it. . . . Theories, speculations, customs, church authority and civil law, if at variance with Christ and his example, should be set aside." Critical History (1903), 4-5.

<sup>3</sup>In a similar vein he explains: "Being a Jew and the Messiah of God, [Christ] was not only the founder of Christianity, but the authoritative interpreter of Judaism, and of the relation of the ten commandments to the kingdom of God and the Christian church." A. H. Lewis, "The Sabbath from the Time of Christ to its Appearance in England," in SDBEA, 1:17. See also "Origin and Nature," SR, 24 November 1864, 186; Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 24.

Christ's example. Lewis understands that Christ specifically designed His activities on the Sabbath to dispel misconceptions and show "continual recognition" of the Sabbath as a day of rest and worship.<sup>1</sup> Further, he urges that what Jesus did He did as the Savior of the whole world.<sup>2</sup> The theory by which Lewis insists that the "Sabbath was slowly slain" discredited Christ's example of Sabbathkeeping as merely Jewish.<sup>3</sup> But if this be true, then Jesus also lived, taught, and died only as a Jew, and the non-Jewish world would be left sadly without a Bible, a Christian church, and without a Savior.<sup>4</sup> To Jesus' own

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<sup>1</sup>The passages discussed are: Matt 12:1-13; Mark 2:23-28; Luke 6:1-11; 4:40; 4:14-22; Mark 6:2; Luke 13:10-17; John 5:5-18; 7:19-24; 9:1-16; Matt 5:17-19. See Studies in Sabbath Reform, 78, 79. "Christ's aim was not the destruction nor removal of the Sabbath, but rather to set it free from Judaistic misconception."

<sup>2</sup>"Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 499.

<sup>3</sup>According to Lewis it was by the "falsehood" that the Sabbath was a "Jewish and temporary affair" that "the Sabbath was slowly slain." "The Passing of the Sabbath," SR, 9 August 1897, 501.

<sup>4</sup>This theory "throws away the Jewish Christ with the Jewish Scriptures; but it leaves the world a little lonely with only a 'Jewish Savior,' whose example is nothing to those who pretend to hope in him for salvation. . . . And all to get rid of the Sabbath." "Self-Destruction of Sunday Laws," SR, 20 September 1897, 597. In rejecting any biblical precept as Jewish only, one must consistently discount all of them, for God gave "no word of inspiration from Gentile pen." Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 36.

words, "Sabbath was made for man" (Mark 2:27, 28), Lewis adds the a priori perspective, as suited to his wants.<sup>1</sup>

Christ's teachings. The Pharisees' accusation that Christ was destroying the law arose because He was attempting to "remove the rubbish" which had built up around it and restore it to primitive purity.<sup>2</sup> Lewis understood Christ's expressed purpose "to fulfill" the law to mean "to obey completely" in direct contrast "to destroy" (Matt 5:17-18).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Lewis's third premise in the a priori argument, p. 63-65 above. N. V. Hull made a similar comment: "That the Sabbath was made for man, is proved by the fact that God gave it to man as suited to his wants, and by the fact that Christ, who was the Lord of it, says it was made for man. This I think ought to be good authority." N. V. Hull, "Reply to Dr. Calkins," SR, 5 May 1870, 74.

<sup>2</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 79.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 73, 79. See Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 25, where he affirms that the Greek word for "fulfill" (pleerosai) means the opposite of destruction (katalusai) [sic]." Lewis explains that Christ used "destroy" to mean loosen obligation, while "fulfill" on the contrary means strengthen. He rejects the idea that the word "fulfill" could mean "put an end to," because such a meaning could not apply to the Ten Commandment law which is eternal, nor yet to the ceremonial law which indeed Christ did come to bring to an end at His death. On another note, Lewis made the novel observation that even the ceremonial law was in one way strengthened by Christ's death. Whereas it was "typical," and passed away with Christ's death, using philosophical terms, Lewis indicates that the form of sacrifices remained, while the content changed from animal sacrifices to Christ's sacrifice. Thus, the sacrifices still exist, "manifold more intensely in his sacrifice than before, in their meaning and effect." "Review of Dr. J. M. Hoppin," SR, 12 March 1885, 3.

Christ's "pruning" of the Sabbath is strong evidence that He intended for it to endure, as He was purposefully preparing, "fit[ting] it for spiritual service in His new kingdom."<sup>1</sup> So that it might bring forth more fruit, as one "prunes overgrowth from a vine," he tore away the "unwarranted additions" with which the Jews had surrounded it.<sup>2</sup> As a wise gardener would not bother to prune a worthless or dying tree, Christ would not have sought to give a new and purer life to an institution that was doomed to imminent death and obsolescence.<sup>3</sup>

Again Lewis applies his a priori argument, pointing out that as the One "by whom all things were made," Christ "knew too well the nature of God's moral government, to

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<sup>1</sup>The Sabbath and Spiritual Christianity: Tracts on the Sabbath Question, No. 1 (Plainfield, NJ: American Tract Society, [ca. 1896]), 12; hereafter, Spiritual Christianity. Christ's kingdom was to be a kingdom of love, and Lewis points out that his work for the law was to teach obedience to the law in spirit as well as letter, an obedience from love rather than fear. See also, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 25; Studies in Sabbath Reform, 73; SDBEA, 1:18.

<sup>2</sup>SDBEA, 1:18; also, "The Sabbath in the New Testament," Outlook, January 1885, 76; "The Rev. Mr. Titsworth," SR, 29 January 1885, 3. Lewis affirms, "What [Christ] rejected was not the law, but the false representation the Jews had placed upon it." Ibid. See Studies in Sabbath Reform, 62-71, also SDBEA, 1:12-13, for a discussion of some of the many restrictions by which the Talmud governed the Sabbath. See also, A. H. Lewis, The Sabbath and the Sunday in the New Testament: Tracts on the Sabbath Question, No. 6 (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, [ca. 1896]), 4.

<sup>3</sup>"The Sabbath and Pure Christianity," SR, 22 November 1866, 46.

destroy the first and fundamental principles of government."<sup>1</sup> He taught that "the Sabbath was made for man," promoting his highest good. Lewis saw that Christ by His example and teaching was promoting the "higher view" of the Sabbath.<sup>2</sup>

Lewis affirms that Christ's death no more destroyed the law than did His life. He links Sinai and Calvary inseparably, insisting that it is only as Sinai still stands to condemn disobedience that Calvary serves a purpose.<sup>3</sup> In Christ's death, it was condemnation that was removed, not law; "infinite love [could] remove penalty for sin," but could never remove law without creating ruin.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 73: "He 'by whom all things were made' knew too well the nature of God's moral government to teach that which would pervert the first and fundamental principle of government, i.e., the recognition of a permanent and authoritative standard of action."

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 70. The term "higher view" was Lewis's favorite way of describing his own approach to Sabbath observance.

<sup>3</sup>"Seventh-day Baptists and Sabbath Reform," Sabbath of Christ, September 1902, 82. In another place he says: "If the Decalogue was abolished by the death of Christ, then Christ by his death prevented the possibility of sin, to redeem man from which [sin] he died. "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 500; also Sabbath and Sunday (1888), preface. He concludes, "The law and the gospel are in harmony, and teach that the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 35.

<sup>4</sup>"Eleven Reasons," Sabbath of Christ, October 1902, 98.

## Example and teachings of the Apostles

To show error in the theory that the Bible supports a change of Sabbath to Sunday in honor of the resurrection is Lewis's primary agenda as he discusses the example and teachings of the apostles.<sup>1</sup> The "change-of-day" theory is relatively modern, first introduced by Puritan Nicholas Bownde in 1595<sup>2</sup> and espoused by many Protestants since. Lewis used terms like "assumptions" and "far-fetched inferences" to describe Bownde's attempt to find examples

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<sup>1</sup>In Studies in Sabbath Reform, 62-63, he complains that the use of the term "Christian Sabbath" was given to Sunday as a way of strengthening the change-of-day theory. He explains, "Christ Christianized the Sabbath," not Sunday, and anyone who throws out the Sabbath to put Sunday in its place disregards Christ.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis first discusses this topic in his articles on "The Origin and Nature of the Sabbath," but does his most thorough work in the Outlook, January-October 1890, where he reprinted and commented on all of Bownde's book, The Doctrine of the Sabbath: Plainly layde forth and soundly proved by testimonies both of holy scriptures and also of olde and ecclesiastical writers. He extolled the first 35 pages of the book which constitute a tight-knit case for the seventh-day Sabbath and its biblical manner of observance. But Bownde attempted to use proof texts to show that "this seventh day" referred to the first day of the week, the day kept by Christians to honor the resurrection. Lewis saw Bownde as "murder[ing] his own arguments by attempting to remove the Sunday to the foundation on which God has firmly fixed the Sabbath." "Birth of the 'Puritan Sabbath'," Outlook, January 1890, 24. See also Sanford, A Choosing People, 47, where he discusses Bownde's position, noting that he not only "demonstrat[ed] a change of doctrine concerning the day of worship, but a change in his source for authority and doctrine."

of first-day keeping in Acts and the epistles.<sup>1</sup> Lewis sees "not the remotest reference to the abrogation of the Sabbath" in the New Testament, nor any command for a change, and in actuality there are many texts in Acts that show a continual and habitual recognition and observance of the Sabbath by both Jews and newly converted Gentiles.<sup>2</sup> In typical style, Lewis comments, "The statement sometimes made that 'the Sabbath was never observed after the resurrection of Christ,' contains as much error as can be put into that number of words."<sup>3</sup>

Redemption not greater  
than creation

The assumption that redemption is greater than creation is given as a basis for exchanging the seventh-day Sabbath, which commemorates creation, for a first-day Sabbath in honor of the resurrection.<sup>4</sup> With a measure of

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<sup>1</sup>"Birth of the 'Puritan Sabbath,'" Outlook, April 1890, 56-58.

<sup>2</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 93. Lewis cites Acts 13:14, 42, 44; 15:12, 13; 17:2, 5; 18:4, 11 among other texts. These texts are convincing to Lewis that "Christ and his disciples obeyed and taught [the laws of the Decalogue] after the old dispensation had passed away." "Origin and Nature," SR, 24 November 1864, 186.

<sup>3</sup>Paganism Surviving, 174.

<sup>4</sup>This was a frequently addressed topic among Seventh Day Baptists. Writers who discussed the topic were: Brown, The Sabbath, 37-38; idem, Questions, 3, 4; Maxson and Parkinson, Discussion, 181-82; Rev. Mr. Chadwick, The Sabbath—Authority for the Change of the Day (New York: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1853), 13, 14.

satire Lewis points out how this premise presumes that finite man could "measure the work of 'creation'," with its display of infinite power, compare it with the "infinite love and mercy of God" shown in the work of redemption and decide which of them is the greater infinity!<sup>1</sup> Man then takes the liberty of "decid[ing] what God ought to have done, and then assumes that God did what [man] thought he should."<sup>2</sup>

Using logical arguments Lewis shows the unsoundness in several aspects of this premise:

1. If it were determined that redemption is greater than creation, that which commemorates the lesser could not be sufficient to serve as a commemoration of the greater.<sup>3</sup>

2. Further, by the "redemption greater than

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<sup>1</sup>"Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 501. Also see, "Birth 'Puritan Sabbath'," Outlook, April 1890, 67.

<sup>2</sup>"Birth 'Puritan Sabbath'," Outlook, April 1890, 67. Lewis's contemporary, Seventh Day Baptist writer C. D. Potter, remarked tersely, "When the Lord made the Sabbath a memorial and inscribed on it 'In memory of God's rest from his creative works,' it is impious for men to erase the inscription and write thereon, 'In memory of the resurrection of Christ.'" C. D. Potter, "Correspondence," Outlook, October 1886, 301.

<sup>3</sup>"Birth 'Puritan Sabbath'," Outlook, April 1890, 67. Lewis logically comments, "Different works must be differently commemorated, and the greater cannot be commemorated by that which only measures the less." Ibid. Also, "The Puritan Sabbath Argument," SR, 7 February 1867, 22.

creation" premise not only the "day" but the "causes" for a Sabbath are changed.<sup>1</sup>

Writing in 1890<sup>2</sup> and 1891,<sup>3</sup> Lewis insisted that the Sabbath is more than the commemoration of an "event," as the "change of day" theory would make it.<sup>4</sup> At creation it commemorated God's personal presence and example of resting, and was designed to be God's personal representative in time.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, as the a priori reasons for the Sabbath remain and are attached inseparably to the seventh day and have no connection with sin, the Sabbath could never serve as a memorial to redemption.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Origin and Nature of the Sabbath," SR, 1 December 1864, 190. Pursuing the same approach he queries: "Could any other causes make any other day the Sabbath? . . . Clearly not." The "change of day" theory constitutes a man-made change both in the day and in the causes to observe the day. Herein Lewis identifies a double error.

<sup>2</sup>"Birth 'Puritan Sabbath'," Outlook, April 1890, 67.

<sup>3</sup>In the January 1891 Outlook, 1-23, Lewis reprinted a major section of Peter Heylyn's History of the Sabbath (1636) which included a discussion on "redemption greater than creation." Whether or not this was a source of Lewis's ideas, we see Heylyn's writings reflected in Lewis's writings.

<sup>4</sup>By assuming the Sabbath was only a commemoration of creation, he felt the "Puritan theory [was] debasing the Sabbath, and mistaking its true character, in order to compare it with redemption." "Birth 'Puritan Sabbath'," Outlook, April 1890, 67.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Lewis prints Heylyn's argument on this point: "The Sabbath was instituted before sin entered into the world, and therefore has no relation to redemption from sin." See "Heylyn's History of the Sabbath," Outlook, January 1891, 20.

Because he was determined to uphold the Sabbath as a creation ordinance, yet recognizing that the Sabbath rest took on additional meaning after the entrance of sin, Lewis moved from denying a connection between the Sabbath and redemption to viewing redemption as part of creation and as such included in the Sabbath celebration. In 1864 he insisted, "There is no connection between the Sabbath, as the monument of creation, . . . and the scheme of redemption."<sup>1</sup> In this context he clearly also disassociated the Sabbath from any of the ceremonies prefiguring Christ's redemptive activities.<sup>2</sup> In 1867 he hinted at a connection between creation and redemption, saying that having created the universe with its great "potentialities and destinies," God at the same time opened a way in which the "disorder and death resulting from the disobedience" might be remedied.<sup>3</sup> In 1880 he was willing to say that the Sabbath links itself with the "all-

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<sup>1</sup>"Origin and Nature" SR, 1 December 1864, 190. Lewis later published contemporary Seventh Day Baptist writer, Potter, saying, "There is no intimation in all of

God's word that the Sabbath is a monument of redemption." "Errors of Saturday-Sabbath Adventists Confuted," Outlook, July 1888, 520.

<sup>2</sup>"Origin and Nature," SR, 1 December 1864, 190. Perhaps Lewis failed to see that the typical sabbaths and the year of Jubilee (Lev 25) are legitimate connecting links between the meaning of the creation Sabbath and the work Christ accomplished on the cross.

<sup>3</sup>"The Puritan Sabbath Argument," SR, 7 February 1867, 22.

embracing idea" of God as "maker of heaven and of earth," and "redeemer of men."<sup>1</sup> Writing shortly before 1908, he clearly included redemption as part of creation, affirming that "the plan of creation and the plan of salvation . . . are one;" they are "inseparable."<sup>2</sup> He describes God's redemptive work as "continuity of creation," or "re-creation,"<sup>3</sup> and places "Jehovah the creator" as spiritually one with "Jesus the redeemer."<sup>4</sup> He sees the continuity of creation as being asserted in the New Testament by the apostle John when he identifies Christ with the creative word (John 1:1, 2, 14) and by Paul in his study of the first and the second Adam.<sup>5</sup> With these connections, the celebration of redemption is incorporated into the celebration of creation, and the same day of celebration accommodates both. But in all this he strictly avoids connecting the present spiritual rest or deliverance from

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<sup>1</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 11.

<sup>2</sup>Spiritual Sabbathism, 93, 95.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 95. The processes of creation and redemption both brought "cosmos" out of "chaos." At creation God took the various disorderly elements of the planet and brought order to them by arranging them into meaningful patterns and structures. Through the work of redemption, God restructured the disorder and death resulting from sin into a unified pattern of order and harmony of his will.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 96. He sees the same continuity in Hebrews and the evangelists.

sin to the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> Thus the richness of the Sabbath as a symbol of redemption is lost in his resolve to avoid the disposition to use this connection as a reason for Sundaykeeping. Writing in 1896 and 1890 he does allow that the Sabbath can be seen as a "a type of the saints' rest in heaven (Heb 4:1-11),<sup>2</sup> but he makes only a brief reference to this.

3. In a third argument against the change of day based on "redemption greater than creation," Lewis points out that since the Sabbatic idea celebrates a completed work it is not appropriate as a celebration of redemption because redemption was not complete at the resurrection and will not be completed until sin is irradiated from the universe. The redemptive work of God continues as "Christ ascended to the right hand of the Father, to be our intercessor," and must continue until the Redeemer comes as Judge, to "deliver the redeemed and glorified universe up to God" (1 Cor 15:24-29).<sup>3</sup> The "sanctuary language" he

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert E. Saunders, a Seventh Day Baptist theologian of our day and a rather faithful disciple of Lewis's in most areas, maintains that "the Sabbath, no less than it is the memorial of creation as ordained by God, is also the memorial of re-creation and redemption." Idem, 65.

<sup>2</sup>Seventh Day Baptist Handbook, 37; see also Spiritual Sabbathism, 120-21.

<sup>3</sup>"Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 501. "To make that the end which is but a midway point in the great work," contests Lewis, "is to contradict both reason and revelation." "The Puritan Sabbath Argument," SR, 7 February 1867, 22.

uses here is not typically Seventh Day Baptist and may come from J. N. Andrews's writings, which Lewis was probably familiar with by this time.<sup>1</sup>

In summary of his biblical argument, Lewis holds that the survival of Christianity depends upon its willingness to accept the entire Scripture as its rule of faith.

If the Sabbath law passed away when Christ came because it was Jewish, all the rest of the Decalogue did. It stands or falls together. If the Decalogue is weak and limited because Jewish, the Old Testament is far more so. If the Decalogue is not the embodiment of fundamental and universal truths—there are none in the Old Testament. Christ has no standing as Messiah and Redeemer if the Old Testament be removed. The New Testament grew out of the Old. It centers around Christ as the fulfillment of the prophetic element in the Old Testament. Take away the Old Testament and Christ, make them "Jewish," and therefore ephemeral, and all standing room for Christianity is gone. Judaism was the root, Christ the tree, and Christianity the blossom and fruit. Kill the root, and all dies.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Historical Argument for the Sabbath

Lewis maintained that the answer to the Sabbath question must be found in the use of two significant keys:

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<sup>1</sup>"The Puritan Sabbath Argument," SR, 7 February 1867, 22. Lewis would have had in hand by this time the material Andrews prepared for the 1870 edition of Lewis's Sabbath and Sunday, as the manuscript was prepared some time in advance of its publication.

<sup>2</sup>"Eleven Reasons," Sabbath of Christ, October 1902, 97. This material was first published as Various Reasons for Observing Sunday: Tracts on the Sabbath Question, No. 12 (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, [ca. 1896]).

the first, the authority of the Bible; the second (to be interpreted in light of the first), the facts of history. History was seen by Lewis as the "on going of the ideas and purposes of God," and although he attributed to God the goodness of giving man freedom of choice, he also affirmed God's prerogative to disallow anything that would make "shipwreck" of the "ultimate good for which all things [were] created."<sup>1</sup> He perceived that the ideas and philosophies of a man or a nation "sooner or later, result in character and actions."<sup>2</sup> Thus he based his historical argument on the saying of Jesus, "By their fruits ye shall know them" (Matt 7:20).<sup>3</sup> His strong conviction that God's ideas and eternal laws would prevail<sup>4</sup> led him to say that "in testing theories and practices, the historic argument is ultimate."<sup>5</sup> The historical argument becomes part of

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<sup>1</sup>Critical History, 519.

<sup>2</sup>Pure Christianity, 7.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Critical History, 1.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., iii. Lewis affirms, "The scientific study of history reveals the norm by which ideas, creeds, movements, and methods are to be tested. Such a standard, when contrasted with speculations of philosophy, is granite, compared with sand. God's universal law, enunciated by Christ, is: 'By their fruits ye shall know them.'" Paganism Surviving, vi. Further, "Nothing in human experience tests a doctrine like its history." A. H. Lewis, The Sabbath and Pure Christianity (Westerly, RI: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1867), 7. Hereafter, Pure Christianity.

his Sabbath theology and an extension of his argument for the perpetuity of God's eternal law.<sup>1</sup>

He formulated four verdicts of history to show why, in his judgment, Sunday, as man-made Sabbath, failed the tests established in his a priori argument. These verdicts, discussed below, led to his plea for "true Sabbath reform." "Reforms like apples must have time to ripen," was his adage, and he was convinced that in his day the fruits of history had matured and the time for reform was ripe.<sup>2</sup>

#### Man Must Have a Sabbath

The first verdict, "Man Must Have a Sabbath," grows out of his a priori argument and serves as a foundation for

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<sup>1</sup>Paganism Surviving, vi. Early in his career, Lewis began the task of investigating "patiently and in detail" the history of the Sabbath and the Sunday, "unravelling the lines of pagan influences upon Christianity." See Jubilee Papers (Alfred Center, NY: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1892), 121. To describe his task as "unravelling" was very apt. The strands of history make an intricate network, and to sift and evaluate the philosophies and events of history is a complex but intriguing task. This Lewis purposed to do in the interest of preserving the Sabbath, without which he saw that Christianity is "shorn of one of its chief elements of power, and humanity is robbed of one of its chief blessings." Critical History, v.

<sup>2</sup>"O Lord, How Long?" SR, 10 February 1870, 26; see Reasons for Giving the Sabbath a Rehearing: Tracts on the Sabbath Question, No. 4 (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, [ca. 1896]), 2; hereafter, Reasons: "Reforms, like apples, ripen, and no amount of denial or indifference can prevent the ripening harvest." Also, Critical History, iii; Paganism Surviving, vi.

the other three. To support this idea Lewis employs the story of early Christianity, explaining the rise of no-Sabbathism and ascribing to it the establishment of a spurious day of worship.

#### The rise of no-Sabbathism

Lewis perceived that the no-Sabbath theory both resulted from and contributed to the corrupting of the early church. Writing in 1870 he attributed its rise to a misapplication of Paul's writings<sup>1</sup> together with a zealous reaction against the burdensome false Sabbathism of the Hebrews.<sup>2</sup> In 1886,<sup>3</sup> and even more directly in 1892, he fastened the concept to the antinomian and anti-Jewish influence of Gnostic thought.<sup>4</sup> The progressive paganization of the Christian church brought about the

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<sup>1</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 42-47; 102-103; Studies in Sabbath Reform, 114-123.

<sup>2</sup>In Critical History, 521, he again wrote of the rise of no-Sabbathism as influenced by "a liberal construction of the Pauline theory concerning the observance of days," which resulted in "exaggerated notions concerning 'freedom under the gospel,'" and the reaction from the false Sabbathism of the Hebrews."

<sup>3</sup>See Critical History, chapters 6-16.

<sup>4</sup>Paganism Surviving, 34, 159. He dedicated the entire volume, Paganism Surviving in Christianity, to tracing the erosion of Christianity by paganism. In this book he follows the thinking of German theologian, Adolph Harnack. Both in Paganism Surviving, 288, and Catholicization of Protestantism, 16, he speaks fondly of his personal visit with Harnack in Berlin, Germany, where he consulted with him in preparation for the book, Paganism Surviving.

gradual weakening of the Sabbath and prepared the ground for the no-Sabbath theory. In contrast to Christianity, which had its roots in the Old Testament-revealed religion of Judaism and was anchored in the interpretation of ancient scripture by Jesus Christ, Gnostic thought was grounded in human reasoning and philosophy and taught that the true meaning of all scripture was hidden.<sup>1</sup> By it, mystical interpretations were given to formerly well-established teachings of the Old Testament and events in the life of Christ;<sup>2</sup> thus scriptural authority was destroyed and respect for God's law and the Sabbath was eroded. In this way, on its unavoidable journey through the pagan world,<sup>3</sup> Christianity (like the traveller from

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<sup>1</sup>Paganism Surviving, 36. In contrast to the life and teachings of Jesus through which "he explained and enforced the moral precepts of the Old Testament, developing their deeper spiritual sense, and giving them a new application to the inner life of men," Lewis called Gnostic thought "general looseness of ideas coupled with the wildest speculations." *Ibid.*, 31; Pure Christianity, 8.

<sup>2</sup>Paganism Surviving, 35. By this allegorical method where "nothing is as it seems to be," mystical meanings were given to laws, ceremonies, and rituals. Any Bible stories which seemed unexplainable were perverted or obscured. Many of the speculations dealt with creation, so were concerned in general with the Sabbath and the law. Accounts of the life of Christ were also perverted. *Ibid.*, vii, 34-70. Some of the Gnostic ideas originated in pre-Christian currents of influence and had already been present in the Jewish religion before the time of Christ.

<sup>3</sup>Christendom's journey through the pagan world is portrayed in Critical History, chapters 6-12.

Jerusalem to Jericho) "fell among thieves."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand it gradually adopted new aspects of thought from those who claimed to be converts from the schools of heathen philosophy but who still held many vestiges of their pagan beliefs. By the third century the New Testament purity of Christianity was thoroughly corrupted by these pagan ideas,<sup>2</sup> and men's minds were conditioned to accept no-Sabbathism's declaration, "There is no sacred time under the gospel. He keeps a continual Sabbath who lives holy each day."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Paganism Surviving, 34. "The intellectual unrest of the [first centuries A.D.] favored the process of corruption." Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>In Paganism Surviving, Lewis quotes more than 20 sources to support the idea that Christianity during the early centuries borrowed much from paganism. He quotes among others, without footnoting, a Thomas H. Dyer, who said, "The first Roman converts . . . entertained a strange medley of pagan idolatry and Christian truth" (p. 3); Cardinal Baronius, who observed that "it was permitted the Church to transfer to pious uses those ceremonies which the pagans had wickedly applied in a superstitious worship, after having purified them by consecration (p. 8). Rev. Hobart Seymore even more strongly asserts that "the mediation which Romanism ascribes to its saints is precisely the same as that which heathenism ascribes to its demi-gods (p. 16)." See Paganism Surviving, 2-30. This religious syncretism paved the way for corrupting Christianity by union with the state.

<sup>3</sup>Critical History (1886), 521.

### Establishment of a spurious Sabbath<sup>1</sup>

Stripped of its spiritual foundation, the Sabbath steadily declined while numerous feast days sprang up. Though the Sabbath was still observed, Lewis points out that in the proportion to which the church drifted from God it drifted from the true Sabbath.<sup>2</sup> The Sabbath became known as a "fast" day, or a day of self-abnegation, while Sunday as a "feast" day grew in popularity as a day for celebration. Lewis notes that the first specific reference to the elements of no-Sabbathism and Sunday observance occurs simultaneously with Justin Martyr<sup>3</sup> (about A.D. 150).

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<sup>1</sup>See Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 85-118. It was always important to Lewis to support his assertions with historical evidence, and he quotes from at least 18 historians and writers.

<sup>2</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 88; Critical History, 160; Reasons, 3-4. Lewis conjectured that the reason Justin and his followers pressed their no-Sabbathist ideas was because the true Sabbath still had a vigorous hold on the church at the time. See Pure Christianity, 10; Critical History, 119-120.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis rarely speaks of Justin Martyr without characterizing him as an unconverted heathen with shrewd policy. "He adopted (we dare not say was converted to) Christianity, as his religion, though he continued to wear the philosopher's garb, and as his writings show, held to many heathen notions." Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 102-103. Further, Lewis brands Justin as representing the fundamental error which conceived of the gospel as "license without law, instead of freedom under law, through forgiveness." Ibid., 102. "Justin Martyr is an eminent example of one who perverted the Scriptures while claiming to explain them." Paganism Surviving, 54. He was the first, affirms Lewis, to give account of Sunday observance, and first to assert that Christ rose on Sunday. A. H. Lewis, "The Time of Christ's Resurrection and Observance of

Justin erased the true meaning of the Sabbath by saying that repentance from evil is keeping a Sabbath,<sup>1</sup> and in the same writing spoke of assembling on Sunday as a time when the prophets are read, prayer and praise are given, and the "consecrated elements distributed."<sup>2</sup> Lewis believed that Emperor Constantine's interest in the Sabbath (A.D. 321) was due to his shrewd recognition of Christianity as an element of social and political power to be seized upon for his own advantage. In A.D. 321 he issued the "essentially pagan edict"<sup>3</sup> by which Sunday as the joyous festival of the

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Sunday," Sabbath Reform Library (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, March 1892), 29-30.

<sup>1</sup>Lewis quotes Justin's no-Sabbathist statements in Dialogue with Trypho: "If, before Abraham, circumcision was not needful, nor Sabbaths, feasts, nor Sacrifices, before Moses, neither are they so now," and "If any be an adulterer let him repent, and then he will have kept a true and pleasant Sabbath of God." See Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 103-105. Lewis also quotes Clement of Alexandria (writing somewhere between A.D. 190 and 200) who connected no-Sabbathism and the resurrection: "We ought to honor and reverence him . . . not in selected times, as some do among us, but always. . . . He that doth lead his life according to the ordinances of the gospel, then keeps the Lord's day when he casts away evil thoughts and . . . doth glorify the Lord in his resurrection." Further, Lewis quotes Origen, "He truly keeps the festivals, that performs his duty, praying continually . . . every day is to him a Lord's day." Pure Christianity, 8-10.

<sup>2</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 106.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis insists that this edict was not made in reference to a Sabbath and was not in any way connected with the practices of Christianity or any moral obligation. It was essentially pagan, and similar laws concerning other festivals were common. Even in ecclesiastical actions up until the fifth century, legislation in favor of Sunday did not differ from legislation for other civil holidays. Paganism Surviving, 220, 222.

Christian's, and Sunday as the pagan's day to honor the sun, were combined to establish the "venerable day of the sun" as an official day of worship.<sup>1</sup> Thus, affirms Lewis, was Sunday the "alien child, born of heathenism and selfishness," given the "place and honor of the true child" (the Sabbath) which was cast off.<sup>2</sup>

While disparaging the events which set up Sunday as a sacred festival, Lewis makes an application of the a priori argument. With the "sacred time" of the true Sabbath eroded, the increasing number of semi-religious festivals (including the Sunday festival) showed the "abnormal hungering of souls in the darkness which brooded over a Sabbathless church."<sup>3</sup> Men were simultaneously rejecting the true Sabbath and reaching for a new Sabbath to satisfy their soul hunger for holy time. Sunday observance, though pagan in origin, was seized upon by the people to meet their needs. Thus although the obedience was "imperfect and perverted," the "proof of the need [was]

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Critical History, 522-40. In replacing the "true child" with the "alien," the parents of the latter are more honored than the parent of the former and a double indignity is offered to God, when, in lieu of his holy day, men, claiming to be His [sic] children, offer a heathen festival." "Aggressive Sabbath Efforts," 26 March 1863, 46. See also, "Despairing," SR, 11 August 1870, 130, where he says, "Sunday-keeping is not only a 'broken-legged lamb,' it is of alien blood. It was reared in a Pagan fold."

<sup>3</sup>Critical History, 522.

not less absolute."<sup>1</sup> He concludes, "All these facts conspired to prove that humanity demands some form of sacred time."<sup>2</sup> So the "man of sin" (2 Thess 2:3, 4) who robbed the church of the true Sabbath used to his own advantage man's need for holy time.<sup>3</sup>

A Sabbath Cannot Be Maintained  
Without Divine Authority

Lewis insists that although mankind has a spiritual need for a Sabbath, only divine authority brings authentication through which a true Sabbath can be permanently maintained.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. This fits effectively into Lewis's a priori argument, but even while making this observation he is careful to keep before his readers that both Sabbath and Sunday were kept in some manner during these first centuries of Christendom, and when Sunday became the legalized day of worship many Christians went underground and continued to keep the true Sabbath throughout the Dark Ages. His books include many pages of documentation showing Sabbathkeeping during these periods. See Sabbath and Sunday (1870), Part II, chapters 1-4; Critical History, Chapters 16-19; Pure Christianity, 11; Reasons, 4. This is important to Seventh Day Baptists, because they maintain they are part of an unbroken chain of Sabbathkeepers that is linked directly to the apostle's time.

<sup>3</sup>Paul foretold the working of the "man of sin" (2 Thess 2:3, 4) who would according to Dan 7:25 "speak great words against the most High" and "think to change times and laws."

<sup>4</sup>Lewis saw this demand for divine authority to be "as necessary to the continued existence of the Sabbath idea" as the Sabbath idea is "necessary to the demands of the soul-life and religious culture of humanity." Critical History, 523. The idea of the weakness of a man-made Sabbath had been with him since 1870. See Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 133. He developed the concept more fully in

The results of man's attempt  
to usurp authority

Man's attempt to usurp the authority of God began by belittling either the Sabbath, the Decalogue, or the entire Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> Lewis held that the Bible is a unit, with the New Testament growing out of the Old; God's authority, if recognized at all, must be recognized in the entire Scripture.<sup>2</sup> Denying the authority of the Sabbath or the

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1881 in the historical argument presented in a lecture at Chautauqua, published as the tract Sunday Laws Past and Present, a lecture delivered in the Hall of Philosophy, at Chautauqua, August 8, 1881 (Alfred Centre, NY: American Tract Society, 1881); hereafter, Sunday Laws. Included in the "verdicts" in 1886, it was also supported by material in a tract published in 1896, The Authority of the Sabbath and the Authority of the Bible Are Inseparable: Tracts on the Sabbath Question, No. 2 (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, [ca. 1896]), 1; hereafter, Authority.

<sup>1</sup>Authority, 2. This came about through the working of the "man of sin" through the hearts of heathen philosophers and emperors who for their own advantage wished to unite paganism and Christianity. It was nourished by the popular philosophy of the time which viewed the Jewish God, the creator of material things (which were considered evil), as an inferior deity, His laws of little importance and applying only to the "disfavored Jews." Ibid., 4-5. Of Justin Martyr's part in this, Lewis says: "He insist[ed] at length that the Sabbath was always and only a 'Jewish' institution, with which other men had nothing to do. Thus he began the creation of a new standard by attempting to destroy the authority of the Sabbath law of the Old Testament." Ibid., 5.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis observed: "What men call the 'New Testament Church,' was developed and established on the Old Testament. . . . There is no chance to deny that the Christianity of the first century was developed from the Old Testament. . . . Specifically, all ethics, Jewish or Christian, are based on the ten commandments as 'enlarged and exalted' in the teachings of Christ and the spirit of the gospel." Ibid., 4-5.

law discredits the entire Bible and undermines the concept of Divine authority.<sup>1</sup>

The rise of the papacy was seen by Lewis to be the direct consequence of the subverting of divine authority.<sup>2</sup> With the Bible deposed from its rightful place, it was an "inevitable result" that "other standards should be erected and enforced."<sup>3</sup> The church sought and found a new basis for authority, available in the state, and through this "adulterous" union the papacy was born, with Sunday its "petted institution."<sup>4</sup> It was civil, not divine authority, that was initially claimed for the feast days and for Sunday, even though Sunday observance was connected to the resurrection. The Sabbath, as God's "prominent representative," was a "special point of attack because it represented God so fully" and "challenged the false claims

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<sup>1</sup>The Bible and the Sabbath have been closely associated with the question of authority throughout the history of our race. Lewis notes that they "stood together in all the history of the Jewish nation, they stood together in the mind of Christ, they fell into decline and disuse together during the time of apostasy. They emerged together 'hand in hand,' in the dawn of the Reformation. They rose and fell alike in the English Reformation. They are inextricably interwoven in the issues of the present time." Ibid., 14-15.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis attaches his second verdict mainly to an examination of the period of history between the third and twelfth centuries.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 6-7.

<sup>4</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 133. This development took place in general between the middle of the second to the middle of the fifth century.

of the Church-Authority theory as no other command of the Decalogue did or could."<sup>1</sup> The germ of the whole movement was the denial of the fundamental authority of the Bible.

The church's desperate attempt to re-establish divine authority led to manufacturing "signs and pretended miracles," and "discovering" writings that were actually spurious, to convince "credulant minds" that the festival of Sunday had divine authority. Finally, to compensate for the power which is inherent only in divine presence, the church began to use coercion and even bitter persecution. The change "dishonored and ignored God," and the "Sabbathless Christianity" it produced resulted in a rapid decline of the church.<sup>2</sup> With the loss of Divine Authority and of sacred time came the loss of communion with God, and, says Lewis, the train of history can be "expressed in one word: downward."<sup>3</sup> "The cyclone does not mark its path with desolation more surely," Lewis observes, "than these errors which began with the rejection of the Sabbath left a

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<sup>1</sup>Authority, 7.

<sup>2</sup>Pure Christianity, 10-11.

<sup>3</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 133.

trail of spiritual decay behind them."<sup>1</sup> The world descended into the fearful night of the Dark Ages.<sup>2</sup>

The power of divine  
authority

For Lewis, adhering solidly to the principle of sola scriptura, the Sabbath can be only the product of "revealed religion."<sup>3</sup> All questions concerning the origin, purpose, or manner of its observance must begin with the Bible. He insists, "Divine authority alone, clear and explicit, can create a Sabbath."<sup>4</sup> This divine authority places a spiritual restraint upon the human personality which is lacking in human law but which alone can create the God-

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<sup>1</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 13: "Nowhere are the evidences of cause and effect seen more clearly than in the apostasy of the church from Christ's Christianity, after the falsehoods of no-lawism and no-Sabbathism were adopted. . . . The dark years of the wilderness life of Christianity between the middle of the fifth century and the time of the German reformation, are crowded with lessons showing that a Sabbathless Christianity is correspondingly a Godless Christianity, and one from which all the better elements of spiritual life are driven." Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Pure Christianity, 10-11. Though Lewis does not clearly make the connection here, we might observe that the attempt to change primary law (Dan 7:25) brought the chaos he had warned of in the a priori argument.

<sup>3</sup>Authority, 1. "Without the Bible there would be no Sabbath question." Ibid. Lewis holds that "having the Bible, men find that what it requires concerning the Sabbath accords with their highest necessities. . . . But these necessities among those who have not the Bible have not developed the Sabbath." Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Sunday Laws, 14.

fearing conscience that is needed to maintain the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> God's law promotes itself through the inner conscience of man rather than through external restraints.<sup>2</sup>

The papal legislation governing man-made festivals and holy days appeared to Lewis as a direct manifestation of the spurious nature of the feast days. In Christianity there is no place for civil legislation.<sup>3</sup> Christ taught that His kingdom is not of this world (John 18:36). Legislation was seen as necessary because the man-made festivals had no control over the people, and lacked the inner power that the Sabbath possessed. Losing the true

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<sup>1</sup>"Nothing can create [conscience] or keep it alive except the sense of divine authority." Departure from divine authority "emasculates conscience, removes the sense of obligation, and destroys character." "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 504.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis's stance was that the purpose of law is to foster the growth of a Christian conscience that can effectively appreciate the spiritual nature and importance of the seventh day. The implication here is that though a man-made Sabbath may profess to offer genuine spirituality, it is not in its province to deliver it. It cheats the people, because it does not have the ability to perform in this area. It can offer physical but not spiritual rest. Indeed, it can provide only an empty atmosphere that will fill with other things, often degrading.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis saw the papacy's characteristics of "union of church and state," and "civil legislation in religious matters," to be clear evidence of the non-Christian nature of the organization. Christ's teaching that his kingdom was "not of this world" (John 18:36) is a strong manifesto against union of church and state. "His church should rely upon no power but the power of the Divine." Sunday Laws, 6. See also Outline History of Sunday Legislation: Tracts on the Sabbath Question, No. 9 (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, [ca. 1896]), 8, where he says, "Civil legislation in religious matters is wholly opposed to the spirit of Christianity."

day resulted in losing the whole "Sabbath idea,"<sup>1</sup> which reminds man of the Creator-creature relationship and denotes his recognition of God as his authority. Underlying this second verdict is the a priori principle that connects the Sabbath authority to the God who created the necessities of man's nature.<sup>2</sup> God's law and His Sabbath speak to spiritual needs, but man's laws can only speak to other needs. Man cannot make a Sabbath, he declared; man can make only a holiday!<sup>3</sup>

All Compromise Between the Sabbath and No-Sabbathism Is Weak and Ephemeral

The undergirding principle of the third verdict is that nothing but full-scale submission to the authority of the Bible and obedience to the law of God (seventh-day Sabbath) can bring true reform to a nation and lead to the high spiritual experience the Sabbath is meant to produce. Lewis posits the verdict, "All compromise between the Sabbath and no-sabbathism is weak and ephemeral," against the Puritan compromise to illustrate that "a theory thus

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<sup>1</sup>Critical History, 524

<sup>2</sup>Authority, 1.

<sup>3</sup>Sunday Laws, 10-11. See "Interesting Correspondence," Outlook, July 1886, 284: "Nothing we can do will make a Sabbath. God has made the Sabbath."

weak through its falsity, can never be made the means of true reform."<sup>1</sup>

#### The Puritan compromise

While Lewis recognizes as sincere the Reformer's attempt to return to the Bible as the supreme authority in religious matters, he observes that while the Reformers insisted on sola scriptura in regard to salvation through faith, they gave the Bible Sabbath much less consideration. The continental Reformers taught a view Lewis describes as "a somewhat improved form of no-Sabbathism," with only a "tendency . . . toward a higher view of the Sabbath obligation."<sup>2</sup> Without any spiritual backing, Sunday became little more than a holiday, and was eventually labeled the "Continental Sunday," a term that carried with it the connotation of a day of revelry.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Dear Brother," SR, 7 October 1869, 162.

<sup>2</sup>Sunday Laws, 8. The Augsburg Confession openly declared no-Sabbathism: "Because it was needful to ordain a certain day, that the people might know when they ought to come together, it appears that the Church did appoint Sunday, which day, as it appears, pleased them rather than the Sabbath-day, even for this cause, that men might have an example of Christian liberty, and might know that the keeping and observance of either Saturday, or of any other day, is not necessary." "Origin and History of the Sabbath, Part II, History," SR, 25 May 1865, 82.

<sup>3</sup>"The early reformers ignored all divine authority in favor of Sunday, and taught its observance only on the ground of expediency, such observance to be regulated by civil law. Three hundred years of such teaching has left continental Europe Sabbathless, and almost Godless." "Dear Brother," SR, 7 October 1869, 162.

In the English Reformation the authority of God's law and the Sabbath early came to the front as Reformers faced the question, "If the Church is not our law giver, then what of God's law?"<sup>1</sup> Puritans, having accepted the Bible as supreme rule, felt bound to acknowledge the fourth commandment as binding and to restore the Jewish method of observing it. But at this point they faltered, "stopped on the threshold of actual Sabbath observance," and "wrought out a compromise."<sup>2</sup> The "compromise" or "half-truth" determined that "the law is binding, the day is not," and attempted to connect the spiritual experience that belonged

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<sup>1</sup>Sunday Laws, 9.

<sup>2</sup>"The Sabbath and the Puritan Movement," Sabbath of Christ, January 1902, 8-9. See Lewis, Spiritual Christianity, 14. Roman Catholics maintain that, in truth, Protestants have retained the Catholic position. "The retention of Sunday was Catholic, and the prominence given to the regulation of its observance by civil law was pre-eminently so." Catholicization of Protestantism, 14. In the small book just referenced Lewis discussed the Catholic challenge to Sundaykeeping Protestants which was published in a series of four editorials entitled "The Christian Sabbath" in the Catholic Mirror, September 9-30, 1893, following the controversy over the World's Fair closing on Sunday. At that time Protestants appealed to the Catholics for help in protecting Sunday. Lewis had hopes that the issue thus brought to the open would pressure Protestants to a return to the seventh-day Sabbath. Lewis quoted the "more forceful than elegant" words of one unnamed Catholic in regard to the Protestant position which denies the authority of the Catholic church but accepts the day they have legislated. "The history of the world cannot present a more stupid self-stultifying specimen of dereliction of principle than this." *Ibid.*, 43. His own comment is: "Reason and common sense demand the acceptance of one or the other of these alternatives. Either Protestantism and the keeping holy of Saturday, or Catholicity and the keeping of the Sunday. Compromise is impossible." *Ibid.*, 29.

to the Sabbath to a day of worship that had pagan origin.<sup>1</sup>

The Puritan dilemma and answer became:

'We cannot go back to the seventh day, for that is Jewish. We dare not remain upon the no-Sabbath platform, for that is full of evil. We will compromise the question: we will transfer the law to another day, and build a new theory.'<sup>2</sup>

Their great reverence for Christ made it easy to accept the resurrection tradition as their new theory, and with "lame logic" they applied it to the fourth commandment.<sup>3</sup> It was through the ingenious thought of Nicolas Bownde that the Puritan compromise was born. In his book, The Doctrine of the Sabbath Plainly Laid Forth And Soundly Proven, he provided a face-saving answer for the Puritans reluctant to relinquish the keeping of Sunday.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Sunday Laws, 9. We might call this alliance an illegitimate union, or two causes "unequally yoked." Lewis, the careful student of history, believed that the Puritans chose to ignore the facts of the first four centuries which showed Sunday worship was based entirely on pagan influence and civil legislation because the truth of those facts "destroy[ed] the foundation on which Puritanism rested its 'Sunday Sabbath'." Critical History, v.

<sup>2</sup>Sunday Laws, 9. Also see Catholicization of Protestantism, 13, where he says: Puritanism hesitated, wavered, compromised."

<sup>3</sup>Pure Christianity, 14.

<sup>4</sup>Authority, 8. As noted earlier (see p. 55, n. 1. above), Bownde presented a very strong case for the seventh-day Sabbath and a return to its biblical manner of observance. He presented the Sabbath as an immortal commandment of God and therefore binding on men's consciences. Lewis praised Bownde's argument saying, "The sharpness of his logic and the accuracy of his conclusions along the main line forestall the effort to remove the Sabbath from the seventh day, which he makes at the end of his argument." "Sabbath and the Puritan Movement," Sabbath

Lewis held a reserved admiration for Bownde's theological view on the Sabbath<sup>1</sup> with its potential as a path to restoration of the Sabbath truth and saw that for a time the Sabbathizing of Sunday lifted men into higher living, gave a new impulse to the spiritual meaning of the Sabbath, and "wrought much good to the spiritual life of the Protestant movement."<sup>2</sup> But he despised the spirit that was willing to turn back into the emptiness of Sunday-keeping. Missing in the reform was the radical whole-hearted determination to return to "the undiminished authority of the law of the fourth, . . . without evasion

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of Christ, January 1902, 8. But Bownde turned back when it came to the point of action, and acceded that it was the Christian's duty to keep "the seventh day" but not "the very seventh day." Bownde, as reprinted in "Birth, 'Puritan Sabbath'," Outlook, January 1890, 24. Lewis's evaluation of this concept is that "the most serious and almost sacrilegious feature of Dr. Bownde's effort . . . is in that he decides what God ought to have done, and then assumes that God did what Dr. Bownde thought he should. This effort to dictate duty to God, and to correct the Scriptures, is an essential feature in every effort to sustain the Puritan theory of the change of the Sabbath." "Birth 'Puritan Sabbath'," Outlook, April 1890, 67. In 1890 Lewis printed Bownde's entire work along with his own personal commentary in issues of the Outlook, January-October, 1890.

