

2002

The Historical Background, Interconnected Development and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White's Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849

Merlin D. Burt
Andrews University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/dissertations>

 Part of the [Christian Denominations and Sects Commons](#), [History Commons](#), and the [Religious Thought, Theology and Philosophy of Religion Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Burt, Merlin D., "The Historical Background, Interconnected Development and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White's Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849" (2002). *Dissertations*. 19.
<https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/dissertations/19>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Research at Digital Commons @ Andrews University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Andrews University. For more information, please contact repository@andrews.edu.



Seek Knowledge. Affirm Faith. Change the World.

Thank you for your interest in the

**Andrews University Digital Library
of Dissertations and Theses.**

*Please honor the copyright of this document by
not duplicating or distributing additional copies
in any form without the author's express written
permission. Thanks for your cooperation.*

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

**ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600**

UMI[®]

.

**Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary**

**THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, INTERCONNECTED DEVELOPMENT,
AND INTEGRATION OF THE DOCTRINES OF THE SANCTUARY,
THE SABBATH, AND ELLEN G. WHITE'S ROLE IN
SABBATARIAN ADVENTISM FROM
1844 TO 1849**

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

**by
Merlin D. Burt
December 2002**

UMI Number: 3081066

**Copyright 2002 by
Burt, Merlin D.**

All rights reserved.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3081066

**Copyright 2003 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

**ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346**

**© by Merlin D. Burt, 2002
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED**

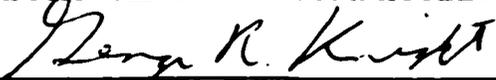
THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, INTERCONNECTED DEVELOPMENT,
AND INTEGRATION OF THE DOCTRINES OF THE SANCTUARY,
THE SABBATH, AND ELLEN G. WHITE'S ROLE IN