<sup>1</sup>In an article, "The Compromise," Sabbath of Christ, August 1903, 67, Lewis capsulized Bownde's view: "The compromise was as follows: The Bible must be the supreme rule; the fourth commandment must be binding; Jewish methods of observing the Sabbath must be restored; the fourth commandment must be transferred to Sunday. This compromise agreed with the Seventh Day Baptist position on the first two points, and differed from it on the other two."

<sup>2</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 14.

or modification, or the fiction of obeying the spirit by breaking the letter."<sup>1</sup> But there existed a group who determined that Protestants must return to the seventh-day Sabbath or recede from Protestantism. This group, which eventually became the Seventh Day Baptists,<sup>2</sup> Lewis was pleased to identify himself with.

#### Failure of the compromise

Willing to acknowledge that some good was brought about by the Puritan compromise, on the other hand, Lewis

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<sup>1</sup>Authority, 15. Lewis spoke of a three-way split in doctrine at the time of the Reformation: "Catholics and Episcopalians insisted that the decree of the church was the highest tribunal." English Seventh Day Baptists insisted on returning to the Sabbath. The Puritans sought a middle ground by rejecting no-Sabbathism, but transferring the Sabbath to Sunday, and also clinging to the "error that the state should enforce religious orthodoxy by civil law." "The Sabbath and the Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 504.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis proudly states: "The people that I have the honor to represent . . . pressed the question that the only possible ground of success was a return to the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment." Sunday Laws, 9. But with the same vigor with which he scathed the Puritans, he warned his own church. In respect to the Sabbath the Puritans were weak in their faith in God; not willing to make a full break, they courted popular favor rather than a radical obedience to God's law. In the spirit of his "verdict three" Lewis spoke to his own church: "If any of you are weak-hearted, grow strong through faith in God, or turn back. . . . If there is one . . . loving applause or courting popularity . . . he will soon be sifted out. . . . Under God, I have great faith in our people and implicit confidence in the triumph of truth." Pure Christianity, 17-18.

saw that it held back true Sabbath reform.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, he concedes, "God could not teach them the weakness of their half-truth except by the failure which has come."<sup>2</sup> Writing in the last half of the nineteenth century, he judged that the era had ended and the Puritan compromise had failed. He attributed its decline to the reaction of thinking people who, having listened to the church's teaching that the seventh-day Sabbath is Jewish only, and having seen that there is no biblical backing for the "transfer of the day" theory, reverted to no-Sabbathism. Lewis pictured the duplicity of the compromise as a building with one side on the rock and one on the sand.<sup>3</sup> The events of time undermined the sand, and the "Sunday-Sabbathism," which

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<sup>1</sup>In a typical style, Lewis comments: "The thorn you step upon in blissful ignorance, leaves a wound no less stinging than the one on which you meaningfully tread. So with the results of wrong doing on the part of the world's leaders. If they lead to the precipice, they and their followers must fall." "Infidelity and Heathenism in Massachusetts," SR, 20 December 1866, 202.

<sup>2</sup>Reasons, 8. Note his judgment, "The fervor of reformation and the power of the civil law gave temporary and superficial sacredness to Sunday. This is fast waning, and the American church is compelled to face the issue between no-Sabbathism, holidayism and ruin, or a return to Bible ground, divine authority and the law of God." "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 504. Also see "The Passing of the Sabbath," SR, 9 August 1897, 501.

<sup>3</sup>Authority, 9. See also where he wrote: "This compromise, half error and half truth, having been accepted, must needs to be tested in actual application, while the Catholic doctrine of Church authority and the Seventh Day Baptist doctrine of Biblical authority stood [*sic*] by to await the result." Catholicization of Protestantism, 14.

began with the Puritan movement, eventually was "being swept swiftly back into the sea of holidayism."<sup>1</sup>

The General Results of Civil  
Legislation Have Been Evil

In the fourth verdict Lewis addresses the futility and the evil results of attempting to improve spirituality by Sabbath-Sunday civil legislation and shows how true reform would lead naturally back to a high spiritual experience in the Sabbath.<sup>2</sup>

Legislation of spiritual matters  
leads downward

Lewis was convinced that the legislation of spiritual matters depletes their spirituality. That true Sabbathism is destroyed when the Decalogue is set aside and other authority put in its place was illustrated both in Jewry and in the Dark Ages.<sup>3</sup> Further he saw that the

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<sup>1</sup>Authority, 9. "There is no middle ground for Sunday. The attempt of compromise made by Puritanism could not succeed and Sunday is going back to its original type, which was pagan." "Tract Society Work", SR, 25 October 1897, 677. See also "Religion and Civil Law," SR, 25 August 1870, 138, where Lewis compares the Puritan Sunday Sabbath attempt to a broken cistern, now going dry.

<sup>2</sup>In speaking of the evils of civil legislation, Lewis, in his 1881 lecture at Chautauqua (see p. 100, n. 4 above), presented his credentials as a "student of history" with twenty years of investigation on this topic. Sunday Laws, 11. The "verdicts" were published in Critical History (1886), twenty-some years after he first began to research and publish on the subject of Sabbath history.

<sup>3</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 2. History depicts the anarchy which has resulted from man's attempt to usurp God's authority by setting up a sabbath of his own.

weekend revelry of his day seemed to grow in proportion to the efforts to legislate a day of worship.

When civil pressure is brought to the issue of Sabbathkeeping, there is a realignment of focus that brings the religious duty down to a "mere civil or political question."<sup>1</sup> The lower but more visible human standard takes the place of the divine, endeavoring to take the place of the work of the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup> Lewis sees it as an attempt to "steady the ark of God," by helping God in an area where God does not need help,<sup>3</sup> done with the view to improve on God's ideas, in spite of Christ's clear statement of separation of church and state, "My kingdom is not of this world."<sup>4</sup>

Further degradation of the Sabbath takes place when the legislation is driven by commercial concerns and

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<sup>1</sup>Sunday Laws, 11, 7. See also, "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 504; Critical History, 527.

<sup>2</sup>On the light side, Lewis illustrated this well with a report from the Civil War in which case 16 men of a certain battalion were detailed for baptism because their commander was aspiring to keep up with another battalion where baptisms had been reported. "Religion and Civil Law," SR, 25 August, 1870, 138.

<sup>3</sup>See Sunday Laws, 14. "Can not God take care of his own?" Lewis questions. "Religion and Civil Law," SR, 25 August 1870, 138.

<sup>4</sup>Critical History, 526; Sunday Laws, 6.

becomes a political tool "subject to schemes and manipulations" of ambitious and selfish men.<sup>1</sup>

Sunday legislation in  
Lewis's time

Beginning as early as 1865, but most markedly between the years 1880 and 1900, Sunday legislation was the major focus of Lewis's writing and public speaking. He had shown remarkable foresight, predicting in 1870 that Sabbath reform promised "to soon become prominent in American politics."<sup>2</sup> The rise of industrialism and the escalating of weekend revelry in the nation brought attention to the need for protecting a day for worship and rest. Much

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<sup>1</sup>Critical History, 527. Business concerns used both the Sunday law and the liquor traffic issues to support agendas that would advance their own business interests.

<sup>2</sup>Sabbath and Sunday, 3. In 1867 Lewis was already insisting that the need for civil legislation of a day of worship indicated that such a Sabbath did not have authenticity of its own. Employed by the Tract Society during 1869-1872, he wrote a regular column in the Sabbath Recorder dealing often with correspondence related to Sunday legislation. He made his well-received presentation at Chautauqua (noted earlier), published as the tract, Sunday Laws Past and Present, a lecture delivered in the Hall of Philosophy, at Chatauque [sic], August 8, 1881. He appeared before the United States Congress in 1888, standing with Seventh-day Adventist A. T. Jones against the Blair Bill. Together their presentations helped to defeat the bill. A complete report of Jones's presentation is found in a small booklet, The National Sunday Law (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1889). Also see Minutes of the 50th Congress of the United States Senate, 2d session, "Sunday Rest Bill," 17 January 1889, where the full presentations of both Lewis and Jones are recorded. Also see above, p. 47, n. 4; M. Ellsworth Olsen, A History of Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists, 3d ed. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1932), 462-467.

agitation regarding Sunday laws occupied the attention of those in government and religious circles. Journals, both religious and secular, were flooded with articles supporting or opposing Sunday laws, with varied agendas of spirituality, business, humanitarianism, temperance, or other concerns.<sup>1</sup>

Lewis addressed the evils of contemporary civil legislation of Sunday from two angles: an error in the method of promoting worship, and a departure from

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<sup>1</sup>Dennis Pettibone in "The Sunday Law Movement," in The World of Ellen G. White, ed. Gary Land (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1987), 113-128, describes the time. To many Protestants, America seemed to be turning its back on God. Catholics, Jews, agnostics, and atheists were immigrating to the United States in record numbers. New denominations including the Mormons and Seventh-day Adventists were taking members away from the mainstream churches. In addition, Protestantism felt threatened by modernism and secularism. "Protestants . . . believed that the passage and enforcement of strict Sunday legislation was an important method of preventing divine judgment." Ibid., 121. Three general reasons stood out as grounds for legislating Sunday laws: (1) the deeply spiritual reason (recognition that Sunday was a holy day), which was connected with the "Puritan compromise"; (2) the providing of time for worship, connected with the no-Sabbathist theory; (3) the humanitarian reason (providing a time for rest and bringing relief to unfairly treated workers), which actually had no direct spiritual implications. Of the groups which sprang up in defense of Sunday laws, three significant ones were the National Reform Association, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the American Sabbath Union. Ibid., 121. Lewis's wife was heavily involved in the work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (see "Correspondence from Mrs. A. H. Lewis," SR, 17 May 1888, 2), and though on the one hand Lewis saw much good in what the WCTU was attempting, he of course objected to the element of Sunday legislation in their platform.

biblically established time for worship.<sup>1</sup> He took the position that the most Sunday legislation could accomplish was to establish a day of relief from labor.<sup>2</sup> In agreement with the conservative element of his time, he perceived that a day of rest without the spiritual element leads to idleness, dissipation, and revelry, which is worse than legitimate labor.<sup>3</sup> Thus, rather than promoting

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis recognizezd that some "lovers of Sunday" were "earnest Christian men and women of the land" who held to the Puritan Sabbath. Sunday Laws, 11. Lewis, along with other Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists, found himself in an awkward position because he opposed secularism and holidayism, which Sunday law advocates hoped to curtail, but rejected both the element of civil legislation they represented and the day of worship for which they sought legislation. Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists became main contestors of Sunday laws, not merely defending themselves, although many members suffered under the existing Sunday laws, but defending the principle of religious freedom. Lewis's extensive work against Sunday laws no doubt had much to do with the curtailing of Sunday laws and religious persecution in this nation. See Pettibone, 113-128, for more on how Sunday laws affected Sabbathkeepers especially during the last 25 years of the nineteenth century. Also, see Gardiner, Sketch, chapters 5-8, for more on Lewis's activity in opposing Sunday laws.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis is emphatic: "If the state finds good reason for ordering a weekly holiday, and enforcing idleness thereon, providing . . . it does not induce dissipation . . . thus far the State may go. But when it attempts to stamp any day as in any sense 'sacred,' it has passed beyond its power. "The Rev. Mr. Titsworth," SR, 29 January 1885, 3.

<sup>3</sup>See Abram Herbert Lewis, Enforced Sunday Idleness Promotes Crime or The Evolution and Future of Sunday Legislation (Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1905), 9, 10; hereafter, Enforced Sunday Idleness. The secularizing influences of the many immigrants from Europe along with the ample and growing supply of places of amusement added to the spirit of revelry on Sundays. Among the Sunday amusements denounced were: attending theaters

spirituality, the legislation contributed to the general decline of spirituality.<sup>1</sup>

Lewis contended that the faulty theology behind Sunday as the "day" being legislated for worship added to the problem. Among thinking people, the improved biblical scholarship of the day was exposing the error of the Puritan compromise<sup>2</sup> and was resulting in the undeniable drift back to no-Sabbathism with its "continental Sunday."<sup>3</sup>

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and opera houses, drinking, dancing, games of various kinds, beer saloons and gardens, paid lectures on literary and comic subjects, Sunday evening church meetings of secular nature, steamboat and train excursions, Sunday newspapers. There was also concern for the high spirits which developed at camp meetings. "Sunday in Utica, N.Y.," SR, 4 February 1869, 22. In regard to travelling on trains on Sunday, Lewis makes sport, suggesting trains might provide and advertise Sunday services on board so that people could worship on the way to their places of amusement. "Sunday in England," SR, 29 April 1869, 70. From the Boston Journal came the assessment, "The old landmarks on Sunday are being rapidly obliterated," quoted in "New York Sundays," SR, 25 January 1872, 18.

<sup>1</sup>Lewis's explanation was: "The sanitary plea of a 'rest day' is a lower element in the Sabbath idea, but it can never be made a foundation for it. It is sand compared to the solid rock. When God's law, supported by his example, is removed, Sabbathism falls, and holidayism takes its place." "Sabbath-day, or Holiday?" Sabbath of Christ, November 1902, 125-126.

<sup>2</sup>His assessment is: "The decline in regard for Sunday springs from the erroneous and self-destructive theories on which its observance is based." "The Vital Point in the Sabbath Question," Outlook, July 1886, 258. Further, the decay of Sunday "arose from the germ of self-destruction which every such compromise carries." "The Compromise," Sabbath of Christ, August 1903, 68.

<sup>3</sup>He saw the "continental Sunday" as resulting from the pagan residuum in Christianity and false ideas of freedom under the gospel.

The effort to curtail Sunday merrymaking was useless, because there was no spiritual power in the day they were advocating.<sup>1</sup>

He insisted that the Protestants' only hope of survival was a return to God's authority. He made much of the fact that Catholics recognized the Protestant's dilemma as the result of an irresolute stand for the doctrine of sola scriptura. Catholic catechisms clearly pointed out that Protestants had no grounds for keeping Sunday.<sup>2</sup> The Catholic Mirror of 23 December 1893 aggressively asserted the Catholics' right to be recognized as the originators and defenders of Sunday observance. Lewis described the article as "serving due notice on the Protestants" to "quit the premises [of Sunday] or acknowledge the authority of the owner," to "pay rent or vacate."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>If the blessing of sacred time which belongs to the Sabbath is lost by denying the day, he maintained, it could not be regained by legislating some other portion of time for sacred use. C. D. Potter echoes Lewis's typical style: "When I see the Sunday turned into a grand holiday instead of a holy day, when I see the religious character and moral degradation of the people, I can only bow in reverence to God, and pray, O Lord! deliver our country from such a day as this." "Reply to a Presbyterian Pastor," Outlook, July 1886, 260.

<sup>2</sup>Based on the Authorized Catechism, A Full Catechism of the Catholic Religion, New York: (n.p., n.d.), 395.

<sup>3</sup>Catholicization of Protestantism, 29-30. The article was one of several written in connection with the Protestant effort to close the 1893 Chicago World's Fair on Sunday. Protestants finally appealed to Catholics for help, and Lewis says the "Roman Catholics smiled to see Protestants thus on their knees asking help, and quietly prepared for an advance movement." *Ibid.*, 27.

The answer lies in true  
Sabbathism

It was Lewis's strong belief that true Sabbath-keeping must involve more than merely ceasing from labor and could never be legislated.<sup>1</sup> Through the divine ingredient, it holds its own authentication and promotes itself through the inner conscience of man.<sup>2</sup> "True religious impulses," maintains Lewis, "exist only in the realm of the soul's relations to God."<sup>3</sup> Christianity was meant to be a transforming power in the world as spiritual truth enunciated by Christ bore fruit and grew through its own inherent power. Thus obedience would spring from love to God, not compliance with civil government.<sup>4</sup>

A key in Lewis's historical argument is the dictum, "By their fruits ye shall know them" (Matt 7:20). Lewis saw that fruits of true Sabbathism were not only borne out

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<sup>1</sup>See Lewis: "The civil law can order a day of rest, but it cannot make a Sabbath." "The Rev. Mr. Titsworth," SR, 29 January 1885, 3.

<sup>2</sup>"Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April, 1888, 504. Lewis saw the purpose of law to be that of providing an atmosphere in which to grow a Christian conscience that can effectively appreciate the spiritual nature and importance of the seventh day. Conversely, he saw that the removal of man's sense of the spiritual nature of Sabbath time ultimately ends in a removal of his overall spiritual sensitivity.

<sup>3</sup>Critical History, 527.

<sup>4</sup>Publishing in 1905, Lewis emphasized this idea by saying, "Men will not keep the sabbath, nor any other day as the Sabbath, unless moved by love and guided by conscience." Enforced Sunday Idleness, 16.

in the life of the church but also in the life of the individual. With the spiritual element of the Sabbath replaced by the ideas of men, the most effectual means of communication with God was taken away and men became degenerate.<sup>1</sup> So the dual errors of wrongly attempting to enforce worship, and of enforcing worship on a spurious Sabbath, has brought progressing degradation in selfish indulgence in direct opposition to the principle of the Sabbath, which was to elevate man's nature and bring him into communion with God. Declares Lewis: "Men cannot be made good by an act of Parliament."<sup>2</sup>

#### A Vision of National Reform

Lewis saw that the agitation for Sunday laws had created the ideal climate for the next step in completing the Reformation. He had a vision for broad national reform, great faith in the power of truth,<sup>3</sup> and a belief

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<sup>1</sup>Pure Christianity, 7.

<sup>2</sup>Paganism Surviving, 294.

<sup>3</sup>Illustrative of his belief in the triumph of truth are statements through the years such as: "Agitation shall not cease until truth triumphs." "Constabulary Sunday Keeping," SR, 16 November 1865, 182. See also, Pure Christianity (1866), 18: "Under God, . . . I have implicit confidence in the triumph of truth." Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 4: "The triumph of the Sabbath may be delayed, but it will finally come. . . . Sunday-keeping, though a gray haired error, is giving way and God's children will accept and reverence that which, more than all else, represents Him in human life, His Sabbath." Critical History (1903), 1: "Evil and error have limited lease on life. Truth is mighty and will prevail."

that history was ripe for a rehearing of the Sabbath question.<sup>1</sup> It was a time for the nation to rid itself of what he called the "pagan residuum" in the church and base its reform on the law of God and scripture as divine authority.<sup>2</sup> His view of the failure of the 300-year-old Puritan compromise led him to believe that if the Sabbath truth were presented aggressively in a theological and reasonable framework, the honest and thinking people of the nation would be compelled to accept it.<sup>3</sup> "The final victory of the truth," he affirmed, "is only a question of time."<sup>4</sup> This would lead directly to the keeping of the seventh-day Sabbath on a national level which, he was convinced, was the only hope for America's return to

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<sup>1</sup>In this regard, Lewis uses one of his favorite sayings: "Reforms, like apples, ripen," and "no amount of denial or indifference can prevent the ripening harvest." Reasons, 2-3. See also, "O Lord, How Long?" SR, 10 February 1870, 26.

<sup>2</sup>Paganism Surviving, 299. "Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 504. Also see "The Passing of the Sabbath," SR, 9 August 1897, 501. In Sunday Laws, 15, he wrote: We plead for the truth more authoritative than degrees of Councils . . . the teachings and example of the Lord . . . of more worth and authority than the teachings of Luther . . . or 'resolutions' of all Conventions, Synods, and Assemblies combined."

<sup>3</sup>This is what he hoped the a priori argument, his theology, and verdicts of history would accomplish. Lewis looked for a day when "all God's children shall keep his Sabbath, and delight in it." "O Lord, How Long?" SR, 10 February 1870, 26.

<sup>4</sup>"Letter to Rev. M. F. Whatley," Outlook, July 1886, 282.

godliness.<sup>1</sup> Although Lewis never lost this expectation, he was sadly disappointed that he did not see it happen in his day. In Letters to Young Preachers in 1900, he admitted that few, even among the leaders of his own people, recognized the possibility of a nation-wide return to the Sabbath. He challenged young men that although their legacy was "not in favor of radical and earnest work in Sabbath Reform," they should surpass in devotion those who had gone before, to become specialists both in knowledge and zeal concerning the advancement of Sabbath truth.<sup>2</sup> The type of Sabbath Reform he wished to see promoted, is dealt with next.

#### The New Spiritual View

During the later years of his life, Lewis's writing, which for some time had dealt primarily with historical and contemporary issues of Sunday legislation, turned to the highly spiritual aspects of the Sabbath. For years he had been battling against what he considered the "lower view of the Sabbath" associated with Sundaykeeping, where biblical authority is replaced by church authority and the Sabbath

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<sup>1</sup>Paganism Surviving, 299.

<sup>2</sup>Letters to Young Preachers, 225, 230. Lewis's deep concern for spirituality is seen as he encourages young preachers, saying that the larger part of their work is their personal preparation in their relations with God.

becomes based on utilitarian needs.<sup>1</sup> He saw this view as an "earthly, human plane" conception,<sup>2</sup> a residuum from paganism and no-lawism,<sup>3</sup> and applied to it the adage, "A stream cannot rise higher than its source."<sup>4</sup> He contrasted the idea that "when one has rested from ordinary business or labor, he has sabbatized,"<sup>5</sup> with the "higher truth" that "he only has sabbatized, according to the spirit of the fourth commandment, who has rested, that he might thereby attain communion with God, spiritual rest and religious culture."<sup>6</sup> He purposed to construct a highly spiritual, yet very practical, view of the Sabbath that would completely envelop man's approach to everyday life. He

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<sup>1</sup>The result of the lower conceptions is the "practical elimination of sacredness and divine authority," which in turn destroyed the Sabbath. Studies in Sabbath Reform, 10.

<sup>2</sup>"Low Ground on Which Sunday Observance Is Observed," Light of Home, October 1886, 17.

<sup>3</sup>Paganism Surviving, 289.

<sup>4</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 6. Lewis wants to show what Sabbath can do "for the spiritual life of those who learn its meaning, enter into its blessings." Ibid., 3. Contrasting true Sabbathism to "required" sabbathism, he sees that the secular person who is not in tune with spiritual qualities, when required by law to desist from his secular labors, does not experience spiritual rest. "The best he can do is to enjoy his 'enforced idleness' in any number of secular permissible activities. The worst he could do is to imitate the Sunday keeper by frequenting the saloons and such other places that promote merrymaking, dissipation and crime" [emphasis supplied]. "Origin and Results of Sunday Legislation," Outlook, January 1888, 453.

<sup>5</sup>"Low Ground," Light of Home, October 1886, 17.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

envisioned this "higher and true conception of the meaning and purpose of the Sabbath" as the first step in "genuine and permanent reform,"<sup>1</sup> and aspired by this approach to bring about a revolutionary change in American life.

Lewis had addressed this subject briefly in 1867 in Pure Christianity but he addressed it more fully in a pamphlet published about 1896, the Sabbath and Spiritual Christianity, in a chapter of the book Studies in Sabbath Reform published in 1898, and in his last book, Spiritual Sabbathism, published posthumously in 1910. Lewis's emphasis on experience appears to reflect the concepts of immanentism and pietism prevalent in the thinking of the day<sup>2</sup> and may also have been strengthened by his familiarity with Harnack's writings and his personal visit with him.<sup>3</sup>

In this section we examine Lewis's presentation of man's quest for God presented in Spiritual Sabbathism, followed by the meaning of his "higher spiritual approach" as the answer to this quest.

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<sup>1</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 11.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 33 above.

<sup>3</sup>Harnack, though considered by many to be a liberal theologian, emphasized a religion of personal experience. He warned of the danger of replacing "faith" as trust in God, with "faith" as intellectual belief or dogma. See Philip Rieff, "Introduction," in Outlines of the History of Dogma, author Adolf Harnack. Translated by Edwin Know Mitchell (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1957), n. p. For more on Lewis's contact with Harnack, see p. 94, n. 4 above.

In Spiritual Sabbathism Lewis used the word "spiritual" in different ways: (1) to describe true piety and a genuine religious experience,<sup>1</sup> and (2) to describe concepts opposite of "literal" or "concrete."<sup>2</sup> His new approach to the Sabbath was influenced by the rising popularity of both the evolutionary theory offered in Darwin's Origin of the Species<sup>3</sup> and the development of the higher critical approach<sup>4</sup> to the interpretation of

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<sup>1</sup>See Spiritual Sabbathism, vi, vii, where he connects it with "values," and "what man shall be at heart."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 76, 77, 79, where he positions "literal" as opposite to "spiritual." In this context Lewis uses "spiritual" to mean an "ideal," on a level higher than the literal. Ibid., 75. The type of Sabbathism he is promoting could be called "ideal Sabbathism," and yet he intends to make it practical in the end.

<sup>3</sup>The reaction of the religious world against the theories expressed in Origin of the Species built slowly and became most evident in the 1920s, but Lewis was early intrigued by such ideas, probably encouraged by connections with his scientific friends, Jonathan Allen, A. E. Main, and Theodore Gardiner.

<sup>4</sup>The higher critical approach or "biblical criticism," which came to maturity in the later part of the nineteenth century, in a general way applied the scientific method to the study of the Bible. This method of Bible study reserved judgment on the validity of the Bible until problems of authorship, historical validity, place, time, and circumstances were solved. It was viewed by fundamentalists as a direct attack on the inspiration of the Bible. K. H. Graf (1815-1869), Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918), and others contributed to the development of the critical approach. For a discussion of the higher critical approach see "Higher Criticism," SDA Bible Commentary, ed., F. D. Nichol (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1953-57), 5:147-154. See also, Edgar Krentz, The Historical-Critical Method (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975). Lewis insisted Protestantism must "fully accept the Bible as the ultimate and only standard

Scripture. His response was to introduce the somewhat mystical concept of "spiritual sabbathism," wherein he used a Platonic "ideal" as a device to synthesize science and religion in regard to the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> Hence, in his Spiritual Sabbathism one finds a mixture of some of his most spiritual concepts intertwined with concepts considered unacceptable by traditional Sabbathkeepers.<sup>2</sup> In the last chapter of the book he seems to combine the two meanings of his key word, "spiritual," so that the "spiritual" understanding of the Sabbath draws man into a high "spiritual" experience of the Sabbath, which he specifically characterizes in Sabbath and Spiritual Christianity and Studies in Sabbath Reform. This approach was intended to transcend sectarian issues<sup>3</sup> and to show how

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of faith," but hailed the growth of exegetical Bible study and the "higher criticism" which could "eliminate traditional authority and influence from its exegesis." Paganism Surviving, 285-290.

<sup>1</sup>Whereas in other books his sources are mostly historians, in this book he refers to scores of philosophers and theologians, both ancient and current. The names Harnack, Hoffding, and Nietzsche are often in his footnotes.

<sup>2</sup>Because the part of his "new approach" which is heavily weighted with secular philosophy is not found in any other of his writings, a major share of references in the following few pages is to Spiritual Sabbathism.

<sup>3</sup>Spiritual Sabbathism, vii. Lewis's interest in this "across-denominational" appeal is demonstrated in his preparation to write the book Spiritual Sabbathism. He surveyed and received answers from thirty Protestant clergy and professors throughout the United States concerning their view of how essential a Sabbath (whether first- or seventh-day) was to the life of the church. Ibid., viii.

the Sabbath should permeate the everyday life of every human.<sup>1</sup>

### The Quest for Meaning

In the book Spiritual Sabbathism, though at times his purpose is practically eclipsed in the discussion of the ancient and modern philosophies through which he traces man's gropings for God,<sup>2</sup> Lewis pursues the goal of connecting the Sabbath with God's unchanging purposes for man. He sees man's quest for meaning in life to be evidenced in history by his continual attempt to connect time with eternity.<sup>3</sup> The search is observed in the ancient religions of animism, mythology, and astrology, as man sought to attach sacredness to objects, imaginary gods, and

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<sup>1</sup>This goal, it appears, was more authentically realized in his writing of Spiritual Christianity (about 1896), and Studies in Sabbath Reform (1898) than the more difficult and somewhat choppy philosophical book Spiritual Sabbathism (1910). The book Spiritual Sabbathism has been described as "his best book" (Gardiner, Sketch, 103, 104), "his most widely acclaimed" and "most significant" book. Sanford, Choosing People, 206. In some ways this may be true. It does indicate an acquaintance with a multitude of scientists and philosophers. Unfinished when Lewis died, and edited by his son, the first chapters are out of character with Lewis's usual flowing and logical style and lack the clear deliberations seen in most of his writing. In some places appearing somewhat as a cataloging of ideas without clear connecting links, it almost gives the appearance of being a draft. It is still, however, a primary resource in the Sabbath theology course for Seventh Day Baptist ministers.

<sup>2</sup>See Spiritual Sabbathism, 3-60.

<sup>3</sup>It seems instinctive in man that "worth can in some sense be measured by its degree of permanence in time." Ibid., 3.

to heavenly bodies. It is observed in philosophy and the religions of Zoroaster, Brahmanism, and Buddhism. Lewis is willing to attach some value to these unconscious "aspirations toward God,"<sup>1</sup> but discerns that "time," as the ultimate judge, has pronounced all these man-made "gods" transitory.<sup>2</sup> His postulate is that those who worshipped idols and other strange deities or wandered in the 'morass'

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<sup>1</sup>In these attempts of man Lewis sees spiritual vestiges with very significant meaning concerning God, sacredness, and responsibility; in this they were "precious and permanent achievements." Ibid., 19-20; also, 17. He refers to "creation myths" in ambiguous language which reveals a degree of sympathy he had with those who did not espouse the literalness of the creation account in Genesis. Ibid., 17-18. His flirtation with evolutionary thinking is seen here as he compares the remnants of primitive thought which have survived in the presence of an understanding of biblical revelation, to physical specimens from earliest stages of development which geology asserts remained in the presence of more developed specimens. Ibid., 19-20. In this context Lewis speaks of man as having developed "slowly in time," and compares these primitive approaches to first communications of a child with his father, which include "minor misunderstandings, but essential reality." "Why it was necessary" he comments, "it is not for us to say, [but] it is God's method for man, and only the spiritual philosophy of the future can explain it." He speaks of this primitive thought as coming from "God's spiritual kindergarten" (ibid., 6-7), or the "kindergarten period of man's history." "Agitation Concerning Sunday," SR, 11 February 1886, 3. This is a strange contrast to his strong statements of 1888 which spoke of the patriarchs who "walked with God," and were "taught by Adam." Sabbath and Sunday (1888), 10.

<sup>2</sup>In typical colorful style Lewis declares: "Time in large amounts is the essence of any contract with a god," but "time is precisely what the false gods have not been able to assure." Spiritual Sabbathism, 8. Further, "The eloquent silence of oblivion will be God's only comment upon every institution which fails to satisfy the soul's hunger for God." Ibid., 13.

of ill-guided philosophies were, in fact, wrestling with questions which the Sabbath was intended to answer.<sup>1</sup>

In the "quest for meaning," Lewis is illustrating his own a priori argument. He has insisted from the first that this universal need of man for spirituality and sacred time was created by God as part of the "nature of things."<sup>2</sup> To answer this need has ever been the purpose of the Sabbath. It is a piece of time with eternal qualities<sup>3</sup> in which the God of the eternal enters into time and provides a way for the man of time to enter into the eternal.<sup>4</sup> Celebrated with the right reasons and the right understanding, the Sabbath brings to man experiences in which he tastes of the "rest" of eternity in his special connection with God. Thus the Sabbath is that medium by which man is empowered and elevated to transcend the temporal through consecrating time and is enabled to experience the eternal.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This approach became part of the foundation for his call for universal Sabbath reform. He was convinced that man would never find an answer to his restlessness until he found the answer through the lessons of the Sabbath.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 63-64 above.

<sup>3</sup>This paradox of the eternal entering into time was illustrated when Christ "the Eternal . . . visibly entered into time, offering to his brethren the paradox of eternal life here and now." Spiritual Sabbathism, 119.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 38.

<sup>5</sup>He prescribes a return to the Sabbath as the only answer to the struggle between the flesh and the spirit and the metaphysical puzzle of time. It is the positive

Sabbathism Exemplified in  
Hebraism

To discover the "profound spiritual elements" of the Sabbath, Lewis turns to Hebraism in its God-intended form. Against the critical scholarship that views the Old Testament as one more example of primitive thought or simply a record of a legal Jewish religion, Lewis upholds Hebraism as standing far in advance of every other ancient thought system in power and influence.<sup>1</sup> It stands as the ideal in man's relationship to God, exemplified in such intimate relationships as Abraham and Moses held with God.<sup>2</sup> The element that brings this power into Hebraism is precisely the stream of divine blessing that results from

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response to the question of "whether men can transcend time by consecrating it, and live in the eternal while yet in time." Ibid., vii. As time is the only element in which man can meet God, Lewis says that, in effect, the absence of all sacred time is separation from God. Critical History, 160.

<sup>1</sup>Spiritual Sabbathism, 62. Lewis had no quarrel with "reverent historical criticism" or "with reverent spiritual criticism" so far as they followed Christ, "the supreme spiritual critic," but for the type of scholarship which found only the primitive in the Old Testament he had "only indignation." Ibid., 61. His defense of the Old Testament scriptures is based on Christ's own regard for them. "He saw light in them; he brought light out of them; but he never made light of them." Ibid., 62. "We make no plea for a return to the Jewish Sabbath. What we ask is that the followers of Christ return to God's Sabbath, according to the teaching and example of Christ." Swift Decadence, 247.

<sup>2</sup>See Spiritual Sabbathism, 61-63, where Lewis's meaning of the term "Hebraism" becomes apparent. To him Hebraism also holds "all that is best" in ethical relationships human to human.

the communion with the living God and the spiritual apprehension of all that the Sabbath is intended to be.

While Lewis perceives that an understanding of Christianity must begin with the Old Testament record wherein are typified the spiritual relationships which should exist between God and humanity,<sup>1</sup> in this context he emphasizes that it is the spiritual meaning not the literalness of these Old Testament accounts which are consequential.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Hebraic Understanding of the Fourth Commandment

In discussing the Hebraic understanding of the fourth commandment, the meaning of the "spiritual view" Lewis has been addressing begins to emerge. He presents the commandment not as a legalistic or ceremonial injunction, but rather as an invitation to an experience, perceivable only by "listening to the Spirit"; Israel

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<sup>1</sup>Says Lewis, "The reality of our spiritual relations with God is as truly the pole-star of the Old Testament dispensation as of the New." Ibid., 63.

<sup>2</sup>While Lewis chides those who would discredit the Old Testament, he also warns against being too literal in one's understanding of it, and is willing to allow that the task of finding the spiritual meanings of the passages eclipses the need to hold to literalness of meanings. He is comfortable calling the stories "narratives in sacred literature," and speaks of Moses' life as an "illustration" of how God guides men, and Abraham as a "type" of faith and loyalty, in a way which leaves one wondering if he believes in the actual historical occurrences. Ibid., 63. "Literalism," he insists, "is the confusion of physical and spiritual fact, and is the very essence of idolatry." Ibid., 113

understood it as part of the "ten words of equal and supreme importance" from God "to be kept in love"--not as grace but "the means of grace."<sup>1</sup>

He saw that in Hebraism three motives for Sabbathkeeping were taught as inherent in the fourth commandment. Through them Lewis shows how man is in a practical way drawn into the higher and more spiritual understanding of the day to make the spirit of Sabbathkeeping that of love.

The philanthropic motive

By emphasizing a philanthropic motive, Lewis moves away from an understanding of Sabbath rest merely for the sake of rest, to the level of why man should rest (Exod 23:12). Embedded in the Sabbath command to rest is God's concern for all His creatures and His intent that they in turn show the same concern for each other.<sup>2</sup> In this way the Sabbath touches a very practical and earthly problem. The far-reaching economic concept here inferred, if heeded, would have prevented constantly recurring problems between

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 64. In other words God's commands help us understand the relationship with God that will bring us into the experience of grace. He is not upholding salvation by works; the rest of his theology makes quite clear that he believes in salvation by faith. See pp. 152-153 below.

<sup>2</sup>Exod 23:12 speaks first of man's rest following his six days of work, and then gives to man the injunction to extend rest to the ox, ass, the son, the handmaiden, the sojourner, so that all may be refreshed.

capital and labor.<sup>1</sup> Man's attempt to mandate one day of rest in seven could not solve this mighty economic problem, since legislation is unable to change motives and curb the injustice that exists among men.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, the philanthropic motive of the Sabbath commandment points to the eternal nature of love itself. It has a divine quality which brings to others rest and spiritual life.<sup>3</sup> "To keep the Sabbath for men's sake, that they may keep it," he reflects, "is to keep it for God's sake."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>While the philanthropic motive is now a familiar concept among Sabbath theologians, Lewis discussed this concept almost a century ago. Current theologians who contribute to this idea are Samuele Bacchiocchi, Divine Rest for Human Restlessness: A Theological Study of the Sabbath for Today (Berrien Springs, MI: Samuele Bacchiocchi, 1980), 200-209, and Sakae Kubo, God Meets Man (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Assn., 1978), 30, who describes the Sabbath as a "great leveler" regarding age, occupation, and education.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis's broad vision for national Sabbath reform is evident as he foresees how a return to the true Sabbath could potentially revolutionize man's economic system through a spiritual approach to problems of injustice. It is the change of heart that is needed. "Civil laws were never yet framed, and never will be framed," he projects, "which can not be eluded by a nation of money-worshippers." Spiritual Sabbathism, 66.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis emphasizes his point, asking, "If Exod 23:12 does not breathe the love of a righteous God for lost souls, what scripture breathes it?" *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.* In this context Lewis comments, "The Sabbath was made for man, and, to the eye of faith, God was made flesh for man."

### The national motive

The purpose of the Sabbath for Israel as a nation is used as an illustration of its purpose for all subjects of God's kingdom. Earlier, Lewis resisted connecting the Sabbath with redemption. In the setting up of Israel as a nation the Sabbath became a sign--not an outward sign "conforming to tradition," but a mark of their free choice of God's leadership. As they kept the Sabbath with a spiritual "frame of mind," it became the sign of the spiritual experience of their "conversion" at Sinai. Lewis represents the exodus not primarily as an escape from Egypt but as an escape to Sinai, the place of the "covenant,"<sup>1</sup> which became the birthplace of Israel's freedom, national life, and spiritual power. God did not lead Israel out simply to set them free, but to give them an opportunity to serve God; He did not want them to keep the Sabbath merely to rest, but to worship God.<sup>2</sup> The constitution of the spiritual kingdom was love, and the sign of allegiance to the kingdom was the observance of a day which by divine

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. The Sabbath is thus the representative of this covenant between God and His people.

<sup>2</sup>The text reads, "Remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence. . . . Therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day," Deut 5:15.

injunction was dedicated to love.<sup>1</sup> Here the philanthropic and the national motives meet.

Taking the national motive a step further, Lewis brings an interpretation to the troublesome narrative of the man stoned for gathering sticks on the Sabbath (Num 15:32-36), which places importance on the Sabbath as a symbol of the setting up of the kingdom of God. This man did more than prepare to warm his meal; he rebelled against the constitution of love and "burned the flag on the very steps of the capitol," in open defiance, challenging God's plan to set up a kingdom of peace. To protect God's plan for the nation of Israel, and to protect the Sabbath and all it represents, the man had to perish.<sup>2</sup>

The eternal motive

The eternal motive for Sabbathkeeping is the pinnacle of Lewis's "higher spiritual meaning" of the Sabbath. It is found in Gen 2:3, where the Sabbath is associated with the creation of the world and as such is

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<sup>1</sup>Because Lewis argues staunchly against the Sabbath's being viewed as Jewish, typically he rejects it as a symbol of the deliverance from Egypt (which is seen by many as a symbol of deliverance from sin), saying that "the rest of the Sabbath is in no way significant of the turmoil and hurry of the exode." Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 42. In the context of the national motive he is willing to recognize a certain connection between the exodus and salvation as it serves his purpose as a parable of man's commitment to God.

<sup>2</sup>Spiritual Sabbathism, 69-70.

bound up with the question of "the first cause of things."<sup>1</sup> This purpose of creation was God-man, man-man fellowship, and the only way to approach an understanding of this purpose (or first cause) is by doing, by entering into it by experience.<sup>2</sup> Within the eternal motive is Lewis's full concept of "Sabbathism" as discussed following the next section.

### The Spiritual View of Creation

Because the eternal motive is tied to creation, Lewis's discussion here converges with that of historical criticism and the evolutionary theory, both of which introduce direct challenges to the literal interpretation of the creation account and have a direct bearing on the Sabbath doctrine. Geology<sup>3</sup> and higher criticism intrigued Lewis and he accepted some facets of both, mainly in regard

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 92. Lewis declares that "God has a plan of creation and salvation, that he has an eternal and joyful purpose--to deny this is to adopt the planlessness of eternal energy, and the purposelessness of eternal death." Ibid., 93. "The . . . cause is the for which; . . . the purpose for which all preceding causes serve." Ibid., 99.

<sup>2</sup>The problems of first cause "have never been solved except to and by the will. They are solved by doing." Ibid., 92.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis uses the term "scientific critics" to refer to "geological" critics. His sympathy for the geological critics is most likely attributable to his close association with Seventh Day Baptist Professor Jonathan Allen, renowned geologist and long-time friend and colleague of Lewis's. See p. 310, n. 1 below.

to Gen 1 and 2,<sup>1</sup> as he saw "various technical problems of creationism."<sup>2</sup> The focal point of the discussion here becomes the understanding of the length of creation days.

Up to and including the time of Lewis's first major publication, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), there is no indication that Lewis saw the days of creation as anything other than twenty-four periods.<sup>3</sup> By 1886 he had modified his position, challenging remarks of a Dr. Gow who said

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<sup>1</sup>He sifts through historical, literary, and philosophical criticism, accepting or rejecting elements as he sees fit. On one side he is chiding them, on the other side courting them. As noted earlier, he opens the door to what he calls "reverent historical or spiritual criticism," which, he explains, "is shown to be a friend of the Bible." Authority, 9, 10. Because he wants to get at the true meaning of the Scripture, he was in favor of the historical criticism which swept away preconceived notions or Gnostic interpretations, but not that which discredited the Bible. However, he eliminates the viability of more extreme historical criticism, declaring that in the process of "historical regressus" the critic becomes lost in the dimness of antiquity and ends up simply interpreting the interpreters. Spiritual Sabbathism, 71-72. To the literary critic who cites the style of Gen 1 and 2 as too formal, precise, and vague to do justice to the creation of a complicated world, Lewis, in accord with his new spiritual approach, can say that the meaning of the account is more important than the details. Lewis sees that the philosophical challenge in Genesis is paradoxical--to understand God's work, which is, in fact, not explainable. Again, Lewis is back to the big picture, dismissing the details. By suggesting that "understanding . . . sometimes begin[s] when thinking ceases," and that we may grasp a work as a whole without understanding its parts, he can describe Genesis as "not a mere temporal process," but a "function of purposive activity." *Ibid.*, 88. In this Lewis is claiming to follow Aristotle's philosophical system of thought.

<sup>2</sup>Spiritual Sabbathism, 97.

<sup>3</sup>See Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 13-23.

Sabbatarians held the "senseless view" that creation days were twenty-four periods.<sup>1</sup> Lewis countered that neither the Outlook nor "any representative Sabbath keeper" bases reasons for Sabbathkeeping upon the "theory" that the days of creation were days of twenty-four hours.<sup>2</sup> In this discussion, Lewis allows for a difference between length of days for man and for God, claiming that just as God's power is infinite, "so are his days and his week"; man in keeping the Sabbath in time is obligated to do in his sphere what God did in His sphere.<sup>3</sup> In chapter 1 of his 1888 edition of Sabbath and Sunday, Lewis inserted a paragraph on the length of creation days, in which he submits that the creative week must be apprehended as "infinitely longer than our week of seven days of twenty-four hours."<sup>4</sup> In the April 1888 Outlook he speaks of creation as being presented "under the figure of a week's work," explaining that God's

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<sup>1</sup>Gow wrote in the Boston Watchman, 8 April 1886. Lewis answered him in "The Baptists and the Sabbath," Outlook, July 1886, 274-277.

<sup>2</sup>In this statement concerning representative Seventh Day Baptist views, Lewis over-spoke. His own view departed from traditional Baptist theology. Some, such as Jonathan Allen and Theodore Gardiner, held views similar to Lewis's but writings of these men and A. E. Main, historical critic, were not accepted by many in the church. See Sanford, Choosing People, 348, 349. At that time, most Seventh Day Baptists held the traditional view purported by Burnside, a Seventh Day Baptist writing in 1827, who held that "the first week did not differ in length from any one that followed." Burnside, 44-45.

<sup>3</sup>"Baptists and Sabbath," Outlook, July 1886, 276.

<sup>4</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1888), 7-8.

week, like His power and wisdom, must be infinitely greater than man's, with man's week simply modeled after God's. In typical Platonic style, Lewis states that "the divine week and the human week are identical in form and order," while in extent "they are as different as the divine power is different from the human."<sup>1</sup>

In order to reconcile science<sup>2</sup> and religion Lewis attempted to accommodate both the new scholarly views and the traditional belief in the literalness of the creation story.<sup>3</sup> Seeing "literalism" as the primary obstacle on both sides, he wishes for each side to adopt adjusted views.<sup>4</sup> He recognizes that while both geology and religion

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<sup>1</sup>"Sabbath and Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 496. See also "Sabbath for Man," SR, 29 July 1886, 3, where Lewis says, "God's infinite acts as Creator, extended through six days of God's infinite week of infinite days. Man's week is modeled after God's." In his use of "spiritual meaning" he follows Platonic idealism, in which greater value is placed on the abstract "ideal" categories than on the actual object itself. However, when Lewis wants to emphasize the connection between "spiritual meanings" of the Sabbath and the seventh day, he opts for Aristotle's view, which connects the ideal with the object.

<sup>2</sup>When Lewis uses the word "science," he sometimes means the scientific method of interpreting the Bible, and sometimes means the theories of evolution and geology.

<sup>3</sup>It appears by the nature of the book that it is precisely for these critics that the book has been written. To find the spiritual meaning beyond the literalness of Genesis, he says is "in some sense our entire task in this book." Spiritual Sabbathism, 79.

<sup>4</sup>Lewis refers here to an exaggerated attempt of Philip Gosse's to synthesize science and religion, an endeavor to force the spiritual upon the scientific by saying that although creation came about in short periods of time, in some aspects it had the appearance of having

speak of creation as a process of "becoming," geology deals with long periods of time while religion sees these periods as relatively short.<sup>1</sup> From a literal perspective there is a contradiction, but Lewis asks both science and religion to consider their explanations spiritually, so that geology's "long periods of time" and creation's "days" are both myths to be used as devices pointing to meaning on a higher level.<sup>2</sup> This he held up as the only logical method by which to explain something so far removed from man's perceptions.

Speaking to religionists, Lewis insists that in regard to the "days of Genesis," it is "absolutely essential" to "escape all literalism in striving to comprehend their meaning."<sup>3</sup> God's "work" and God's "rest"

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consisted of long periods of gradual modification. This theory was called the "omphalos" theory, because under this theory supposedly Adam would have had a navel (omphalos) even though he was never joined to an umbilical cord. The theory was ridiculed among both scientists and religious persons. Edmund Gosse wrote of it in his book, Father and Son. See Spiritual Sabbathism, 76, 212.

<sup>1</sup>Speaking of "long" periods, Lewis says, "Even to geology time is not necessarily long, the 'length' cannot be apprehended save as the imagination foreshortens it." Spiritual Sabbathism, 78.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. 78-79. Lewis's rationalization is that if we "attempt the task of literal . . . reconciliation between things which are spiritually true, we shall get as a result 'oppositions of science falsely so called,'" 1 Tim 6:20.

<sup>3</sup>Spiritual Sabbathism, 78-79. Further he says, "Intellectual confusion is the result, not of mysticism in theology, but of literalism." Ibid., 108. He continually warns against the danger of "literalism," especially in regard to creation stories. Ibid., 75-83.

are to be seen as parables to be discerned spiritually. God inhabits eternity, not days; He does not work, He speaks worlds into existence; He does not rest, for "my Father worketh hitherto and I work" (John 5:17).<sup>1</sup> In the creation accounts Lewis sees that the "austere words" of chapter 1 caution one not to accept as literal the details of God's forming a man out of dust in chapter 2. The phrase, "created man in his own image," is brief and "'created' is necessarily vague,"<sup>2</sup> he maintains. Hinting at some kind of development rather than fiat creation, he writes, "Why it was necessary for man to develop slowly in time it is not for us to say."<sup>3</sup>

Speaking to scientists, he insists that time is elusive and the geologist must admit that he cannot really comprehend the long periods of time he speaks about in his system.<sup>4</sup> As to the geological periods, there is obviously no precise point when "carboniferous became permian," and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 79.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis says here, "He has not carved us out of stone, or molded us out of dust." Ibid., 82, 83. For additional references which show his view against literalism, see *ibid.*, 6, 7, 62, 86, 108.

<sup>3</sup>Here he spoke of man's intellectual development. See *Ibid.*, 7. His vagueness is well illustrated by remarks such as, "Are there not the tiger and the ape within us all? And is not the love of God drawing us slowly away from the animal nature?" *Ibid.*, 102-103.

<sup>4</sup>In fact, says Lewis, "if he [the scientist] attempted the folly of trying to grasp the aeons which his mathematics postulate, he would go mad." *Ibid.*, 78.

in the end these periods are no more than "harmless mythology,"<sup>1</sup> useful mental devices.<sup>2</sup>

Instead of disputing the manner of creation, Lewis wished for both sides to make the spiritual purpose of creation paramount. His way of understanding the "Spirit of Elohim" (the spirit that brooded over the waters), or in other words the purpose of creation, is to look at the spirit of Jesus of Nazareth and discover that creation was not about making things, but it was about love--God sacrificing himself so he could suffer, and choose, and achieve.<sup>3</sup> When Genesis and geology are both apprehended in this spiritual light,<sup>4</sup> he is satisfied that all conflict

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Seventh Day Baptist H. D. Clarke discussed length of creation days in answer to "Refutation of Sabbatarianism," by William Armstrong. Clarke declared that the evidence of fossils and coal beds can be compatible with the idea that God created the world in six literal days and does not upset the Saturday Sabbath theory. Further, though he appears to hold to a literal six-day creation week, he asserts, "Whether creation days were long periods or days of twenty four hours matters little in this controversy as long as we have the example of God's people and his commandment with respect to a weekly day of rest." H. D. Clarke, "The Carboniferous System and the Sabbath," SR, 18 October 1888, 2.

<sup>3</sup>Spiritual Sabbathism, 81.

<sup>4</sup>Speaking of the scientific (by which he means geological) critics, he says: "They tell us that . . . the Mosaic order of creation is literally at variance with the theories of modern geology. But we are not attempting in this book to reconcile literal variances; we are doing our best to pursue a discussion on a different and much higher plane." Ibid., 75.

between them vanishes.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of the discussion has been to support the Sabbath in the environment of geological thought. A difference in length of God's or human's days in no way detracts, in Lewis's eyes, from the command to keep the seventh day holy: "Man is commanded to sabbatize as God sabbatizes, and BECAUSE GOD SABBATIZES."<sup>2</sup> Though creation week may be apprehended as infinitely longer than our week, because God rested on the seventh day of that week, and "commanded us to do in our week, as he did in his, all difficulty in the case vanishes."

By this spiritualizing of the meaning of creation, Lewis has prepared to offer to both scientists and religionists the return to "purified Hebraism" and the "higher view" of Sabbath it holds.<sup>3</sup>

#### Spiritual Sabbathism

The experience that Lewis is upholding in his "higher view" is more than a return to the keeping of the seventh day. It synthesizes all the elements, causes, and results of Sabbathkeeping and anchors them in the central locus of the seventh day. Creation, creatorship, creatureliness, love, loyalty, fellowship, communion, needs

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 83.

<sup>2</sup>"Sabbath for Man," SR, 29 July 1886, 3.

<sup>3</sup>He sees "purified Hebraism" as bringing "eternity into time," giving "holy earnestness to practical effort," and bringing "respect for law." Spiritual Sabbathism, 189.

of man, gifts of God, becoming like God, rest, holiness, redemption, and preparation for eternity are all being taught in the lessons of the seventh day.<sup>1</sup> The Sabbath was specifically created to encompass all these, and man's commitment to it brings the sense of belonging and permanence every person instinctively craves. Thus he sees Sabbathism as only possible on the seventh day; there man meets God on a plane not possible on any other day of the week.<sup>2</sup> Through this "high spiritual view" the Sabbath should become very practical, meeting both the spiritual and human-level needs of man as a "primary source of spiritual power."<sup>3</sup> In this the Sabbath would answer to the a priori argument: "Obedience to primary law must promote the highest good of its subjects."<sup>4</sup>

#### God's Representative in Time

The Sabbath's arrival every seventh day serves to bring the remembrance of God's presence consciously and

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis once said that "there is nothing in the Sabbath unless there is much more in it than either its friends or its enemies seem to apprehend." Gardiner, Sketch, 31.

<sup>2</sup>Herbert E. Saunders, a present-day Seventh Day Baptist, embraces and elaborates the concept of sabbathizing which can be experienced only on the Sabbath. Saunders, 7-15.

<sup>3</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 3.

<sup>4</sup>See pp. 65-66 above. Rightly understood and observed, the Sabbath would promote the "spiritual growth and the highest good of man." Spiritual Christianity, 3.

continually before man.<sup>1</sup> As "God's representative in time,"<sup>2</sup> it comes to absolutely every man in every place, easily accessible and continuing unabated with the human race.<sup>3</sup> Whereas physical symbols of His presence are local and cannot serve man in all time and space,<sup>4</sup> the Sabbath supersedes all objects, cities, or temples, bridges all barriers of time and space, and makes God universally accessible.<sup>5</sup> It serves almost as significantly as a visible representative, entering "into the affairs of human

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 3. See also Pure Christianity, 2. It is as if God has come to visit, or the gardener has come to water his garden.

<sup>2</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 3. The description of the Sabbath as "God's representative in time" is one of Lewis's favorite expressions. For example, see "The Root of the Evil," SR, 14 December 1871, 202, where he says, "The Sabbath is at once the representative of God, and the center around which public religious life gathers." See also, Studies in Sabbath Reform, 9.

<sup>3</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 3. See also, Studies in Sabbath Reform, 9; and "The Rev. Mr. Titsworth," SR, 29 January 1885, 3, where Lewis affirms that "all sacred objects were merged in Him who was greater than the temple, and who was the one great sacrifice. All minor sacred times passed away with the minor sacred objects that had been associated with them. But since time itself is an attribute of God, and since the Sabbath had been, from the first, associated directly with God, as his representative in human life, it was needful that Christ should do as He did, cleanse and lift up the Sabbath as one of the prominent methods by which God reveals himself."

<sup>4</sup>Pure Christianity, 1-2.

<sup>5</sup>Lewis presents the need: "Something must be found in the ordinances of religion, which will bring God down into life, and keep him constantly before us." Ibid., 1. His answer is, "The first and the last mission of the Sabbath is to promote this permanent residence of God with men." Swift Decadence, 238.

life."<sup>1</sup> This is illustrated in Hebraism as one envisions the devout Jew experiencing the reality of the Friday evening arrival of the Sabbath, lighting the "Sabbath lamp" of welcome for the "Queen of Days."<sup>2</sup> What Lewis is saying here is that the Sabbath is the interrupter of the mundane, a realigner, drawing man's focus from the earthly, questioning whether man's affairs are in harmony with the will of God, thus "cultur[ing] men in holiness."<sup>3</sup>

#### The Sanctifying Influence of the Sabbath

Embraced in the meaning of Lewis's term "Sabbathism" is the concept of the sanctifying influence of the Sabbath in the personal life of the Sabbathkeeper. Kept for the right reasons, the Sabbath embodies Lewis's "eternal

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<sup>1</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 2. Lewis holds that it was one of the important elements of Christ's work on earth to make the Sabbath appear as God's representative and man's best friend. Studies in Sabbath Reform, 10.

<sup>2</sup>See Spiritual Christianity, 9: "With it the King cometh to his own to enrich, enlarge, and sanctify all life with spiritual blessings."

<sup>3</sup>Lewis states: "Since time is also the essence of human existence, so far as activities and duties are concerned, and since the use men make of time determines the character of each human life, specific sacred time which shall represent God, and draw men to him, becomes an essential part of God's moral and religious government for man. The Sabbath finds its origin in God's desire and purpose to aid and culture men in holiness, and in man's need of God and spiritual communion." Paganism Surviving, 292.

motive" or purpose of creation, very practically<sup>1</sup> drawing its participants into the spiritual presence of God where they experience Him on an intimate level, becoming "the point of living contact between God and his people."<sup>2</sup>

This closeness and "constancy of communion with God"<sup>3</sup> is bound up inseparably with worship and love. Communion leads directly to worship, as man through the meaning of the Sabbath recognizes God as the creator. In addition, originally engendered by love, the Sabbath continuously fosters love,<sup>4</sup> providing not only time, but

<sup>1</sup>When Lewis uses the word "practical," he is still in the "spiritual" realm. His practical does not mean earthly suggestions of how to spend a typical Sabbath day. He is still dealing with the mind and talking about a man's thinking rather than his doing on the Sabbath day.

<sup>2</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 9. Lewis used the words "higher view" and similar terms for some time without offering a clear definition of what he meant by the terms. The closest he comes to a definition was a very early statement of 1867 where comparing physical and spiritual rest, he said: "Above this idea of physical rest is everywhere found the higher, spiritual idea, which the prophet Isaiah puts in these words—'If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath.'" He quotes the entire passage of Isa 58:13, 14. This appears as a flawless definition of his understanding of the higher view but unfortunately we do not find him using it other than in this location. "Sabbath-Breaking Co-Partnerships," SR, 25 July 1867, 117.

<sup>3</sup>Pure Christianity, 1.

<sup>4</sup>"In all human experience, acquaintance based on love develops into communion of soul and constant fellowship. By this law acquaintance with God leads to spiritual fellowship, communion and obedience." Studies in Sabbath Reform, 13. Further, "the . . . mission of the Sabbath is to promote this permanent residence of God with men. Such a residence awakens man's love." Swift Decadence, 238.

cause for these. The reasons and the experience become so bound up in one that Lewis can resort only to his standby words "spiritual" or "high plane," because the encounter cannot be adequately described but must be experienced.<sup>1</sup> No mere day could bring the blessings described above. The Sabbath can do this only because it is "marked by Jehovah" and sanctified for the "adequate reasons" of its connection to creation by the example and command of God as Creator, Father, and Redeemer.<sup>2</sup>

#### God as Creator

The idea of God as Creator is what Lewis terms an "all-embracing idea,"<sup>3</sup> including His right to be law-giver and His right to receive the worship of His creatures. The Sabbath law, being the only law among the commandments "which bears [the] signature, Creator of heaven and earth,"<sup>4</sup> links itself back with this "all-embracing idea."

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<sup>1</sup>See Lewis's words: "The Sabbath, as God's day, draws men to him and promotes such communion and worship. . . . True worship and God's sacred day are inseparable." Swift Decadence, 241.

<sup>2</sup>"Logically and historically, Creator, Father, and Redeemer are one. The Sabbath which represents one, represents all." Spiritual Christianity, 5. See also, Pure Christianity, 2.

<sup>3</sup>Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 11.

<sup>4</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 5. He continues, saying, "God wove himself into the Sabbath-law—as he did not into any other." *Ibid.*

The Sabbath's function as a remembrance of God's power as Creator has power to awaken a sense of loyalty and of conscience, making man more sensitive to all other Divine commands, even beyond the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup>

#### God as Father

Creatorship implies Fatherhood, and Fatherhood carries with it all the watch care, love, and tenderness that man equates with fatherhood in this life. It implies communion, adoration, and the atmosphere for growth. That "communion begets likeness" is implicit in the earthly parent-child relationship; "we become like that which we love"; we "grow into the lives of those whom we love."<sup>2</sup> So the worshipper's adoration for and communion with the invisible God reproduce in his character the conceptions of the character of his heavenly Father.<sup>3</sup> The Sabbath provides the environment of communion by which this

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<sup>1</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 13. In this context Lewis expresses the idea that loyalty toward God is the "soil in which to grow a Sabbath conscience in the hearts of men." Spiritual Christianity, 15.

<sup>2</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 8.

<sup>3</sup>Pure Christianity, 1.

likeness can be fostered<sup>1</sup> and is "the most effective means of growth in all spiritual attainments."<sup>2</sup>

#### God as Redeemer

It is the Creatorship and Fatherhood of God which give Him the right to forgive and redeem. Since God created man for Himself, God as Father must redeem him unto Himself.<sup>3</sup> Lewis sees the concept of God as Redeemer as inseparably tied to the "eternal motive" of the Sabbath, with redemption a continuation of creation, affirming the eternal and joyful purpose of God.<sup>4</sup> The power of the Word that brought peace and order back to man in his fallen condition was of the same quality and based on the same supreme purpose and assurance as that of the original

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<sup>1</sup>"Another invaluable result of the Sabbath and the true worship which it develops . . . is that we are made to be like God." Spiritual Christianity, 8. Here operates the biblical maxim, "By beholding we become changed," 2 Cor 3:18. Further, see where Lewis comments, "Remembering him . . . we commune with him, are drawn toward him, purified, and ennobled." Pure Christianity, 2.

<sup>2</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 13. In an appeal to biblical history, Lewis comments that it was when the Jews were most carefully hallowing God's Sabbath that they were most spiritually blessed and physically prosperous. Pure Christianity, 7. Similar results are born out in the records of subsequent history. Many who were true to God's Sabbath law during the Dark Ages were those who kept in closest communion with God. *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>3</sup>"None but a Father could do this, and a 'Father' could not do less." Spiritual Christianity, 5.

<sup>4</sup>"The plan of creation and the plan of salvation . . . are one." Spiritual Sabbathism, 93.

creation.<sup>1</sup> This is seen in the concept that Jehovah the creator is one with Jeshua the redeemer.<sup>2</sup> By thus connecting the Sabbath to God as redeemer Lewis anchors the Sabbath in Christianity's central teaching and gives it broad appeal.

Two aspects that Lewis attributes to the Sabbath in relation to redemption are its abilities to be the "absolute bringer-in of spiritual rest" and its being a "type of completed rest, in the redeemed kingdom."<sup>3</sup>

As he presents the Sabbath as a symbol of spiritual rest, his view of righteousness by faith becomes evident. Affirming the need for an appreciation of the "authority of God" and "the majesty of the law," he warns that obedience in itself is not the ground for acceptance with God. "We plead for nothing legal," he insists. "We exalt law only as the basis of God's government." Obedience brings no merit

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<sup>1</sup>He can connect creation to redemption here because he redefines redemption in the context of creation, calling it re-creation. For example, see references such as "Creation was the redemption of chaos," and regarding redemption, "If you would know the nature of tehom, the deep, look into the chaos of your own unredeemed heart as it was before the light of creative love made it a new heart." Ibid., 81.

<sup>2</sup>"Jehovah the creator is spiritually one with Jesus the redeemer." Ibid., 95. Numerous Bible passages combine the attributes of Christ as Creator and Redeemer: Isa 43:3-11; John 1:1-3, 14; 1 Cor 15:21-22.

<sup>3</sup>"Outlook Correspondence," SR, 8 November 1888, 3. In this article Lewis is answering a Dana Walcott he had met at a Congregationalist meeting, and who rightly "suspected" that Lewis had "much sympathy with internal and personal application" of the Sabbath.

but rather is the "proof that [the believer] has entered into rest."<sup>1</sup> The relationship of works, faith, and rest is seen when, as the result of a recognition of "authority represented in divine law" and "divine love represented in redemption," the sinner realizes that the "curse of the law and the unrest of disobedience are both removed,"<sup>2</sup> yet, one fallen from obedience can turn instantly for the freedom of "forgiveness under the law." Thus the "higher spiritual rest in Christ" is a product of the "spirit of obedience" and the "consciousness [of being] redeemed from sin."<sup>3</sup> The foundation for this spiritual rest Lewis attributes to the Sabbath as it recurs each week in the very heart of the believer, representing the presence and rightful authority of the God who is man's Creator.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. Lewis writes, "All Christian faith and all works find their fulfillment in perfect rest through faith in Christ. Neither faith nor rest are possible without the recognition of authority represented in divine law, and divine love represented in redemption, whereby the curse of the law and the unrest of disobedience are both removed." Ibid. Lewis does recognize that some may have found spiritual rest in Christ before understanding the true meaning of the Sabbath. Such he compares to a man who on a dark night may unknowingly sleep peacefully on the edge of a precipice. New light would quickly bring unrest and must call for change, or real rest will disappear. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>See Studies in Sabbath Reform, 9, where he says the Sabbath "embodie[s] the idea of God's continual presence and authority." The law of love begets obedience because the "renewed" covenant writes the law of God on the heart (Heb 8:8-13) and brings about a "source of inward control under love, rather than of outward compulsion under fear."

Christ will continue as the Creator—re-Creator or Creator-Redeemer—until the time when "death is swallowed up in victory" (1 Cor 15:54). The eternal motive is again apparent as the same purpose which "caused" the work "crowns" the work.<sup>1</sup>

### The Blessings of the Sabbath

This discussion has prepared us to see what Lewis means when he says the Sabbath rightly apprehended "becomes a primary source of spiritual power," "brings a long train of blessings,"<sup>2</sup> and flows as a "purifying stream" into the human life.<sup>3</sup> Lewis sees that God's permanent residence with man, thus promoted by the Sabbath,

awakens man's love, and leads him to obedience . . .  
 . nourishes hope and strengthens faith . . .  
 protects from temptation and sustains in  
 trial . . . brings comfort to our sorrow, and  
 wisdom to our ignorance . . . leads to repentance,

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"Outlook Correspondence," SR, 8 November 1888, 3. See also, Studies in Sabbath Reform, 13: "When men conceive the Sabbath to be God's day, and come to its observance with glad hearts and loving obedience, . . . it becomes the most effective means of growth in all spiritual attainments."

<sup>1</sup>Interestingly, though Lewis connects creation and salvation in the eternal purpose which the Sabbath represents, he carefully avoids saying that the Sabbath is a symbol of salvation.

<sup>2</sup>Spiritual Sabbathism, 3.

<sup>3</sup>Pure Christianity, 3.

and strengthens us for duty . . . secures regular worship and constant instruction in righteous.<sup>1</sup>

So he can say, "The Day of God leads to the house of God, to the Book of God, and to the Son of God."<sup>2</sup> He attributes the "delight" in the Sabbath to a man's inward response of love at recognition of the presence of God and his love.<sup>3</sup>

Lewis readily recognizes how the Sabbath answers man's "constantly recurring demand" for physical rest, although he sees the physical rest as only a secondary blessing leading to a greater.<sup>4</sup> When this ceasing from

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<sup>1</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 3; also, Swift Decadence, 238. An early statement in this regard read, "No man is a Sabbath-keeper who does not keep the Sabbath in spirit and in truth, prompted by love for God and for His law." "What Is True Sabbath-Keeping?" SR, 21 April 1870, 66.

<sup>2</sup>Swift Decadence, 196.

<sup>3</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 13-14; "Outlook Correspondence," SR, 8 November 1888, 3. Though Lewis uses the word "delight" in both references cited here, he does not reference Isa 58:13, 14, which describes how Sabbathkeeping brings delight. Writing in 1867 he made a fleeting connection of the "higher spiritual idea" of the Sabbath to Isa 58:13, 14. "Sabbath-Breaking Co-Partnerships," SR, 25 July 1867, 117.

<sup>4</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 6. See also Studies in Sabbath Reform, 15. Here Lewis states that the basis of true Sabbath rest has to be the Bible and the law of God as interpreted by the example of Christ. Any rest that is based on humanitarian and hygienic consideration only is incomplete. As early as 1864 he was saying, "Physical rest is the lowest idea of the Sabbath. It is a necessity in order to reach the higher idea of worship and communion with God." "True Sabbath-Keeping?" SR, 21 April 1870, 66.

labor is in answer to conscience, the blessing is enhanced.<sup>1</sup>

The selfish human heart tends to view the physical rest in subjective terms that can even, at times, have a negative dimension. Leisure has the ability either to draw men into communion with God or draw them away from God in like proportion. But when this leisure, or ceasing from labor, is controlled by the spirit of the Sabbath and is in answer to conscience, it becomes a great blessing, and, rather than leading downward, it leads up towards God.<sup>2</sup> True Sabbath rest disengages man from his pursuit of subjectivity. "What [man] will do when he ceases from worldly affairs will depend on why he ceases."<sup>3</sup> That person who sets aside his own selfish ambitions and finds time for communion with his Creator will experience genuine growth in grace in his spiritual life. In this way Lewis sees physical rest as a "lower activity" serving the

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<sup>1</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 2. This is true especially for people whose personalities drive them to constant work. Resting because they are commanded by God not to work gives them true freedom to rest. A Seventh Day Baptist church member with whom I conversed at a Sabbath-morning church service in Janesville, WI, told of how this very concept won him to an acceptance of the Sabbath.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 7-8.

<sup>3</sup>Swift Decadence, 239-40. See Spiritual Christianity, 7: "The purpose of the soul determines what men will do when they have leisure. Hence . . . they will not worship on any day, unless the soul is controlled by the Sabbath idea, and by love for him whom the Sabbath represents." Also, Paganism Surviving, 292: "The physical good depends largely on the motive for resting."

"higher purpose" of the Sabbath, that of spiritual communion with God.<sup>1</sup>

The Forward Look of  
the Sabbath

As can be seen, for Lewis the Sabbath encompasses almost everything worthwhile in this life. He also attributes to it the capacity to cast its blessing ahead of it into the future. Even the week of toil is enriched as tired souls look forward to coming rest, and the Sabbath having arrived provides a rich blessing which "goes out into the week."<sup>2</sup>

Beyond the realized blessings of the Sabbath in the setting of this world, Lewis adds another dimension to its meaning by making it a symbol of even greater blessings to be realized in "God's Sabbath," the "unending life in heaven."<sup>3</sup> As such it has "a forward look which glows with

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<sup>1</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 6. See also "Agitation Concerning Sunday," SR, 11 February 1886, 3, wherein Lewis asserts that a higher spiritual rest is the goal of Sabbathkeeping. "It is a perversion of definitions to say, or to assume, that the primary idea of the Sabbath is 'rest.' It was, perhaps, in the kindergarten period of man's history. But under the gospel, with Christ's teachings and examples before men, the Sabbath is far higher and more than this. Cessation from labor is only the ladder by which the higher good is reached."

<sup>2</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 8. Lewis encourages his fellow Sabbathkeepers: "Each weekly Sabbath says: Take courage. Find comfort. Earthly life is gliding by. The week of your earth life will soon be passed." Ibid., 10.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

peace and joy."<sup>1</sup> The Sabbath points us to that glory as the rest that "remaineth for the people of God."<sup>2</sup> Lewis becomes exuberant as he speaks of the blessings of the heavenly Sabbath.

A few more days and the Sabbath-crowned life will welcome you to go no more out forever. . . . Perfected rest and full redemption await you a little farther on. The doors of the heavenly Sabbath are swinging wide to welcome you to the company of the ransomed who dwell in joy unspeakable and full of glory.<sup>3</sup>

It is in this kind of deep spirituality that Lewis sees the benefits of the Sabbath for man. He has presented Sabbathkeeping and the spiritual worship it fosters as one of the great uplifters of the human race.<sup>4</sup> The true idea and strict observance of the Sabbath, he insists, are indispensable to pure religion.<sup>5</sup> The Sabbath understood as he presents it cannot help but enrich man's spiritual life and purify his soul as nothing earthborn could do.<sup>6</sup> Lewis was clearly hopeful that the Sabbath presented in these spiritual terms, and against the background of the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 10-11.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. While many theologians have written on the "rest which remains to the people of God" (Heb 4), Lewis never develops this thought beyond brief references. See an early statement in "The Root of the Evil," SR, 14 December 1871, 202; also, Swift Decadence, 242.

<sup>3</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 10-11.

<sup>4</sup>Studies in Sabbath Reform, 13.

<sup>5</sup>See Spiritual Sabbathism, ix.

<sup>6</sup>Spiritual Christianity, 11.

historical argument, would win the nation back to its embrace.

Reflections on Lewis as  
Writer and Theologian

Lewis was eulogized by his friend and colleague, Edwin Shaw, as "the representative Seventh Day Baptist of his age" and as "the leading man among us."<sup>1</sup> By his own choice and later that of his church, he became the "pastor of the whole denomination, so far as the interests of the Sabbath [were] concerned."<sup>2</sup> Doubtless he influenced his church more than any other man in his generation through his extensive writing, his itinerate preaching, and his pastoring and evangelizing.<sup>3</sup> Throughout his life he clung to an aggressive spirit of Sabbath reform. His goal was to present the Sabbath on "a new spiritual basis" whereby it

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<sup>1</sup>"Were we asked, 'Who is at the head of your denomination?'" stated Shaw, "we answered, 'We have no head but Jesus Christ. But very likely A. H. Lewis is the leading man among us.'" Further, "Did some stranger wish to learn about our people, he was told to write to A. H. Lewis. Were we invited to present our views and position as a denomination before any body or organization of men, why, we sent A. H. Lewis." Edwin Shaw, from funeral sermon cited by Theo. L. Gardiner, "Editorial: The Funeral of Dr. A. H. Lewis," SR, 16 November 1908, 610.

<sup>2</sup>Gardiner, Sketch, 39.

<sup>3</sup>He felt the power of the day was in the printed page. In the earlier years he was convinced that Seventh Day Baptists could win the nation to the Sabbath through aggressive preaching, but since the enthusiasm of the church was lacking and there were few in his denomination willing to take the itinerant path, he could see the impossibility of reaching the masses with this approach, so he turned to the printed page.

would cross all denominational lines and reach people in all classes.<sup>1</sup>

The writings of Lewis depict an author of strong passion for biblical truth who was highly intrigued with philosophy and clearly aware of his times.<sup>2</sup> On the one hand firm and unbending, on the other hand his writings express warmth and a spirit of good will. Though usually his logic is easy to follow, the philosophical writings, especially in his Spiritual Sabbathism, are challenging. Lewis's writings display a flare for creativity and refined humor, sprinkled, especially in his journal articles, with figures of speech.<sup>3</sup>

As a theologian Lewis could be described as adventurous, thorough, rigorous, and colorful. In his Sabbath theology, though holding that "[biblical] considerations are the main ones," he also maintained that

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<sup>1</sup>Spiritual Sabbathism, v, vii.

<sup>2</sup>He wrote during the Civil War comparing the national sin of slavery to the national sin of Sabbath neglect. Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 5. He wrote of the effect of war on Sabbathkeeping habits of soldiers after their return. "Aggressive Sabbath Efforts," SR, 9 April 1863, 54. More significant was the great flurry over Sunday laws and the rise of urban-industrial America as the background against which much of his no-Sabbathism writings were staked.

<sup>3</sup>Example: He described Sunday as of "alien blood" and a "broken-legged lamb." "Despairing," SR, 11 August 1870, 130. He wrote, "In the name of God's eternal Sabbath, we protest against that course which turns the true child out of doors and dressing an alien in his garments, bids the world honor him as the heir of Jehovah." "Sabbath Reform in Ohio," SR, 30 December 1869, 2.

"God has put other arguments into our hands, by which the truth may be greatly strengthened."<sup>1</sup> His thinking, especially in his later years, was clearly impacted by his familiarity with the literature of history and philosophy. He endeavored through the biblical, historical, and philosophical facets of his theology to synthesize a strong faith in God's word, an interpretation of history, and the analytical nature of scientific investigation.

He deserves to be recognized both for his faithfulness to Scripture in the majority of his writings and for his well-documented support for the historical argument for the Sabbath. We have seen that he also had a side that has been described as "mystical."<sup>2</sup> Seeking primarily for the "meaning" of both religious and scientific explanations of creation, he thought to rise above the literalism of both, elevating both to a spiritual level that dealt with eternal rather than temporal values.

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<sup>1</sup>Writing to young preachers he explained, "In former times Seventh Day Baptists were inclined to hold lightly all considerations not strictly Biblical. These considerations are the main ones, and should never be placed in the back-ground; but God has put other arguments into our hands, by which the truth may be greatly strengthened." Young Preachers, 215.

<sup>2</sup>In a personal interview I held with Seventh Day Baptist author and pastor, Herbert Saunders, 16 August 1990, at Seventh Day Baptist Headquarters in Janesville, WI, Saunders described Lewis as "having a strong mystical side." We have seen this tendency as a similarity to modern Sabbath theologian Abraham Heschel. Saunders, having visited personally with Heschel, also saw this similarity.

His fascination with philosophy and his desire to accommodate contemporary science and milder forms of higher criticism, especially in the later years of his life, led him to make theological excursions on which the major body of his church did not accompany him.<sup>1</sup>

While he displayed an honest conviction that philosophy and accommodation of science were needed additional avenues by which to reach thought leaders of the land,<sup>2</sup> this did not eclipse his interest in scriptural themes and religious philosophy.<sup>3</sup> To the end, a ring of sincerity persisted in his traditional approach, and he

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<sup>1</sup>See Sanford, A Choosing People, 348: "The writings of men like A. H. Lewis and A. E. Main, which sought to bring modern scholarship to religious study, were not accepted by many within the church." Interestingly, Spiritual Sabbathism, the book which was the source of some of the dissension, is still one of the books studied by Seventh Day Baptists preparing for the ministry. For discussion of views considered by some to be pantheistic, see pp. 309-312 below.

<sup>2</sup>He strongly advised young ministers that along with spending time with the Word and with God, they must be well informed on issues of the political, scientific, and commercial age. Young Preachers, 222-224.

<sup>3</sup>About the time he was writing Spiritual Sabbathism, his most speculative book (which was published after his death), Studies in Sabbath Reform, was published, a book that was essentially a reiteration of his original biblical material along with some historical chapters. In Young Preachers, 224, he advised that the conservative element in religion serves the "best interests of society."

maintained his attitude of aggressive evangelism and his insistence on practicality of religion.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>He travelled extensively doing evangelistic and revival work. At his pastorates he held evangelistic meetings with success often measured with baptisms of 30-50 people. See Gardiner, Sketch, 41, 54, 58, 62. His interest in practical Christianity is seen in his early Sabbath Recorder articles April-June 1863 on Christian nurture, his work against tobacco and liquor, lectures he gave on amusements, women's rights, reading, diet, and young people's lectures designed to cultivate the spirit of self-forgetful service to Christ. Gardiner, Sketch, 53, 58, 73. Also see Seventh Day Baptist Handbook (1896), and Letters to Young Preachers and Their Hearers (1900).

## CHAPTER III

### THE SABBATH THEOLOGY OF J. N. ANDREWS

#### Historical Background

#### Biographical Sketch

J. N. Andrews was a hero of his church and one of its founding fathers. He was labeled "the ablest man in all our ranks"<sup>1</sup> by one of his contemporaries. More recently he has been called "the intellectual giant of the young, nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventist church,"<sup>2</sup> and an "architect of Adventist doctrines,"<sup>3</sup> by present-day Adventist theologians.

Andrews was born in Poland, Maine, in 1829. He enjoyed only a few years of formal education but taught

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<sup>1</sup>See Ellen G. White to "Dear Brethern in Switzerland," 29 August 1878, Ellen G. White Research Center, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI.

<sup>2</sup>See Joseph G. Smoot, "The Churchman: Andrews' Relationship with Church Leaders," in J. N. Andrews, The Man and the Mission, ed. Harry Leonard (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1985), 43.

<sup>3</sup>See Konrad F. Mueller, "The Architect of Adventist Doctrines," in J. N. Andrews, Man and the Mission, ed. Harry Leonard (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1985), 75. Andrews was one of several who made significant contribution to the development of Seventh-day Adventist doctrines.

himself much by constant reading.<sup>1</sup> While still a boy he studied Greek, Latin, and Hebrew and in adult life had a working knowledge of these languages, though it is not greatly evident in his writings. The passion for study that persisted throughout his life at times brought him praise, at times rebuke from other church leaders.<sup>2</sup> From his youngest years he showed promise as an analytical and logical thinker and was encouraged by others to become a lawyer. His skills in research and logic became invaluable to the fledgling church for which he wrote.

With his family, Andrews espoused the belief of William Miller that Christ would return in 1844. Only a lad of fifteen, he has been described as one of the first to get his bearings after the Millerite Disappointment.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Andrews wrote of himself: "I loved severe study much more ardently than I did any of the sports and pastimes of my associates." Mrs. E. G. White, and Eld. James White, Christian Temperance and Bible Hygiene (Battle Creek, MI: Good Health Publishing Company, 1890), 262.

<sup>2</sup>Church leader Ellen G. White praised him for "putting his whole soul into his subject," but rebuked him for excessive study to the neglect of other ministerial duties or attention to his health. See Ellen G. White to J. N. Andrews, Letter 31, 1872, Ellen G. White Research Center, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI.

<sup>3</sup>LeRoy Edwin Fromm, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, vol. 4 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1954), 1093. For an explanation of the Millerite "Great Disappointment" see p. 26, n. 2 above.

As a result of reading a tract by T. M. Preble<sup>1</sup> he began keeping the seventh day as the Sabbath and joined the growing band of Sabbatarian Adventists.

His life can be seen as divided into several logical periods: the early years as a minister and writer (1850-1855), a time of limited church involvement based in Waukon, Iowa (1856-1862), a period of church leadership (1863-1874), and finally years as an overseas missionary (1874-1883).<sup>2</sup>

He began work as a minister in 1850 at the age of twenty-one, and by the time he was ordained three years later<sup>3</sup> he had done evangelism in seven states<sup>4</sup> and written thirty-five articles totaling about 170,000 words for the young church's paper, The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald.<sup>5</sup> His emphasis both in writing and preaching was on

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<sup>1</sup>Preble, Tract, 1845. Later Preble renounced the seventh-day Sabbath, and Andrews spent considerable time refuting his writings.

<sup>2</sup>For a well-documented summary of Andrews's work and writings see Gordon Balharrie, "A Study of the Contribution Made to the Seventh-day Adventist Movement by John Nevins Andrews," M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 1949.

<sup>3</sup>James White, "Eastern Tour," RH, 15 November 1853, 148. Andrews was ordained to the gospel ministry at New Haven, Connecticut. James White and Joseph Bates "performed the solemn duty." Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>His labors took him to Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Michigan, and Eastern Canada, holding meetings and visiting churches.

<sup>5</sup>The first paper published by the group of Sabbatarian Adventists was Present Truth (July 1849–November 1850). Then followed The Second Advent

the Sabbath, the law, and prophecy. His discourses were described as "clear and forcible,"<sup>1</sup> and readers of the RH looked forward to his articles.<sup>2</sup> As another major accomplishment during this period he produced a history of the Sabbath which had demanded extensive hours of meticulous research.<sup>3</sup>

His intense program of evangelism, study, and writing resulted in a severe breakdown of his health in the fall of 1855;<sup>4</sup> by his own testimony he had never been of

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Review, and Sabbath Herald; the magazine has gone through several slight name changes through the years but is widely known as The Review and Herald and is referenced in this study as RH. Hereafter in this chapter all RH articles without the author's name are from the pen of J. N. Andrews. For lengthy RH articles both page and columns are indicated. Article titles from the RH will generally not be included for incidental references not directly addressing the Sabbath question.

<sup>1</sup>James White, "To Correspondents," RH, 7 March 1854, 56; see also, James White, "Eastern Tour," RH, 8 November 1853, 140; Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1966 ed., s.v. "Andrews, John Nevins." J. N. Loughborough, a convert of Andrews's and a consequent co-worker, praised Andrews's preaching and ability to clearly answer all "no-law" texts. J. N. Loughborough, Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists (Battle Creek, MI: General Conference Assn. of the Seventh-day Adventists, 1892), 170.

<sup>2</sup>See a letter to the editor in RH, 19 May 1859, 206; also, p. 173, n. 3 below.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 177, n. 2 below.

<sup>4</sup>He possessed from the first somewhat of a martyr complex and seemed compelled to push himself beyond judicious boundaries when it came to hard work and little sleep.

strong constitution.<sup>1</sup> Expecting shortly to die, he returned to his family in Paris, Maine and then moved with them to Waukon, Iowa.<sup>2</sup> As he slowly regained his health, he wrote occasional articles for the RH<sup>3</sup> but became absorbed in the farming enterprise to the extent that concerned church leaders Ellen and James White felt he was abandoning the cause. In early winter of 1856-57 they made a difficult 200-mile journey to revitalize the interest of Andrews and other Waukon believers in Sabbatarian Adventism.<sup>4</sup> With physical and spiritual health reviving, Andrews began again to write and preach, and although Waukon continued to be his home until 1864, by 1859 he was back to a schedule of itinerant evangelism.

During the church-leadership period of his life he served as General Conference president (1867-69), editor of RH (1869-70), president of New York Conference, evangelist,

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<sup>1</sup>In Andrews's own words: "I can hardly recall any period of my early life in which I was the possessor of firm health," quoted in White and White, 262.

<sup>2</sup>While at Waukon, Andrews married Miss Angeline Stevens.

<sup>3</sup>See for example, "The Cleansing of the Sanctuary," RH, 21 February 1856, 164-165; "The Use of Tobacco a Sin Against God," RH, 10 April 1856, 5; "Third Angel's Message Not in the Age to Come," RH, 14 August 1856, 113-114.

<sup>4</sup>For a more detailed account of this journey, well-known in Adventist history, see Loughborough, Rise and Progress, 211; Robinson, 42-47.

and preacher.<sup>1</sup> His assignments to numerous General Conference committees gave him opportunity to greatly influence both the doctrinal and organizational development of his denomination.

In 1874 he became his church's first official overseas missionary, stationed in Switzerland. There, except for visits to America and other parts of Europe, he was employed in evangelism and in publishing the French Les Signes des Temps<sup>2</sup> until his death in 1883.

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<sup>1</sup>Some other of Andrews's administrative accomplishments were: He was chairman of the committee to draft the first constitution for the Seventh-day Adventist church in 1863. He was an important participant in a plan for "systematic benevolence," an early form of tithing under which his church chose to operate. See "Systematic Benevolence," RH, 27 December 1864, 40. In 1864 he represented his denomination in Washington, DC, where his request for recognition of Seventh-day Adventists as conscientious objectors in time of war was granted. "Seventh-day Adventists Recognized as Non-combatants," RH, 13 September 1864, 124. Also see p. 11, n. 1. above.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews's work in Switzerland consisted primarily of translating articles from English into French for Les Signes des Temps, which he published. This challenge consumed his time and energy. That he was largely unable to do new thinking and writing during this time has been confirmed, as I have on file and have perused, with the help of proficient translator, Dr. Robert Jochmans, most of Andrews's articles on the Sabbath published in Les Signes des Temps between 1876 and 1883. Conversation with Dr. Daniel Augsburg of Andrews University Theological Seminary, January 15, 1994, also confirmed that translation of previously written works of his own and others constituted the major part of Andrews's work in Switzerland. We know of only one new series written in English during that time: "The Great Week of Time: Or the Period of Seven Thousand Years Devoted to the Probation and the Judgment of Mankind," published in six parts in the RH between 17 July 1883 and 21 August 1883.

Described as a humble and teachable man, greatly loved, a man devoted to God, to study, to the promotion of truth, and to work for the salvation of others, biographers also have recognized his weaknesses and the occasional display of poor judgment, especially in his personal life.<sup>1</sup> More than once he drove himself to the point of collapse,<sup>2</sup> and indeed his untimely death at the age of 54 was largely the result of overwork without proper concern for nutrition and rest. Throughout his life Andrews was more concerned for the affairs of God than he was for his own well-being.

#### Andrews's Contributions to Seventh-day Adventist Literature

We have noted that Andrews's writings on the Sabbath were characterized by an emphasis on law and eschatology. Seventh Day Baptist theology formed the foundation for much of his writings on biblical history and defense of the Sabbath through the law.<sup>3</sup> His first contact with the

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<sup>1</sup>See Balharrie, 75-93; C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Which Sacrifice, Lord?" A sermon delivered in Pioneer Memorial Church, Andrews University, 15 October 1977; Joseph G. Smoot, "Andrews' Role in Seventh-day Adventist History," in J. N. Andrews, the Man and the Mission, ed. Harry Leonard (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1985), 1-13.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews in 1851 declared: "I was never more deeply impressed with the importance of the work in which we are engaged, than at the present time. My heart is bound up in it, and in a work so sacred I would cheerfully spend and be spent." "From Bro. Andrews," RH, 25 November 1851, 54.

<sup>3</sup>For further depiction of Seventh-day Adventists' indebtedness to Seventh Day Baptists see Yoshio Murakami, "Ellen G. White's Views of the Sabbath in the Historical,

seventh-day Sabbath had been through a tract of T. M. Preble,<sup>1</sup> a Freewill Baptist whose arguments combined William Miller's first-day Sabbatarian views with basic Seventh Day Baptist views.<sup>2</sup> Andrews's Advent group accepted Seventh Day Baptist writings almost inclusively, and especially during the first years of the Present Truth and Advent Review the editors (of which Andrews was one) reprinted and used many of the Seventh Day Baptists' tracts.<sup>3</sup> Another apparent, though less visible, source for

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Religious, and Social Context of Nineteenth-Century America" (Ph.D. dissertation, Drew University, 1994).

<sup>1</sup>See p. 166 above.

<sup>2</sup>Elements discussed in the Preble's tract included: (1) perpetuity of the law, (2) the place of the law in the covenants, (3) the Sabbath as a sign, (4) the Sabbath not Jewish, (5) the distinction between moral and ceremonial law, and "My" Sabbaths and "your" Sabbaths (Hos 2:11), (6) the example and teachings of Christ and the apostles on the Sabbath and the law, (7) the change of the Sabbath as prophesied in Dan 7:25.

<sup>3</sup>One Seventh Day Baptist tract which was adopted and used extensively was Elihu on the Sabbath. (A principal concept in this tract was a defense against the "change of day" theory which points out that the apostles, writing from 5 to 60 years after Christ's time, still used the term "Sabbath" when they spoke of the seventh day.) In "To Our Readers," RH, 7 November 1850, 7, editors called attention to the Seventh Day Baptist articles they were printing, saying, "They are clear, comprehensive, and irrefutable. We intend to enrich the columns of the Review and Herald, with extracts from their excellent works on the Sabbath." Articles reprinted in the Present Truth included: "Evidence for the First Day Sabbath Examined," August 1849, 12; Tract No. 6, George B. Utter, August 1849, 20-21; Tract 7, Thomas B. Brown, September 1849, 29-31; Tracts No. 8, 9, 12, George B. Utter, November 1850, 81-84; The following were reprinted in the Advent Review (RH): Tract No. 3, Rev. Mr. Chadwick, November 1850, 4-6; Tract No. 4, Rev. W. B. Maxson, December 1850, 17-20, January 1851, 25-27;

his writings was the first-day Sabbath theology of Puritans, especially that of Nicholas Bownde (1595).<sup>1</sup>

Andrews's writings contain many references to other writers, primarily in the nonbiblical history sections.<sup>2</sup> In the biblical section of his history book he cites among others Dr. Adam Clarke, Martin Luther, John Calvin, Dr. Gill, and classical writers, Philo and Josephus; lexicons referenced throughout his writings include Greenfield's, Donnegan's, and Dunbar's. His most frequent references are Bible texts; he was not satisfied with any doctrinal stand until he felt he had overwhelming support from Scripture for the position. His views, as did those of other new Sabbatarian Adventists, often emerged as the product of

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Edward Stennet, The Royal Law contended for, February 1851, 43-45 and 2 September 1851, 17-19. For full titles see Tracts On The Sabbath (New York: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1853); SDBEA, 2:1341. For Seventh Day Baptist literature available at the time see SDBEA, 2:1339-56.

<sup>1</sup>Bownde upheld the universality of the Sabbath both by its place in creation and its answer to man's needs. He affirmed its existence from creation onward and pointed to Christ's example and teaching as authority for the Sabbath, but in an apparently sincere way Bownde went on to show a transfer of the Sabbath to the first day. See Bownde, 6, 9, 30, 31, 33. Though obviously familiar with Bownde, Andrews in his History quoted him only three times, using the spelling Bound. To disprove Bownde's position that a first-day Sabbath was kept by the apostles was a springboard for Andrews's extensive historical study of the post-apostolic change of the Sabbath.

<sup>2</sup>Though references in the historical section are not the focus of this study, we note that in his "Index of Authors Quoted," in History, Andrews lists early church fathers, Justin and Tertullian and historians, Cox, Heylyn, and Mosheim.

common research along with his own Bible study and prowess in theology.<sup>1</sup>

An impetus for Andrews's writing grew out of his intensive preaching itinerary. Also, the spirit of debate drew Andrews into numerous written confrontations with opponents that engendered Sabbath theology. Andrews found debates to be a medium through which he added life to his own arguments and provided a convenient springboard from which to address a larger audience. The debates did at times, however, restrict his creativity and keep him fastened on the agenda of his opponents.<sup>2</sup> Major debates throughout the years engaged O. R. L. Crozier,<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Among Andrews's contemporary writers on the Sabbath teaching within the Advent Movement were: Joseph Bates, James White, Uriah Smith, and R. F. Cottrell. Among these writers Bates is known for linking the Sabbath with the sanctuary and for classifying the Sabbath as the eschatological seal of God (Rev 7); see p. 28, n. 3. above. White's writings dealt primarily with the scope of textual support, biblical history, and eschatological aspects concerning the Sabbath. Smith's focus in regard to the Sabbath was on prophetic themes. Cottrell, along with other writers, entered into extensive dialogue with A. H. Lewis concerning the importance of the connection of prophecy with the Sabbath; see pp. 318-319 below.

<sup>2</sup>Written debate was an accepted and popular way of bringing issues before the public, and was used by writers of many religious denominations.

<sup>3</sup>In December 1851, writing at the time from the home of Cyrennius Smith in Jackson, Michigan, Andrews began the long-running debate with O. R. L. Crozier, which extended intermittently until 5 August 1852. The debate was precipitated by a Harbinger article of 6 December 1851 in which Crozier gave a report of a Bible class he had conducted on the subject of the law. Andrews's responses to that article and subsequent Crozier articles were published in the RH as "Remarks of O. R. L. Crozier on the

H. E. Carver,<sup>1</sup> and T. M. Preble.<sup>2</sup> In the early 1850s, through his dialogues with Carver and Crozier, he honed his textual and logical dialectic on the perpetuity of the law and added to his corpus of material on biblical history of the Sabbath that was later incorporated in his History of the Sabbath.

The major carrier of Andrews's writings was the Review and Herald, in which hundreds of articles, letters, and notes written by him have been identified.<sup>3</sup> The largest portion of his theological works was written

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Institution, Design and Abolition of the Sabbath, Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 81-86, and 17 February 1852, 89-93, hereafter, "Crozier Reviewed"; and "Letters to O. R. L. Crozier," (seven in all), published in RH in 1852: No. I, 6 May, 1-4; No. II, 27 May, 9-13; No. III, 10 June, 17-20; No. IV, 24 June, 25-28; No. V, 8 July, 33-37; No. VI, 22 July, 41-45; No. VII, 5 August, 49-52, 1852, hereafter referenced by letter number and RH issue ("Letter 1," RH, date, page, column). The articles drew expressions both of disapproval and commendation from readers. One good brother regretted that "so much space is occupied" with them. James White, "Letters to O. R. L. Crozier," RH, 8 July 1852, 37. Another reader declared he "would not part with the papers that contained them for any price." W. Morse, "Letters to Crozier," RH, 22 July 1852, 47.

<sup>1</sup>"Discourse With Brother Carver," RH, 16 September 1851, 28-29.

<sup>2</sup>A lengthy debate took place between Andrews and Preble during 1873 and 1874. See RH, 8 August 1871, 57; 6 February 1872, 57; 23 December 1873; 6 January 1874, 28; 3 February 1874; 10 February, 1874.

<sup>3</sup>Various researchers give various counts of Andrews's articles. See Smoot, "The Churchman," 42; Balharrie, 102-142; Raymond F. Cottrell, "The Theologian of the Sabbath," in J. N. Andrews: The Man and the Mission. ed. Harry Leonard (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1985), 106.

between the years 1850 and 1860.<sup>1</sup> During the interval of his life we have called the "church leadership period" (1863-1874) his name in the church papers appeared more often attached to a report of his activities than as a byline for articles written.<sup>2</sup>

Many of Andrews's RH articles were republished in pamphlet or book form. Those of most significance to this study of the Sabbath are: Thoughts on the Sabbath and the Perpetuity of the Law of God,<sup>3</sup> Remarks of O. R. L. Crozier on the Institution, Design, and Abolition of the Sabbath: Reviewed,<sup>4</sup> and The Perpetuity of the Royal Law, or The Commandments Not Abolished,<sup>5</sup> all of which deal primarily

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<sup>1</sup>The first of Andrews's articles published in the RH was entitled "Thoughts on the Sabbath" and contained in embryonic form many of the ideas that he later developed into lengthy arguments. "Thoughts on the Sabbath," RH, December 1850, 10.

<sup>2</sup>In 1871 he authored a number of articles on the problems related to keeping the Sabbath on a round world, and in 1873 and 1874 engaged in a somewhat unproductive debate with T. M. Preble primarily over Andrews's historical references to the change of the Sabbath in his History.

<sup>3</sup>J. N. Andrews, Thoughts on the Sabbath, and the Perpetuity of the Law of God (Paris, ME: James White, 1851), hereafter, Perpetuity (1851).

<sup>4</sup>While there is no date given on the pamphlet, in a news item, RH, 2 September 1852, 72:3, James White announced the publication in pamphlet form of the "Letters to Crozier," previously printed in RH.

<sup>5</sup>J. N. Andrews, The Perpetuity of the Royal Law, or The Ten Commandments Not Abolished (Rochester: Advent Review Office, [ca. 1854], hereafter, Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854)).

with a defense of the law. A two-part pamphlet, The Sabbath Institution and the Two Laws,<sup>1</sup> contained material which later became the first two chapters of Andrews's major work, The History of the Sabbath; the second section was a sermon comparing the moral to the ceremonial law.<sup>2</sup>

Andrews's first book, The History of the Sabbath, has been treated as the classic on the Sabbath for Seventh-day Adventists for many years.<sup>3</sup> The RH announced its publication in 1861:

The work is in two parts. The first gives the Bible history of the institution. It shows the Sabbath instituted in Eden, answers the popular objections, and refutes the claims of Sunday-keeping to Divine authority. Part second is a thorough and candid presentation of secular history bearing on the subject.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>J. N. Andrews, The Sabbatic Institution and the Two Laws (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Review and Herald Office, 1860), hereafter, Institution and Two Laws.

<sup>2</sup>The section on the "Two Laws" was based on sermons Andrews preached at Battle Creek in 1859. See J. N. Andrews, "The Two Laws," RH, 9 June 1859, 20.

<sup>3</sup>The complete title and reference to the first edition of this volume is, 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; hereafter, History. The forerunner to this 340-page book was a 96-page booklet by the same title published in 1859 at Battle Creek. "It is necessarily a meager collection," Andrews evaluated, "but at some future time it may be improved." "My Visit East," RH, 28 April 1859, 181.

<sup>4</sup>See "History of the Sabbath," RH, 22 October 1861, 168, where notice is given that Andrews's History of the Sabbath had been "just issued." Andrews had worked on the project for ten years. During and directly following his period of ill health between 1855 and 1860 he directed his attention to the completion of this book.

The book went through four editions, 1861,<sup>1</sup> 1873, 1887, and 1912. The last two were edited and published posthumously. In each edition the Bible history remained essentially unchanged; additions and changes were made in the "secular" history.<sup>2</sup>

Andrews's book, Sermons on the Sabbath and the Law,<sup>3</sup> again encompasses the spectrum of his biblical

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<sup>1</sup>The date of publication of the first edition varies. Cottrell, "Sabbath in the New World," 251, and Schwarz, Light Bearers to the Remnant, 633, give 1861 as the publication date. The Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1966 ed., s.v. "Sabbath," gives a publication date of 1862.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews uses the term "secular" to refer to non-biblical religious history. Others use the term "secular history" in contrast to "church history." Andrews's book grew in the following manner: First edition (1861): Part I, 192 pages, Part II, 148 pages; Second edition (1873): Part I, 192 pages, Part II, 320 pages; Third edition (1887): Part I, 192 pages, Part II, 325 pages; Fourth edition (1912): Part I, 194 pages, Part II, 405 pages. L. R. Conradi wrote seven partly new or entirely new chapters in the Part II, secular history, section of the 1912 edition. Andrews left Part I with its biblical material virtually the same through all four editions. When the 1873 edition came out, Andrews wrote, "It was my design to re-write the Biblical part of the Sabbath History, . . . but I found that time would not admit of my carrying this to completion. . . . I have therefore . . . decided that with some small changes and additions that part should be simply reprinted." "The History of the Sabbath," RH, 28 October 1873, 157. Added in the 1873 edition were: a paragraph on page 16 which discussed the Sabbath's definite place in the week and several historical references and occasional changes in wording that did not change the thought. References in this dissertation are from the 1873 edition since it is the last edition published during Andrews's life.

<sup>3</sup>J. N. Andrews, 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

arguments in favor of the Sabbath with additional insights. As would be expected, the material being presented as sermons holds more personal and spiritual appeal than others of his writings.<sup>1</sup>

A series of articles entitled "The Three Angels of Revelation XIV" ran in the RH between 23 January 1855 and 1 May 1855, and was printed as a book in 1855, The Three Angels of Revelation XIV, 6-12, Particularly the Third Angel's Message and Two Horned Beast. It contains Andrews's implications for the Sabbath in end-time prophecy.<sup>2</sup>

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Assn., 1870). References in this dissertation are to the 1870 edition as the 1890 edition was published seven years after Andrews's death and changes it contains are unlikely to have been made by him before his death. Hereafter, Sermons.

<sup>1</sup>In the preface of the 1890 revision of this volume entitled, J. N. Andrews, The Sabbath and the Law: Embracing an Outline of the Biblical and Secular History of the Sabbath for Six Thousand Years (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press Publishing, Assn., 1890), 3, the revisers explained the special purpose for this publication saying it "has been really needed as an intermediate work between the large 'History of the Sabbath,' and small pamphlets. In response to this call, it has been revised to present needs. The last chapter [dealing with the errors of Akers, Jennings and Mede] in the second edition was not deemed necessary, as the error it confutes was not considered worthy of so much notice."

<sup>2</sup>J. N. Andrews, The Three Angels of Revelation XIV, 6-12, Particularly the Third Angel's Message and Two Horned Beast (Rochester, NY: Advent Library Office, 1855). The material was reprinted with slight revisions in wording which did not affect the theology of the Sabbath, in 1860, 1864, 1872, 1876 (a reprinting of only some sections), 1877, 1886, 1892. After the first edition, the book was entitled The Three Messages of . . ., rather than The Three Angels of . . .. Hereafter, Messages.

During 1867 and 1868 Andrews prepared a chapter for A. H. Lewis's book, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), briefly describing the development of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination and doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

Andrews's intellectual thoroughness and honesty becomes apparent in his own statement of purpose: "I desire to promote the cause of truth without mingling with that effort one particle of party spirit. The truth will stand on its own merits."<sup>2</sup>

Ellen G. White, a contemporary of Andrews recognized as a trustworthy voice in the fledgling denomination, said of Andrews's ability to defend the major biblical doctrines of Adventism, "Brother Andrews was his [God's] Chosen servant, to do a work others could not do. . . . The experience he has obtained has qualified him for the important work for these last days."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis, Sabbath and Sunday, 237-258.

<sup>2</sup>"New History of the Sabbath," RH, 24 November 1868, 252. See also, "My Work on the Sabbath History," RH, 17 September 1872, 108; "The History of the Sabbath," RH, 28 October 1873, 157.

<sup>3</sup>Ellen G. White to James White, Letter 13, 2 September 1871, Ellen G. White Research Center, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI.

The Sabbath Theology of J. N. Andrews

The major thrust of J. N. Andrews's Sabbath theology came through his defense of the perpetuity of the law of God as found in the Decalogue. His defense of the law becomes his defense of the Sabbath as part of that law. One major portion of his writings concerns the Sabbath, another, prophetic and eschatological topics. Among Seventh-day Adventists, Sabbath theology early became integrated with prophetic and eschatological themes. Andrews obviously shared this perspective, but the integration of these themes is not as prominent in his writings as in that of some other Adventist writers of the time.<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the Sabbath doctrine he saw the religious world divided into three classes: (1) those who "retain the ancient seventh-day Sabbath," basing their view upon plain testimony of scripture; (2) those who adhere to the spirit of the fourth commandment observing a "first-day Sabbath" because they believe Christ changed the day, and using first-day texts and the testimony of the early church fathers for support; and (3) those who deny the existence of holy time, holding that the law abrogated at Christ's death was the Ten Commandments, but advocating the first day as a day of worship in honor of the resurrection and

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<sup>1</sup>The specific areas of integration between the Sabbath and prophetic subjects are found below.

the testimony of the fathers.<sup>1</sup> Throughout his writings Andrews's emphasis on the perpetuity of the law grew naturally out of the challenges of the last two theories, both of which imply that the law is changeable.<sup>2</sup>

His lines of defense of the law and the Sabbath were: (1) the textual and exegetical evidence in the New Testament upon which he brought to bear the logic of a lawyer's mind, (2) historical confirmation, both biblical and non-biblical, and (3) the prominent position of the Sabbath in the sanctuary and in the three angels' messages of Rev 14. His foundational writings for these three topics all appeared in the early and mid-1850s.<sup>3</sup> In this

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<sup>1</sup>"Testimony of the Fathers," RH, 27 May 1873, 188. The "change of day" theory created the "Puritan Sabbath." The view which regards the Ten Commandment law as abolished is referred to as the "no-Sabbath" theory. Andrews rarely used terminology such as "Puritan Sabbath" and "no-Sabbathism." He was not college- or seminary-trained; further, the distinctive self-concept of Seventh-day Adventists no doubt caused him to avoid using the terminology of mainstream Christianity.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews described the mission of his church to be that of defending the Sabbath through the law. He spoke of the fourth commandment as "one of the grand points" which justified the existence of Seventh-day Adventists as a people. "Dedicatory Sermon," RH, 8 May 1879, 146.

<sup>3</sup>As noted earlier, in the areas of biblical and textual evidence Andrews reflected Seventh Day Baptist thought. Seventh Day Baptists were careful theologians. Burnside (1820s), Maxson and Parkinson (1830s), Brown, Utter, Carlow, Chadwick, and Irish (1840s) added to Stennet's writing of 1658, covering quite thoroughly the defense of the Sabbath in the areas of biblical history and textual evidence, and also including some theology. They upheld the Sabbath as a creation ordinance applicable to all men, discussed implications of its existence as a "positive command," gave evidence that it was known and

dissertation, Andrews's Sabbath theology is examined in the order of the above sequence. Except for a short section on Andrews's philosophy of history, his non-biblical historical writings do not form a part of this study.

The Perpetuity of the Law and the Sabbath  
Shown in the New Testament

Andrews saw as the "main point of issue" in the Sabbath controversy the question of whether or not God's law has been abrogated.<sup>1</sup> In the opening paragraphs of his first article of length (written in 1851)<sup>2</sup> he clearly reveals the purpose of his writings:

When it is shown that [the] law still exists, and that its perpetuity is clearly taught in the New Testament, it most conclusively settles the question, that the Sabbath is binding on us, and on all men.<sup>3</sup>

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kept before Sinai, showed that Christ upheld it in His mission, teaching, and example, refuted arguments of opponents who used Paul's writing to show the Sabbath was abrogated at Christ's death, and showed that first-day texts could not prove a change of Sabbath in the Christian era.

<sup>1</sup>"The Perpetuity of the Law of God," RH, January 1851, 33; see also, "Perpetuity of the Royal Law, or the Commandments Not Abolished," RH, 15 August 1854, 1. Both articles referenced here were parts of series, each published in pamphlet form in the same year and under the same titles as the original series.

<sup>2</sup>Before 1851, RH had carried only one short article by Andrews, "Thoughts on the Sabbath," December 1850, 10.

<sup>3</sup>"Perpetuity," RH, January 1851, 6.

Within four years he devoted several lengthy series of articles to the perpetuity of the law, some exclusively from the New Testament perspective, others including it.

When Andrews spoke of the law or the commandments, he was almost invariably speaking of the Decalogue. In his defense of the law and the Sabbath, he consistently applied both the Hebrew word torah and the Greek word nomos to the Decalogue, although each literally means "instruction." Crozier, opponent in his lengthiest debate, represented many other readers when he "confessed" that he could not "see the Sabbath in the word 'law' wherever it occur[ed]" as did Andrews.<sup>1</sup> In reality the terms could refer to the Decalogue, to the Pentateuch, to all inspired instruction of the Old Testament, or to the Jewish religious system, with the context determining which is intended.<sup>2</sup> Though there is some justification in Crozier's questioning Andrews's approach, in Andrews's defense it should be recognized that Decalogue does qualify as torah in the same sense as any other part of the torah does, and that as a rule Andrews remained true to context in his

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<sup>1</sup>"Letter 7," RH, 5 August 1852, 52:1.

<sup>2</sup>The Jews held all "laws" implied in the word "torah" as important and equally obligatory. Those familiar with the Jewish system could discern the different nuances where the word "law" was written. Problems arise when various interpretations are given by scholars who are removed from the environment of the ancient Jewish way of thought and do not correctly follow the shift in nuances.

interpretations, drawing on other texts and on logic to support his positions.

### The Sabbath and Law Inseparable

So that his defense of the law would specifically include a defense of the Sabbath, Andrews presented the Ten Commandment law as an indivisible unit and also showed that the Sabbath was "comprehended in" and "inseparable from" the precepts of the "two great commandments" of Matt 22:37-39.<sup>1</sup>

Writing in 1851 he defended the law as a unit, using only the biblical reference of Matt 5:17-19;<sup>2</sup> in 1854 he strengthened the argument with logic.<sup>3</sup> He saw that Christ's declaration that the minutest point would not pass from the law till all be fulfilled (Matt 5:17-19) meant assuredly "that a part [could] not be destroyed and the remainder of the law be left in force."<sup>4</sup> Further, the

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<sup>1</sup>Perpetuity (1851), 7.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854), 7-9. By presenting the Decalogue as an indivisible unit, Andrews answered Crozier, who specifically pressed him to show the perpetuity of the Sabbath apart from the law. "Letter 6," RH, 22 July 1852, 42:3. This argument of Andrews's also refuted Crozier's view that the "Sabbath of the Lord," though contained in the Ten Commandments, was "typical" and was lifted out of the Decalogue and "nailed to the cross" with other "typical" sabbaths, which were shadows of things to come. "Letter 1," RH, 6 May 1852, 2:3.

<sup>4</sup>Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854), 7. Andrews's droll comment on Christ's words of Matt 5:17 was that those who teach that the whole law was abolished "go far beyond the

warnings that he who breaks one commandment is "least in the kingdom" (Matt 5:19) and guilty of breaking all (Jas 2:10) confirm that the commandments must stand as a unit.<sup>1</sup> In 1854 Andrews wrote depicting the "the nine commandments [as] stand[ing] around the Sabbath of the Lord, an impregnable bulwark" that the enemies of the law have been unable to destroy.<sup>2</sup>

Christ's words of Matt 22:37-40 testify that all the law and the prophets "hang" on the two great commandments.<sup>3</sup> To Andrews the immutability of these two commandments appeared "self-evident" in that man is under highest obligation to love God, who is the author of his existence, and love others, who are equally the creatures of God.<sup>4</sup> It follows that the moral law, comprised of these two aspects "drawn out and expressed in ten precepts, is of necessity also unchangeable in its character."<sup>5</sup> The "ten" precepts grow out of the "two" like ten fingers from a man's two

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crime" of breaking one "least commandment" as Christ had noted. Ibid., 9.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 8-10, 27-30.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>3</sup>Perpetuity (1851), 7. See also Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854), 16; "Letter 6," RH, 22 July 1852, 42:3.

<sup>4</sup>Institution and Two Laws, 23-24.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 24.

hands, the hands illustrating the principles, the fingers the applications.<sup>1</sup>

Moral Law Was Not Abolished  
Then Re-enacted

A tenet that Andrews argued against numerous times and at great length was that the moral law was abolished at Christ's death and then, except for the Sabbath, was re-enacted to become the constitution of the kingdom of grace. This position was represented by Crozier and was a major contention in the debate between the two men.<sup>2</sup>

Because Crozier wished to retain the moral principles of the law and yet be relieved of the Sabbath, he assumed a somewhat ambiguous position, adhering to the perpetuity of the principles of the law and at the same time insisting on the abrogation of the law itself.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"The ten commandments (duties) grow out of the two great commandments, (principles,) as materially as the fingers proceed from the two arms, and neither the two nor the ten, can be spared better than a man can part with his arms or his fingers." "Crozier Reviewed," 17 February 1852, 91:3. Stennet had used a similar illustration of binding the commandments upon the fingers, saying, "there being for each finger one, and that both hands might be active in them." Stennet, 10.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews had begun to address the theory of the abolishment and re-enactment of God's law in Perpetuity (1851), but we see it most evident in his debate with Crozier. Although we find some good Sabbath theology in Andrews's letters to Crozier, the debate, as it wore on, became at times as much a match of wits as it was a builder of Sabbath theology.

<sup>3</sup>Crozier wrote: "We do not believe that God ever has or ever will absolve men from the obligations of his law. . . . When he [Christ] came he remodeled the religious

Andrews accused him of vacillating in his position in order to elude logic and biblical testimony,<sup>1</sup> because at times Crozier maintained that Christ's "remodeled religious system" was based on nine re-enacted commandments, at other times he declared it was based on the two great commandments of Matt 22:35-40, and at yet other times insisted the abrogation did not apply to precepts that "had existed before [Sinai]."<sup>2</sup>

Andrews maintained that if Christ's death destroyed the law, all men could henceforth blamelessly violate any precept of the Decalogue and be delivered from its sentence;<sup>3</sup> thus the view would be the foundation of Universalism.<sup>4</sup> Although he was overstating Crozier's position, as Crozier wished to retain the "constitution of God's religious system, in the abstract or in a general

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system: . . . naming and enforcing in the new all the precepts of the old, except that of the Sabbath, which is not once named as belonging to the new system." "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 17 February 1852, 89:1.

<sup>1</sup>"Letter 6," RH, 22 July 1852, 41:3.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Perpetuity (1851), 8. See also *ibid.*, 14: "If the precepts of the Decalogue are abolished, even its principles cannot now exist . . . : hence also the moral government of God is destroyed, and men are left without prohibition against any species of wickedness."

<sup>4</sup>"Letter 7," RH, 5 August 1852, 52:2: "If the death of Christ destroys the moral law, then the human family are delivered from its fearful sentence, whether they repent or not. This makes the atonement unconditional, hence, it is the real foundation of Universalism."

sense,"<sup>1</sup> Andrews would not allow for this position. If the law was ever abolished, he insisted, it remains so, because there is no record that it was ever re-enacted.<sup>2</sup> While Crozier continually pressed Andrews to present "direct testimony" that the New Testament required men to keep the Sabbath,<sup>3</sup> Andrews claimed that such testimony was not needed, as the Sabbath law had never been abrogated, so that "the laboring oar" was in Crozier's hand to prove his claim that the law was abolished.<sup>4</sup> Because of the lack of explicit biblical evidence on either side, the debate leaned on rationality and logic.

Andrews saw that the teaching of the abrogation and subsequent re-enactment of the law presented numerous logical problems.

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<sup>1</sup>"Letter 6," RH, 22 July 1852, 41:3.

<sup>2</sup>"There is no re-enactment of God's law recorded in the Bible. Hence, if the law of Jehovah has been abrogated, there is no moral law!" "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 17 February 1852, 90:2.

<sup>3</sup>See "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 17 February 1852, 89:2; "Letter 6," RH, 22 July 1852, 41:1-3; "Letter 7," RH, 5 August 1852, 49:1-3. Carver also maintained that because the New Testament did not enjoin Sabbathkeeping it was not necessary. "Discourse with Brother Carver," RH, 16 September 1851, 28.

<sup>4</sup>See "Letter 3," RH, 10 June 1852, 18:1: "Until its abolition is proved it abides in force as the commandment of the Father." Also "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 84:3: "For it is not like God to abolish a law and then re-enact it! The laboring oar is then in the hand of C." Also, "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 17 February 1852, 90:2.

1. God could not abolish the law without both "denying his own moral character as expressed in that law"<sup>1</sup> and destroying the "first principles" by which He governs the universe. No more could God abrogate the spiritual laws than He could abrogate the "fixed principles called the 'laws of nature'" by which He governs the physical world.<sup>2</sup>

2. God's law, if abrogated at Christ's death, could not have been re-enacted by Him before He died.<sup>3</sup>

3. God's law, if abrogated, could not be re-enacted by the apostles' teaching, as there is only one "Lawgiver" (Jas 4:12). The quoting of the law by Paul, James, and John must be seen not as re-enactments but as affirmations of the original commandments.<sup>4</sup>

4. The abrogation of the law would render the gospel meaningless. It appears "absurd" that at the very moment when Christ died to meet the demands of the law He

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<sup>1</sup>Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854), 20.

<sup>2</sup>"Letter 5," RH, 8 July 1852, 35:3; Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854), 21.

<sup>3</sup>Perpetuity (1851), 19. Also see "Letter 3," RH, 10 June 1852, 20:1.

<sup>4</sup>Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854), 27. In Perpetuity (1851) he discusses throughout the document at least 13 passages, bringing in dozens of supporting texts to confirm his statement that the apostles affirmed the Ten Commandment law. Some texts he includes are: Rom 2:11-16; 3:9-31; 7:7-25; Jas 2; 1 John 5:3; Rev 14:12.

was destroying the law which had created the demands.<sup>1</sup> The object of Christ's sacrifice was not the destruction of law but the destruction of sin. Christ's death is the strongest of all testimonies to the immutability of the law.<sup>2</sup>

5. If the law of God was abrogated at the cross there would be no second death after that time, for the "destruction of the wicked rests upon the perpetuity of the law."<sup>3</sup>

6. For God to abrogate and then amend His law would imply its original imperfection. But Scripture declares that it is perfect (Ps 19:7).<sup>4</sup> Logic denies that there could be improvement by taking away from that which is perfect.

Andrews conceded that Crozier was correct in his basic understanding that God's law comprised the "constitution" of His government, but he denied that the

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<sup>1</sup>Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854), 24-25.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 25. See also Perpetuity (1851), 27: "The immutability of its character is shown in that the Son of God must lay down his life before guilty man could be rescued from its just sentence."

<sup>3</sup>"Letter 7," RH, 5 August 1852, 52:2.

<sup>4</sup>Perpetuity (1851), 19-20. See also Institution and Two Laws, 28: "It is necessary that the law which demands atonement in order that its transgressor may be spared, should itself be perfect, else the fault would in part at least rest with the lawgiver, and not wholly with the sinner. Hence, the atonement when made does not take away the broken law, for that is perfect, but is expressly designed to take away the guilt of the transgressor."

Decalogue without the Sabbath law could comprise the constitution, because as such it would lack the identification of God. Without the fourth commandment "nothing is saved to point out who the true God is, and nothing to keep this Adorable Being in memory[!]"<sup>1</sup>

Further, Andrews testified that he could not "discover wherein the law has been made better" if the Sabbath commandment is left out and mankind is "deprived of one of those blessings, which had been bestowed on the human family . . . certainly inseparable from his well-being."<sup>2</sup>

The Law Upheld by  
Christ's Mission

In direct contrast to the view that Christ weakened and abrogated the law, Andrews held that Christ's mission to earth, seen in its totality, was to uphold the government of God as demonstrated in His law. Both Andrews and his opponent, Crozier, saw that Matt 5 was the key to understanding Christ's mission, but beginning at the same point they pursued opposite paths. Crozier looked upon the six antitheses of vss. 21-44 as Christ's way of repealing the commandments of the Decalogue and re-enacting them to suit his new kingdom. Andrews granted that Christ did

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<sup>1</sup>"Letter 5," RH, 8 July 1852, 36:2-3. He queries: "The first of these two great commandments require me to love this great being. . . . But who is He? . . . Now we inquire of the nine which hang upon them. . . . Who is He whom I am alone to worship and adore?" Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Perpetuity (1851), 20.

bring change to the law for the new kingdom, but held that His antitheses were intended—not to weaken or destroy it—but to contrast His interpretation of the law against the Pharisees' shallow and legalistic applications, and to strengthen it by pointing out its spirituality in that it could be "violated by the act of the heart."<sup>1</sup> Crozier saw Christ's work as abrogation, Andrews saw it as restoration.<sup>2</sup> Crozier saw the law strengthened by subtraction, Andrews saw it strengthened by addition.

The two men also viewed Matt 5:17, 18 antithetically. Crozier insisted that the typical law was that which Christ came to fulfill<sup>3</sup>—and that the word "fulfill" meant "demonstrating that [the law and the prophets] were true, in their typical and prophetic references."<sup>4</sup> Andrews countered that although Crozier's statement was true in principle (as Christ did fulfill the ceremonial law in this way) this is not what is taught in Matt 5:17.<sup>5</sup> Rather,

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<sup>1</sup>"Letter 5," RH, 22 July 1852, 43:2-44. See Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854), 17: "Our Lord did not act in the capacity of legislator with his Father's law. He was its expositor." See also "Letter 6," RH, 22 July 1852. 42:2: "The commandments of Jesus have not taken the place of the commandments of God."

<sup>2</sup>Christ came not "in the capacity of legislator with his Father's law. He was its expositor; and as such he laid open its length and breadth and spirituality." Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854), 17.

<sup>3</sup>"Letter 6," RH, 22 July 1852, 42:1; 43:1.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

Andrews held that Matt 5:17 seen in context directly connects Christ's Messianic mission to the moral law. Christ's "fulfilling" (rendered "ratifying" by Andrews's source, Campbell) of the law involved two specific aspects: (1) He fulfilled the law in man's place in regard to the law's demand for "strict, entire, and perfect obedience";<sup>1</sup> (2) He fulfilled the law in man's place in regard to the broken law's demand for the "death of [the] race; for all were its transgressors (2 Cor 5. v, 14, 15)."<sup>2</sup> Christ's mission included the offering of Himself as a ransom in the place of sinners. All this is incorporated in fulfilling the law as the Messiah. Having thus answered the law's demands Christ offers pardon to the guilty and grace to "fulfill" the righteousness of the law. So He fulfilled its righteousness, which He in turn makes available to the sinners.<sup>3</sup> Andrew's rhetorical question is: Has this strengthened or weakened the law?<sup>4</sup>

In some respects both Crozier and Andrews were correct. Parts of both arguments could be harmonized.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 42:1

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 43:2.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 43:2. Also, Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854), 6.

<sup>4</sup>Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854), 6.

When Christ spoke of fulfilling the law He may in fact have expressed the typical Jewish way of thinking by which torah included all the law and the prophets, having the entirety in mind while singling out commands from the Decalogue.

### The Two Covenants

Andrews's theology on the covenants served as continued support for the perpetuity of the law. Writing on the covenants in 1851 he began with typical Seventh Day Baptist thought,<sup>1</sup> using a strong polemic approach to show that both covenants were based on the Ten Commandment law. In his 1861 History, where he made clear connections between the covenants and the sanctuary, and in 1870, in Sermons, where he added a strong spiritual appeal, he incorporated distinctive Seventh-day Adventist theology.<sup>2</sup>

Correct understanding of  
the covenants

By his definition of the word "covenant,"<sup>3</sup> Andrews upsets an argument often used against the Sabbath and

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<sup>1</sup>Perpetuity (1851), 10-15. See Stennet, 8-9; Brown, The Sabbath: Its Moral Nature and Observance, 17, 25; [Rev. Mr. Chadwick ?], The Sabbath—Authority for the Change of the Day (New York: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1853), 2-3.

<sup>2</sup>See Perpetuity (1851); History, 159-165; Sermons, 75-82.

<sup>3</sup>The first or "old" covenant was made between God and the people of Israel at the time of their departure from Egypt. The "new" covenant was initiated by Christ while He was on this earth.

reverses it to make a strong case for the Sabbath. Those who equate the word "covenant" with the Ten Commandment law given to the Jews see it as logical that the law was annulled when the Jewish economy came to an end.<sup>1</sup> The new covenant then is seen as a covenant of grace made with the Gentiles, not holding obligation to the law and the Sabbath.<sup>2</sup> In this Andrews perceived the double error of an incorrect definition of the word "covenant" and an improper understanding as to the parties between whom the covenants were established.

In order to offer a "more comprehensive" view, Andrews presents Webster's definitions of "covenant,"<sup>3</sup> primarily, as "a mutual agreement between two parties" and secondarily, as "a writing containing the terms of agreement."<sup>4</sup> The old covenant, then, was not the law

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<sup>1</sup>The view was that the law of God written on tables of stone constituted the first covenant. It was called the "ministration of death" and was abolished or done away in Christ, abrogating the law of God. Perpetuity (1851), 11. One who strongly represented this belief was Crozier. See "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 17 February 1852, 89; "Letter 5," 8 July 1852, 34:1-2.

<sup>2</sup>In the teaching that the law was abolished, Andrews recognized that "the force of the blow is aimed at the Sabbath." Perpetuity (1851), 13.

<sup>3</sup>The word covenant is also translated testament. It is from the Greek word diatheke, and is the same word used by Jesus when he says, "This cup is the new testament . . ." (Luke 22:20). See Sermons, 75.

<sup>4</sup>By incorporating both these definitions Andrews wrested from his opponents their "most important evidence" (drawn from 2 Cor 3) that the law was abolished with the old covenant. Perpetuity (1851), 11. He did readily agree

itself, but the mutual agreement; the ten commandments were the terms of the agreement.<sup>1</sup> This indicated clearly to Andrews that when Israel fell from the covenant promise the agreement was broken, but the terms of the agreement survived to become the foundation for the new covenant.<sup>2</sup>

Andrews held that a correct understanding regarding the covenanting parties was crucial to understanding the relation of the law to the new covenant. The promises of Jer 31 clearly state that the covenanting parties under the new covenant are the same as those under the old (Jer 31:31-34; Heb 8:9, 10).<sup>3</sup> Speaking directly to Israel God

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that the commandments are several times referred to as "the covenant" in the Old Testament. However, he contests that this use is not in the sense of being "a contract or agreement as they contain no such thing." Sermons, 83. The Ten Commandments are viewed at times as a covenant in the sense of being the conditions of the agreement. Exod 34:28 reads "And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the Ten Commandments." See also Deut 4:13; 9:9-11; 1 Kgs 8:21; 2 Chr 6:11.

<sup>1</sup>Perpetuity (1851), 12. God's proposition was, "If ye will obey my voice . . . ," and the people's reply, "All that the Lord has spoken we will do" (Exod 19:3). The old covenant, then, is the "solemn contract . . . between God and the people of Israel concerning the law of God." Sermons, 82; see also, *ibid.*, 76-78.

<sup>2</sup>If the commandments could be voided by the people's disobedience, it would mean that the law of God "depend[ed] for its strength on the obedience of the people, and not upon the authority of the Law-giver!" Sermons, 88. See also "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 84:1, where he says, "the law of God is in no wise affected by the question, whether they kept that covenant or not."

<sup>3</sup>The writer of Hebrews (Heb 8:8, 9) quotes Jeremiah's promise that the new covenant is made with the house of Israel. In Romans, Paul speaks of the Israelites as those "to whom pertaineth . . . the

says "I" will place My law in "your" hearts. The ministry of Christ in Palestine was the opening work of the new covenant; in the closing hours of His life, He as the mediator of the new covenant, and the eleven apostles as the representatives of the people, entered into solemn contract.<sup>1</sup> Thus Andrews could maintain that when the promises of the new covenant were given, certainly the Ten Commandment law that formed the terms of the old was that which was offered as the terms for the new and better covenant—but with the added distinction that it would be written in the heart rather than on stone.<sup>2</sup>

In dismissing the law and the Sabbath as Jewish, Christianity would dismiss the new covenant as well, because it was also made with Jews and based on the Ten Commandment law.<sup>3</sup> Andrews introduces the confirmation of the new covenant as the fulfillment of the promise of Dan \_\_\_\_\_  
covenants" [plural] (Rom 9: 4, 5).

<sup>1</sup>Sermons, 70.

<sup>2</sup>See *ibid.*, 90, where he explains: "That which was the law of God in the days of Jeremiah, six hundred years before Christ, is the subject of this prediction."

<sup>3</sup>Andrews saw that "everything valuable God has given to the world" was given through the Hebrew people. To set aside all things Jewish would be to bankrupt the Christian religion. "Thus," he says, "might the God of Israel himself be discarded as a Jewish God." Sermons, 66-67. See also *ibid.*, 70: "It is not best to scorn the law of God because committed to the Hebrews . . . all the sacred things committed to the Israelites, . . . were not Jewish, or Hebraic, but divine."

9:24-27.<sup>1</sup> Confirmed with the Hebrew people until the expiration of the seventy weeks, by virtue of Christ's death the Gentiles were admitted to a full participation with the Hebrews in the blessings of the new covenant (Eph 2:11-22),<sup>2</sup> and from that time forth, "God entered into covenant . . . with his people as individuals, and not as a nation."<sup>3</sup> The blessings of the new covenant were realized for Gentiles not as they took the place of Jews and discarded Jewish background, but as they became "fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God" (Eph 2:11-22).

It is essential to Andrews's argument that when the old covenant vanishes the law must "[remain] in full force, . . . ready to enter into the most sacred relations with the people of God under the new."<sup>4</sup> The promises of the new covenant (Jer 31:31-34), not based on a change or

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<sup>1</sup>History, 115, 159.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. The work for the Gentiles opened with the expiration of the seventy weeks and with the conversion and ministry of Paul. Until that time, Paul described the Gentiles as "aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise" (Eph 2:11-13).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Sermons, 91. In 1872, answering the question of how the covenants differ, he affirmed: "Not in this, that one pertains to the law of God and the other does not," or that one is "demanding obedience to his law and the other excusing men therefrom. . . . The new covenant is even more express than the old in its connection with the moral law." "The Substance of the Two Covenants," RH, 23 January 1872, 44.

supersedence by a better law, were based on better promises. The new covenant was "first and foremost" a promise to put the law within the very hearts of believers, "insur[ing] obedience by making the law a part of the very nature of those with whom the covenant is made."<sup>1</sup>

The new covenant is taught  
by the old covenant

Having briefly made the connection in 1851, Andrews, in 1861 in his History and in 1870 in his Sermons, meticulously blends the covenant teaching with the sanctuary teaching, showing how the old covenant and earthly sanctuary point to the greater spiritual realities of the new covenant and the heavenly sanctuary. In this he surpasses the Seventh Day Baptist view, adding the strong soteriological emphasis whereby, through its connection with the blood of Christ and the atonement, the new covenant goes even beyond "obedience from the heart" to where Christ renders the sinner perfect in the sight of God's law. The "Mediator of the new covenant lays down the immutability of the law of God, and solemnly enforces its observance as the condition of entering eternal life," but

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<sup>1</sup>Sermons, 93. See also "Substance," RH, 23 January, 1872, 44, where he emphasizes, "The one demands obedience to the law: the other by putting the law in the heart secures that obedience."

the blood of Christ is the element that makes the second covenant "so much more efficacious than the first."<sup>1</sup>

The connection between the covenant and the sanctuary, thus understood, doubly emphasizes the perpetuity and spiritual nature of the law of God. As the old covenant had a sanctuary in which the ark containing the law was the the great central object, so has the new. As in the old a priest ministered before that ark to make atonement for the breaking of that law, so under the new covenant Christ's work as High Priest in the heavenly sanctuary has "direct reference to the fact that within that ark is the law which mankind have broken."<sup>2</sup> It was the transgression of the law beneath the mercy seat of the earthly sanctuary that made the work of atonement necessary. It must be recognized, then, that this law existed and was transgressed before the Savior came to die. In the earthly sanctuary there was actual sin but only a shadowy atonement. Jesus, the antitype, by His death and ministry before the ark in heaven accomplished "precisely

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<sup>1</sup>The explanation is in the difference between Sinai and Calvary. At Sinai the "law of God entered in terrible majesty" as the central object; at Calvary "the sin-atonement sacrifice [entered as] the central object." Sermons, 94. See History, 166: "The law of God is more intimately connected with the people of God since the death of the Redeemer than before that event." Perpetuity (1851), 6. This is because the shadowy atonement of the Old Testament is now finding fulfillment in the real atonement through Christ's own blood.

<sup>2</sup>History, 161.

what [the sacrifices] shadowed forth, but which they could not effect, viz., to make atonement for the transgression of that law which was placed in the ark beneath the mercy-seat."<sup>1</sup> We are thus brought to the realization that the law in the earthly sanctuary, which was the foundation of the old covenant, is identical to the law in the heavenly sanctuary, which is the foundation of the new covenant, and "both are identical with that law which the new covenant puts in the heart of each believer."<sup>2</sup>

The idea depicts a triangle, the law of the old covenant and the law of the new covenant forming the base angles, reaching out to each other and up to the heavenly sanctuary from which they draw their reality. While men could, by insisting that the law was abrogated at Christ's death, conveniently deny the horizontal connection between the old and new covenant laws, the vertical connection via the heavenly sanctuary was very difficult to deny. By thus connecting the second (new) covenant to the heavenly sanctuary, Andrews showed its superiority, as though the first covenant existed for the sake of the second, and in

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 162-163.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 163. See also, J. N. Andrews, The Sanctuary and Twenty-Three Hundred Days, 2d ed. (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Assn., 1872), 89.

order to teach the higher spiritual lessons of Christ's ministry.

The first [covenant] points out our duty, but leaves us unable to perform it; the second points us to the same holy, just, and spiritual law, as the sum of our duty, and at the same time reveals the source of our strength to keep its requirements, viz., the grace of God, through faith in Jesus.<sup>1</sup>

Promises of the  
new covenant

Andrews presents each of the promises of the new covenant as finding fulfillment in the priestly work of Christ as Mediator of the covenant (Jer 31:31-34)<sup>2</sup> both for individuals and for His people as a whole, especially seen as earth's history closes.

Andrews rearranges Jeremiah's sequence of promises, placing forgiveness of sin first in the progression of covenant blessings.<sup>3</sup> The conditions of forgiveness are repentance and faith in Christ as the great sin-offering whose blood is the grounds for pardon, and who as the great High Priest pleads the sinner's cause.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Perpetuity (1851), 10.

<sup>2</sup>Sermons, 93.

<sup>3</sup>Jeremiah gives the promises as, first, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts"; second, I "will be their God, and they shall be my people"; third, "they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, . . . for they shall all know me"; fourth, "I will forgive their iniquity"; fifth, "I will remember their sin no more."

<sup>4</sup>Sermons, 95-96.

Second in his sequence after forgiveness is the work of writing the law in the inward parts (Ezek 36:26). Christ not only forgives man's transgression of the law. He also "put[s] that law in their hearts so that it shall be their very nature to obey it."<sup>1</sup> Under this promise Andrews presents a teaching that other Seventh-day Adventist writers associate with the topic of the "cleansing of the sanctuary," character development, and the "seal of God." This work of writing the law in the heart is not the work of a moment but a process that begins at conversion and continues throughout life. The entire gospel dispensation and the entire time of man's probation are devoted to this work: "When this work is fully wrought in men, then they are, in the highest sense, Christians; for they are like Christ. He had the law of God in his heart. Ps 40:8."<sup>2</sup>

As Andrews speaks of a third promise, "I will remember their sins no more,"<sup>3</sup> he begins to speak of God's people as a group. When the promise regarding the work of the Messiah in Matt 1:21, "He shall save his people from

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 94-95.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 95-96.

<sup>3</sup>To Andrews, this point goes beyond "forgiveness" to the removal of the record of sin in the books of heaven. Writing in 1873 he pictures the throne room of heaven and the "blotting out of sins" in the "grand idea of cleansing vthe sanctuary of God." "The Sanctuary of the Bible," RH, 30 December 1873, 21.

their sins," is brought to a conclusion, the books of God's remembrance will be clean, and the probation of God's people ends in "perfect recovery of their lost innocence."<sup>1</sup> The law will again occupy the position it held at creation in the heart of man. Through the Spirit the great work of the new covenant has been accomplished. This brings to fruition the fourth and fifth promises of the covenant: "I will be their God, and they shall be my people," and as this is accomplished, the work of the High Priest is completed. With His Father's good pleasure He gathers His children home to celebrate the marriage supper of the Lamb, to drink with them the fruit of the vine representing the new covenant in His blood (1 Cor 15:51-55). Thus Andrews takes "covenant" all the way through to heaven, where Jesus sits down to drink with His people the cup of the new covenant.<sup>2</sup>

In Andrews's teaching of the covenants as connected to the sanctuary, he demonstrates a clear understanding of the view of righteousness by faith. Though not highly visible in his writings because of his focus on correctives, his strong adherence to it is clearly seen in both his early and advanced writings.

Our hope of salvation then is through faith in Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation for our sins. . . . That we can be

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<sup>1</sup>Sermons, 96-97.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 97.

justified by Christ, and yet live in violation of God's law, no one can maintain; but to teach that our present obedience can justify, or atone for our past offenses, would be an equal absurdity. . . . Our justification in the sight of God, is solely on account of faith, and not on account of works.<sup>1</sup>

### Comparison of Moral and Ceremonial Laws

Andrews carefully distinguished between the ceremonial and moral laws in order to refute the conception that the ordinances "nailed to the cross" (Col 2:14) indiscriminantly included both laws. In his "discourse" with Carver in 1851 he used thirteen crisp antitheses drawn from New Testament texts to differentiate between the two laws and show the contrasts between the honor and purpose of the eternal moral law and the temporary ceremonial law.<sup>2</sup>

Writing in 1861 and 1870 he emphasized the "grand event" and God's personal presence with ten thousands of angels at the giving of the moral law in contrast to the

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<sup>1</sup>"Perpetuity," RH, January 1851, 34. See also, "Letter 4," RH, 24 June 1852, 27:2, where he says, "I have no greater liberty than to keep the commandments contained in the Ark of God's Testament. Rev 11:19. I rely on nothing else for justification, but the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, sprinkled upon the mercy seat—the top of that Ark." Also, Institution and Two Laws (1860), 115; "Dedicatory," RH, 8 May 1879, 147. Andrews interestingly compares law and grace to the Father and the Son saying, "We desire both 'the Son and the Father,'—the commandments of God, AND the testimony of Jesus Christ." "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 17 February 1852, 92:1.

<sup>2</sup>"Discourse with Carver," RH, 16 September 1851, 28. The above is a striking and impressive comparison. In 1860 Andrews incorporated most of this material into his pamphlet, Institution and Two Laws, 30-31.

unobtrusive way in which, through Moses, God instructed His people concerning the ceremonial and judicial precepts.<sup>1</sup>

In a tract of 1860 he clearly distinguished the moral law as having existed as early as the principles of morality themselves<sup>2</sup> while the ceremonial law existed only as a result of immorality,<sup>3</sup> the violation of the first giving existence to the second. The second law "taught men how the atonement could be made"<sup>4</sup> for the violation of the eternal law, and its duration was "necessarily limited by the great offering that could take away sin."<sup>5</sup> It was "blotted out" at Christ's death (Col 2:14).

The "Sabbath of the Lord"  
Distinguished from  
"Your Sabbaths"

Andrews contrasted "My Sabbaths" or the "Sabbaths of the Lord" (which he saw as referring to the seventh-day Sabbath)<sup>6</sup> with "your sabbaths" (which he saw as referring to the Jewish annual sabbaths, sabbaths of the land, and

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<sup>1</sup>History, 60-62; Sermons, 51.

<sup>2</sup>Institution and Two Laws, 25. See also, "Discourse with Carver," RH, 16 September 1851, 28:2.

<sup>3</sup>The ceremonial law "owe[s] its origin to sin" and "could have had no existence had not man become a transgressor." Institution and Two Laws, 26.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 28., also, "Discourse with Carver," RH, 16 September 1851, 28:2.

<sup>5</sup>Institution and Two Laws, 27.

<sup>6</sup>See for example, "My Sabbaths," used in Ezek 20.

new moons, "which the ceremonial law [ordained]").<sup>1</sup> This he did in order to show that the seventh-day Sabbath was not included in the ordinances, "nailed to the cross" (Col 2:14-16). He began to write about this in 1850 and 1852 in short paragraphs answering arguments of Marsh<sup>2</sup> and Crozier,<sup>3</sup> and by 1861 in his History he had amplified his argument into a ten-page discussion.<sup>4</sup>

In 1850 he identified and compared three different types of sabbaths: the "Sabbath of the Lord," "the sabbaths of Jews," and "the sabbaths of the land," affirming that the first existed before the others and remains in full force but that the last two were given "their only force" by the "commandments contained in ordinances" and when that law ceased they were abolished.<sup>5</sup> In his letters to Crozier

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<sup>1</sup>Institution and Two Laws, 35. See Lev 23, 25; Num 29.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph Marsh had written an article, "Seventh-Day Sabbath Abolished," in the Harbinger, 29 December 1849, in which he used Col 2 to show the Sabbath was no longer binding. James White first answered Marsh's arguments in "Seventh-Day Sabbath Abolished: Reviewed," Present Truth, March 1850, 49-58.

<sup>3</sup>"Crozier Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 81:2-3.

<sup>4</sup>Andrews's comparison of "My Sabbaths" and "your sabbaths" was an extension of the treatment given this topic by William Miller. See History, 87.

<sup>5</sup>"Thoughts on the Sabbath," RH, December 1850, 10. The ceremonial sabbaths held special interest for Andrews: in 1852 and 1854 he spoke of "four distinct sabbaths" of Lev 23. See "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 81:2-3; "Colossians II: 14-17," RH, 7 November 1854, 100; Institution and Two Laws, 35. Later in 1861, 1870, and 1883 he spoke of seven annual sabbaths plus other

in 1852 he used Mark 2:27 and Col 2:14 to characterize the "Sabbath of the Lord" as made "for man," and the sabbaths connected with ordinances to be "against him."<sup>1</sup> In an 1854 article he refuted the idea that the term "holy day" in Col 2:16 determines that vs. 14 is referring to the seventh-day Sabbath. He did this by listing twenty-six New Testament texts where he orte is translated as "feast day or festival," whereas only in Col 2:16 is it translated "holy day."<sup>2</sup> In the same article he interpreted references to "sabbaths" (plural) to be the sabbaths connected to their feast days and new moons, and references to "the Sabbath" or "my Sabbath" (singular) as the seventh-day Sabbath.<sup>3</sup> The annual sabbaths and "sabbaths of the land" were ordained in connection with the national existence of the

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ceremonial feast days, new moons and sabbaths of the land, always representing them as memorials of deliverance and "shadows of good things to come" (Heb 10:1). See History, 82-92; Sermons, 64; "Great Week of Time," RH, 21 August 1883, 536.

<sup>1</sup>"Letter 1," RH, 6 May 1852, 2:2, 3.

<sup>2</sup>"Colossians II, 14-17," RH, 7 November 1854, 100:2. He cites lexicons by Liddell and Scott, Macknight, and Wesley where the word heorte (Andrews writes the words in this form) is translated as "festival" or "feast day." Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 100:1; "Great Week," RH, 21 August 1883, 536, where Andrews again pointed out that among ordinances enumerated in Col 2:14-17 the Greek word for sabbath is plural, "all the things mentioned are said to be the shadow of things to come." Thus he distinguished the "holy days" from the Sabbath of the Lord (Lev 23:38) (the fourth commandment).

Jewish people in Palestine,<sup>1</sup> many to be observed only during their settlement in Canaan.<sup>2</sup> Later in Sermons he used this interpretation to explain that when God in Isa 1:11-14 spoke of hypocritical Sabbathkeeping as wearisome to Him, the plural term "sabbaths" indicates these were annual sabbaths associated with the "new moons and appointed feasts." On the other hand he notes that in Isa 56 and 58, where God exhorts Sabbathkeeping in "terms of strong exhortation and earnest entreaty,"<sup>3</sup> the reference to the Sabbath is singular and used with the pronoun "my"<sup>4</sup> indicating He is speaking of the seventh-day Sabbath.

#### The Historical Argument for the Sabbath in the Old Testament

In this section we turn our attention to the historical-theological arguments Andrews uses to show how the manner of the Sabbath's institution and evidence of its unbroken presence in biblical history adds to the confirmation of its eternal nature.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>As further proof of the distinction between the sabbaths, Andrews point to the fact that the annual sabbaths were not kept during the Babylonian captivity, but that even in that foreign land, Israel continued to keep holy the weekly Sabbath of the Lord. History, 91.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 87-88.

<sup>3</sup>Sermons, 64.

<sup>4</sup>History, 89-90.

<sup>5</sup>Andrews's biblical history is mostly contained in the first section of his major work, History, and in Sermons. He accomplished most of his work on the biblical

The Creation Account

The doctrine of creation has special significance in Andrews's writings because much of his Sabbath theology hinges on the crucial issue of God as Creator deserving men's loyalty. For him the Creator-creature relationship was most meaningful in the context of God's omnipotence and God's purpose, evidenced clearly in two major facts in the creation story: (1) God created out of nothing, and (2) God chose to use a period of seven days to accomplish what He might have accomplished by speaking a single word.<sup>1</sup> He saw that the Sabbath, as a perpetually recurring reminder of the correlation between the power of the Creator and the goodness of His purposes in creation, was an effective means by which to present His greatness to the world.<sup>2</sup> It appears that impetus was added to his work by the developing theories of evolution and higher criticism,

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history of the Sabbath during his years of illness and recovery in the mid and late 1850s at Waukon, IA.

<sup>1</sup>History, 2, 10. In his graphic presentation of the creation week as a background to his discussion of the institution of the Sabbath, Andrews reveals the great awe with which he personally meditated on the creation account. Ibid., 11-13; Sermons, 6-10.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews quotes Ps 111:2, 4 to indicate that this creation-Sabbath relationship was also understood in Old Testament times. "The works of the Lord are very great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein. . . . He hath made his wonderful works to be remembered." Ibid., 9.

which held the potential of undermining belief in the literalness of the creation account.<sup>1</sup>

For Andrews the power to create "out of nothing"<sup>2</sup> stood as the principal distinguishing feature of the one true God. As the only uncreated Being, One whose "existence comprehends eternity," God called the world into existence at His pleasure.<sup>3</sup> In the 1870 edition of Sermons Andrews asserted that before the first day of creation "even the materials which subsequently formed the worlds, had no existence."<sup>4</sup> To his own question of what one would

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<sup>1</sup>For a short discussion of Darwinism and historical criticism see p. 126, n. 3 and n. 4 above. Andrews does not name the theories. As noted earlier, he did not use the current scholarly terms; most Seventh-day Adventists of his day seemed to keep their visible agendas separate from society around them.

<sup>2</sup>While Andrews did not use the term "ex nihilo," it is today's term to describe his view.

<sup>3</sup>History, 2, 10. Paging in the 1870 edition of History skips from 2 to 10; also see Sermons, 10.

<sup>4</sup>Sermons, 5. Andrews unhesitatingly placed Genesis 1:1 within the first day of creation. It appears he felt it would be a denial of faith in the biblical creation narrative to entertain the idea that some raw materials, perhaps the sphere of the earth itself, could have been created "out of nothing" some time before creation week. We should remember that Andrews was not dealing at this time with modern scientific evidence. In History, 10, Andrews includes references from theologians Adam Clarke, John Calvin, and Wycliffe to support his position. A reference he quotes from Purchase's Pilgrimage, b.i. chap. ii. states: "'Nothing but nothing had the Lord Almighty, whereof, wherewith, whereby, to build this city' [that is the world]."

see if placed 6000 years back in time, he answered, "Blank nothing."<sup>1</sup> On the first day God spoke and "every element came into being which he purposed to use in framing the worlds"; the chaos began to take shape as God put the laws of gravitation into existence.<sup>2</sup>

The 1890 edition of Sermons omitted statements that indicated his belief that all matter was created on the first day. Andrews may have had this change of thought, or (as the book was published posthumously) advancing knowledge may have influenced editors toward a more moderate position in this regard.<sup>3</sup>

The Genesis statements that each "evening and morning" constituted a day are accepted by Andrews as "decisive proof that the days . . . were days of twenty-four hours," and further, that the night makes the first division of the twenty-four hours.<sup>4</sup> That on the fourth day the days were "subjected to the run of the sun" for him

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<sup>1</sup>Sermons, 5. "The vast infinity of space was literally, as Job expresses it, 'the empty place,' and that which filled it was 'nothing.' Job 26:7." Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 6, 7.

<sup>3</sup>Compare Sermons (1870), 5-6, with Sermons (1890), 5-6. Though this view may seem elementary by today's standards, it would be unfair for us to judge him in this regard, measuring the past by the standard of advanced knowledge of today. Among conservative Christians today, some individuals still hold this view.

<sup>4</sup>Sermons (1870). Whether the dark or the light part of day comes first is important in establishing the beginning and ending of the Sabbath hours.

"confirms strikingly" that the days of Gen 1 were the "natural divisions of time," and "not vast, indefinite periods of whose duration we can have no conception. Verses 14-19."<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the magnificent work of the first day Andrews observed that any who might think one twenty-four-hour period too short for such a major work should consider that for an infinite Creator who framed the world out of nothing the period of twenty-four hours was "quite adequate."<sup>2</sup>

#### How the Sabbath Was Instituted

Andrews believed that a correct understanding of the manner in which the Sabbath was instituted would establish the fact that it could never be abrogated. God's activities of creation week connected the Sabbath unalterably to the seventh day, infused holiness into the seventh day and no other, and demonstrated it was for immediate use. With these ideas he countered views of "the change of the Sabbath day," "no holy time," or "Sabbath is Jewish."

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 8.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. For anyone who might feel a 24-hour period too short for the work of the first day, Andrews remarks, "This is all true if the work of creation be considered the work of nature; for if nature had to create itself, all eternity would be insufficient for the work." Ibid.

The significance of the  
seven-day week

Andrews saw it as very significant evidence of God's design that He who had power to create all by speaking simply one word purposefully completed creation in six successive days and then added a seventh for the sake of the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> Having written of this first in 1859, in the 1873 edition of History, as one of the very few revisions, he added a paragraph to further emphasize God's intentional sequence of the seven-day week. God gave to each day a name tied to its place in the week and distinguished by the specific activities performed upon it. Having finished His work, He added yet another day distinguished by the rest which came on that day. This act, Andrews affirmed, "can never—except by sophistry—be made to relate to an indefinite or uncertain day."<sup>2</sup>

The "work-rest sequence"

To Andrews, the fact of God's work being completed on the sixth day is essential to his understanding of the significance of rest on the seventh day. Although he still views God as "creating" on the seventh day, this "creating"

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<sup>1</sup>History, 10; "The work of the Creator was finished, but the first week of time had not yet expired."  
Institution and Two Laws, 4.

<sup>2</sup>History, 16. Just as it would be impossible to change the fact that animals were created on the sixth day, so it would be impossible to change the fact that the Sabbath day was created on the seventh day. The name "sabbath" was not given to the seventh day at creation.

was not brought about by work, but by rest.<sup>1</sup> Each day has been distinguished by the work done by the Creator during its hours. Now, the seventh and last day is to be distinguished by the fact that God did not work.<sup>2</sup>

The creative power of God that showed rest unnecessary is what gives significance to God's choice to rest on the seventh day.<sup>3</sup> Andrews italicized conjunctions in Gen 2:3 and Exod 20:11 to emphasize the reason for rest: "God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all his work"; God "rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it." The Creator, who needed no rest, was not on the seventh day merely resting. He was, by His example, "laying the foundation of a divine institution,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 14. See also, "Letter 1," RH, 6 May 1852, 1, where he explains, "THE ACT BY WHICH JEHOVAH MADE THE SABBATH OUT OF THE SEVENTH DAY, IS AS DISTINCT AS THAT ACT BY WHICH HE MADE MAN OUT OF THE DUST OF THE EARTH" [sic]. Only in the creation of Adam and Eve and of the Sabbath were there events connected to what God did beyond His spoken word. Andrews saw that the "resting" on the seventh day was an act of creation just as was the speaking into existence other elements of creation. Sermons, 12.

<sup>2</sup>History, 14. See also, Sermons, 11: "The record tells what God did on the seventh day as distinctly as it relates what he did on the six days of creation which preceded it."

<sup>3</sup>History, 14. Why, asks Andrews, does the record say of whom it is written that "the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary" (Isa 40:28) that "on the seventh day he rested, and was REFRESHED" (Exod 31:17)?

the memorial of his own great work,"<sup>1</sup> and "inseparably connect[ing] the Sabbath of the Lord with the first seventh day of time."<sup>2</sup>

Thus the actions of God, both of His work and His rest, are of compelling importance to man. The purpose of the Sabbath was to ordain rest as a spiritual exercise connecting God's work to man's worship.<sup>3</sup> Rest is a fitting memorial to creation because the very word "rest" implies a "work performed"<sup>4</sup> and brings to mind the work that was the necessary and logical preamble to the rest. Andrews places rest between work and worship, connecting the reason for rest (work) with the essence of the rest (worship). This rest becomes most meaningful as it stimulates awareness of the "infinite obligation to that great Being who had given him existence."<sup>5</sup> Thus the one who "worships" is put in touch through "rest" with the One whose work called the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. Also see Sermons, 11.

<sup>2</sup>"Letter 1," RH, 6 May 1852, 1. See also where he writes: "Hence it is as impossible to change the Rest-day of the Lord as it is to change the crucifixion-day or the day of the resurrection." "Things to Be Considered," RH, 31 January 1854, 10:2.

<sup>3</sup>God asks that man should "desist from everything else and think of God." Sermons, 14.

<sup>4</sup>History, 25.

<sup>5</sup>Sermons, 15. To rest means to be reminded of "the relation [Creator-creature] which God sustains to all other beings, and to all things." Ibid., 14.

worshiper into being.<sup>1</sup> The rest, being an imitation of God, becomes worship in the highest sense.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Sabbath as physical rest

The physical rest from labor on the Sabbath is recognized by Andrews as a secondary blessing.<sup>3</sup> Relief from anxiety and physical weariness were not the primary Sabbath factors, since these were not reasons why God rested or why Adam in his perfection rested. While acknowledging that the Sabbath became especially needed and that it received added dimensions after the fall Andrews opposes any idea that the original plan of the Sabbath could have been an anticipation of the needs of men after the fall, or a "type" of rest after restoration from the fall. Intelligent beings must understand reasons for worship, and should the Sabbath have been designed for use after the fall, its keeping, rather than bringing delight, would have brought pain, as it would have anticipated apostasy.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>So the observance of the seventh day as a memorial of creation became the "act of grateful acknowledgement on the part of his intelligent creatures that he is their Creator, and that they owe all to him." History, 26.

<sup>2</sup>Sermons, 14.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 15. See also, History, 17.

<sup>4</sup>History, 27-28.

Sanctification implies  
immediate use

Using the definition of "sanctify," Andrews attempts to show that the Sabbath was not a principle established at creation but held in reserve for use at a later time.<sup>1</sup> The word means to "set apart, or appoint to a holy, sacred, or religious use,"<sup>2</sup> and implies responsive action by man. Admitting that Gen 2:1-3 does not contain a command for Sabbath observance, Andrews insists that because a day could not be set aside for holy use without the knowledge of those who would use it, the word "sanctify" serves as "the record that such a precept was given to Adam."<sup>3</sup> Implicit in the meaning of the Hebrew word kadash (in Gen 2 rendered "sanctify") is the idea that it must be of public knowledge. The word was used to indicate the public announcement of the cities of refuge as well as the proclamation of solemn assemblies.<sup>4</sup> Moses' command to

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<sup>1</sup>Crozier used the prevalent argument against the Sabbath that Gen 2:1-3 told only what God did on the first seventh day, but said nothing of man's being required to imitate God. "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 81:1.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews used Webster's unabridged dictionary (1859) to define the word sanctify. The word "hallow," which is defined "to make holy, to consecrate, to set apart for holy or religious use," is not used in the KJV of the Genesis account, but is tied into the creation account by the words of the fourth commandment. Institution and Two Laws, 6. See also, "Letter 1," RH, 6 May 1852, 1:3.

<sup>3</sup>History, 19.

<sup>4</sup>See "Institution of the Sabbath," RH, 6 January 1859, 52: "The Hebrew verb gidash, here rendered sanctify, is repeatedly used in the Old Testament for a public

"sanctify" the mount (Exod 19:23) implied man's personal involvement in treating it as sacred to God. Thus Andrews saw that the word "sanctify" strongly demonstrated that the Sabbath was to be kept from creation week onward.

While Andrews in his initial writings held together the three acts of rest, blessing, and sanctification as being accomplished on the first Sabbath,<sup>1</sup> beginning in 1859, he interestingly separated the rest from the blessing and sanctification. Since God's rest occupied the entire first Sabbath, he affirmed that the first seventh day was not what God sanctified, because something already past could not be set aside for a holy use.<sup>2</sup> He went so far as to say that it was on the first day of the second week that

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appointment or proclamation. Thus, 'Sanctify ye a fast, call a solemn assembly.' Joel 1:14." Further, Josh 20:7 tells of the cities of refuge being "appointed [margin, Heb., sanctified]" for public use. History, 17-18. Andrews concludes: "And thus also to sanctify the Restday of the Lord, or to set it apart to a holy use, was to tell Adam that he should keep the day holy to the Lord. Hence it follows that Gen 2:3, though not a commandment for the observance of the Sabbath is the record that such commandment was given to Adam." "Institution," RH, 6 January 1859, 52.

<sup>1</sup>Andrews affirmed that Jehovah made the Sabbath "by resting from his work of creation upon the seventh day, and sanctifying and hallowing it," and questions, "Has any thing been added to or taken from its sanctity since [the close of the first week of time]? Nothing." "Letter 1," RH, 6 May 1852, 1:3; also, "Letter 3," RH, 10 June 1852, 17:2, "Thoughts on the Sabbath," RH, 31 October 1854, 92:2.

<sup>2</sup>"Institution," RH, 6 January 1859, 52. "The blessing and sanctification of the Sabbath took place when the seventh day was past." Ibid.

God did the "blessing and sanctifying."<sup>1</sup> Earlier he had used the word because to emphasize that sanctification was based on rest, now he uses because to emphasize that sanctification came after God's rest was completed. For him this interpretation furnished another argument by which to establish Sabbathkeeping beyond the first week of time, showing that God sanctified the seventh day "for time to come."<sup>2</sup>

He can make this case because he relies on the King James translation of the word shabath in its Qal form. The Qal form does not distinguish between the English past and the English pluperfect, causing the meaning to be determined only by the context. Andrews uses the King James translation of Gen 2:3, "because that in it He had rested," and by emphasizing "had," which is actually only supplied, he is led to a conclusion that does not logically fit the context.

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<sup>1</sup>See History, 16: "Hence it was on the first day of the second week of time that God blessed the seventh day, and set it apart to holy use." See also "Letter 2," RH, 27 May 1852, 9:3: "This act of blessing and sanctifying the day, immediately followed his act of resting upon it."

<sup>2</sup>History, 16, 23. See Sermons, 12: "And hence God did not sanctify the first seventh day of time . . . , for when he had rested, the day had expired; but he sanctified the seventh day for time to come."

The Faith Principle Related  
to the Sabbath

With a progression of steps in logic, Andrews portrays the keeping of the seventh-day Sabbath as the ultimate expression of faith in God.<sup>1</sup> Generally his arguments grow out of some aspect of law, but here he builds a strong argument for the Sabbath using the central Christian issue of faith. As a forceful argument for the Sabbath, it also serves to bring balance to his general perspective, which could be interpreted as too law-oriented or as legalistic.<sup>2</sup> By insisting that faith includes responsive actions beyond mere thinking,<sup>3</sup> he creates the need for an appropriate action.

Sabbathkeeping as evidence  
of "living faith"

Andrews submits that the initial exercise of faith is to grasp two most challenging concepts concerning God:  
(1) the idea of an uncreated Being who has existed from

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<sup>1</sup>The only place Andrews brings the "faith argument" together is in his Sermons; some isolated remarks that support the idea are also referenced.

<sup>2</sup>The faith argument may have been Andrews's way of protecting himself against the charge of legalism. Though his emphasis was on law, he could not fairly be called legalistic as his writings did not promote merit-earning as a way of salvation.

<sup>3</sup>The need to support faith with action is spoken of in Jas 2:19-22 and Rom 2:13.

eternity and will exist into eternity;<sup>1</sup> and (2) that this uncreated Being possesses, and has exercised, the power to call out of material not previously existing an infinite number of worlds.<sup>2</sup> Reason alone cannot comprehend these concepts; it is only through faith that man is able to "understand that the worlds were formed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear" (Heb 11:3). Moreover, if the Christian's faith is to be of value to him, it must produce corresponding acts of obedience by which his love for the biblical concept of an eternal omnipotent Creator is made manifest.<sup>3</sup>

To the logical mind of Andrews, if action completes thinking,<sup>4</sup> certain questions must follow:

By what act of obedience do we manifest our love for this great truth? And by what good work do we show that our faith in the creation of the heavens

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<sup>1</sup>In grappling with this concept Andrews attempts definitions of time and eternity. He defines times as "that part of duration which is measured by the Bible," whereas eternity is "duration without beginning" which fills the past, and beyond this measured period called "time," "unending duration [which] opens before the people of God." History, 2.

<sup>2</sup>Sermons, 5. "We cannot elevate our minds to see how such a work is possible, even for infinite power." Ibid. Andrews believes the author of Hebrews placed this act of faith in creation with "strict propriety at the head of his list of the mighty deeds of faith." Ibid., 9. See also, History, 9-10.

<sup>3</sup>Sermons, 10.

<sup>4</sup>The implication is that without the outward act of honoring the Sabbath man cannot "grasp the great truth that God, in his infinite power, spoke into existence, from nothing, the heaven and earth." Ibid., 12.

and the earth is not a dead faith? If God made his wonderful works to be remembered, how are we to remember our Creator? . . . By what acts are we to preserve in our minds the memory of this work of infinite power?<sup>1</sup>

Andrews is probing. He has posed his questions well, and he "fastens the nail in a sure place" with his answers. He presents the Sabbath as a means of distinguishing a nominal faith, which he calls "dead faith," from the "living faith" of a genuine Christian.<sup>2</sup> The Creator Himself furnished the "grand act of obedience" by which He, on one hand, sealed the perfection of His first week's handiwork, and on the other, provided the act that perfects man's faith in Him as Creator.<sup>3</sup> Deeming this act necessary even for perfect man, immediately upon creation God provided this action.<sup>4</sup> Any who profess faith

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 10-11. These are simple but meaningful questions.

<sup>2</sup>In using the expression "dead faith" he is, of course, referring to Jas 2:17-20. Andrews attributes to Satan what he calls a "perfect theoretical faith" which is "of no benefit to himself" or "any devils who share this faith with him." Ibid., 10, 13.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 12. Andrews had early connected faith and commandment-keeping. See "Crozier Reviewed," 17 February 1852, 92:1: "[Paul] shows that faith works by love, and the love of God is manifested by keeping his commandments." Also, History, 26: "The Sabbath stands as the memorial of this great work. Its observance is an act of grateful acknowledgment on the part of his intelligent creatures that he is their Creator, and that they owe all to him." See Institution and Two Laws, 14.

<sup>4</sup>"God made his works to be remembered; and no sooner was his work complete than he set up a lasting memorial of that work." Sermons, 12. Also History, 26.

in creation "thereby acknowledge themselves under obligation to manifest that faith by observing the memorial ordained by the Creator for that very purpose."<sup>1</sup>

Andrews bluntly judges a Christian course of action that rejects the Sabbath as professing to know God but in works denying Him. Such faith is "like the faith of the devils, . . . because that grand act of obedience which was ordained to express that faith" is not performed,<sup>2</sup> and his position is "practical atheism."<sup>3</sup>

The act of faith as  
an aid and witness

Andrews sees the very act that perfects man's faith as an aid enabling him to grasp the two difficult challenges of faith he earlier identified.

The very manner of this observance was exactly calculated to bring to remembrance the grand fact that distinguished God from all other beings, viz., the fact that he had created the heavens and the earth.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Sermons, 16. See also, "Discourse with Carver," RH, 16 September 1851, 28:3: "Faith, if it exists, must 'work by love;' and the love of God consists in keeping his commandments. 1 John v. 3."

<sup>2</sup>Sermons, 13. In his "Dedicatory Sermon" of 1879 Andrews clearly expressed the importance of Sabbathkeeping as a declaration of living faith contrasting it to the "dead faith," which is a mere assent to doctrines. "Dedicatory," RH, 8 May 1879, 151.

<sup>3</sup>Sermons, 13, 14.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 14. Andrews saw Sabbathkeeping as the guard against two prevalent errors: "He [man] would thus have been preserved from atheism and from idolatry; for he could never forget that there was a God from whom all things

By a re-enactment of the last day of creation week remembrance is made most vivid. By ceasing labor to rest and delight in creation as God did and on the very day God did, man could never forget his Creator.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to his regard for Sabbathkeeping as a personal bulwark against atheism, Andrews saw it as an opportunity for public confession of belief in God as Creator. If as a believer in creation a man's works correspond with his faith, he works for six days setting the seventh aside as a rest day and memorial, giving a witness the world can easily understand. The atheist, not having any faith, makes no account of the seventh day, his works consistent with his unbelief. Andrews presses on with his argument. The Christian who believes the record of creation but imitates the works and behavior of the atheist in ignoring the memorial of creation, whatever the intention, possesses only a "dead faith"<sup>2</sup> and "in this respect" professes to know God but in works denies Him.<sup>3</sup>

Summarizing, Andrews portrays the Scriptures as providing the basis of faith while Sabbathkeeping breathes

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derived their being." Institution and Two Laws, 16. See also History, 26.

<sup>1</sup>By saying the "he [man] must rest as God rested, and on the very day that he rested," Andrews implies that two individuals doing the same thing at the same time are brought close to each other. Sermons, 14.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 14.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 13.

life into that faith, furnishing theological links between Creator, Scripture, faith, and man. In this way he feels he has established that true faith cannot exist without the Sabbath as a contingent factor. Andrews has here moved away from the narrow and national reasons often pointed to for Sabbathkeeping and has placed it on a broader, more universal foundation. Words like "faith", "obedience," "creation," and "God" are universal terms and bridge restrictive categories of time and cultures.

Although this argument does, as noted above, serve to balance his emphasis on law, it is not strong on Christological focus. He speaks of obedience as a result of "love for the truth," rather than "love for God."<sup>1</sup> While he is on the track of faith, he is still in the framework of obedience. Further, the argument would benefit with more allowance for the conviction of God on the heart, and for Christians who may have limited knowledge or understanding of the topic but do exercise a genuine faith in God. His statements imply that men like the reformers who had not come to a conviction on the Sabbath would on that account be seen as lacking in faith. However his use of the words "in this respect" and "practical" as a modifier of "atheism" indicates that

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 10. Andrews may presume that readers take "love for truth" to mean "love for God," but the potential emphasis for relationship is obscured.

Andrews wants to limit his claim and implies that although the action may portray atheism, it is not purposefully done.

Sabbath and Law Between  
Creation and Sinai

Continuing to address the question of whether Sabbath was given to man at creation or only established in anticipation of its future limitation to the Jews 2,500 years later, Andrews offers arguments that strongly indicate that men were aware of and obligated to the Sabbath from creation forward:<sup>1</sup> (1) the logical argument from the nature of things, (2) the no-law no-sin concept, (3) evidence of patriarchal knowledge of the Sabbath, and (4) testimony of the manna. In these areas he brought Seventh Day Baptist thought into Seventh-day Adventist literature, adding his own original insights.

Argument from the  
nature of things

Andrews does not use the term "a priori" or set out to develop an a priori argument, but a priori thinking is evident in his writings from the beginning. He viewed the

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<sup>1</sup>Andrews points out that the "argument from silence" concerning a command for Sabbathkeeping in Genesis could just as surely be imposed on doctrines of future punishment, resurrection, judgment, or second coming, none of which are mentioned in Genesis. In a similar way there is no mention of Sabbath between Moses and David, neither of the observance of the day of atonement or the jubilee—both prominent institutions in the typical system. "Thoughts on the Sabbath," RH, 31 October 1854, 92:1.

Sabbath as of moral nature<sup>1</sup> and all laws of the Decalogue as the written expression of laws not originating at Sinai<sup>2</sup> but "exist[ing] as early as the principles of morality."<sup>3</sup> Consisting of eternal principles expressive of the "nature and fitness of things," he saw them as self-evident.<sup>4</sup> Further he held that man was created upright, and his "uprightness" embraced the duties of the law without their ever being spoken.<sup>5</sup>

Andrews regarded the law as an expression of God's very nature and as such having eternal existence along with God. In 1851 he affirmed that the law "embodying the moral perfection" of God must by nature be "unchangeable and

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<sup>1</sup>As early as 1851 Andrews, in discourse with Carver, had declared that the "first principles" grew out of the nature of things, and "so long as man remained a holy being, he could never violate one of them." "Discourse with Carver," RH, 16 September 1851, 28:2.

<sup>2</sup>See "Letter 2," RH, 27 May 1852, 11:1, where Andrews affirms that the fourth commandment did not create the moral duty of Sabbathkeeping any more than the other commandments created the moral duties they guard. Further, he affirmed, "All moral duties are as old as Creation, . . . [none are] affected by the fact that the first direct precept on record respecting them was given after the departure from Egypt." *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>Institution and Two Laws, 25. Seventh Day Baptists Burnside and Brown had purported that the Sabbath was not a "moral" precept "discoverable by the light of reason," but a "positive" precept, its "obligation resting on the will of the Lawgiver." Burnside, 24; Brown, Sabbath: Its Moral Nature, 26-27.

<sup>4</sup>History, iii; Sermons, 32.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 32.

immutable like its author."<sup>1</sup> In 1879 he reaffirmed the idea, insisting that "the attributes of God forbid that [the law] should ever be abolished."<sup>2</sup> God's creation being subject to these laws was an "arrangement of perfection that needed no change, and contemplated none."<sup>3</sup> The Sabbath by virtue of its place both in the law and in creation constituted a part of the unchangeable perfect arrangement.

Further, he perceived the law as a description of the relations between God and His creatures in a perfect state, and not as created only as a result of the fall.<sup>4</sup> Likening the law to God, he describes it as "man's rightful sovereign."<sup>5</sup> The Sabbath, as part of that law, is a constant reminder that God is the "rightful sovereign" of all "who owe their existence to the six days' work of creation!"<sup>6</sup> The worship, respect, and honor that are

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<sup>1</sup>Perpetuity (1851), 17.

<sup>2</sup>"Dedicatory," RH, 8 May 1879, 146.

<sup>3</sup>Sermons, 60. See also "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 17 February 1852, 89:1, where Andrews exclaims, "It is an astonishing doctrine that . . . the standard of moral principles was defective, and another has been chosen in its place."

<sup>4</sup>The law's existence, affirms Andrews, "grows out of immutable relations which man sustains toward God, and toward his fellow man." Institution and Two Laws, 24.

<sup>5</sup>Sermons, 28.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 33.

inherent in the Creator-creature association must be universal.<sup>1</sup>

Man's innate sense of right and wrong is attributed by Andrews to the law's being from the creation, written in the heart.<sup>2</sup> Rom 2:11-16, though written with specific reference to the "Gentiles," indicates that in spite of sin the law has never ceased to be a part of every man.<sup>3</sup> The law when it was given "define[d] with precision" the duties of man to God and to other men, but from the beginning all this was a very part of man "in whose hearts it exist[ed] by nature, written by their Creator."<sup>4</sup> When Adam sinned, that perfect copy was marred, but God by a special act of

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<sup>1</sup>Andrews, as he describes the oracles of God as "holy, spiritual, just and good," insists that "in their very nature they pertain to the whole family of man, for they define exactly the relations which exist between God and man." *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews affirmed, "Adam in his innocency, had a perfect copy of the law of God in his heart." *Ibid.*, 26. In this the first Adam was like the second Adam, of whom it was written, "I delight to do thy will. . . . Thy law is within my heart," Ps 40:6-8. This was an argument Stennet had early propounded. Stennet, 7.

<sup>3</sup>Andrews developed this thought in a sermon published in 1870, but earlier had briefly referred to the idea in articles of 1851 and 1860. In 1851 he wrote, "After the fall man was left with 'the work of the law' written on his heart to show him what God required." Perpetuity (1851), 9. Also see "Discourse with Carver," RH, 16 September 1851, 28:2; Sermons, 29.

<sup>4</sup>Sermons, 32, 33. See also, Institution and Two Laws, 31. So it could be said that the man God created was designed to function in certain ways—described later by the law itself.

grace sustained the copy, however imperfect, in the heart of Adam and his descendants.<sup>1</sup>

#### No-law no-sin concept

In a scriptural argument for the law in the patriarchal age, Andrews cites Rom 5:13, 14, where the presence of death in the world becomes the kingpin for the argument.<sup>2</sup> Working backward in logic, Andrews urges that "death is only the shadow which sin casts," and where there is a shadow there must be reality.<sup>3</sup> Building on Paul's figure of speech concerning death's reign, Andrews declares that though death reigns, it "owes its empire to sin" and is "holding its dominion at the hands of sin." Sin is the "supreme ruler," death, the subordinate.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"The fall of man left the work of the law written in his heart, though faintly indeed." Perpetuity (1851), 15. See similar comments in Sermons, 25-26, 28. He writes, "In confirmation of the apostle's statement that 'the work of the law' is in the hearts of men 'by nature,' take this fact: When the moral law is read, precept by precept, there is something in every breast which responds, 'That is right.'" Ibid., 25.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews must have loved this argument. Paul is using the same kind of logic that Andrews so dearly loves. Andrews used this argument in two of his sermons, but we find it mentioned only briefly in his History.

<sup>3</sup>Sermons, 17. See also ibid., 39, where Andrews argues that "the law could not show the true character of Adam's transgression if its principles were not obligatory in the days of Adam."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 17. Andrews groups law, sin, and death in interesting ways. He makes a family out of the three in the description: "Sin is certainly older than death, and the law of God is, of necessity, older than sin. But death, the youngest of the three, did reign from Adam to

To complete the argument Andrews pairs the statements "sin is the transgression of the law" (1 John 3:4) and "where no law is, there is no transgression" (Rom 4:15) to ascertain that where sin is, there must be law.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, he affirms, death (as subordinate ruler) could not strike down any person were it not that in the sight of God's law their lives were forfeited."<sup>2</sup> The co-existence of death with all humans of all ages is incontrovertible proof that law has equally co-existed with these humans.<sup>3</sup>

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Moses. Sin began its reign with Adam's transgression; and death began to reign . . . when Abel was murdered by Cain." Ibid., 21. In another place, in speaking of law, sin, and death, Andrews presents them in order historically: "Thus the order of their existence is this: first, the law, as God's rule of right; second, sin which is the transgression of that law; and third, death, which is the consequence of forfeiting life by sin." Ibid., 31.

<sup>1</sup>Andrews's interpretation of Rom 4 is that Paul "instructs us that sin cannot be imputed to men, nor even exist itself, unless the law of God also exists." Ibid., 31.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 20. The tragic examples of God's response to the deeds of Cain, Noah's contemporaries, and the dwellers of Sodom clearly show that sin was imputed to these people. The language of the texts which narrate these incidents contains words that pertain to law and sin. God warned Cain, "Sin lieth at the door" (Gen 4:7). God destroyed the whole world of antediluvian because of their wickedness (Gen 6:5). The men of Sodom were "wicked and sinners," "their sin was very grievous," they "vexed Lot with their unlawful deeds" (Gen 13:13; 18:20; 2 Pet 2:8).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 31, 40. See also where he explains, "The fact that sin was in the world before the law entered by the proclamation of the Lawgiver, shows that the law was really present all the time, and taking cognizance of human conduct; for sin cannot be imputed where there is no law." Ibid., 18. In History, 28, Andrews emphasizes the universal concept: "The curse of God fell upon the earth

The patriarchal knowledge of  
the law and the week

As there is nothing in nature to indicate the weekly cycle, Andrews attributed the patriarch's use of the week (Gen 7:4; 8:10, 12; 29:27-28) to a knowledge of the creation account and so of the Sabbath. To him it appeared improbable that the reckoning of the week should be maintained and the Sabbath, which was the only indication of the end of the week, be forgotten,<sup>1</sup> especially in view of the understanding that only three individuals spanned the age between Adam who talked with God,<sup>2</sup> and Abraham, "of whom it is recorded that he obeyed God's voice and

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[emphasis supplied], and death entered by sin, and passed upon all men."

<sup>1</sup>"The reckoning of time by weeks . . . can be traced to but one source, viz: the six days work of creation, and the rest of the Sabbath." "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 81:2. See Sermons, 56, where Andrews states, "The week is not a natural or providential measurement of time, like the day, or month, or year. It is measured by divine appointment in commemoration of God's rest on the seventh day. Weeks exist as the consequence of the sabbatic institution." Also, History, 30-31.

<sup>2</sup>History, 29. Because Adam, who had himself experienced a portion of creation week, lived 1000 years, it was "not difficult for the facts respecting the six days of creation and the sanctification of the rest-day to be diffused among mankind in the patriarchal age. Nay, it was impossible that it should be otherwise, especially among the godly." Ibid., 32. See also, "Thoughts on the Sabbath," RH, 31 October 1854, 92.

kept . . . his commandments" and whose family was "selected to be the depositaries" of His law and of His Sabbath.<sup>1</sup>

#### Giving of the manna

Andrews viewed the giving of the manna (Exod 16) as "a significant epoch,"<sup>2</sup> serving as a vital link between the two momentous biblical accounts of the Sabbath—creation and Sinai. He saw the threefold miracle of the manna (the fall of the manna on six days, the withholding on the seventh, and the preserving of that needed for the Sabbath) occurring before Sinai as incontrovertibly settling the issue that the Sabbath was known before that time.<sup>3</sup> Further, he attached much significance to the "test" and the "rebuke" in the manna story. Though there is no record

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<sup>1</sup>History, 32; Sermons, 30. Andrews maintained that even if it could be shown that the patriarchs had violated the Sabbath, that would not affect the sacredness of the Sabbath any more than violating the marriage institution would deny the sanctity of marriage. Both institutions derived their sanctity from creation, not from the Decalogue. "Crozier Reviewed," 3 February 1852, 81:2.

<sup>2</sup>Sermons, 41. Andrews's discussion of the manna in Sermons was in highly polemic style probably because he did his original writing on this topic while doing battle with Crozier. See "Letters 1 and 2," RH, 6 May, 3-4, 27 May 1852, 9-10.

<sup>3</sup>History, 40. See also, "Dedicatory," RH, 8 May 1879, 146. The story of the manna also indicated that life at the time was built around a seven-day cycle, as the people knew when the sixth day had arrived. "History of the Sabbath," RH, 14 July 1859, 57.

of a precept given at the time,<sup>1</sup> God declared it was a "test" and severely rebuked those who failed the test.<sup>2</sup> The language, "How long refuse ye to keep my commandments?" demonstrates that the Sabbath had been in existence for a long time. Also, the fact that some were disposed to keep it demonstrates that some had been keeping it before this time.<sup>3</sup>

Why the Hebrews were chosen  
as God's people

Anti-Sabbatarians legitimately query: If the Sabbath was meant to be universal, why would the impartial God of the universe chose to single out one particular people, call them by His name and give to them the Sabbath?<sup>4</sup> Andrews uses the question to advantage; this

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<sup>1</sup>History, 41. Andrews questions: "Did God say then, (at Sinai) 'I now institute the Sabbath?' Verily, He does not!" "Letter 2," RH, 27 May 1852, 9:3.

<sup>2</sup>History, 39-40. More than a test concerning the law, Andrews points out that the test of manna pertained directly to the Sabbath; God's rebuke was directed specifically towards a violation of the Sabbath. Ibid. Also "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 82:2.

<sup>3</sup>"Letter 1," RH, 6 May 1852, 3:3, 4:1-2. Andrews's opponent, Crozier, maintained that Sabbath was instituted through the manna experience. Andrews countered saying there was no reason for the Sabbath which commemorated creation to be established in connection with the exodus from Egypt. "We greatly fear," he remarks, "that those who teach this doctrine, are in the wilderness themselves." "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 82:3.

<sup>4</sup>Andrews recognized there are biblical statements which read alone could be interpreted as saying the Sabbath was a sign between God and the Jews, and thus exclusively Jewish in nature. See Deut 5:15; Ezek 20:20.

act, which if incorrectly understood could appear unfair,<sup>1</sup> was no arbitrary act, since any nation might have qualified if willing to meet the covenant terms,<sup>2</sup> but it was an amazing act of God's condescension and love.<sup>3</sup> The law and the Sabbath were given as a "special trust" to the people who were willing to serve God and act as custodians,<sup>4</sup> preserving and communicating His message to the world.<sup>5</sup> The injunction to the Jewish nation implied in Isa 56 was that they were to call the "sons of the strangers" to

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<sup>1</sup>See Sermons, 34: "But if all mankind needed the true God as much as the Hebrews, and if his law was the rule of right for the Gentiles as well as for the Israelites, and if the Sabbath was made for mankind at the beginning of our world, had God a right to confer such gifts upon one people and to leave all the rest of mankind to their own ways? Undoubtedly he had."

<sup>2</sup>History, 55. See also Sermons, 33-34, where he explains: "All other nations had forgotten God, and were idolaters or atheists. The law of God entered to that nation alone which was loyal to him." God did not become exclusive by this act; access to God was a continuous option to all mankind.

<sup>3</sup>The God of the universe was willing to be called the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to take on titles that portrayed Him as the God of the Hebrews alone. See History, 55, 56.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 42. Just how "willing" the Hebrews were seems rather questionable in itself, as we observe their history. Andrews notes that in Noah's time God also chose a family in order to keep truth alive in the world. "When the worshipers of God were found alone in the family of Noah, God gave up the rest of mankind to perish in the flood." Ibid., 35.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 56-57.

Sabbath worship.<sup>1</sup> The law and the Sabbath neither came into existence with its bestowal on the Jews,<sup>2</sup> nor became Jewish when given into their trust.<sup>3</sup> Though greatly advantaged "because that unto them were committed the oracles of God" (Rom 3:2), the oracles did not thus become the property of the Jews but remained the property of God.<sup>4</sup> The universal qualities of the law and the Sabbath indicated clearly that it was intended for all people.

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<sup>1</sup>"Letter 2," RH, 27 May 1852, 12:3. Andrews's use of Isa 56 was an excellent supportive argument in regard to the universal nature of the Sabbath. Unfortunately we do not see him use it in later writings.

<sup>2</sup>See Andrews's statement: "This entrance of the law was not the commencement of its existence, nor the beginning of man's obligation to obey it. . . . It was rather the entrance of the Lawgiver to assert his rightful authority, and to proclaim in person the precepts of his just law." Sermons, 31.

<sup>3</sup>History, 44, 45. Also see Sermons, 32-33: "The Hebrew people were made the honored recipients of his perfect law. And this one fact has been urged against the law of God as though it were fatal to its authority. The law of God was given to the people of Israel; therefore it related only to them. The Sabbath of the fourth commandment was given to Israel, therefore the Sabbath is only a Jewish institution. . . . Yet neither the law nor the Sabbath have in their nature one element of a Jewish character."

<sup>4</sup>Andrews declares, "Neither the Sabbath, nor the law, nor the great Law-giver, by their connection with the Hebrews, became Jewish. The Law-giver indeed became the God of Israel, . . . but the Sabbath still remained the Sabbath of the Lord, and the law continued to be the law of the Most High." History, 37, 45. See also Sermons, 34, where he affirms that the oracles of God "in their very nature . . . pertain to the whole family of man."

Concludes Andrews, "There certainly is no injustice with God."<sup>1</sup>

To reject what appears Jewish, Andrews warns, carries the danger of giving up too much—the Bible itself, the nine other precepts of good living, the promises made to the fathers, indeed, the Savior who was Himself a Jew.<sup>2</sup>

Building such a strong case for fairness of God's choosing the Hebrews may have been Andrews's way of defending his own denomination's claim to the special mission of custodianship of the law and the Sabbath for the purposes identical to those he has given for the Jewish nation.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Sermons, 34.

<sup>2</sup>If we would "object to the law of God on this ground," says Andrews, we must also "so exclude ourselves from the promises made to the fathers, for they were Hebrews; and we must even decline to accept of Christ as our Savior, because, as concerning the flesh, Christ came of the Jews. Surely, the law of God and the Sabbath were in good company when they were associated with these inestimable blessings that were conferred on the Hebrew race. Ibid., 57.

<sup>3</sup>Seventh-day Adventists' claim to be a "remnant" of the chosen with a special mission brought them sharp criticism at times. What Andrews saw as the Jewish posture to the world paralleled ideas he held for the mission of his own people in "call[ing] attention to certain ancient truths" which he saw as "justification, abundant and ample for . . . existence as a people." "Dedicatory," RH, 8 May 1879, 146.

Sabbath a sign between  
God and Israel

In both his History and his printed sermons Andrews conceptualizes God's making Israel His special people as an "espousal" or a marriage contract and the Sabbath as the signet of the marriage.<sup>1</sup> In Exod 19 is "the definite proposition from the God of Heaven," wherein He promises that if the people will keep His covenant He will make them His "peculiar treasure," and the answer from the people who with one voice "pledge themselves" to Him.<sup>2</sup> Following this "preliminary contract" is the preparation for the "sublime event"<sup>3</sup> and then the sealing of the espousal as God descends upon Sinai to claim Israel as His holy and very own nation. As a sign of the relationship, the Sabbath is given as a "gift to the Hebrews," a "golden link uniting the Creator and his worshipers."<sup>4</sup>

The giving of the Sabbath to the Hebrews involved three acts, each appropriate to the contract under which God became husband to the people. First, He delivered them

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<sup>1</sup>History, 44, 45, 56. See Sermons, 87: "The first covenant made God the husband of his people. . . . He espoused, or married, that people." Andrews makes a special theological contribution in his portrayal of God's choice of Israel as a people and his picture of the "espousal" as these pictures serve as paradigms through which are understood God's purposes for the entire world.

<sup>2</sup>Sermons, 77.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 77-78; History, 44.

<sup>4</sup>History, 43-44.

from "abject bondage of Egypt" so that they could be free to keep the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> Second, He provided food for them in such a fashion as to impose the strongest obligation to keep the Sabbath.<sup>2</sup> Third, he gave them the law at Sinai. These three acts constituted the threefold framework in which the Sabbath became an "espousal" gift from God to Israel and a sign of their belonging to Him.<sup>3</sup>

As a sign, the Sabbath signifies two aspects of the relationship: first, that Israel recognized that their God was their Creator. Whereas other nations had turned to idols ("gods that have not made the heaven and earth," Jer 10:10, 12)<sup>4</sup> and had lost sight of Him to whom they owed their existence, the observance of the creation ordinance of Sabbath with its stress upon the Creator-creature relationship showed their acknowledgement that

he who had separated them from all mankind as his peculiar treasure in the earth, was that Being who had created the heavens and the earth in six days and rested on the seventh.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 43. See also Sermons, 43: "Their difficulties had been great in time past in the observance of the Sabbath, and had been, therefore, some sort of excuse, now such excuse did not exist."

<sup>2</sup>History, 43.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ezek 20:16: "They . . . polluted my sabbaths; for their heart went after their idols." Sermons, 47: "The sign expressed their faith in the God that made the heavens and the earth, as distinguished from all false gods."

<sup>5</sup>History, 55.

As a second aspect, the words of Ezek 20:12 make clear that the Sabbath was a sign of God's sanctification of Israel. In sanctifying His people at Sinai, God set them aside for a holy use (to make His name known) and gave them as an emblem of this sanctification the holy Sabbath, which He had at the beginning of time sanctified and set aside for a holy use.<sup>1</sup>

Sabbath not a sign of  
deliverance

Because the injunction to keep the Sabbath given in Deut 5:15 was connected with deliverance from Egypt, it is used by some to support the idea that the Sabbath is strictly Jewish, commemorating the birth of the Jewish nation. Andrews insists that the context of this verse indicates that the keeping of the Sabbath was to be an expression of gratitude for deliverance, not a memorial of the deliverance itself.<sup>2</sup> The Sabbath, instituted at creation, could not have been a memorial of something which would happen 2,500 years later.<sup>3</sup> "There is nothing in resting on the seventh day of each week to commemorate a

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 218-220 above.

<sup>2</sup>The words of Deut 5:15 could be taken to indicate that the Sabbath was established as a remembrance of God's deliverance of Israel from Egypt: "And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence . . . : therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day."

<sup>3</sup>Sermons, 45.

flight at midnight on the fifteen day of the first month,"<sup>1</sup> he observes. The references to the deliverance from Egyptian bondage were to serve as an appeal to their gratitude for such mercies, in response to which they should observe the Sabbath.<sup>2</sup> Andrews points to the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread<sup>3</sup> as the two God-appointed memorials by which to commemorate the deliverance from Egypt.<sup>4</sup>

#### Sabbath honored at Sinai

The power and majesty associated with the giving of the law of God is an indication of the sacredness which God places upon His holy law.<sup>5</sup> That the God of the universe

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 47-48; History, 77-78; Exod 12:29-42; Num 33:3.

<sup>2</sup>Sermons, 46. The words of Deut 5:15 were spoken at the end of their wilderness wandering, forty years after the deliverance.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 48. The Passover was observed on the fourteenth day of the first month to commemorate the protection from the angel of death that slew every first-born in every house that was not marked by the blood of the lamb. The feast of unleavened bread fell on the fifteenth day of the first month. The bread was a reminder of bread eaten in haste as their departure from Egypt was in haste (Exod 12, 13). Also see History, 78.

<sup>4</sup>Andrews fails to gain the positive Christological connection between "deliverance from Egypt" and "deliverance from sin" which many theologians have developed (for example, Saunders, 25-26). Lewis held a view similar to Andrews's in this respect. See pp. 135, 136, n. 1. above.

<sup>5</sup>See Exod 19:18: "And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire." See also, Sermons, 31-32.

would do the unthinkable—"without human or angelic agency"<sup>1</sup>—speak "out of the midst of this fire . . . the ten words of his law,"<sup>2</sup> and that the Sabbath was included within these very few words is rightly deemed by Andrews a great distinction.<sup>3</sup>

Additionally, it was no small honor to God's rest day to be included "in the midst of nine immutable moral precepts."<sup>4</sup> Building on this argument (from his 1860 pamphlet on the Two Laws) Andrews in his History develops the thought into an argument of completeness. The Scriptures make clear that having spoken the ten precepts God "added no more" (Deut 5:22). The Sabbath is included in the ten precepts, which form a complete expression of God's will for the moral conduct of man.<sup>5</sup>

#### The Sabbath During the Time of Christ and the Apostles

Andrews presents Christ's Sabbath reform in the context of restoration, not incidental to, but an integral part of His earthly mission. In his History, Andrews

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 61.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 45. Also see Institution and Two Laws, 24: The moral law's "proclamation by God himself, . . . sufficiently attests the estimate which he placed upon it."

<sup>3</sup>Of the few words ever spoken to man by God Himself, man seems eager to dispense with a portion.

<sup>4</sup>History, 46.

<sup>5</sup>Institution and Two Laws, 32; History, 46.

entitles the chapter on the New Testament history and teachings of the Sabbath "The Last of the Seventy Weeks," thus placing his discussion within the 2300-day prophecy of Dan 9 in which the entire theme is restoration.<sup>1</sup> As applying to the Sabbath it is in direct contrast to his opponents' position that Christ came to do away with the law and the Sabbath by His death. With the New Testament argument Andrews continues to strengthen his case for the perpetuity of the law.

Andrews connects Christ's authority over the Sabbath directly to His divinity and His preexistent position as Creator.<sup>2</sup> It was as Creator that Christ declared Himself "Lord of the Sabbath" (Matt 12:8). The Jewish leaders based their religious authority on Moses's law and "what was lawful" according to the fathers (Matt 19:3-9).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Even the beginning point of the prophecy is based on an element of restoration—the decree to rebuild Jerusalem. From that point Andrews continues in the context of the 2300-day prophecy, focusing on his own denomination's understanding of its prophetic role as restorer of the Sabbath at the end of time, and finally how the renewal of all things will include the full restoration of the Sabbath. See pp. 275-285 below.

<sup>2</sup>History, 115. See John 1:1-10; 17:5, 24; Heb 1:2. When He who gave the Sabbath to mankind at creation became the Son of man, He "could not be otherwise than a perfect judge of its true design, and of its proper observance." Ibid. See Two Laws, 23: "He who creates and upholds has certainly the right to govern and control." See also Sermons, 111.

<sup>3</sup>In Matt 19 the Pharisees with questions concerning marriage appealed to the civil laws for their answers. Christ, with both marriage and the Sabbath, traced the design to the "beginning" to find answers. History, 122.

Christ upheld scripture by appealing to it for example and authority, but went back beyond this to the Sabbath's original design.<sup>1</sup> As Creator He had fashioned the Sabbath, now as Son of man He had come to restore it; He wanted the Sabbath to stand on His authority, not the authority of the Jewish fathers. He sought to bring continuity to the original purpose of the Sabbath, to show the unchanged nature of the creation ordinances additionally enforced by the authority of the Decalogue.<sup>2</sup> Andrews presents Christ's miracles as a link between the purpose of the Sabbath and the authority of Christ concerning the manner of its observance. The nature of the healing miracles provided the context of restoration in which Christ promoted the Sabbath and was in total harmony with His intentions regarding it.<sup>3</sup> The physical healings represented the

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<sup>1</sup>Christ directly placed his authority above "them of old time" or "Moses in the law," saying rather, "but I say unto you," or "from the beginning it was not so" (Matt 5:21, 27, 33; 19:8). He "drew attention to its original institution at Creation, and thence shows its real object and sacred character." "Letter 3," RH, 10 June 1852, 19:3.

<sup>2</sup>"He [Christ] carefully determines what works are not a violation of the Sabbath; and this he does by Old-Testament examples, that it may be evident that he is introducing no change in the institution; he sets aside their rigorous and burdensome traditions concerning the Sabbath, by tracing it back to its merciful origin in paradise; . . . he leaves it upon its paradisiacal foundation, enforced by all the authority and sacredness of that law which he came not to destroy, but to magnify and make honorable." History, 123.

<sup>3</sup>"He selected, with evident design, the Sabbath as the day on which to perform many of his merciful works." Ibid., 116.

spiritual healing the Sabbath was to bring, and the power to perform the miracles established both the power Christ held to restore physically and spiritually, and His rightful authority over the Sabbath.

Challenged for the Sabbath healing at Bethesda, Christ replied, "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." In this the Jews charged Him with two crimes, breaking the Sabbath by healing and claiming to be God. But the two were purposefully combined by Christ to show exactly that; because He was God He had authority over the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup>

The work of God on the Sabbath, affirms Andrews, includes "all the merciful acts by which the human race has been preserved" during the Sabbath hours since the beginning of time.<sup>2</sup> As Creator, God who made man with his physical, emotional, and spiritual needs is the same God who provided the Sabbath in order to supply those needs in the lives of Adam and his descendants (Mark 2:27). Its original purpose was linked to the well-being of man, intended to be a delight to a distress-free world.<sup>3</sup> Since

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 125-126.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 126. Also, "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 85:2: "How had God the Father worked hitherto? . . . By the acts of his mercy continued to the human family, as well on the Sabbath as on other days."

<sup>3</sup>"He who made the Sabbath for man before the fall saw what man needed, and knew how to supply that want. It was given to him for rest, refreshment, and delight; a character that it sustained after the fall, but which the Jews had wholly lost sight of." History, 123.

the fall this spiritual work has taken on a new dimension of relieving the suffering that sin has introduced. The Sabbath is God's special agency by which His love and care are manifest; this was the work illustrated by Christ's healing and teaching.<sup>1</sup>

Logically, Andrews notes that Christ would not have challenged the Jewish traditional regulations regarding the Sabbath and placed the Sabbath on a more spiritual foundation if He had planned shortly to replace it.<sup>2</sup>

Lack of Textual Evidence for  
the Change of the Sabbath

Andrews insists that the "plain commandment from the Lord of hosts [to keep the seventh day] can only be changed by an explicit, divine statement authorizing such a change."<sup>3</sup> Of the first-day texts often used in an attempt to prove that the Sabbath has been changed, there is no

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<sup>1</sup>See *ibid.*, 116: "No small share of his teaching through his whole ministry was devoted to a determination of what was lawful on the Sabbath." Much of Christ's life was given, says Andrews, to "the correction of those errors by which Satan had utterly perverted [the Sabbath's] design." *Sermons*, 110.

<sup>2</sup>See *Sermons*, 109-110: "If the Sabbath had been only a carnal ordinance, imposed on them till the time of reformation, our Lord would have made short work with the whole thing."

<sup>3</sup>"Is the First Day of the Week the Sabbath?" *RH*, 31 March 1853, 178:3.

declaration of a change, either direct or implied.<sup>1</sup> Four inspired historians neglected to mention a change, if indeed such a change had been made.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, when John used the term "Lord's Day" in Rev 1:10, if he intended to give this title to a day never before designated as sacred, "it is remarkable," notes Andrews, "that he did not tell what day of the week this new day was."<sup>3</sup>

Andrews presents many passages to support his position that the apostles kept the Sabbath and also taught both the Jews and Gentiles to do the same.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, the fact that the early Christians were not accused of

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<sup>1</sup>Texts he cites that opponents use to indicate a change in the Sabbath are: Ps 118:22, 23; Ezek 43:26, 27; Matt 28:1, 2; Mark 16:1, 2; 16:9; Luke 23:56; 24:1-3; John 20:1, 2; 20:19, 26; Acts 2:1, 3; 20:7, 8; 1 Cor 16:1, 2; Rev 1:10. Sermons, 120-22. Finding in these texts no command for a change of the Sabbath he exclaims, "How wicked it is to use these texts to nullify the fourth commandment!" Ibid., 126.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews asks rhetorically: "Were the sacred writers neglectful of their duty? or, is the sanctification of Sunday, in commemoration of the resurrection, nothing but a fable?" Ibid., 123. See also, Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854), 25-27.

<sup>3</sup>Sermons, 126. Andrews notes that the term "Lord's Day" in Rev 1:10 is good evidence against the "no-law theory," as it establishes the fact that there is sacred time in the gospel dispensation. See also, "History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week," RH, 14 July 1859, 58; "Is the First Day?" RH, 31 March 1853, 180:1.

<sup>4</sup>Biblical references Andrews used to support Sabbathkeeping by Jews and Gentiles include: Acts 13:14, 27, 42-44; 15:19-21; 16:12-14; 17:1-4; 18:3,4. See History, 172-175. Refuting Crozier, Andrews included considerable discussion of the Sabbath in Acts. See "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 85, and "Letter 4," RH, 24 June 1852, 25.

Sabbath-breaking by the Jews is seen by Andrews as strong evidence that they kept it. This is especially apparent in light of the controversy over circumcision, which precipitated the Jerusalem conference. Moses's law or the "yoke of bondage" was under discussion here. There was no dispute relative to Sabbath observance, which there most surely would have been had the Gentile converts been neglecting it.<sup>1</sup>

Redemption Greater than Creation<sup>2</sup>

A tenet used by supporters of Sunday observance is that because Christ's acts of redemption were greater than acts of creation, the first day of the week should be kept in honor of the resurrection rather than the seventh day of the week, in honor of creation.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Andrews is confident that "had it been true . . . that Paul had taught the Gentiles to neglect the Sabbath, without doubt those who brought up the question of circumcision would have urged that of the Sabbath with even greater earnestness." History, 169.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews discussed the topic of "redemption greater than creation" in a number of articles: "Is the First Day?" RH, 31 March 1853, 179; "First-Day, Not the Sabbath of the Lord," RH, 24 January 1854, 1; "Things to Be Considered," RH, 31 January 1854, 9; also History, 151-155.

<sup>3</sup>Andrews quotes the Catholic Christian Instructor as saying: "As therefore the work of our redemption was a greater work than that of our creation, the primitive church thought the day on which this work was completely finished, was more worthy of her religious observation than that in which God rested from the creation, and should be properly called the Lord's day." "Things to Be Considered," RH, 31 January 1854, 9.

We have earlier seen that in direct contrast to "redemption being greater," Andrews views creation as the unsurpassable event and "the great evidence of [God's] eternal power and Godhead" which "distinguishes him from all false gods."<sup>1</sup> For Andrews, a memorial to the power to create "out of nothing" is high above any other memorial, and is as unchangeable as the fact it memorializes.<sup>2</sup>

Though redemption is indeed glorious, at the cross God was working with existing matter. Indeed, when God created the world He must have foreseen the fall and planned redemption. In this way redemption is a part of creation. "Who then," questions Andrews, "can affirm that redemption is greater than creation?"<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, if a day should be chosen to commemorate redemption, Andrews attests that it should be the day upon which Christ died rather than the resurrection day, as it is through Christ's blood that we have redemption (Eph 1:7).<sup>4</sup> With a shift in perspective,

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<sup>1</sup>History, 25. See Sermons, 5: "Certainly, the greatest of all his works, and that which surpasses every other in its manifestation of infinite power, is the creation of the heavens and the earth." Also, ibid., 9, 47.

<sup>2</sup>History, 25.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 151. See also, "Is the First Day?" RH, 31 March 1853, 179:1.

<sup>4</sup>See "First-Day Not the Sabbath," RH, 24 January 1854, 1:2: "The day on which he shed his precious blood to redeem us, and said, 'It is finished' [John 19:30], is the day that should be kept as the memorial of redemption, if

writing in 1863, Andrews added the insight that should it be conceded that redemption is greater than creation, this could in no way support a first-day Sabbath commemorating redemption. Redemption, he affirms, could not be commemorated, as it is not completed until the resurrection of the saints.<sup>1</sup> In any case, says Andrews, "the Holy Spirit has nothing in behalf of either of these days"<sup>2</sup> (Friday or Sunday), but rather has set up a separate memorial to honor each of these events. The divinely appointed memorial of the crucifixion is the Lord's supper (1 Cor 11:23-26), the commemoration of the resurrection is baptism (Rom 6:3, 4).<sup>3</sup> For each of the events he points out that it was the event itself that was considered worthy of an appropriate memorial while the days on which they occurred have no importance attached to them.<sup>4</sup> The Sabbath of creation stands in contrast as it commemorates the seventh day of creation and the commandment clearly states, 

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any should be observed for that purpose."

<sup>1</sup>History, 152, 155.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 153.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 153-154. See "First-Day Not the Sabbath," RH, 24 January 1854, 1:3: "Would you commemorate the death of our Lord? You need not keep the day of his crucifixion. . . . Would you commemorate the burial and resurrection of the Savior? You need not keep the first day of the week." 1 Cor 11:23-26 and Rom 6:3-5 point to the communion service and baptism as the appropriate memorials.

<sup>4</sup>History, 154. We see here how the "change of day" was an attempt of the devil to destroy both the memorial to creation (Sabbath) and memorial to re-creation (baptism).

"Remember the Sabbath day. . . . The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God" (Exod 20:8-11). His deduction is that redemption, with all of its glories and its appropriate memorials, in no way calls for a change in the God-ordained memorial of creation with all of its glories. Redemption's own memorials are quite sufficient, "without destroying that of the great Creator."<sup>1</sup>

#### The Sabbath and the "Great Week of Time"

The ancient and rather speculative notion of the "great week of time"<sup>2</sup> held fascination for Andrews and appears occasionally throughout his writings.<sup>3</sup> The idea intimates that the creation week is symbolic of seven

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 155.

<sup>2</sup>The idea of the "Great Week of Time," and the "Cosmic Sabbath," is not obscure in theology. A contemporary historical study of this concept is Robert M. Johnston's scholarly discussion of the topic: "The Eschatological Sabbath in John's Apocalypse: A Reconsideration," AUSS 25 [1987]: 39-50. See also the recent discussion of the "Great Week of Time" and the chronology of the earth by G. Edward Reid, Even at the Door (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Graphics, 1994). Reid lists early church fathers who supported the idea of the Cosmic Week: Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus. He also lists contemporaries of Andrews, S. N. Haskell, W. H. Littlejohn, and John Loughborough, as defenders of the theory. Ibid., 129, 133.

<sup>3</sup>See "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 17 February 1852, 91:2. Also, History, 2, where he speaks of "this great week of time" between the two eternities.

thousand years assigned to this earth.<sup>1</sup> Not usually given to conjecture, in 1883 Andrews wrote a series of six articles in which he launched into his own speculative theology on the topic, which has implications for Sabbath theology.<sup>2</sup>

Implicit in Andrews's view of the "great week of time" was the idea that a probationary period had been determined for created beings. Originally appointed for the angels before the creation of men, the probationary period must end for both men and angels at an appointed day of judgment that would not come earlier or later in

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<sup>1</sup>Andrews agrees with the concept of the "great week of time," which implies that the earth is presently about 6,000 years old. He begins the preface of his 1873 History by stating, "The history of the Sabbath embraces the period of 6,000 years." History, iii. See also, Sermons, 5, where referring to the time of creation he says, "If we could be placed back some six thousand years in the past." In support of his 7,000-year theory Andrews's footnote states: "For the scriptural and traditional evidence on this point, see Shimeall's Bible Chronology, Part i, Chapter vi; Taylor's Voice of the Church, pp. 25-30; and Bliss' Sacred Chronology, pp. 199-203." History, 2.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews authored six articles on this subject which appeared in RH, beginning 17 July 1883 and ending 21 August 1883, under the title, "The Great Week of Time: Or the Period of Seven Thousand Years Devoted to the Probation and the Judgment of Mankind." In articles 2 through 5, Andrews presents historical details that in his mind help to establish a 6000-year age of the earth. The first and last articles in the series are pertinent to this discussion. He defends his interest in the topic saying: "That the great week of 7000 years was indicated by the first week of time has been the judgment of many of the wisest and best of men for the period of more than two thousand years." "Great Week," RH, 21 August 1883, 536. Though his denomination printed the series of articles in the RH, they were not promoted further and are virtually unknown in Seventh-day Adventist literature.

consequence of sin (Jude 6; 2 Pet 2:4). The length of the period of judgment he saw symbolized by the seven-day week.<sup>1</sup>

He endeavored to establish his understanding of the great cosmic week with three basic arguments. In the first he associated references to judgment in 2 Pet 3:7-8 and in Rev 20. He perceived that Peter's referral to the judgment "day" followed by the declaration that "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as a day" must denote that the "day" of judgment would occupy 1,000 years; this time span is supported by Rev 20. This association of texts somehow indicated to Andrews that Peter meant "not simply that the day of Judgment will occupy the period of 1,000 years," but that "the period devoted to the history of man before the day of Judgment, was also indicated by the days that God employed in the work of creation."<sup>2</sup> Thus he suggested that the seven-day creation week was designed by God to indicate to man even

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<sup>1</sup>"Great Week of Time," RH, 17 July 1883, 456. He had begun to develop the idea of a "general period [of probation] assigned to mankind" in an article, "Thoughts on Hebrews III and IV," RH, 20 July 1869, 28. This article is not signed, but judging by the language and ideas very typical of Andrews, with little question it can be attributed to him.

<sup>2</sup>"Great Week," 17 July 1883, 456.

in his innocence that a 6,000-year period of probation would lead to a 1,000-year period of judgment for mankind.<sup>1</sup>

In a second argument, in an attempt to bring credence to this concept, he spoke of the days of creation week as "six days such as are known to man," purporting that they represented a period of "six days such as are known to God," which were the six thousand years of probationary time for man.<sup>2</sup> Significant to the theory is his belief in a creation week of seven literal days,<sup>3</sup> as the "day for a thousand years" symbolism that he appeals to would falter without the uniform length of the literal twenty-four-hour days.

In the third argument, the symbolic nature of the "week of years" of Lev 25:1-7 gave Andrews allowance to likewise assign symbolic meaning to the days of creation

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. He affirms: "When God created our earth, He indicated the period of time which must elapse before the day of Judgment. . . . It appears that [He] designed by the first seven days of time to indicate the period assigned to the probation and judgment of mankind." Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>He states: "We think that God chose the period of six days such as are known to man for the work of creation in order to represent to man that in six days of 1,000 years each, days such as are known to God, He would accomplish the period assigned to man before the judgment." "Great Week" RH, 21 August 1883, 536.

<sup>3</sup>See Sermons, 7, where he affirms his uncompromising belief in the literal 24-hour-days of creation: "The two great divisions of time, morning and evening, or day and night, which make up the day of 24 hours, have come down to us as they were given to Adam." See also, "Time for Commencing the Sabbath," RH, 4 December 1855, 76, where he speaks of a day consisting of 24 hours.

week. In that the six years of cultivation of the land were to be followed by a seventh year in which it was not cultivated, the "week of years" appeared to him as another type of the "great week of time" signifying the six thousand years during which the earth has been cultivated by its inhabitants and the seventh period in which it will remain uncultivated and desolate while the judgment takes place.<sup>1</sup>

With the Year of Jubilee (Lev 25:8-10) Andrews moved beyond the week of time to "time that shall never end."<sup>2</sup> Seven periods of seven years were followed by the Year of Jubilee, the fiftieth year, in which liberty was proclaimed throughout all the land and every man returned to his own inheritance. Andrews perceived it as symbolic of the time of total peace and restoration that would commence at the end of the one thousand years of judgment when the saints "return to their inheritance in the new earth."<sup>3</sup> Carrying the Sabbatic meaning of rest, the Year of Jubilee does not relate directly to the seven-thousand-year period of the

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<sup>1</sup>"Great Week," RH, 21 August 1883, 536. "The week of years in which, after the land had been cultivated six years, it was to remain without cultivation the seventh (Lev. 25:1-7), is certainly a type of the great week of 7,000 years, in which after the earth has been cultivated by its inhabitants during 6,000 years, it will remain uncultivated and desolate during the seventh period of 1,000 years while the Judgment takes place." Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>"Great Week," RH, 17 July 1883, 456.

<sup>3</sup>"Great Week," RH, 21 August 1883, 536.

great week of time, but it points beyond that period to the great restoration of all things.<sup>1</sup>

Although the whole idea of the week of time implies that the Sabbath typifies the last 1,000 years of this "week," Andrews represented these years as a time of judgment without suggesting that the Sabbath symbolizes rest from sin. As early as 1852, Andrews maintained that whatever "allusion" Heb 4:1-9 might make to the future rest of God's people, the primary object of the Sabbath was as a memorial, not as a type.<sup>2</sup> In his 1883 articles he very carefully pointed out that although the sabbaths of the law of Moses pointed to "good things to come," they were dissimilar from the Sabbath of the Lord, which pointed "backward to creation and not forward to the renewing of the earth."<sup>3</sup>

Writing in 1869 he assigned Heb 4:9 not to the millennium of Rev 20, but to the period following the great

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 536-537.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews's debate opponent Crozier held that the "primary object of God's resting on the seventh day and sanctifying it" was to prefigure future rest from sin for the people of God, and that it was not kept until it was given to Israel as a memorial of deliverance from bondage from Egypt and from sin. Andrews called the ideas "sublime nonsense." "A type of future redemption," he exclaimed, "when man had not yet fallen!!" "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 81:2. James White upheld the same view. See idem, "'Seventh-Day Sabbath Abolished,'" by Eld. Marsh, Editor of 'Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate,' Reviewed," Present Truth, March 1850, 53.

<sup>3</sup>"Great Week," RH, 21 August 1883, 536.

week of time, interpreting the text as a direct statement concerning the literal observance of the Sabbath on the new earth following the period of judgment. He pointed out that as the Greek word sabbatismos, translated "rest," is defined in lexicons as "observance of the Sabbath," and a marginal reading for this text reads, "a keeping of a Sabbath,"<sup>1</sup> there is no reason not to assign this meaning and "give to these words their plain, literal and obvious meaning." This he especially urges in light of what is "elsewhere plainly stated in the Bible."<sup>2</sup> He correlates Isa 66:22-23 and Rev 22:2 to show both the Edenic institutions of the tree of life and the Sabbath will be restored in the new heavens and the new earth, where "every Sabbath the countless hosts of the redeemed assemble before God from the whole face of the New Earth."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Gehenna of Fire," RH, 22 June 1869, 206.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. Andrews attributes the authorship of Hebrews to Paul and sees in Heb 4:9 positive proof that Paul did not regard the Sabbath of the Lord as an abrogated institution. "He believed in its [the Sabbath's] perpetuity in the future kingdom of God upon earth." Ibid. See also "Thoughts on Hebrews," RH, 20 July 1869, 28-29, where he applies Heb 4:9 to the keeping of the Sabbath in Paradise by the "whole family of the second Adam."

<sup>3</sup>"Gehenna of Fire," RH, 22 June 1869, 206. See also, "Letter 6," RH, 22 July 1852, 45:2: He [John the Revelator] sees the commandment-keepers enter the holy city, while those who love and make a lie, are left without." History, 512.

### Secular History Overview

Andrews's chief purpose for writing the secular history of the Sabbath was to demonstrate with careful research that it was human tradition, unattended by the Spirit of God, that brought about the change of the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week.<sup>1</sup> He recognized the first 300 years following Christ as most significant in the history of the Sabbath and directly challenged the claims that the early church fathers by virtue of their close association with the apostolic church had and used their authority to change the Sabbath.<sup>2</sup> He produced many pages of meticulous research in his attempt

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<sup>1</sup>Andrews uses the term "secular" to refer to non-biblical religious history. Usually the term "secular history" is used in contrast to "church history." A short overview of Andrews's history of the Sabbath, though not the topic of this dissertation, is included here as it adds to an understanding of his theological perspectives of the Sabbath. His secular history and commentary are found in the second section of History, and in the 112-page booklet, The Complete Testimony of the Fathers of the First Three Centuries Concerning the Sabbath and First Day, 2d ed. (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the SDA Publishing Assn., 1873). The material in the smaller book was prepared while he was revising his History, but in the interest of keeping the books more wiely they were published separately. See Andrews's own suggestion on this: "The Fathers on the Sabbath Question," RH, 26 November 1872, 188.

<sup>2</sup>History, 193-201. See "New and Important Work," RH, 11 February 1873, 72, where speaking of the first 300 years A.D., he says, "This period of Sabbath history is more important than any other this side the days of Christ." Also see "My Work on the Sabbath History," RH, 17 September 1872, 108, where he tells of his special burden to investigate the years of the early church fathers before 325 A.D.

to show (1) that the years directly following the apostles were both prophesied to be, and proved to be, a time marked by false teachings and great apostasy, unworthy to be referred to as authoritative;<sup>1</sup> and (2) that some writings of the church fathers were corrupted or misrepresented by the Roman church in order to uphold Sunday as a day of worship.<sup>2</sup>

Apostasy entered the church not by a deliberate thrusting out of God's institutions but by a shift of attitude whereby men depended less on the direct testimony of Scripture and more on the theological-rational interpretations and traditions of the leading church fathers. Heathen traditions were first tolerated, then made equal to Scripture, subsequently honored above divine command, and finally the truth could be looked upon with contempt. Thus doctrine gained credibility by becoming ancient rather than by being tested against the Bible.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Elder Preble on the Twelfth Chapter of Sabbath History," RH, 23 December 1873, 43; History, 432-446.

<sup>2</sup>History, iv, chapters 12-15; "The Fathers," RH, 26 November 1872, 188. He notes that the biblical record of the Sabbath was written by observers of the Sabbath, whereas the history since the beginning of apostasy was written by those who opposed its observance. "The Preparation of the Sabbath History," RH, 2 December 1873, 196.

<sup>3</sup>"Testimony of the Fathers," RH, 27 May 1873, 188:3; "Tradition," RH, 10 October 1854, 69:3. Credibility was given to a tradition if it was upheld by those who "had seen the apostles," or "those who had seen persons who had seen them." "Causes Which Elevated Sunday and Abased the Sabbath," RH, 3 February 1874, 60.

The work of apostasy flourished as a result of ecclesiastical decisions that grew out of such a view. In this men followed the shortcomings of the Jewish community of whom Christ finally said, "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men" (Matt 15:9).<sup>1</sup>

In tracing the history of the continued rise of Sunday and the suppression of the Sabbath throughout the Dark Ages, Andrews argued that heathen influences strengthened to the "extent that the man of sin might be plainly seen sitting in the temple of God."<sup>2</sup> The Reformers rejected tradition but fell short of a full return to the authority of Scripture. Andrews expressed regret rather than surprise that, educated as they were "in the bosom of the Romish church," the Reformers struck down the authority of the festivals instituted by the church (except for Sunday) but failed to recognize the authority of the fourth commandment.<sup>3</sup>

Andrews ascribes the Reformation "rediscovery" of the Sabbath to English dissenter Nicolas Bound.<sup>4</sup> However, although Bound's "seventh part of time" theory satisfied

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<sup>1</sup>"Tradition," RH, 10 October 1854, 69.

<sup>2</sup>History, 369.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 434, 445.

<sup>4</sup>See ibid., 472-476. Andrews uses the spelling "Bound."

the need men recognized for divine authority in the Sabbath, through his theory he could conveniently move from the commandment's enforcing the seventh day from creation to its enforcing the seventh day from the resurrection. In this way although he retained the holiness of the Sabbath, "the Sunday of 'Pope and Pagan' was able coolly to wrap itself in the fourth commandment."<sup>1</sup>

Andrews urged that the Protestant defense of Sunday based on Bound's theory places them in a contradictory position.<sup>2</sup> They profess the doctrine of "sola scriptura," but can point to no substantial "change of the Sabbath" recorded in the Bible. Manifestly, any who hold to Sunday as the Sabbath can be seen as "occupying the ground of the Papists"<sup>3</sup> by not insisting on the Bible as a sufficient rule of life.<sup>4</sup> The Papists claim that the church must "[join] the fathers to the Bible in order to supply . . . a

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 476. Andrews bemoaned the sinfulness which would change the Sabbath of the Lord and then steal the commandment which guards that day, to enforce another! "Is the First Day?" RH, 31 March 1853, 180:2.

<sup>2</sup>"Tradition," RH, 10 October 1854, 69:3, 70:1.

<sup>3</sup>"Is the Bible Sufficient as a Rule of Faith and Practice?" RH, 19 May 1851, 87.

<sup>4</sup>"Protestant Sunday-keepers . . . cannot take the divinely inspired . . . book of God and sustain Sunday-keeping; hence they leave the ground of Protestants, and take that of the Papists—the Bible and the fathers." "Tradition," RH, 10 October 1854, 69:3.

perfect rule of faith."<sup>1</sup> Andrews judges that any who choose to believe in a Sabbath must "either resort to the so-called Christian Fathers for proof of the change, or they must observe the Sabbath according to the commandment."<sup>2</sup>

Andrews makes little connection between the past fulfillment of prophecy concerning the change of the Sabbath and the prophecy of future conflict between the "beast" and those who honor the Sabbath by "keep[ing] the commandments of God."<sup>3</sup> For the most part the ideas appear as separate topics. We find a brief association of the two in an RH article of 1851 in which he affirms that the power that through tradition has changed the Sabbath is yet to make war with those who keep the commandments of God.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. Andrews quotes a note from the Douay Bible on 2 Tim 3:16, 17: "If we would have the whole rule of Christian faith and practice, we must not be content with [the Scripture] . . . without taking along with it the traditions of the apostles, and the interpretations of the church." Ibid. See also, "Is the Bible Sufficient?" RH, 19 May 1851, 87.

<sup>2</sup>"Is the First Day?" RH, 31 March 1853, 180:1. Andrews challenges that, "Those who do not recognize human authority as sufficient to change the divine law, will . . . reject this tradition of the elders, and return to the commandment of God." Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>See Rev 14:6-12.

<sup>4</sup>"Is the Bible Sufficient?" RH, 19 May 1851, 88.

### The Sabbath in the Prophetic Framework

The focus of Adventist theology, from its very beginning in the Millerite movement, was prophecy.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after adopting the Seventh Day Baptist historical theology of the Sabbath, Adventists began to see the Sabbath of the fourth commandment as an integral part of the prophetic picture.<sup>2</sup> As noted in chapter 1 of this dissertation, the Seventh Day Baptists' historical setting, united with the Millerite prophetic expositions,<sup>3</sup> resulted

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<sup>1</sup>See "Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV," RH, 19 May 1851, 81: "The pathway on which we travel is marked at every step by the fulfillment of Prophecy. . . . The Advent movement itself is clearly described in Revelation XIV."

<sup>2</sup>Andrews affirmed that "The Advent movement of 1843-44, as believed and cherished by them, led directly to the Sabbath of the fourth commandment." These words are from a chapter he prepared for A. H. Lewis's Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 237-238, where the opening lines state, "The following chapter is from the pen of Eld. J. N. Andrews of Rochester, N.Y. who is a representative man among the people concerning whom he writes. The chapter was prepared during the winter of 1867-8." Ibid. In the chapter it is not always clear when Lewis is directly quoting and when he may be paraphrasing Andrews's words. Since this chapter was prepared especially to express the Adventist position, it may be looked upon as a dependable portrayal of Andrews's endorsement of the Adventist view. In the chapter, Andrews traces the development of the Advent movement and explains how major teachings of the imminent coming of Christ and the Sabbath of the fourth commandment were grounded in the prophecies of the Old Testament and connected with the prophecies of the New Testament. Hereafter Andrews's chapter in Lewis's book is referenced as, Andrews in Lewis, Sabbath and Sunday (1870).

<sup>3</sup>Seventh-day Adventist writers described the Seventh Day Baptist position as "impregnable," but attested that it was when connected with the sanctuary and end-time prophecy that it began to "grip hearts." Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, 4:960. Uriah Smith declared that it was

in the birth of three new concepts in Sabbath theology. These were: the union of the Sabbath with Christ's ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, the Sabbath as constituting a major focus of the third angel's message of Rev 14, and the idea that the seventh-day Sabbath comprised the "seal of God."<sup>1</sup> Joseph Bates, a Sabbathkeeping ex-Millerite, took the lead in developing these eschatological concepts, adding one and then another of them to the theology between the years 1846 and 1849. By the time Andrews began to write, these concepts had already become accepted parts of Adventist theology.<sup>2</sup> Speaking of

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the subject of the sanctuary that "clinched the Sabbath," and that no one brought out in connection with the third angel's message could ever "waver on the Sabbath question." Uriah Smith, "Origin and History of the Third Angel's Message," RH, 13 January 1891, 68. Ellen White wrote, "When [the Sabbath truth is] connected with the message of the third angel, a power attends it which convicts unbelievers and infidels, and brings them out with strength to stand, live, grow, and flourish in the Lord." Idem, Testimonies for the Church, 1:337.

<sup>1</sup>An additional concept of Sabbath theology which is linked with each of the other three concepts mentioned is the timeliness of the new emphasis on the Sabbath doctrine, as Sabbath-keeping becomes a practical constituent in the believer's preparation for the second coming of Christ.

<sup>2</sup>For an explanation of how Bates and others integrated the Sabbath doctrine with eschatological concepts, see Maxwell, "Joseph Bates," 352-363; Damsteegt, 138-147; 165-220; C. Mervyn Maxwell, Magnificent Disappointment (Boise, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1994), 99-108. Also see History, 503, 504, where Andrews writes of how James White united with Elder Bates "in the proclamation of the doctrine of the advent and the Sabbath as connected together in the Sanctuary and the message of the third angel," and has "with the blessing of God, accomplished great results in behalf of the Sabbath." In 1849 E. G. White wrote: "I saw that the present test on the

the sanctuary's central role in Seventh-day Adventist's major teachings, Andrews himself states that "it inseparably connects all the points in their faith, and presents the subject as one grand whole."<sup>1</sup>

### The Sabbath and the Sanctuary

Andrews wrote of the Sabbath-sanctuary connection from different perspectives at different times. Writing on the Sabbath and the sanctuary in Perpetuity of the Royal Law (1854), History (1861), and Sermons (1870), he did not introduce the prophetic perspective, but focused on how a historic understanding of the earthly sanctuary and the covenants elevated the Sabbath.<sup>2</sup> In 1855, in the closing pages of his series of articles entitled "The Sanctuary and the Twenty-Three Hundred Days," he described how the sanctuary teaching put great emphasis on the law of God, but he did not mention the Sabbath specifically.<sup>3</sup> In 1867,

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Sabbath could not come, until the mediation of Jesus in the Holy Place was finished; and he had passed within the second vail." "Dear Brethren and Sisters," Present Truth, August 1849, 21. Also, idem, Early Writings, 63.

<sup>1</sup>"The Sanctuary," RH, 18 October 1864, 164.

<sup>2</sup>See pp. 194-205 above. The integration of the sanctuary and the covenants is graphically portrayed in the very term "the ark of the covenant. (See, among many other texts, Num 10:33; Deut 10:8; Josh 3:6; Heb 9:4.)

<sup>3</sup>The articles were published between December 1852 and February 1853 in the RH. The primary purpose in the articles was (1) to defend the Adventists' change in their position on what constituted the sanctuary of Dan 8:14; the focus was to convince readers that the sanctuary to be cleansed was not the earth, but the sanctuary in heaven,

in material prepared for A. H. Lewis's book, Sabbath and Sunday, in a few pages he integrates the two perspectives, and shows how through prophecy the Sabbath was brought to the attention of the Adventists.<sup>1</sup>

For Lewis's book Andrews first outlines the progression of thought by which a study of the earthly sanctuary led Adventists to the belief that the "cleansing of the sanctuary" prophesied in Dan 8:14 pointed to the second coming of Jesus and the purifying of the earth with fire in 1844. The Adventists understood the services of the earthly sanctuary to typify those in the heavenly sanctuary; just as the High Priest at the cleansing of the earthly tabernacle entered there to care for the removal of the sins which had been borne there that atonement might be made for them, so the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary was to ultimately destroy sin. Studying prophetic time, Adventists accepted the "day for a year" principle of Ezek 4:6 and Num 14:34, and fastened upon the ninth chapter of Daniel (Dan 9:24-27) as a key to the eighth. The period of 2300 days was therefore held to begin with the seven weeks at the going forth of the commandment to rebuild Jerusalem,

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and (2) to defend the correctness of the date of 1844 as the time for the "cleansing of the sanctuary." It pertained little to the Sabbath directly, but the closing remarks contained an appeal for the law of God held in the ark below the mercy seat. The articles were published as a book, The Sanctuary, in 1872.

<sup>1</sup>Andrews in Lewis, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 237-245.

B.C. 457 (Ezra 7). Recognizing that the yearly "day of atonement" or "cleansing of the earthly sanctuary" took place on the tenth day of the seventh month, they became convinced that 2300 years after B.C. 457, on October 22 or 23, 1844 (the tenth day of the seventh Jewish month), Jesus the High Priest would return to cleanse the anti-typical sanctuary, which they viewed as this earth. When this belief resulted in the Disappointment, after further study Adventists perceived that the prophecy pointed not to the cleansing of the earth with fire, but to the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary with Christ's blood. When they saw that this cleansing was the phase of Christ's ministry in which the sins of God's people are finally blotted out and removed from the sanctuary as He ministers before the mercy seat and the ark containing the law, they began to understand that those who wanted to benefit from the work of the High Priest must also honor the law before which He ministers. They recognized that the blood in the earthly sanctuary, offered on the mercy seat above the Ten Commandments, taught that the real atonement must relate to the law, the immutability of which made the death of God's beloved Son necessary in order that guilty man might be pardoned. Part of that law was the Sabbath of the fourth commandment. Thus it can be affirmed that the Advent movement led directly to the heavenly sanctuary, and from

there with equal directness to the law and to the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> Further, as we see in discussion to follow, they came to believe that the Sabbath would have special import during the time of Christ's ministry just before His return to earth.

In Sabbath and Sunday (1870) Andrews adds another perspective and a personal appeal to the interrelation of the Sabbath and the cleansing of the sanctuary. By a comparison of Exod 40:20, 21 and Deut 10:3, 5 with Rev 11:19 he understood (1) that the heavenly sanctuary as the antitype of the earthly, contained the same "'grand central object' as the earthly, namely the ark of God's testament . . . with the mercy seat for its top,"<sup>2</sup> and (2) that the law in the heavenly ark is the original of the law which the great Law-giver copied with His own finger for the ark of the earthly sanctuary.<sup>3</sup> When the earthly high priest entered the tabernacle to sprinkle the ark of the testament with blood, he neither typically blotted out the Ten Commandments which it contained nor lessened men's obligation to observe them. Instead he entered the

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<sup>1</sup>Andrews in Lewis, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 238-245. For a description of the cleansing of the sanctuary also see Andrews's explanations in The Sanctuary, 94-95.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews in Lewis, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 243. Andrews quotes Rev 11:19 in this regard, "The temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament." Also see Heb 9:1-9; Exod 25:1-22.

<sup>3</sup>Andrews in Lewis, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 244. See also, Institution and Two Laws, 28, 34.

sanctuary with blood to teach that man who was under the condemnation of the law might be forgiven and restored, but only by the offering of blood.<sup>1</sup>

Turning to the ministration of the true holy places, Andrews declares, "The Father had two objects of dearest affection: his own perfect law, and his only Son."<sup>2</sup> He could not set aside His moral law without casting the moral universe into confusion, but nothing other than the blood of His Son would be sufficient that rebellious man "might have a sacrifice to bring to God that could avail to take away sin."<sup>3</sup> Thus Christ was delivered to the cross for man's offenses, buried and raised for his justification. "He ascended into the true Tabernacle in heaven, the new covenant Sanctuary, where the ark of God stands, containing his holy law,"<sup>4</sup> and where as man's great High Priest, He pleads the merits of his blood in behalf of penitent sinners (Heb 9; Rev 11:19). Thus in the ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary "the two dearest objects of affection to the great Law-giver are again united." Declares Andrews, "How wondrous the union!"<sup>5</sup> Further, "The Law-giver can accept the offering, and man, who has broken

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<sup>1</sup>Perpetuity, Royal Law (1854), 22-23.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 23.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 22.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 23.

the law of God, can be pardoned."<sup>1</sup> At the same time, in the "spectacle of his Son dying on the cross," God has given to man "an adequate idea of the immutability of his sacred law."<sup>2</sup>

Andrews comes, then, to the important relation of the fourth commandment to the atonement. It is a central part of the moral law, "one of the immutable holy principles that made the death of God's only Son necessary before pardon could be extended to guilty man."<sup>3</sup> One-tenth of the blood of Christ, then, was spilled for the broken Sabbath commandment. If the Sabbath commandment is done away, one-tenth of the atonement was for nought.<sup>4</sup>

The Sabbath as the  
"Seal of God"

The concept of character development was very important in Sabbatarian Adventist doctrine, and in a

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 24. See also, "The Sanctuary," RH, 3 February 1853, 148:3: "While we call men to the open door, and point them to the blood of Christ, . . . we would remind them of the LAW OF GOD beneath that mercy-seat, which made the death of God's beloved Son necessary. . . . Many affirm that God has abolished his law, . . . but that law occupies the choicest place in heaven."

<sup>3</sup>History, 63-64.

<sup>4</sup>See Sermons, 62, 102, 119. Also, History, 63-4: Emphasizing the importance of the atonement's relationship to the law, Andrews urges that when God prepared the tables of stone at Sinai it was not strange that He would not entrust to any created being "the writing of that law which should demand as its atonement the death of the Son of God."

distinctive interrelation of ideas that made up their doctrine of the seal of God (Rev 7) the Sabbath was seen as the essential component in developing the believer's experience and character in preparation for Christ's coming.<sup>1</sup> Andrews shared the emphasis on character development and the special work to be done in believers' lives but did not use the term "seal" and crucially link the Sabbath to the "seal of God" and the process of sanctification as did Joseph Bates<sup>2</sup> and other Adventist

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<sup>1</sup>It was Joseph Bates, later supported by James and Ellen White, who developed what became the Seventh-day Adventist position regarding the seal. Bates and other Sabbatarian Adventists understood themselves to be in the "sealing" time. They used the term "seal" to describe the several interrelated concepts which led to the "finished product" of a people prepared in a special way for the second coming wherein their lives distinctly indicate their preparation: (1) The "sealing" stood for the character development of God's people including the washing away of sins and the on-going sanctification which meant God was writing the law in the hearts. (2) The Sabbath, because of its place in the law and its visibility as sign of the commitment of the believer to God both as Creator and as Redeemer, became an integral and inseparable component in this process and was referred to as the "seal." (3) Because the process of character development has an element of finality within it as securing the believer in his right to the eternal life and strength to endure the time of trouble, the "seal" also had the connotation of being God's final mark of approval. See Maxwell, "Joseph Bates," 352-363; Ellen G. White, The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1951), 613. Original copyright, 1888; M. L. Andreasen, The Sabbath: Which Day and Why? (Takoma Park, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1942), 233-250.

<sup>2</sup>See Joseph 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: Benjamin Lindsay, 1848), 59: "The keepers [of the Sabbath] are sanctified by observing it." Also, "Did you not know, that God had taught His people that they were

Sabbatarians.<sup>1</sup> In discussing character development, Andrews and Bates both begin with the blotting out of sin through Christ's intercession in the heavenly sanctuary. From that point, whereas Bates moves directly to the Sabbath as the sign, and seal, and means of sanctification, Andrews stays with his favored concept of "law written in the hearts"—the central element of his new-covenant theology.<sup>2</sup> Through Christ's work in their lives, believers gain "clearer conceptions of the character of the law," and "as the work of conversion progresses these elevated principles become established in [their] characters,"<sup>3</sup> "part of their very being," and "in their affections."<sup>4</sup> It is not the work of a moment! He sees that "the whole gospel dispensation is devoted to the work of writing the

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sanctified through the keeping of His Sabbath?" Ibid., 64. To Bates, the Sabbath has been a sign between God and His worshippers from the beginning of creation. As one would look over and approve a document, then place upon it the seal, so God looks for the "sign" of His authorship in His saints (the Sabbath) and places His approval upon them. So the Sabbath serves a threefold purpose: a sanctifying influence, a sign of sanctification, and a sign of God's approval. Ibid., 50. See also, Joseph Bates, A Seal of the Living God: A Hundred Forty-Four Thousand, of the Servants of God Being Sealed, in 1849 (New Bedford, MA: n.p., 1849).

<sup>1</sup>With the Sabbath and the sanctuary being two of his major theological interests it is interesting and almost puzzling that he did not make this connection.

<sup>2</sup>See 194-205 above.

<sup>3</sup>Sermons, 96.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

law upon the hearts of the people of God,"<sup>1</sup> this work continuing "till [their] characters are perfected in virtue."<sup>2</sup> Thus as the "work of the High Priest . . . is completed, and the saints made meet for the inheritance in light," God has a people who demonstrate the fulfillment of His covenant promises.<sup>3</sup> Although Andrews does not mention the Sabbath directly in this context, we see here, and in his introduction to Messages, that similarly to Bates, he sees the Sabbath as an indispensable part of the corporate work of the preparation of a people for Christ's coming.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, through his "faith argument"<sup>5</sup> we have seen that, as does Bates, he holds the Sabbath as inseparable from the true believer's experience. Of the two times we find Andrews's brief mention of the seal, one implies agreement with the Seventh-day Adventist doctrine: "We find no promise that those will be sealed, who break the commandments and teach men so."<sup>6</sup> In another comment he attaches the seal to the Sabbath rather than to the believer. In the last sentence of his History he speaks of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 96.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 97. Also, *ibid.*, 93, "God does not leave his law till he has accomplished that which he has spoken, the raising of a people who shall obey him from their hearts."

<sup>4</sup>Messages, iv-v.

<sup>5</sup>See pp. 221-227 above.

<sup>6</sup>"Crozier Reviewed," 17 February 1852, 93:1.

the redeemed gathering before the Creator on each Sabbath in the new earth. The Lord is even then, he affirms, "set[ting] the seal of the Most High to the perpetuity of this ancient institution."<sup>1</sup>

The Sabbath and the Three  
Angels' Messages

In Andrews's writings the prophetic and eschatological setting of the Sabbath comes to clear focus in the framework of the three angels' messages.<sup>2</sup> He

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<sup>1</sup>Andrews, History, 512.

<sup>2</sup>As a background to the forthcoming discussion, Andrews's overview of the Seventh-day Adventist understanding of the three angels' messages is included here: "The Seventh-day Adventists believe that the three great proclamations of Rev 14, 'The hour of his judgment is come;' 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen;' and 'the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus,' are addressed to the present generation and that with their warning voice probation closes up forever. . . . They believe that the period of time at the end of the 2300 days occupied by our Lord in his closing work in the heavenly sanctuary is the time denominated the 'patience of the saints,' in which the third angel utters his solemn warning against the worship of beast, and proclaims 'the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.' The truths of the three angels' [sic] message constitute the final testimony to the world. And thus according to the view of this people the commandments of God are to be vindicated in opposition to the claims of the papal power in the closing period of human probation." Andrews in Lewis, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 245-246. Early in his career Andrews began to write on the topic of the three angels of Rev 14. The RH, 2 September 1851, 20-21, carried his article, "The Three Angels of Rev. xiv." A series of articles entitled, "The Three Angels of Revelation xiv, 6-12," ran in the RH between 23 January 1855 and 1 May 1855. In 1855 the series was printed as a book, referenced here as Messages; see p. 178, n. 2 above. Subsequent revisions show only minor changes, with no addition of thought concerning the Sabbath. An edition printed in 1892 is used for reference in this study.

portrays the Sabbath as holding the central place in the final acts of the controversy between Christ and Satan, and presents Rev 14:6-12 as admonition reserved by God for the final generation. Beyond an individual work, he sees that the proclamation will result in gathering the "saints of God" into one people prepared for the "distinguished honor" of being translated at Christ's second coming. Designed to give warning of the arrival of judgment, the messages alert God's people to the urgent need of honoring the commandments.<sup>1</sup> The seventh-day Sabbath is crucial in this connection, as it serves both as a means of preparation for translation and also as a test of loyalty. Andrews, in harmony with Seventh-day Adventist thought, viewed his denomination as called especially to proclaim these messages to the world.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Messages, iv. Also see "The Three Angels of Rev. xiv," RH, 2 September 1851, 20: "This message [of the third angel] has had the effect to cause those who would obey God, to embrace all his commandments, and to stand in the patience of the saints, without casting away their confidence, or drawing back to perdition."

<sup>2</sup>In Seventh-day Adventist theology, the three angels' messages (the third in particular) and the Sabbath are so inseparable that the expression "accepting the third angel's message" very early meant the same as "accepting the Sabbath" and became a commonly used expression among them to denote becoming a Seventh-day Adventist. Also see Andrews in Lewis, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 258, where Andrews states the great object which Seventh-day Adventists hope to accomplish: "To make ready a people prepared for the advent of the Lord."

The connection of the messages  
to the Sabbath

Andrews understood with other former Millerites that the primary thrust of the first and second angels' messages had taken place in the years leading up to 1844, with a continued application of both being in process at his time.<sup>1</sup> Those proclaiming the messages before 1844 did not see the Sabbath in them, and Andrews saw only a little more than they.

The first angel's message, "the hour of his judgment is come," Andrews connected only indirectly to the Sabbath; the message, he said, pointed to the termination of the 2300-day prophecy and the "entrance of our High Priest into the most holy place to minister before the ark of God" at the time that judgment began in 1844. This act he saw as "call[ing] the attention of the church to the commandments of God contained within that ark."<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, because

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<sup>1</sup>Messages, 9-25, 27-28, 36-37. See *ibid.*, 127: "The two former proclamations [the first and second angels' messages] have already been made, and consequently the warning of the third angel is the great theme which should now arrest the attention of every mind." Also, Andrews in Lewis, Sabbath and History (1870), 245; "Third Angel's Message Not in the Age to Come," RH, 14 August 1856, 113. In 1851 Andrews wrote that the "first and second angels are in the past," but later writings made clear that he came to see these messages as continuing concurrently with the third angel's message. "Thoughts on Revelation," RH, 19 May 1851, 81:1.

<sup>2</sup>Messages, 132. Speaking of the end of the 2300 days and Christ's entrance into the most holy place Andrews affirms, "The commandments of God have been shining out from the heavenly Sanctuary since that time." *Ibid.*

the early emphasis was on "the hour of his judgment is come," Andrews failed to see the implication to the Sabbath in the words of Rev 14:7, "worship him who made heaven, and earth, and the sea," which echo the words of the fourth commandment (Rev 14:7; Exod 20:11).

In Andrews's understanding of the second angel's message, fallen Babylon pictures a professing church, which through moral decline<sup>1</sup> and corruption of doctrine<sup>2</sup> has compromised with and united itself to the world.<sup>3</sup> He specifically mentioned the doctrine of the Sabbath as one among a number of the "pure truths of the Bible" that have been corrupted.<sup>4</sup> Within Babylon he includes both Catholics and the Protestant churches that have "perpetuated the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 43-48. As moral decline Andrews speaks of the sin of slavery, "fashionable follies," profession of religion in order to have high standing in society.

<sup>2</sup>Other doctrines Andrews saw as corruptions included postmillennialism, baptism other than immersion, natural immortality of the soul, the spiritual second advent, and lowering the standards of godliness. Ibid., 51-54.

<sup>3</sup>See *ibid.*, 51-72, for a discussion of the fall of Babylon.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 51-52. See also where he says, "They [the church of Rome, and Protestant churches which follow it] set aside the Sabbath of the Lord that they may keep the festival day of the sun; and in thus violating the fourth commandment, they actually violate the entire law of God." Ibid., 70-71.

action of that great apostasy with respect to the fourth commandment."<sup>1</sup>

Andrews viewed the message of the third angel as one "of most fearful import . . . unequaled elsewhere in the Bible."<sup>2</sup> He saw that it related to the doctrine of the Sabbath, first as a warning to those honoring the counterfeit Sabbath (the mark of the beast), and second as an identification of God's people, distinguishable because they demonstrate the "patience of the saints," and "keep the commandments of God" (vs. 12).<sup>3</sup>

#### Elements of the prophecy

Andrews critically held together Rev 13 and 14 as essential to an understanding of the symbols used within the chapters. Rev 13 describes the beast and its activities; Rev 14 contains a warning against the beast and against its image, which men are compelled to worship.

Using a biblical-historical approach, he identified the constituent elements of the prophecy. The beast he

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 70. "No church," declares Andrews, "has a right to consider itself apostolic while it violates the commandments of God. . . . In this respect [that church] is Babylonian." Ibid., 71. The fallen church is "planted on the decrees of kings, and the laws of the nations of the earth, instead of that word which God gave to be the only foundation of his church." "Thoughts on Revelation," RH, 19 May 1851, 82:1.

<sup>2</sup>"Thoughts on Revelation," RH, 19 May 1851, 82:1.

<sup>3</sup>As early as 1658 Stennet used Rev 12:17 and Rev 14:12 to associate God's "remnant" people with those "keeping his commandments." Stennet, 10.

described as the papal form of the fourth empire of Dan 7,<sup>1</sup> "claiming infallibility and pretending to be the vicar of God upon earth,"<sup>2</sup> "clothed with power to put to death the saints of God (Rev 13:5-8; Dan 7:23-26)."<sup>3</sup> The image to the beast is "another ecclesiastical body clothed with power and authority to put the saints to death," which he affirmed "can refer to nothing else but the corrupt and fallen Protestant Church."<sup>4</sup> The two-horned beast of Rev 13 which causes the world to worship the first beast and his image he identified as the United States of America.<sup>5</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup>Messages, 75-79.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 79. In an edition printed in 1892, apparently first prepared for publishing in 1877, Andrews adds to the list of identifying marks of the beast, the fact that title of "Vicar of the Son of God," when written in Latin, adds up to 666—the number of the beast's name (Rev 13:18). Ibid., 109.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 105. Also, 75-80, where Andrews shows the power in Dan 7 to correspond with the beast of Rev 13:1-10, and lists characteristics: (1) spoke blasphemous words against God, (2) made war with the saints, (3) had a mouth speaking great things, (4) had power for a time, times, and the dividing of time, or forty and two months, (5) had dominion taken away and received a deadly wound.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 105. Andrews declares it should come as no surprise that eventually Satan should use this beast with lamb-like horns. He queries: "If Satan has been permitted to make use of Paganism as an instrument of deception, and also of Papacy, which is Christianity in a corrupt form, why may he not be permitted to make use of Protestantism also, when it becomes corrupt, as, if possible, a more efficient instrument of deception than either of the former?" "Thoughts on Revelation," RH, 19 May 1851, 84:2.

<sup>5</sup>Andrews has been given credit as one of the first in his time to develop a well-rounded exposition of the two-horned beast as the United States of America. See Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, 4:1093;

mark of the beast (Rev 14:9) he understood to be an institution originating with the papacy, enforced by Protestantism.<sup>1</sup> The papacy and false Protestantism unite in a great system of false Christianity, opposing those who are engaged in keeping the commandments of God. Convinced that the institution upon which the religious world will unite is "a weekly Sabbath which the 'Man of Sin' has placed in the stead of the Sabbath of the fourth commandment," he looked upon the enforcement of the counterfeit Sabbath as the mark of that power which should think to change times and laws. It is when men "understandingly choose in its [the Sabbath] stead the

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Damsteegt, 196-203. It is considered a very noteworthy addition to Adventist understanding of prophecy. See "Thoughts on Revelation," RH, 19 May 1851, 82-84; Messages, 80-100. The United States, having risen as a lamb, eventually "spake as a dragon." Some brief identifying marks given in Messages, are: "As the four powers of the Eastern Continent were not to be succeeded by a fifth [Dan 7], we understand that the power represented by the beast with two horns, which arises in the last days of the fourth beast, must be located in America" (p. 83). "No civil power could ever compare with Republicanism in its lamb-like character" (p. 89). "The civil power recognizes the equality of all men before the law; and the spiritual power acknowledges the right of every man to worship God according to his own convictions of what God requires. Here are the two horns like a lamb" (p. 92). But in the end, the beast "speaks like a dragon," and "exercises all the power of the first beast," Rev 13:12 (p. 92-93). See also "The Two-Horned Beast," RH, 21 March 1854, 65-67, and 28 March 1854, 73-75, where J. N. Loughborough presented the same basic argument.

<sup>1</sup>"Thoughts on Revelation," RH, 19 May 1851, 85: Messages, 106. For a detailed presentation of Andrews's understanding of the issues of the mark of the beast, see Messages, 73-114.

sabbath of the man of sin that they acknowledge him as above all that is called God" and receive his mark.<sup>1</sup>

The conflict

The conflict depicted in Rev 12-13 Andrews saw as centered around the Sabbath-Sunday issue. The beast of Rev 13:11-18 will have power to put to death any who refuse to worship the first beast and its image.<sup>2</sup> The warning in the third angel's message is directed against this power. It refers to the scene of conflict described in Rev 13 where, in a last attack on the law of God, the beast power and the image to the beast attempt to exalt themselves above the Creator by changing that precise commandment which denotes God as Creator and thus rightful ruler<sup>3</sup> and sentencing

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<sup>1</sup>Messages, 108-109. He continues: "Those who have never yet understood that the observance of Sunday is a tradition of the fathers which makes void the fourth commandment, are not referred to." Ibid., 109. See also, "Is the Bible Sufficient?" RH, 19 May 1851, 88:1, where he states: "Those who acknowledge the authority of the beast, will then receive his mark,—this counterfeit Sabbath of the beast: for it is the act of bringing this to a test which will constitute it emphatically THE MARK OF THE BEAST, or mark of that power that should 'think to change time and laws.' The papacy similarly made a change in the ordinance of baptism." Andrews concludes, "The Sabbath and baptism, as observed by the mass, no longer commemorate the events for which they were designed." Ibid., 85.

<sup>2</sup>Messages, 105.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 108-109. Also ibid., 107: The "fourth commandment alone points out Jehovah. . . . Not one of [the] nine commandments points out the true God. But the Sabbath commandment points out the true God as that being who in six days created heaven and earth, and rested upon the seventh. By the observance of the sanctified rest-day of the Creator, he is acknowledged as the true God."

dissenters to death.<sup>1</sup> In the repetition of history that is prophesied, Andrews recognized that it is the "lack of scriptural argument" for a false Sabbath that is the "chief cause why men have resorted to the argument of fire and fagot to convince dissenters."<sup>2</sup> Thus the message of the third angel as no other message serves to "draw a line between the worshippers of God and the worshippers of the beast and his image."<sup>3</sup> The final controversy between the dragon and the remnant of woman's seed (Rev 12:17) has from the beginning involved the law of God; and, as in the past, victory has been assured to those "who have the ark of God, and have kept his commandments."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Andrews interestingly points out that in the last conflict the "powers of this earth" will imprison those who do not keep certain of the commandments which involve killing or stealing, while on the other hand they will imprison those who do keep the fourth. "The fourth commandment is the precept that brings out the ire of the dragon—When the remnant take hold of this precept, which the dragon has with such care been laboring to change, the wrath of worldings, Catholics, Protestants, and even of Adventists, is roused to crush them." "Letter 6," RH, 22 July 1852, 45:2.

<sup>2</sup>See Messages, 114. Here on the basis of Rev 12:17 and Rev 13, Andrews states his belief that the persecution will take place in the United States. Speaking of William Miller, he says, "Mr. Miller [though he did not connect it with the Sabbath] remarks respecting this prophecy: 'I am therefore constrained to believe this battle of the dragon's last power will be in America; and if so, it must be mainly in these United States. [Lectures, 213.]'" Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>"Thoughts on Revelation," RH, 19 May 1851, 85:1.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. Also see 1 Sam 4, 5.

### The patient waiting period

Andrews related the phrase "patience of the saints" directly to the keeping of the Sabbath. He depicted the necessity of God's people enduring the final stages of the conflict in which the Sabbath is vindicated. Such will require patient endurance.<sup>1</sup>

### The fulfillment of the prophecy

Andrews, in the 1850s, spoke of the imminent fulfillment of the prophecy of Rev 12:17 and 14:6-12.<sup>2</sup> By 1877 developments in the political-religious scene in America with great agitation for stronger Sunday laws, became so striking that he added emphasis to his writings:

We see the preparation for the law which shall compel all men to observe Sunday. We see the papal power awakening to declare itself infallible, and to claim anew the power to rule over the kingdoms of the earth. We hear the voice of alarm of the third angel, and we already see many thousands in response to his warning turning to the observance of God's commandments.<sup>3</sup>

He did not fear for the future of the Sabbath, but rather saw that through the proclamation of the third angel's message the Sabbath of the fourth commandment will

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<sup>1</sup>Messages, 128. The period of patience Andrews saw described in Heb 10:35-39 and Jas 5:7-10. He declares: "The vindication of the fourth commandment in opposition to the Sabbath of the apostasy, and the preaching of all the commandments of God, is a striking testimony that the present is the period of the saints' patience, and of the warning of the third angel." Ibid., 132.

<sup>2</sup>"Letter 6," RH, 22 July 1852, 45.

<sup>3</sup>Messages, 141.

be finally vindicated. The conflict between God's people and the beast and its image is inevitable, and though all the wicked will be united under Satan in the worship of the beast and in its attempt to utterly destroy the saints, God will interpose to save His people and cause them to triumph gloriously.<sup>1</sup>

Andrews then pictures Paradise: All that humankind has lost by sin will be restored--"the tree of life, innocence, felicity . . . personal intercourse with his Creator."<sup>2</sup> He concludes:

When God gave to man Paradise, he gave him the Sabbath; and when he restores the redeemed to Paradise again, the whole family of the second Adam shall keep it even for endless ages.<sup>3</sup>

#### Practical Sabbath Issues

Seventh-day Adventists did not adopt the sundown-to-sundown time frame for the Sabbath until 1855 when, because the subject was under discussion among Adventists, James White requested Andrews to "give the subject a thorough investigation."<sup>4</sup> Before his assigned study, Andrews had

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 141.

<sup>2</sup>"Thoughts on Hebrews," 20 July 1869, 28, 29.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. Andrews's interpretation of Heb 4:9 is that the "rest" translated from the word sabbatismos refers to the "act of Sabbathkeeping," which he anticipates will "characterize the rest of the saints in the kingdom of God." Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>James White, "Time of the Sabbath," RH, 4 December 1855, 78. James White said: "We have never been fully satisfied with the testimony presented in favor of six

advocated that the Sabbath must begin at the fixed point of 6:00 P.M.<sup>1</sup> Using Gen 1 and 2 and Lev 23:32, he first established the two facts that darkness was the first division of the day, and that the Sabbath should be kept from "even to even." Neh 13:19 and Mark 1:21-32 provided evidence that the commencement of the Jewish day was "about the time of sunset."<sup>2</sup> Recognizing that at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes the sun rises and sets about six, and taking into account Christ's words that there are "twelve hours in the day" (John 11:9), he had been convinced that the Sabbath invariably began at 6:00 P.M.<sup>3</sup>

As a result of his 1855 study Andrews altered his position.<sup>4</sup> He observed numerous texts that link "even" or

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o'clock. . . . The subject has troubled us, yet we have never found time to thoroughly investigate it." Before Andrews's 1855 study Joseph Bates was a strong advocate of the 6 o'clock hour for the beginning of the Sabbath. He insisted that "Scripture testimony" was clear on this point, and he used arguments similar to those used by Andrews in his 1851 article, "Time to Commence the Holy Sabbath," RH, 21 April 1851, 71.

<sup>1</sup>In 1851 Andrews insisted that continually shifting the commencement of the Sabbath would destroy the institution as would shifting the Sabbath from one day to another. "The Time of the Sabbath," RH, 2 June 1851, 92.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 92.

<sup>3</sup>See *ibid.* In 1852 he referred to the "Bible method of reckoning time," as being from six o'clock to six o'clock. "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 86:2.

<sup>4</sup>Andrews discredited his own former view of a six-o'clock beginning for Sabbath by saying there was no scriptural evidence for the view and, on the contrary, the Bible by several plain statements established the fact that evening is at sunset. Further, it would have been almost

"evening" with the "going down of the sun," and was convinced that "even" could not refer to the six o'clock hour, but must refer to the actual going down of the sun (Deut 16:6; 23:11; 24: 13, 15; Lev 22:6-7; Josh 8:29; 2 Chron 18:34; Luke 4:40).<sup>1</sup> Earlier he had used the idea of the twelve-hour day to prove each day must commence at six. However in the Jewish way of reckoning, hours were not of consistent length. This allowed for sunset to end each twelve-"hour" day because "hours" consisted of a "twelfth part of the space between sunrise and sunset."<sup>2</sup> For Andrews the study "establishes the fact that evening is at sunset," and so sunset must be the time for the commencement of the Sabbath.<sup>3</sup>

Another practical Sabbath issue that Andrews answered was the challenge that a definite seventh day could not be kept on a round world. In 1871 he displayed his unflinching love of debate when in a series of detailed articles he concluded, by the use of logic and illustration, that whatever place on the planet man finds himself, "the

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impossible, especially in light of the Jews' method of reckoning time and without the aid of clocks, to determine an exact six o'clock time.

<sup>1</sup>"Time for Commencing the Sabbath," RH, 4 December 1855, 78: 1-2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 77:3.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 78:2. Andrews included a synopsis of his reasoning on the commencing of the Sabbath in a footnote in History, 107-108.

definite seventh day is to be found, and can be kept by those who are so minded."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he noted that wherever Sundaykeepers are found, a definite first day is recognized.<sup>2</sup>

Andrews's writing includes little practical advice on how to spend the Sabbath hours, but in answer to a RH reader's question on how to avoid carelessness in closing the Sabbath he recommended closing the Sabbath with family worship, thus providing "an excellent preparation for the commencement of worldly business."<sup>3</sup>

#### Reflections on Andrews as Writer and Theologian

Andrews occupied an important place in early Adventism. His talents for logic and argumentation found ample exercise as he constructed carefully thought-out arguments to support the developing Seventh-day Adventist doctrinal positions. His theology dealt largely with the defense of dogma but also with evangelistic concern.

Though not college or seminary trained, Andrews was nonetheless a systematic and thorough theologian. His work bears the marks of a carefully disciplined mind. He had an

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<sup>1</sup>"The Definite Seventh Day, or God's Measurement of Time on the Round World," RH, 14 February 1871, 66.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. See also, "The Seventh Day on the Round World," RH, 7 March 1871, 89; "The Course of Day," RH, 9 May 1871, 164; "The Day Line," RH, 30 May 1871, 185, and 6 June 1871, 193.

<sup>3</sup>"How to Keep the Sabbath," RH, 2 February 1860, 88.

obsession for detail and brought to bear every text he could find on a subject before leaving a field of study.<sup>1</sup> Although he claimed that he would change his views if shown to be wrong,<sup>2</sup> he was loathe to leave an argument until he felt "opponents" had no ground on which to stand.

Andrews was not one to speculate; his approach was primarily biblical and logical. Often he would present two or more sides to an issue and by the process of elimination come to a conclusion. Sometimes the comments to his "opponents" border on sarcasm or ridicule, but it does not appear he intended to wound.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>As he painstakingly prepared the 1873 edition of History, Ellen G. White commended him on one hand: "You put your whole soul into the subject . . . ; you go deeper and deeper into the matter," but she also cautioned him that "there are very few minds that can follow you." She continued, "There is danger of your ploughing and planting the seed of truth so deep that the tender, precious blade will never find the surface." Ellen G. White to J. N. Andrews, [ca. 1872], Letter 31, 1872, Ellen G. White Research Center, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI. While preparing the 1873 revision of his History, Andrews wrote 15 articles arguing with Preble over historical chapters of the 1861 edition. Ellen White chided him: "You are in danger of presenting objections to thousands of minds that they never thought of, and which many will use if they become disaffected." Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>His commitment to truth is shown in his declaration, "I would exchange a thousand errors for one truth." Ellen G. White, Life Sketches of Ellen G. White (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1915), 127.

<sup>3</sup>As an example see "Crozier Reviewed," RH, 3 February 1852, 82:3: "We greatly fear that those who teach this doctrine [the Sabbath instituted in the wilderness of Sin], are in that wilderness themselves."

Andrews's approach is not popular in theological circles today. Few contemporary Sabbath theologians, either within or without the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, are working in Andrews's armor. Today's aversion to legalism has caused theologians to avoid law as a framework for Sabbath theology, stressing instead the celebrative or joyous angle as their theme.<sup>1</sup>

Whether or not Andrews was too detailed, or too argumentive, or lacking in some aspects of his theology, his contemporary church leaders as well as leaders of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination today affirm him as "one of our ablest,"<sup>2</sup> and a "clear and thorough expositor of the doctrines of the early Seventh-day Adventist church."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>One of the last Seventh-day Adventist theologians to use the law as a foundation for defense of the Sabbath was M. L. Andreasen in The Sabbath: Which Day and Why? Some authors writing on Sabbath celebration themes are Abraham Heschel, D. A. Carson, Samuele Bacchiocchi, Sakae Kubo, and Herbert E. Saunders.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 164 above.

<sup>3</sup>Mueller, "The Architect of Adventist Doctrines," 100. "His eye of faith could clearly trace the steps both of fulfilled prophecy and divine leading." Ibid.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE SABBATH THEOLOGIES OF A. H. LEWIS AND J. N. ANDREWS: A COMPARISON AND CONCLUSION

#### Introduction

In the concluding chapter of this study I compare and reflect upon similarities and differences in the Sabbath theologies of A. H. Lewis and J. N. Andrews.<sup>1</sup> Before beginning the primary discussion, to add interest and meaning to the chapter I observe where the paths of Lewis and Andrews converged during their careers and to what degree they were aware of each other's writings. Then, in order that the comparison of their work can be more fully appreciated, I note the general character of the respective denominations out of which each theologian operated. I continue by contrasting the primary motivations underlying their Sabbath theologies, comparing their views in a number of specific areas and discussing ways in which other teachings of their denominations affected their Sabbath theologies. Finally, I consider the

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<sup>1</sup>Within this chapter, as I discuss certain topics from different perspectives, there is occasional overlap in subject matter.

impact of the work and writings of the authors upon their respective denominations and consider how each denomination might have benefited from the approach of the other.

Personal Contact Between  
Lewis and Andrews

Records provide sketchy, but concrete, evidence of personal association between Lewis and Andrews. They wrote and worked for their respective denominations as contemporaries between 1859 and 1883. During this period Andrews served as evangelist, administrator, editor, and, lastly, as overseas missionary. Lewis served primarily as pastor and itinerant preacher, editor, and for a brief period as teacher at Alfred University.

We know that each was familiar with the other's works. The editor of the SR spoke of the two men as "friends" who had proved helpful to each other in the writing of their books.<sup>1</sup> Andrews was strangely silent concerning Lewis's writings, but Lewis referred to Andrews's works on several occasions. In 1864 he spoke of Andrews's History as "a very valuable addition to the Sabbath literature."<sup>2</sup> In several instances he used

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<sup>1</sup>Theodore L. Gardiner, "A Revised History of the Sabbath," SR, 19 August 1912, 226. Gardiner expresses appreciation for having received a copy of Conradi's revised edition of Andrews's History.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, "A New Book on the Sabbath," SR, 7 July 1864, 106.

Andrews's History as a reference in his own writings.<sup>1</sup> In his 1870 edition of Sabbath and Sunday an entire chapter of twenty pages on the prophetic grounding of Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath theology was, according to Lewis, "from the pen" of Andrews.<sup>2</sup> A number of Andrews's sermons were printed in the SR between 14 May 1874 and 11 June 1874.

The two men most surely encountered each other personally, as Andrews more than once was the official Seventh-day Adventist representative at Seventh Day Baptist General Conferences. In reporting his visit of the 1873 conference, Andrews spoke of listening to Lewis's opening sermon, "Watchman, What of the Night?"<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A. H. Lewis, "The Sabbath," SR, 7 September 1865, 142; idem, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 162; idem, Critical History, 94-95.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 237-258. For Lewis's reference to correspondence with Andrews regarding the preparation of the chapter see idem, "Tracts," SR, 11 March 1869, 42. In the 1886 edition of Critical History, the volume into which the historical chapters of Sabbath and Sunday were later moved, the chapter on Seventh-day Adventists was reduced to a half page. In the 1903 edition of the book it was increased to four pages.

<sup>3</sup>Andrews, "Visit to the Seventh-Day Baptist General Conference," RH, 30 September 1873, 124. Also see James White, "Seventh-Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists," RH, 4 December 1879, which speaks of Andrews's attendance at the 1868 Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, and Andrews, "Visit to the S. D. Baptist General Conference," RH, 19 September 1871, 108, where Andrews as official representative reports on the conference and on his opportunity to "form acquaintance with a goodly number . . . and to renew acquaintance with some that I have known in former years."

Beyond their personal acquaintance each was drawn into close association with the other's denomination by specific life experiences. Some known encounters are the occasion when as a young man Lewis carefully investigated some of the distinctive Seventh-day Adventist doctrines, his experience in 1888 of standing with Seventh-day Adventist A. T. Jones against the Blair Bill for Sunday legislation, a period of time in 1900 when he and his wife were patients at the Seventh-day Adventist Battle Creek Sanitarium, and his on-going friendship with sanitarium director Dr. J. H. Kellogg and his Seventh Day Baptist wife.<sup>1</sup> Andrews's association with Seventh Day Baptists came also through his close friendship with William M. Jones, a Seventh Day Baptist minister in England, with whom he corresponded from America and whom he visited and worked with a number of times between 1874 and 1880.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gardiner, Sketch, 100; Emmett K. Vande Vere, Windows (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Assn, 1975), 251-252. A letter to Vande Vere from Dr. S. P. S. Edwards indicates that Lewis was well enough acquainted with the Seventh-day Adventist leadership at Battle Creek to have been invited to speak at the Seventh-day Adventist "Tabernacle" there. "Correspondence of Dr. S. P. S. Edwards to Vande Vere," 16 April 1956, Ellen G. White Estate, DF 967-J. Edwards was a teacher at Battle Creek in 1900, and was a second cousin of Lewis's.

<sup>2</sup>For Andrews's narrative of his association with Jones see: RH, 27 October 1874, 142; 3 January 1878, 4; 26 June 1879, 4; 11 September 1879, 93; 22 July 1880, 80. Also see "Andrews and the Mission to Britain," in Man and Mission, 225-260.

Denominational Roots of  
Andrews and Lewis

The Sabbath theologies of Lewis and Andrews cannot be fully appreciated without reference to the respective denominational backgrounds that had part in shaping their thinking. Profiles of the denominations (as discussed below) indicate considerable dissimilarity in temperament, polity, and teachings, which have through the years resulted in a difference in the vitality of their movements and their methods of promoting the Sabbath.

Andrews developed his theology within a first-generation movement led primarily by young, self-educated individuals and characterized by a spirit of rigor, mobility, and zeal. With not much concern for image, his denomination's untiring zeal for evangelism was driven by a theology that distinguished it from other Protestant denominations and the culture of the day. Its doctrines included history but focused primarily on the prophetic future. Its growing membership was made up of those whose pioneering mentality was compatible with the spirit of Adventism, calling as it did for a break from the norms of the prevailing culture.

Lewis's theology was written from within a denomination that was a well-established organization with nearly a 300-year history. Its leaders, for the most part, were tempered men of culture and education with an eye to the approval of society. The spirit of the movement was

one of congeniality, its approach not as confrontational as was that of the zealous young Seventh-day Adventists. Many of its people had means and were well-educated. Its leadership moved in classes of society where people had a degree of self-sufficiency and were not likely to accept unpopular dogma. Its Sabbath doctrine was based primarily on biblical history.

Both Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists were strong believers in promoting the Sabbath outside their own circles. The Seventh Day Baptists taught the Sabbath in isolation from other doctrines. Beyond a belief in the Sabbath and a few other very basic teachings, they stood firmly for freedom of the individual to interpret Scripture. They wished to see the Sabbath accepted regardless of whether their denomination was accepted. Seventh-day Adventists, on the other hand, taught the Sabbath as tightly integrated with their other major teachings. Their doctrines were so interrelated and so tied to a specific lifestyle that to accept the Sabbath under their tutelage meant to become a Seventh-day Adventist. Their set of clearly defined beliefs, along with the authoritative voice of a "prophet,"<sup>1</sup> served to consolidate them.

In promoting the Sabbath, both denominations urged the Sabbath on its own merits and on the value of truth.

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 28, n. 2 above.

Further, both denominations affirmed that the purpose of the Sabbath was to be a blessing to man and an honor to God, but Seventh Day Baptists had a very strong emphasis on the "blessing to man," while Seventh-day Adventists had a stronger emphasis on the "honor to God."

Generally, Seventh Day Baptists viewed other Christian denominations as "brethren" and dealt with them in a conciliatory way,<sup>1</sup> desiring to promote the Sabbath as God's "reasonable" requirement and as one that would add to the quality of spiritual life, bringing blessings as yet unexperienced. They emphasized the Sabbath as "made for man" (Mark 2:27). Thus a rejection of the Sabbath might not necessarily mean a loss of salvation but would mean a loss of spiritual benefit.<sup>2</sup> Willing to recognize the "mark of the beast"<sup>3</sup> as a mark of deference to the anti-Christ in contrast to the Sabbath as the mark of honor to God, they seldom wrote of it.

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<sup>1</sup>See Sanford, Free People, 106-107, where he speaks of the high spirit of ecumenicity which has generally prevailed between Seventh Day Baptists and non-Sabbathkeeping churches.

<sup>2</sup>William L. Burdick (active in the Seventh Day Baptist denomination in the first third of the 20th century), in an undated pamphlet succinctly describing the divergent views of the two denominations, expressed that "Seventh Day Baptists have labored chiefly to get men to accept Christ as their Savior and to lead Christlike lives. Their ministers have baptized thousands of people who did not accept the Sabbath." William L. Burdick, Seventh Day Baptists as Distinguished from Seventh Day Adventists, 17.

<sup>3</sup>See T. W. Richardson, "The Mark of the Beast," SR, 16 June 1887, 3.

Seventh-day Adventists viewed non-Sabbathkeeping denominations as "Babylon," to whom they extended the call, "Come out of her, my people" (Rev 18:4). Their message by its very nature was confrontive and categorical, emphasizing obedience even when one did not fully understand God's reasons. The acceptance of the Sabbath was not seen as merely a step in Christian growth but the acceptance of a whole new Christian orientation. Placed as it was in the framework of the great controversy, Sabbath-keeping emphasized the vindication of God's sovereignty and the honor shown Him in response to the command to "fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come" (Rev 14:7).

#### Motivating Factors for Lewis's and Andrew's Theologies

The motivating factors underlying the respective Sabbath theologies of Lewis and Andrews and what each author saw as the central theological idea essential to the fulfilling of his purpose are discussed next.

The focus of Lewis's theology was the undefeatable purposes of God and the certainty of the ultimate triumph of truth over error.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of his Sabbath theology

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<sup>1</sup>See Lewis, Catholicization of Protestantism, 9: "Fundamental truth is eternally active and persistent. It appears and reappears in human history until men yield to its demands or are crushed by it, through refusal and disobedience. It is useless to deny truth or to challenge its conclusions. Neither can be evaded. They are expressions of God's thought and power."

was to bring the blessing of the Sabbath back to his nation. For him, a return to the Sabbath was a matter of coming back into harmony with the purposes of God as portrayed in his a priori argument.<sup>1</sup> He wanted America to accept the Sabbath because without it he perceived Christianity as "shorn of one of its chief elements of power, and humanity . . . robbed of one of its chief blessings."<sup>2</sup> His focus in the historical argument was national more than individual. In his writings on "spiritual Sabbathism," the concentration was on the individual experience, which he yet anticipated would lead to a national recognition of the Sabbath. While he expected triumph of the Sabbath, he did not link it specifically with eschatological scenes and the parousia.

The focus of Andrews's Sabbath theology was two-fold. The first was the Sabbath's place in salvation and the subjective experience of the individual in preparation to meet the Lord.<sup>3</sup> The second, while recognizing the importance of the Sabbath in individual lives throughout history, was his emphasis on a climactic period at the end of time when the Sabbath would be part of a message that called out a people from "the world" into one body with a

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 55 above.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, Critical History, v.

<sup>3</sup>See pp. 268-269 above.

unity of faith (Rev 18:4).<sup>1</sup> As centuries of apostasy had resulted in the abandonment of the Sabbath because of blind disobedience, a return to the Sabbath became a central issue of reformatory work.<sup>2</sup> It was connected, on one hand, to character development whereby the Christian prepared to meet God, and on the other hand, to the end-time issue of the seal of God vs. the mark of the beast (Rev 14:6-12) whereby the Christian proclaimed his loyalty to God.<sup>3</sup> The message to accept and live or refuse and perish produced the urgency with which his message was preached.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Andrews wrote: "We trust that God is bringing together his scattered children preparatory to final deliverance. How important it is, beloved brethren, in this, our final struggle with the dragon, that we be found UNITED in 'the commandments of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ.'" J. N. Andrews, "Dear Brethren and Sisters, North Paris, Maine, 16 October 1849," The Present Truth, December 1849, 39. See also, idem, Three Messages, iv, where he says: "What mighty truths has God in reserve for the last generation, with which to accomplish this great work? In answer to these questions, we cite the fourteenth chapter of Revelation."

<sup>2</sup>The apostasy was predicted biblically in Dan 7:25. Andrews saw Isa 58:12-14 as the description of the reformatory counterpart and viewed his movement as the instrument to be used to "repair the breach."

<sup>3</sup>See pp. 271-275; 280-284 above.

<sup>4</sup>Lewis well understood the confrontive Sabbath approach of Seventh-day Adventists. He noted that they made it a prominent part of their creed, "pressing it unceasingly, saying to men, 'If you know this truth, and will not obey, you cannot be God's children.'" Lewis, "Aggressive Sabbath Efforts," SR, 9 April 1863, 54.

Comparative Views on  
Specific Concepts

As both Lewis's and Andrews's Sabbath theologies grew out of early Seventh Day Baptist soil, in aspects of their theologies that are attached to biblical history, there was much similarity. In some other areas, while they emphasized similar basic premises they supported their views from different perspectives. We observe below examples of how even in building the same type of structure they used very distinctive blocks.

The Perpetuity of the Law

The perpetuity of the law is the organizing principle around which the Sabbath theologies of both Lewis and Andrews were constructed. As their opponents continually attempted to provincialize the law as Jewish and temporary in order to undermine the Sabbath doctrine, both Lewis and Andrews, though with different approaches, used the methodology of attaching the Sabbath to an eternal principle in order to establish its perpetuity.

Lewis employed biblically grounded logic, and at times philosophy, to attach the Sabbath to a priori law.<sup>1</sup> He showed how through the a priori law the Sabbath was

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<sup>1</sup>See pp. 55-67 above. Lewis's estimation of the importance of the a priori argument can be seen in the primary position he gives it in his works. It can be viewed as his "calling card" to the reader.

fixed "in the deepest nature of things,"<sup>1</sup> and as such is "as universal and enduring as the system of which it is a part."<sup>2</sup> From a priori law he moves to the Decalogue.

Andrews took a biblical approach showing the Sabbath's eternal nature by first attaching it inseparably to the Decalogue, then showing the Decalogue's eternal nature by using predominantly New Testament Scripture to ascertain that it has not and can never be abrogated.<sup>3</sup>

Both theologians used their understanding of the old and new covenants as another argument in favor of the perpetuity of the law. Both took the approach that the law is a necessary ingredient of the new as well as of the old covenant. Lewis carried his view no further than the traditional argument that the law must remain unchanged to serve as the basis of the new covenant under which it is to be written in the hearts of believers. Andrews went beyond Lewis, adding strength to the argument for the perpetuity of the law by connecting it to the eschatological teachings

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis, "Sabbath for Man," SR, 29 July 1886, 3.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, Sabbath in the Old Testament, 2. Also, idem, "The Rev. Mr. Titsworth on the Sabbath Question," SR, 29 January 1885, 3.

<sup>3</sup>The question of whether or not God has abolished His law is seen by Andrews as the main point at issue in the Sabbath controversy. Andrews, "Perpetuity of the Law of God," RH, January 1851, 33.

of Christ's ministry before the law in the heavenly sanctuary.<sup>1</sup>

Holiness of the Sabbath Fosters  
Holiness of Character

Both Lewis and Andrews saw the concept of holiness as moving from the Sabbath day into the lives of Sabbath-keepers.

Lewis's view of holiness was suggestive of Platonic ideals relating to time and eternity.<sup>2</sup> The Sabbath of time and space is rendered holy by uniting it with the eternal and divine element of God's presence. "The first and last mission of the Sabbath," he affirmed, "is to promote [the] permanent residence of God with men,"<sup>3</sup> which is "the ground of all success, all purity, all holiness."<sup>4</sup> He saw the divine element inherent in the Sabbath as the sanctifying principle in all of life, supporting this concept specifically through the experience portrayed in pure

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<sup>1</sup>See pp. 200, 267-269 above.

<sup>2</sup>See Lewis, Spiritual Sabbathism, chapter 1, especially 39-45, where in the discussion of the relationship between the temporal and the eternal which philosophy has endeavored to address, Platonic ideas predominate.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis, Spiritual Christianity, 3: "Such a residence [of God with man] awakens man's love, and leads him to obedience." Also, idem, Swift Decadence, 238.

<sup>4</sup>Lewis, Pure Christianity, 3.

Hebraism and the Sabbathism of Christ.<sup>1</sup> This was Lewis's "spiritual sabbathism"—the "high spiritual experience" which "draws men to [God] and promotes . . . communion and worship."<sup>2</sup> We see here the definite link between the Sabbath and character development, as he affirms that "the true spiritual keeping of the Sabbath will develop a higher grade of Christian life."<sup>3</sup>

Andrews connects the concept of holiness, both in the Sabbath and in the believers, to being "sanctified," or set apart. The Sabbath as set aside for "holy use" he refers to as "sanctified" time.<sup>4</sup> The holiness of the believers comes first as "a calling out" which sets them apart, and second, as an inner change by which through the cleansing portrayed in the sanctuary they become like Christ. The law (including the Sabbath) is written in the

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<sup>1</sup>See pp. 131-137 above; also Lewis, Spiritual Sabbathism, 144-154.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, Swift Decadence, 241. Also, idem, "Aggressive Sabbath Efforts," SR, 23 April 1863, 62.

<sup>3</sup>A. H. Lewis, "What We Think of Ourselves," SR, 2 September 1880, 145. See also, idem, Spiritual Sabbathism, viii: "Sabbath observance has the highest pragmatic value in the development of Christian character and spiritual life." In 1886 he spoke of the Sabbath as a "sacred high way to communion with God, and spiritual development." Idem, "Agitation Concerning Sunday," SR, 11 February 1886, 3.

<sup>4</sup>Andrews, "Thoughts on the Sabbath," RH, 31 October 1854, 92. In the 1870 edition of Sermons, he uses the subtitle, "The Sacred and Secular" as a heading on every left-hand page, indicating that he had some interest in the philosophical ideas Lewis represented, but he nowhere openly addressed them.

heart "so that it shall be their very nature to obey it,"<sup>1</sup> and their "characters are perfected in virtue."<sup>2</sup> Thus, although Andrews does not use the term "holiness" in this respect, he connects the fulfillment of the covenant in the believers to the holiness concept. The Sabbath holds a place in this sanctification process, (1) as a sign that the believer has "come out from the world," and (2) as a part of that law which is written in the heart.

Both Lewis and Andrews wrote primarily as theologians and only briefly addressed the practical aspects of Sabbathkeeping. Lewis's view of what should not be done on the Sabbath is obvious from his criticism of how Sundaykeepers keep their day of worship.<sup>3</sup> Writing in 1863 Lewis insisted that Seventh Day Baptists must "differ from the masses, as much in the manner of keeping, as in the day we keep."<sup>4</sup> Here he advised against engaging in any business that infringes on keeping the day holy, against Sabbath traveling on public thoroughfares for "convenience," or basing "necessity" on "duty to your

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<sup>1</sup>Andrews, Sermons, 94-95.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 96. See also where he says: "When this work is fully wrought in men, then they are, in the highest sense, Christian; for they are like Christ." Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 117, n. 3 above; also, Lewis, Swift Decadence, 1-34, which includes pages of testimony regarding Americans' desecration of the day which they have themselves legislated as spiritual time.

<sup>4</sup>Lewis, "Aggressive Sabbath Efforts," SR, 23 April 1863, 62.

pocket." He encouraged closing businesses early on the sixth day and even eating more cold dinners on Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> Writing in 1899, he stressed the more spiritual aspects of Sabbath keeping, such as church attendance, studying God's word, and fellowshiping with God. He emphasized that "the Day of God leads to the house of God, and to the Book of God, and to the Son of God."<sup>2</sup>

Andrews's interest in the sundown issue shows his concern for a change of activity during Sabbath hours. In answering the question of a reader in RH, he speaks of "refraining from all worldly business" and of closing the Sabbath with family worship. He depicts the Sabbath as presenting an excellent opportunity by which Christians can effectively prepare for the challenges of a new week.<sup>3</sup> In Sermons he upholds Christ's example of faithful Sabbath attendance at the house of God, staunchly declaring that Christ did not remain at home from the synagogue "for rain, or heat, or dust, or weariness," and did not count the Sabbath a "day for sleep."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, Swift Decadence, 238.

<sup>3</sup>Andrews, "How to Keep the Sabbath," RH, 2 February 1860, 88.

<sup>4</sup>Andrews, Sermons, 109.

Literalness of Creation  
and Creation Days

While in their earliest writings both Lewis and Andrews held to the view of a literal seven-day creation week, in later years their views diverged.

Lewis, in his attempt to reconcile scientific and traditional religious positions by lifting both to a "high spiritual plane," moves to a de-literalized view of creation, allowing the creation story to be considered a myth and creation days, long periods of time.<sup>1</sup> He explains that the story of creation was given under the "figure of a week" so that the example of God in resting on the seventh day "might become the basis of his commandment."<sup>2</sup> Although viewing creation days as long periods of time dispenses with a literal seventh day to which to attach the Sabbath, Lewis insists the Sabbath command simply "bids us to do in our sphere what God did in his."<sup>3</sup>

Originally Andrews interpreted the creation narrative so narrowly that he maintained that all matter in the universe was created on the first day. He may have

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<sup>1</sup>See pp. 137-145 above.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, "The Sabbath and the Lord's Day," Outlook, April 1888, 496. Also idem, "Sabbath for Man," SR, 29 July 1886, 3.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis, Outlook, April 1888, 496. "This truth [that God and man operate in different spheres regarding days]," Lewis insists, "relieves the Sabbath question of the pettifogging which is sometimes attempted concerning the length of the creative days and the relation between God's Sabbath and man's." Ibid.

relaxed this stand, as statements to that effect were removed from later revisions of his work. He clearly held creation days to be twenty-four-hour periods.<sup>1</sup> In his later years he introduced language that could lead to a misunderstanding of his view of literal creation days when in his explanation of the cosmic week he referred to "days such as are known to man" and "days such as are known to God."<sup>2</sup>

Andrews's commitment to exegetical literalness led him to make an unusual interpretation of Gen 2:3. By leaning heavily on the King James translation, which renders the Hebrew word shabath as "had rested," he found reason to sequence God's acts of "blessing" and "sanctifying" after the first Sabbath was past, in this way attempting to show that it was Sabbaths to come that were sanctified.<sup>3</sup> In saying the first Sabbath was not sanctified, Andrews directly differed from Lewis, who saw the first week of creation as complete and perfect on the

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<sup>1</sup>Andrews, Sermons (1870), 6, 7; idem, Sermons (1890), 6, 7.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 255 above.

<sup>3</sup>See pp. 219-220 above; Andrews, History, 16. In speaking of God's rest on the seventh day, Andrews carefully avoids speaking of a completed work. "A rest necessarily implies a work performed," he states. Ibid., 25.

first Sabbath, an indivisible unit serving as a paradigm for all time to come.<sup>1</sup>

The Immanence and Transcendence  
of God

During the last decades of his career, Lewis moved to views of the immanence of God which, though labeled by some as pantheistic, would probably be more accurately described as panentheistic.<sup>2</sup> As he became more involved in his "high spiritual view," he emphasized that the whole purpose of creation was to be fellowship with God and that this was actualized in the Sabbath. Within the Sabbath, far above the element of rest, he stressed the mystical element of the sense of God's spiritual presence. His view of the Sabbath as "God's representative in time"<sup>3</sup> rendered the Sabbath almost one and the same with God. It appears that through this emphasis he moved to a view of God's mystical presence in all of nature that the Sabbath was

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<sup>1</sup>See pp. 69-71 above.

<sup>2</sup>"In Greek pan means 'all,' theos means 'god,' and en means 'in.' Pantheism means that all is God; panentheism, that all is in God." Charles Hartshorne, "Pantheism and Panentheism," The Encyclopedia of Religion (1987), 11:165-171. To the pantheist, all the forces and laws of the existing universe combine to form God; Lewis had a much more personal view of God than this. The panentheism and immanentism of Lewis's day appear to be associated with pietism (a movement protesting intellectualism, churchly formalism, and ethical passivity) which promoted a personal relationship with God, stressing experience rather than dogma. See Ahlstrom, 236.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 145-147 above.

commemorating.<sup>1</sup> Research of his writings does not produce clear evidence of pantheistic ideas, though in conversation he reportedly expressed ideas that would be considered panentheistic. In a conversation of 1900 between Lewis and Sanford P. S. Edwards, a teacher at Battle Creek College, if recollected and reported correctly, Lewis suggested that "God is a presence, an essence, He is everywhere, in the trees, in the flowers, the food we eat."<sup>2</sup> Lewis's ideas,

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<sup>1</sup>Long-time friend of Lewis's was Jonathan Allen, president and instructor at Alfred University, who also had panentheistic leanings. He wrote, "God specializes in all providences, yet grounds them in general laws. Instead of dead matter, unyielding mechanisms, and insensate forces, there is everywhere the living presence, the conscious spirit, the pervading God." Jonathan Allen, Allen of Alfred, ed. Edwin H. Lewis (Milton, WI: Davis-Green Corp. Press, 1932), 76-78. Allen was a highly educated scientist, recognized in educational circles as a geologist of authority. At a time when the fundamentalist-modernist controversy was developing he was one who attempted to harmonize science and religion. In this Lewis became his disciple. Other Seventh Day Baptist contemporaries with theological persuasions similar to Lewis's and Allen's in this regard were A. E. Main, Dean of Alfred University 1901-1933, and Theodore Gardiner, President of Salem College for 14 years. Whether they influenced him or were influenced by him, these three men supported each other in a theology in which with a combination of science and higher criticism, creation, and other biblical accounts were mythologized. These men, along with Allen, represented the modern trend in Seventh Day Baptist circles of higher learning.

<sup>2</sup>See "Correspondence of Dr. S. P. S. Edwards to Vande Vere," April 27-30, 1956. The source appears reliable. Dr. Sanford P. S. Edwards was a physician and instructor at Battle Creek College. He was a relative of Lewis's; their fathers were cousins and grew up together. Both Lewis and Edwards were friends of J. H. Kellogg and spent time in his home. The conversation reported above took place at the close of a visit Lewis made to Edwards's physiology class at Battle Creek College. Edwards writes the following recollection of Lewis's visit to his class:

however, appeared as an honest attempt to strengthen man's consciousness of God's immanence in all the objects and events of the natural world.<sup>1</sup>

While an emphasis on God's omnipresence was a positive emphasis needed in Sabbath theology and served to bring God more vividly into the lives of His people, the extreme view undermined the objective existence of God as sovereign in heaven. This was a danger pointed to by Seventh-day Adventists.

Andrews's theology by its very nature led to an emphasis on God's transcendence rather than His immanence. The structure of the sanctuary teachings, central to the Seventh-day Adventist doctrine, called for an objective focus on a personal Being ministering in the courts of the

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"After class Dr. Lewis came over, shook hands and said, 'You gave a wonderful talk to your class. . . . Do you think that you may be stretching a point, in emphasizing the exact features of God's being? He is a spirit. You talk of His hands, His feet and eyes and ears and tongue just like He were a physical being. God is a presence, an essence. He is everywhere, in the trees, in the flowers, the food we eat. Are you not in danger of getting too narrow a view of God?' After a minute of thought, I answered, . . . 'To me He has hands; he holds my hand. He has feet; I walk in His footsteps. . . . God is a person to me.' The discussion ended with my having learned where Dr. Kellogg, George Fifield, W. W. Prescott, M. Bessie DeGrew and E. H. Waggoner got some, if not much of their pantheism." Ibid., 9-10.

<sup>1</sup>Lewis emphasized God's immanence even in the events of history: "[The] logic of events is another name for God; and what we see and feel along the channels of history is the definite expression of the divine purpose in its struggle with man's disobedience. A. H. Lewis, "Outlook Correspondence," SR, 10 March 1887, 3.

heavenly sanctuary, interceding and making atonement in behalf of His people upon the earth. Although Adventists taught the importance of a consciousness of God's presence in the Christian life,<sup>1</sup> they saw that an overemphasis on "God with us" would undermine the importance of "God for us" in the heavenly sanctuary<sup>2</sup> and on God's returning as a personal being to rescue His people.

### The Nature of the Great Controversy

Andrews and Lewis viewed the nature of the final conflict between good and evil in distinctly different ways. Andrews drew very clear battle lines and saw the conflict as directly between the persons of Christ and Satan. This made his approach more striking, because the

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<sup>1</sup>"As a shield from temptation and an inspiration to purity and truth, no other influence can equal the sense of God's presence." Ellen G. White, Education (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1903), 255. Adventists also recognized God's presence in nature: "God is love is written upon every opening bud, upon every spire of springing grass. . . . In nature itself are messages of hope and comfort." Idem, Steps to Christ (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing, Assn., 1908), 10.

<sup>2</sup>Ellen G. White, leader in the Seventh-day Adventist church, sharply warned the Seventh-day Adventist denomination against pantheism, especially as it was being taught by Dr. J. H. Kellogg, Seventh-day Adventist physician at Battle Creek Sanitarium. She posed it as a threat to the central teachings of Adventism. She wrote to J. H. Kellogg: "You are not definitely clear on the personality of God, which is everything to us as a people. You have virtually destroyed the Lord God Himself." Ellen G. White to Dr. J. H. Kellogg, Letter 300, 1903, Ellen G. White Research Center, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI.

forces that were for or against the Sabbath could be visualized as pitched in two camps. Lewis refers to the scriptural "man of sin" (and the anti-Christ), but because he does not come to a clear definition of the term, the evil force does not appear as a personal "devil" in his writings. His way of dealing with the great controversy is in the terms of truth and error.<sup>1</sup> "The logic of events," he wrote in 1887, "is another name for God; and what we see and feel along the channels of history is the definite expression of the divine purpose in its struggle with man's disobedience."<sup>2</sup> In the Christian era he saw that the conflict between good and evil found expression in the pagan residuum which existed as a pervading element in history and which continued in the jostling for Sunday legislation in his day. This view was less confrontational than Andrews's view, which grew directly out of the prophetic framework of his theology and portrayed the final conflict as a clearly recognizable battle.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis describes the forces in history as a series of results: "It is the story of the struggle between right and wrong; the record of God's dealing with men. . . . History preserves God's verdicts concerning human choices and actions." Lewis, Paganism Surviving, v. He refers to Sunday observance as a "gray haired error." Idem, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 4.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, "Outlook Correspondence," SR, 10 March 1887, 2.

<sup>3</sup>See next section; also, pp. 279-284 above, and the striking conclusion of Andrews, Three Messages, 139-141, where he portrays closing scenes of the conflict.

Except for the Sabbath issue, Lewis did not spend time discussing the nature of the controversy, whereas Andrews portrays a large picture of the controversy through his presentation of Rev 13 and 14.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Triumph of the Sabbath

Andrews and Lewis each held a strong view of the final victory of the Sabbath but each perceived its triumph in different terms. The pathways they portrayed as leading to that triumph vividly illustrate the different temperaments of their theological positions. Lewis was operating from the historical perspective, Andrews from a prophetic-eschatological perspective.

Lewis, reflecting the typical American optimism of his time (especially during his early years), was expecting and working for a national victory for the Sabbath comparable to the anti-slavery victory.<sup>2</sup> Without doubt he looked for the conversion of the American Christian church to the Sabbath, and at times he wrote as if he expected that the nation as a whole would accept it. He intended the scope of his theology to be so broad, biblical, and reasonable as to be irresistible to sensible and dedicated

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<sup>1</sup>See pp. 264-285 above.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, Sabbath and Sunday, 5. Because national reforms such as anti-slavery, temperance, and especially the National Sabbath Reform Movement on behalf of Sunday were common causes, it was not unreasonable for Lewis to view his cause as one of equal importance and potential.

Christians. By means of the Outlook, classified by Lewis as nondenominational, he purposed to present the Sabbath to the clergy and other thought leaders, and thus to the nation.<sup>1</sup> It seems he expected the Sabbath to permeate the nation by a gradual but persistent growth,<sup>2</sup> like the growth of a mustard seed (Matt 13:31). With nuances of an evolutionary progress<sup>3</sup> he saw humankind as wading through the mistakes of history and finally, as a natural consequence of the power of truth, arriving with "thorn-torn feet"<sup>4</sup> at the "restoration to harmony with truth."<sup>5</sup> He affirmed that if the weaknesses and failures of men were not to interfere with workings of the power of truth, "the Church would show steady progress towards the perfect and sinless state."<sup>6</sup> Though he foresaw conflict by which God would "purge away [the church's] cherished errors,"<sup>7</sup> it appears that he felt the power of truth was sufficient to accomplish the task on this earth. His earlier views of

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<sup>1</sup>The Outlook was mailed to 55,000 clergy, but was relatively short-lived, published between 1882 and 1897. See p. 51, n. 1 above.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, Sabbath and Sunday, 3-6.

<sup>3</sup>See Lewis, Spiritual Sabbathism, v.

<sup>4</sup>Lewis, Swift Decadence, i.

<sup>5</sup>A. H. Lewis, "Victory at Last," SR, 28 December 1871, 2.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Lewis, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 268.

the conflict appeared more directly as a battle between Sabbath and Sunday;<sup>1</sup> later when he spoke of conflict he referred at least partially to the Sunday-law conflict. This Sunday-law conflict he expected would bring Protestantism to the realization that in religion "a question cannot be settled until it is settled in accordance with fundamental truth," and would result in Protestantism's return to the Sabbath of the Bible.<sup>2</sup> In later years he acknowledged great disappointment that Protestantism had not accepted the Sabbath in response to reason as he had expected it would.<sup>3</sup> But in 1892 he insisted, "I have far stronger faith in the triumph of the truth in 1892 than I could have in 1862."<sup>4</sup> The same year he wrote:

The Sabbath, as God's day, . . . will be restored; and this recognition of it as God's ever-recurring

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis's view of victory was clear: "The truth will triumph. Honest men everywhere will obey. The masses may not. The honorable and mighty of earth may not. But God's children will. The battle will be sore. There will be strong opposition and persecution. It will not be an easy thing, as the world counts ease, to be a Sabbath-keeper in the years to come. . . . I rest my cause on this truth, that God will not leave his law unvindicated. You and I may not live to see the triumph, but I pray we may live to well begin the battle." A. H. Lewis, "Prospects of Sabbath Observers," SR, 9 November 1865, 178.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, Catholicization of Protestantism, 9; see also idem, Spiritual Sabbathism, v.

<sup>3</sup>A. H. Lewis, "How Will Reaction Come?" SR, 10 January 1892, 21; idem, "Sabbath Reform Work," in Jubilee Papers, 1892, 123.

<sup>4</sup>Lewis, "Sabbath Reform Work," 124.

representative in human life will do much to bring in that universal Sabbathism towards which God is patiently leading his truth-loving children.<sup>1</sup>

He openly acknowledged, however, that he was unable to discern how this would develop or "how it would be carried on."<sup>2</sup> In 1900, in the last pages of his admonitions to young preachers, though his hopes had dimmed, he still expressed his anticipation that "some reaction in favor of the Sabbath [would] set in at an early day."<sup>3</sup>

In direct contrast, Andrews arrived at the triumph of the Sabbath by way of the cataclysmic intervention of God. Even more strongly than Lewis, he emphasized great conflict and persecution for those who held to the seventh-day Sabbath. Instead of the Sabbath's gaining national acceptance, he saw that the government of the nation and the majority of the Christian churches would violently reject the Sabbath, with the enemy appearing to possess the upper hand until the very end. Andrews's view of the "remnant" who accept the Sabbath was that of a small group within the Christian church, rather than the Christian

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis, Paganism Surviving, 299.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, "Constabulary Sunday Keeping," SR, 16 November 1865, 182. Also, idem, "Sabbath Reform Work," in Jubilee Papers, 1892, 123: "'The unexpected will happen' and reinstate Sabbathism and the Sabbath. . . . How the 'unexpected' will be developed, when it will appear, or what it will be, I know not. . . . Its appearance may shatter many of our expectations; and yet I believe it will grow out of what, under God, we have helped to do."

<sup>3</sup>Lewis, Letters to Young Preachers, 225.

church as a whole. Andrews's special contribution to Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath theology was one that was diametrically opposed to the view of his friend Lewis. He saw that the two-horned lamb of Rev 13 (the American nation), rather than accepting the Sabbath, would speak as a dragon and enforce the mark of the beast.<sup>1</sup> Thus under trying circumstances the Sabbath would become a test to God's people and a sign of their loyalty. Its triumph would mark the end of the controversy between good and evil in the "grand event" which he saw as impending "—the Judgment, and the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>2</sup> How and when this would happen was the essence of the Adventist message.<sup>3</sup>

Dialogue between Seventh-day Adventist R. F. Cottrell and Lewis during 1865 and 1866 illustrates the dissimilarity of views between Lewis and the Seventh-day Adventist view held by Andrews. Cottrell challenged Lewis's view of national reform as too optimistic. He urged him to accept the Seventh-day Adventist position, insisting that he needed the prophetic elements of the 2300 days and the three angels' messages along with the Sabbath theology in order to "effectually labor in the Sabbath

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<sup>1</sup>See pp. 279-282 above.

<sup>2</sup>Andrews, "Dedicatory Sermon," RH, 8 May 1879, 147.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 275, n. 2 above.

cause."<sup>1</sup> Lewis conceded some ground, acknowledging that there would be some eschatological conflict as part of the last-day Sabbath scenario, but he maintained his view of the victory of the Sabbath in the Christian church. He acknowledged that he could see the importance of the prophetic aspect and could see the Sabbath in the three angels' messages, but the prophetic elements more palatable to him were not the prophetic explanations of Revelation which looked to the future, but the writings of Daniel and Paul regarding the "man of sin" (Dan 7:25; 2 Thess 2:3-4), which he could look back upon as fulfilled.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Post-Biblical History

Lewis's and Andrews's post-biblical histories covered much the same ground, but whereas Andrews's approach was essentially to show with historical evidence that it was a human, not a divine, decree that had changed the Sabbath, Lewis combined with his material a philosophy and interpretation that made it part of his theology. By the use of his "verdicts," he portrayed history as a panoramic view of the working out of the purposes of God

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<sup>1</sup>R. F. Cottrell, "Future of the Sabbath," SR, 22 November 1866. This article was reprinted in RH, 1 January 1867, 39. See also, R. F. Cottrell, "Heed the Prophecies," SR, 21 December 1865, 202.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, Sabbath and Sunday (1870), 87.

and of the interplay between truth and error.<sup>1</sup> These theologians' different approaches can be illustrated by their views of the future of Protestantism. Both foresaw the fall of Protestantism as it existed in America during their day. But while Andrews through his understanding of prophecy saw that apostate Protestantism (as the "image to the beast") would by choice unite with the papal power in a confrontation against the Sabbath, Lewis attached his view to the verdict of history. Towards the turn of the century, he also began to expect that Protestants would again be "taken possession of" by Catholicism. He did not, however, believe it would come by Protestants' choice, but because of their unwillingness to accept the Sabbath and reinstate the Bible as the "supreme rule of Protestant Christianity" as he had originally envisioned they would. He saw that a choice to retain the error of the papal-ordained day of worship would render them weak before the forces of Catholicism, and they would be unable to resist the drift back into its embrace.<sup>2</sup> He envisioned the

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis's interpretative approach is illustrated in the use of his verdicts of history, see pp. 93-115 above. Statements made by Andrews as he was preparing for a new edition of History echo Lewis's words and indicate he may have been perusing Lewis's material: "The truth will stand on its own merits. . . . Truth itself is omnipotent. . . . Truth, in the end, always wins the race. If God's law is the truth it will surely be maintained by its Author." Andrews, "New History of the Sabbath," RH, 24 September 1868, 252.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, Paganism Surviving, 285-288.

Sabbath, then, triumphing outside of traditional Protestantism.

Influence of the Writers  
on Each Other

Having compared these writers' views we look for evidence of the influence of one upon the other.

I have noted above that Lewis was acquainted with Andrews's writings; he understood basic Seventh-day Adventist eschatological views and seemed impressed by them.<sup>1</sup> During the 1860s he referred to Sabbathkeepers in the last days as the "remnant,"<sup>2</sup> acknowledged the connection of the Sabbath to the three angels' messages, and anticipated a "coming storm" which for Sabbath-keepers might include persecution,<sup>3</sup> including "punishment for Sunday violation."<sup>4</sup> Although he "did not foresee just how

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<sup>1</sup>See Lewis, "Prospects of Sabbath Observers," SR, 9 November 1865, 178, where Lewis observed of Seventh-day Adventists: "Surely, God's hand is seen in their movement." See p. 38, n. 1 above.

<sup>2</sup>See Lewis, "Constabulary Sunday Keeping," SR, 16 November 1865, 182.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis, "Prospects of Sabbath Observers," SR, 9 November 1865, 178. "The storm will come, and after it the calm, the success of the truth. In this agitation, we shall no doubt be tried far more than we have been in the past; how far, or in just what manner, we cannot tell; but we know that the remnant who 'keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus,' are to be sorely pressed before their deliverance comes." Idem, "Constabulary Sunday Keeping," SR, 16 November 1865, 182.

<sup>4</sup>A. H. Lewis, "Future of the Sabbath," SR, 29 November 1866, 190.

and when [the storm] would come," he believed it would result in final victory for the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> In later years, although he continued to anticipate conflict, he did not associate it with the typical Seventh-day Adventist teachings as he had in the 1860s.

It does not appear that Andrews was influenced by Lewis. Indeed much of Andrews's material was written before Lewis's significant writings began to be published in 1864 and onward. Andrews, possessing a "called out" mentality, appears to have avoided theological source material apart from his Adventist colleagues' writings, lexicons, and standard reference works. He also sought the approval of the "prophet" of his denomination.<sup>2</sup>

Reciprocal Influences of the  
Denominations and Writers  
One upon the Other

I next address questions of reciprocal influences between the denominations and their writers, inquiring if the backgrounds and other teachings of the two

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis, "Constabulary Sunday Keeping," SR, 16 November 1865, 182. Though Seventh-day Adventists insisted that with the proclamation of the three angels' messages the final agitation had begun, Lewis, as a Seventh Day Baptist, shrank from accepting this bold projection, saying it could not be known definitely "when or how this final agitation of the question would begin, or how it would be carried on." See Cottrell, "Heed the Prophecies," SR, 21 December 1865, 202.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 28, n. 2 above.

denominations as observed above<sup>1</sup> affected Lewis's and Andrews's approaches to the Sabbath doctrine, and in turn looking for evidence of influence of these theologians' writings upon their denominations.

General Influence of the Denominations  
upon the Writers

Andrews, having played an integral part in his denomination's development, reflected its posture and theology almost without variance. Though not without the problems one could expect within a group of strong-minded people, he endeavored to move in concert with his group both in developing their theology and their mission. The spirit of sacrifice for the sake of the message of the Sabbath and second coming so strongly upheld among the founders of his denomination was clearly reflected in him. Indeed his philosophy of "renouncing the world" and his willingness to "spend and be spent" for the honor of God brought him, it seems, unnecessarily to an early grave.<sup>2</sup>

Lewis generally reflected the Seventh Day Baptist view, although at times he diverged from its mainline theology and approach. His Sabbath theology clearly grew from the traditional Seventh Day Baptist stand that the law and the example of Christ constitute the foundation for Sabbathkeeping. Throughout most of his career Lewis looked

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<sup>1</sup>See pp. 295-298 above.

<sup>2</sup>See pp. 164-170 above.

(as did his church) to the truth and reasonableness of the Sabbath as the motivation for promoting the Sabbath. The a priori argument, which ran as an undercurrent through his writings, presented the Sabbath as meeting man's needs<sup>1</sup> and bringing with it a "train of blessings."<sup>2</sup> In his historical argument and his appeal for "high experience" of "spiritual sabbathism" he went beyond, but not contrary to, typical Seventh Day Baptist thinking reflecting his own creative ideas.<sup>3</sup>

His divergence from typical Seventh Day Baptist thought came most noticeably in two areas. The first, as noted, was an early affinity to positions typically held by Seventh-day Adventists. His view of the final vindication of the Sabbath as a sign of God's sovereignty is not unlike the Seventh-day Adventists' view of the climax of the great controversy between good and evil. Though he affirmed that "as a people" Seventh Day Baptists have always believed that God's truth would triumph,<sup>4</sup> he went beyond their traditional position, maintaining that prophecy shows "the

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 63-64 above.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis, Swift Decadence, 238.

<sup>3</sup>See pp. 91-121, 144-157 above.

<sup>4</sup>Lewis, "Constabulary Sunday Keeping," SR, 16 November 1865, 182.

acceptance of the true Sabbath by all God's people . . . before the coming of [the] Savior."<sup>1</sup>

A second area of divergence from his denomination's traditional approach came through Lewis's acceptance of aspects of the higher critical method of interpretation of the Bible and the theory of evolution.<sup>2</sup>

Lewis did not entirely share the non-confrontational approach of most Seventh Day Baptists. Whether it was because of the nature of his theology or simply because of his personality, we have observed that Lewis's zeal for the propagation of the Sabbath went beyond that of most within his denomination. Early in his career he was very adamant about proselytizing; later he took more the spirit of his denomination in promoting the Sabbath as something to be accepted by members within other denominations, or by denominations as a whole, without becoming Seventh Day Baptists.<sup>3</sup> He did, however, continue to have a more

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 182.

<sup>2</sup>See pp. 137-145 above.

<sup>3</sup>In the series by Lewis, "Aggressive Sabbath Efforts," SR, 26 March; 2, 9, 16, 23, April, 1863, he urged his church to action: "It is, then, our duty, to press the question upon their attention—not unwisely, nor yet so mildly that it becomes mere form" (26 March, 1863, 46). In these articles he openly advised aggressive proselytizing as a means, not merely of growth, but of survival for his denomination, declaring that truth "must inevitably lose . . . respect" if it does not attack the evil which opposes it. (2 April, 1863, 50). In idem, "Aggression? Yes," SR, 6 October 1870, 162, he responded to the question of objectors: "'Why seek to proselyte others, when we are unable to keep all of those who are born to us?'" saying

aggressive spirit for the spread of the Sabbath than the majority of his fellow Seventh Day Baptists.

#### Influence of Specific Denominational Views upon the Writers

Next we consider how specific teachings of the denominations impacted these theologians' views of the Sabbath. As Seventh Day Baptists came out of an existing church to embrace the Sabbath, they received their identity from that single doctrine. Seventh-day Adventists existed as a movement before their introduction to the Sabbath, and upon accepting it they gave it new meaning by integrating it with their developing doctrines of the sanctuary and their understanding of eschatological events.

#### The Sanctuary Teaching

Through the teaching of the sanctuary the Sabbath received meaning for Seventh-day Adventists that it did not have for other sabbatarians. This Seventh-day Adventist thinking is clearly evident in Andrews's theology and seen in the sequence of thought by which he shows the Sabbath's

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the answer was in "that very reason. Men will always leave an idle army." However, by 1881 we see him saying evangelism was for the sake of the Sabbath, not for adding members. Idem, SR, 8 August 1881. Also see idem, Letters to Young Preachers (1900), 226: "Your work must be based upon the largest conception of the importance of Sabbath-keeping to Christianity . . . not . . . narrowed down to denominational lines." He advised young ministers that they would be "defending truth for its own sake, . . . rather than to make proselytes to your church." Ibid., 214.

place as a salvation issue: (1) the position of the Ten Commandments below the mercy seat in the ark of the heavenly sanctuary showed the Sabbath's place in the foundation of God's government; (2) Christ's on-going intercession and atonement for the broken law of God's government, then, was partially made necessary by the sin of Sabbathbreaking; (3) the "cleansing of the sanctuary," which implied the removal of sin from the record books of heaven and from the lives of God's people, included forgiveness of the sin of Sabbathbreaking. This indivisible connection of the Sabbath to the unchangeable doctrine of the atonement<sup>1</sup> added great importance to the Sabbath doctrine. With other Seventh-day Adventists Andrews saw a significant timeliness in their discovery of the doctrine of the "cleansing of the sanctuary" in 1844, leading as it did to the Sabbath, because they saw the Sabbath as a focal point in the end-time conflict they expected imminently.

### The Second Coming

Andrews, as did other Seventh-day Adventist writers, based his presentation of the imminent second coming on the 2300-day prophecy, which led to end-time events. Seeing Christ's return as soon approaching and seeing the Sabbath

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<sup>1</sup>The Seventh-day Adventists saw this as "new light." See Uriah Smith, "The Relation Which the Sabbath Sustains to Other Points of Present Truth," RH, 25 July 1854, 196.

as a salvation issue meant haste was essential in presenting the Sabbath to the world.<sup>1</sup> With time viewed as extremely limited, Andrews, with others of his denomination's leaders, encouraged members by word and example to live frugally, sacrificing means and energy in order to reach as many people as possible in the limited time available.

Seventh Day Baptists believed in the certainty of the second coming, but not as shown by prophecy to be imminent. Further, the generally accepted Seventh Day Baptist view that the soul of the righteous ascends directly into heaven meant that the reunion of body and soul at the second coming was not an urgent issue. This, along with the post-millennialism of many Seventh Day Baptists, dimmed the fervor with which they looked for the Lord's coming. The view of a distant coming seemingly left room for a spirit of materialism and contributed to the spirit of lethargy which Lewis decried. As noted, Lewis had been early captivated by the doctrines of the imminent

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<sup>1</sup>In his "Dedicatory Sermon," at Battle Creek in 1879, Andrews synthesized these ideas: "It is well known, . . . that we are Adventists; that is to say, that we are believers in the . . . descent of the Son of God from Heaven. . . . That this great event is an impending event. . . . We are therefore interested to call the attention of men . . . to [the] work of preparation; and included in this preparation . . . is [the] work in behalf of the restoration of God's commandments." Andrews, "Dedicatory Sermon," RH, 8 May 1879, 147. See also idem, Three Messages, iii, where he speaks of Sabbathkeeping as part of the preparation for the second coming.

second coming and the doctrine of man's soul sleep until the resurrection and recognized that the power resulting from the connection between these doctrines and the promotion of Sabbath reform could greatly elevate the Sabbath both in individual lives and in zeal for its propagation.<sup>1</sup> However, whatever his inner convictions, in later writings references to these subjects are absent.

Throughout his career he never lost his aggressive spirit for the Sabbath, but he could not, though he tried valiantly, motivate his people to emulate it. The spirit of self-sacrifice which he showed was not unknown among Seventh Day Baptists, but he went beyond the general tenor of the denomination.

#### Influences of the Writers on Their Churches

As one of the pioneers of his movement, Andrews's writings helped to set the tone of Adventist theological thinking. To topics that his colleagues were addressing, his analytical and "fool-proof" arguments for the Sabbath lent great weight. In those areas in which he pioneered,

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<sup>1</sup>When calling for more aggressive action from his people, Lewis several times compared the success and zeal of the Seventh-day Adventists with that of the Seventh Day Baptists. He spoke of Seventh-day Adventists, saying, "Whatever of fanaticism may have marked their former course, . . . they have . . . taught again the lesson, that earnestness and fearlessness are the main elements of success." Lewis, "Aggressive Sabbath Efforts," SR, 9 April 1863, 54; idem, "Prospects of Sabbath Observers," SR, 9 November 1865, 178; idem, Sunday Laws Past and Present, 14.

he was trusted by his church.<sup>1</sup> In both his writings and his life he upheld the denomination's urgent sense of mission, which was almost a doctrine in itself. Through his prolific writings, the Adventist readership was infected with his spirit of aggressive warfare in defense of doctrine, following him stroke by stroke and cheering him on as he battled opponents.<sup>2</sup> His writings gave vitality and life to a church dedicated to proclaiming the special message entrusted to them.

But the fervor and zeal for truth tended to a narrowness of thought. Reformers are not often well-balanced. Andrews's indictment against disregard for the law was pointed. His reform thus focusing on a major weakness that he perceived in contemporary Christianity, the relational side of his theology was understressed in favor of the dogmatic side. This effect was seen in his church. The emphasis fell on obedience to God. Willingness to make God the final authority in one's life was the way to prepare for Christ's coming. The authoritative approach tended to lead away from a Christ-centered theology and tended to a kind of legalism.<sup>3</sup> His

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 280, n. 5, pp. 285-288 above.

<sup>2</sup>See pp. 166-167, 173, n. 3 above.

<sup>3</sup>It was not legalism in the strict sense of believing salvation can come by works. But at times emphasis on human effort appeared to overshadow the emphasis on dependence on Christ. It should be recognized that the milieu of the day called for strong speech and

appeal to logic and conscience, rather than love, added to this tendency.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, it must be said that Andrews's corpus of writings did include relational and Christ-centered theology, although he did not make them prominent. Unfortunately, his church failed to capitalize on his more Christ-centered themes,<sup>2</sup> and the impression on members of his denomination in that respect was not as strong as it might have been. Andrews did not live to see the stir within his denomination in 1888 for a new emphasis on righteousness by faith.<sup>3</sup> We may only speculate that had he

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rigid expectations from all sides, inside and outside churches. Andrews, along with other of his church leaders, came by his rigorous emphasis naturally. Attitudes that would be criticized in church leaders today were praised by many at that time.

<sup>1</sup>This strong emphasis of Andrews's was not totally absent from Lewis's writings. Lewis wrote: "The obligation to obey must ever remain first, or there can be no true apprehension of the idea of salvation." Lewis, "Victory at Last," SR, 28 December 1871.

<sup>2</sup>See pp. 199-205, 239-241 above, where the spiritual element is strong as Andrews discusses the espousal and the covenants. In his published sermons the relational side of his theology is more apparent than in other writings. This is logical in view of the fact that his sermons were generally presented to a sympathetic audience, while much of his other writing grew out of adversarial circumstances.

<sup>3</sup>At the 1888 Minneapolis General Conference session, A. T. Jones and E. J. Waggoner presented a new understanding of the "righteousness by faith message." Ellen White, recognized as a prophetic voice by her denomination, pleaded with the Adventist ministry to make the burden of its message "the mission and life of Jesus Christ." Ellen G. White, "The Work of the Minister," RH, 11 September 1888, 578.

lived, his Sabbath theology might have taken a new turn, as did that of others in his denomination, redirecting the church in a more Christ-centered emphasis.<sup>1</sup> In the end it seems that the principal Sabbath theologian of Seventh-day Adventists added to the influence of other church leaders in emphasizing duty and dogma, leading Seventh-day Adventists along a road that has been perceived by some, especially in a new generation, as legalistic, or unduly strict, lacking joy in the relationship with God.

The tension seen between dogmatic theology and relational theology in Andrews's writings seems to have been mirrored in his life. Both aspects were present, almost perceptively struggling for the supremacy. He seemed compelled to work himself to death, whether because of love or of obligation. He maintained, it seems, somewhat of a martyr complex and perhaps felt the more acceptable to God if he should wear himself out in service, which in the end he did, but his last testimony confirmed his filial trust in God as his friend.<sup>2</sup> In a letter written from Switzerland shortly before his death he

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<sup>1</sup>See for example, W. W. Prescott, Christ and the Sabbath, rev. ed. (Battle Creek, MI: International Religious Liberty Assn., 1893). Prescott was one who made a noticeable change in his approach. In the tract of 1893 he presents a very Christ-centered approach to the Sabbath.

<sup>2</sup>J. N. Andrews to Sister [Ellen G.] White, 17 September 1883, Ellen G. White Estate, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, DC.

testified, "I can say that my feet are on the Rock of Ages and that the Lord holds me by my right hand."

Lewis's denomination, by the time of his appearance as a writer and leader, had a well-established theology. With his biblical arguments Lewis strengthened the traditional positions, but his distinctive contributions were (1) his scholarly philosophy of history and (2) his synthesis of philosophical, scientific, and religious thought and his development of a strong spiritual approach to Sabbathkeeping, which found strongest expression in his books and pamphlets published around the turn of the century. The lack of the fruitage he expected by convincing people of the Sabbath's correctness caused him to place increasing emphasis on his "higher spiritual view." This approach has subsequently become a major emphasis of his church; the chief source for his "high spiritual view," the book Spiritual Sabbathism, has been described by a prominent Seventh Day Baptist as "one of the most influential Seventh Day Baptist publications of the century in setting a tone for the Sabbath as a spiritual experience."<sup>1</sup>

The impact of his writings on his denomination can be seen as positive in most cases, negative in some others.

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<sup>1</sup>See Sanford, Choosing People, 360-367. A significant recent publication by Seventh Day Baptist Herbert E. Saunders, The Sabbath: Symbol of Creation and Re-Creation, draws heavily on Lewis's writings to promote the spiritual dimension of the Sabbath.

The denomination's growth peak near the turn of the century was most probably due at least in part to his continuous appeals for more zealous promotion of the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Lewis was one of several denominational leaders whose views (labeled "liberal" by some) became unacceptable to many of their fellow believers. Because of this, in later years, some of his best writings lost impact on much of the general membership. Some Seventh Day Baptists ascribe the drop in enrollment at their colleges and seminary during the first part of the twentieth century as partially due to the fact that many families no longer wished to put their students under the influence of nonfundamentalists, whom Lewis in some respects represented.<sup>2</sup>

#### How the Denominations Might Have Benefited from Each Other's Theologians

In this section we consider some perceived  
weaknesses of the denominations and answer the question of

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<sup>1</sup>Seventh Day Baptist membership peaked about 1900; the membership, though not burgeoning, had grown steadily until that time. Membership in 1890 was 9,143; in 1906 it slightly declined.

<sup>2</sup>Sanford, Choosing People, 355. The fundamentalist-modernist controversy and dwindling membership within the Seventh Day Baptist denomination resulted in a decreasing pool of potential students for Alfred College. Eventually with adequate resources to support the school no longer forthcoming, the School of Theology at Alfred University closed in 1963.

how each of the groups might have benefited from the approach of the other's leading theologian.

As noted above, the seasoned Seventh Day Baptist denomination struggled against a general lethargy among its members. Lagging zeal for Sabbathkeeping and the promulgation of the Sabbath resulted in a slowing growth rate. The Seventh-day Adventists, whose numbers were growing rapidly, attributed the denominational differences in vitality to the theological positions held by each; they pointed out that there was increased motivation for acceptance of the Sabbath when it was presented in the prophetic setting of the sanctuary, the judgment, and the soon return of Christ.<sup>1</sup> Whereas the biblical-historical

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<sup>1</sup>A number of early Adventist leaders expressed the importance of the prophetic setting to the Sabbath. James White pointed out that the promotion of the Sabbath by T. M. Preble and the Washington New Hampshire Sabbatarian Adventists amounted to little because they failed to see the seventh-day reform in connection with the message of Rev 14 [the three angels' messages]. James 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 Assn., 1868), 268. Uriah Smith affirmed that "no one who adopted the doctrine of the Sanctuary as brought out in connection with the third angel's message could ever 'waver on the Sabbath question.'" Smith, "Origin and History of the Third Angel's Message," 68. Ellen White observed that "when [the Sabbath doctrine] is connected with the message of the third angel, a power attends it which convicts unbelievers and infidels, and brings them out with strength to stand, live, grow and flourish in the Lord." White, Testimonies to the Church, 1:337. Seventh-day Adventists today still see that this understanding of Scripture made the Sabbath "present truth" during the years 1846 to 1849 in a supremely important sense, and gave it an ultimate importance it never had for

approach tended to posture the individual as an observer and beneficiary of the victory of God's purposes, the prophetic-eschatological approach placed the individual into the midst of the conflict between good and evil as an active participant. Thus theory became practice as each person viewed himself making a difference to the battle, not only by becoming one more individual to be counted on God's side, but by taking on the resulting militant spirit of evangelism that would hasten the second coming and bring about the victory for Christ's sake. Andrews specifically urged Seventh Day Baptists to preach the doctrine of the second coming along with that of the Sabbath. He spoke of the Seventh-day Adventist success in this regard and continued:

We should indeed rejoice if the Seventh-day Baptists, while maintaining their own organization, could see with us that our Lord is soon to return.<sup>1</sup>

In the years following 1850, some, especially among the Seventh-day Adventists, discussed advantages of working together in the common cause of promoting the Sabbath.<sup>2</sup>

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Seventh Day Baptists. Cottrell, "The Sabbath in the New World," 259.

<sup>1</sup>Andrews, "Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists," RH, 24 October 1878, 2.

<sup>2</sup>See pp. 2-4 above. Also, "Business Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Session of the Conference of SDA," RH, 25 May 1869, 172-173, where Eld. N. Wardner, delegate from the Seventh Day Baptists, is quoted as saying of the two denominations: "I cannot help indulging the fond hope that we may come nearer together than we are. . . . If we are all honest, we may come to see eye to eye, or as nearly so,

Both sides saw that cooperation on behalf of promotion of the Sabbath would be beneficial,<sup>1</sup> but some in each denomination pointed out irreconcilable differences in both polity and theological orientation of the groups.<sup>2</sup>

Seventh-day Adventists hoped Seventh Day Baptists would accept their views of prophecy and urged the indispensable connection between the eschatological doctrines and the Sabbath as key to effectual labor. Seventh Day Baptists declared that they could not urge the Sabbath on the grounds of an imminent second coming, for they wished to "press the claims of the Sabbath upon its own merits,"

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as we may expect persons to do who are differently organized." Also, Cottrell, "The Future of the Sabbath," SR, 6 December 1866, 194.

<sup>1</sup>Andrews was one who expressed special interest in a close working relationship with the Seventh Day Baptists. Andrews, "Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists," RH, 24 October 1878, 132.

<sup>2</sup>Careful thinkers recognized that, except for the Sabbath, Seventh Day Baptist theology was more closely aligned to mainstream Baptist theology than to Seventh-day Adventism. Speaking of the differences, Baptists noted, "There is really nothing but the Sabbath to separate the Seventh-day Baptists [sic] and the Baptists, while on the other hand there is really everything to separate Seventh-day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists except the Sabbath." Stephen Burdick, "Seventh-day Adventists and Seventh Day Baptists," SR, 2 September 1880, 1. Their divergent views on the practice of connecting prophecy and the second coming with the presentation of the Sabbath were openly discussed between the two denominations. Hull et al., "Response from the Seventh-Day Baptists," RH, 23 November 1869, 176.

using "love for truth" as motivation for accepting it.<sup>1</sup> Seventh-day Adventists answered saying, "We do not urge the claims of the Sabbath upon the public 'primarily' on the ground that the Advent of Christ is at hand," but on the authority of the moral law.<sup>2</sup> They were much aware, however, that the "nearness of the advent" and the "doctrine of the swift-approaching Judgment" became a "powerful means of constraining men to obey their convictions of truth and duty."<sup>3</sup> Seventh Day Baptists, although they recognized that the Seventh-day Adventist approach brought in greater numbers of converts to the Sabbath, upheld their approach because they felt it would bring more enduring results. Lewis was one who often

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<sup>1</sup>Seventh Day Baptists affirmed, "Our plan is, to press the claims of the Sabbath upon its own merits, employing as a motive for its acceptance the love of truth." Hull et al., "Response from the Seventh-Day Baptists," RH, 23 November 1869, 176. One element in the denomination held that the Sabbath could best be built up "by the steady light and increasing influence of strong consistent Sabbath-keeping churches." A. H. Lewis, "Shall We Consolidate?" SR, 17 March 1881, 2.

<sup>2</sup>Hull et al., "Response from the Seventh-Day Baptists," RH, 23 November 1869, 176.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. Seventh-day Adventists claimed to "have a special work to accomplish in the proclamation of the Bible Sabbath in connection with that of the doctrine of the near advent of Christ." Andrews, "Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists," RH, 24 October 1878, 2. They saw their Sabbath message as part of the fulfillment of prophecies that point to the "definite time given for the cleansing of the sanctuary, and the signs foretold by our Lord of his second advent, . . . [as] evidences which give rise to the message, 'The hour of his judgment is come.'" Cottrell, "Heed the Prophecies," SR, 21 December 1865, 202.

lamented the lethargy of Seventh Day Baptists, and although he at times compared it to the vigor of Seventh-day Adventists, it was the Seventh-day Adventist zeal, not the message,<sup>1</sup> he urged upon his people.<sup>2</sup>

It has been recognized both from within and without Seventh Day Baptist circles that freedom of thought granted to members did not foster among them a zeal for promoting the Sabbath.<sup>3</sup> The privilege of independent thinking carried with it the disadvantage of leaving the group without a strong denominational bond<sup>4</sup> and thus tended to diminish the viability of their movement.<sup>5</sup> However, although they recognized that "authoritarianism from pulpit

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis did connect the Sabbath to the advent in that he affirmed the Sabbath would triumph before the return of the Lord, but "imminence" was not emphasized as a factor.

<sup>2</sup>See articles by Lewis, "Aggressive Sabbath Efforts," SR, 26 March, 46; 2 April, 50; 9 April, 54; 1863; also, SR, 6 October 1870, 162.

<sup>3</sup>Sanford, Free People, 105. W. A. Spicer, "Believing a Definite Message," RH, 9 June 1949, 6; Clarence Henry Small, "Why Aren't Seventh Day Baptists Growing? A Comparative Study of Two Sabbathkeeping Bodies" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1979).

<sup>4</sup>For a thoughtful discussion of the Seventh Day Baptists' teaching of freedom of religious thought and its effect in their denomination, see Sanford, A Free People, 103-110.

<sup>5</sup>In 1900, A. H. Lewis wrote to young preachers, "It is unfortunate that the closing century will pass to you a legacy which is not in favor of radical and earnest work in Sabbath Reform. Many of the traditions of our denominational life are against such radical work." Lewis, Letters to Young Preachers, 227.

or in the pew"<sup>1</sup> (which Andrews as a Seventh-day Adventist represented) might have increased their growth and that "fundamentalism is more adept at contending for the faith,"<sup>2</sup> they valued the doctrine of freedom of thought which renders them open to new light, more than a growth that might, in the end, prove superficial. Current Seventh Day Baptist historian, Don Sanford, recently reappraised the situation: " [Seventh Day Baptists] have not been willing to subordinate this freedom of thought for the sake of numerical gain."<sup>3</sup>

Thus we can see that the two denominations could not profitably merge in their mutual concern for the spread of the Sabbath doctrine, as neither could accept the doctrinal views and methods of presentation of the other. The Adventist approach was inseparably tied to doctrines they

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<sup>1</sup>Sanford, Free People, 105.

<sup>2</sup>Sanford, Choosing People, 359.

<sup>3</sup>Sanford, Free People, 106. Don Sanford points out that the teaching of freedom of thought has led to a strong ecumenical spirit and great tolerance toward those who have differing opinions and beliefs, but that the effect on succeeding generations of the movement has been a weakening sense of uniqueness and identity. Ibid., 107. Martin E. Marty in commenting on the Christian church in general speaks of the danger of giving too much freedom, saying it brings about "the erosion of particularity, the smoothing of the edge of witness. . . . Particularity is challenged by a blurry, generalized religion." Martin E. Marty, The New Shape of American Religion (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 2. Sanford comments that what Marty describes as coming to Christendom as a whole has come in particular to the Seventh Day Baptists. Sanford, A Free People, 107.

could not concede and which the Baptists could not accept.<sup>1</sup> Further, Adventist doctrinal views were so integrated, one cannot say that their way of presenting the Sabbath would have been helpful to the Seventh Day Baptists without saying that the Seventh Day Baptists should have become Seventh-day Adventists.

A perceived problem among Seventh-day Adventists was that because the doctrinal approach was effective in producing converts many of them yielded to the temptation to overwork it. As noted earlier, the prominence of the law and the judgment in the Seventh-day Adventist teachings tended to produce a greater sense of duty than of love and led to what has been labeled as legalism. Lewis's understanding of the "purpose" of the Sabbath as an avenue to the high spiritual experience of close communion with God was an emphasis that could have strengthened the uplifting and joyful perspective of Sabbathkeeping for Seventh-day Adventists. Both Andrews and Lewis urged a deep spirituality which, if heeded, could have brought their members to an improved spiritual balance. Each in presenting the new covenant focused on the "law written in the heart," with emphasis on obedience based on love.

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<sup>1</sup>Regarding interpretation of prophecy, while Seventh Day Baptists were willing to look to the "rear-view mirror" of history, they avoided the risk of the Seventh-day Adventist focus on the prophetic future. Additionally, since the Seventh-day Adventist thinking regarding the prophetic picture had integrated within it the work of Ellen G. White as a prophet, it was unacceptable to Seventh Day Baptists.

Andrews's teaching of Christ's on-going intercession in the heavenly sanctuary made salvation a present issue that brought vigor to the Christian experience. This message rightly perceived and received should have both brought commitment to the lethargic and added joy to the duty-bound obedient. Participating in the high experience of Lewis's "spiritual sabbathism" for Seventh Day Baptists would have resulted in greater vibrancy in their Christianity, and for Seventh-day Adventists could have brought more assurance of salvation and joy in Christian living.

#### Reflections

Having concluded this study, I now briefly reflect on personal insights and lessons gained from the course traversed. We have observed two passionate men and the dispositions with which they attempted to bring before the world a teaching they saw as essential to an understanding of God.

We have seen that Lewis's idealist vision of the triumph of truth for truth's sake did not materialize in the way he had so ardently hoped it would. First, we must recognize that his tenet was noble and is in verity the theme of the entire Scripture beginning with Gen 3:15. I submit, however, that truth is a whole and must triumph as a whole. The Sabbath presents a picture of God, but not a complete picture. A comprehensive doctrinal base that more clearly depicted both the love and the justice of God might

have brought to Lewis's message the motivating factor it lacked. The view of "judgment to come," which Lewis and his colleagues seemed to view as an unworthy motive for advancing the Sabbath, might have been presented in the positive light of God's sovereign and self-sacrificing love, as the caring act by which He will remove the pain of sin. In this vein I also suggest that it cannot be denied that God's Word emphasizes the doctrine of just rewards. God meets man not only on the level of ideal motives but also where he is. Human nature responds to the idea of consequences and rewards, and the idea of judgment carries not only the idea of punishment but also the excitement of the everlasting kingdom, both motivating factors Christ made frequent use of in His ministry.

As we approach the turn of the century, Seventh-day Adventists find themselves in a position comparable to that of the Seventh Day Baptists almost one hundred years ago.<sup>1</sup> Now educated and affluent themselves, the temptation to preserve image causes some to neglect the prophetic-eschatological approach, as the "delay" has become a source

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<sup>1</sup>The intriguing idea of the life cycle of an institution from a sociological perspective has been addressed by a number of scholars in recent years. Some churches like people pass through stages of life and eventually face the problems aging brings. What Seventh Day Baptists faced at the turn of the 19th century, Seventh-day Adventists face today. See David O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution: The Sociology of American Religion, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1984), 118-125; H. Richard Niebuhr, The Kingdom of God in America (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959).

of mild embarrassment. Although not at the organizational level of the denomination, among some members there is seen a reaction to the semblance of legalism in the past and a determination to travel a different path. Opting for an approach more characteristic of the ecumenical attitude of the Seventh Day Baptists and making more prominent the elements of congeniality, love, and joy, some tend to neglect the original raison d'être of their denomination. The slowing growth of the Seventh-day Adventists in affluent countries may point out that there are potential lessons to be learned from experiences of the Seventh Day Baptists whose accommodating attitude toward society blurred both their sense of identity and their vision of the importance of Sabbath reform and resulted in a struggle for their very existence.<sup>1</sup>

I suggest that the answer for both Seventh-day Adventists and Seventh Day Baptists is neither in abandoning the historic past nor in closing themselves to appropriate innovations that would increase the

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<sup>1</sup>For a Seventh Day Baptist evaluation of the negative effects of their strong spirit of tolerance and ecumenicity, see Sanford, A Free People, 105-108. "The fraternal toleration of other Christians has caused many Seventh Day Baptists to be silent on the subject [of the Sabbath]." Ibid., 108. The practice of some Seventh Day Baptist ministers who serve in Sundaykeeping churches, Sanford recognizes, "has not always been desirable" as regards the next generation's commitment to the Sabbath. See also "Twentieth-Century Ecumenical Relations," a chapter in Sanford, A Choosing People, 314-328.

spirituality of their movements in the future. A synthesis between the prominent features of Lewis's "spiritual sabbathism" and the vigorous confrontation of Andrews's prophetic-eschatology could bring to fruition the experience described in Isa 58:—"Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy Father: for the mouth of the Lord has spoken it."

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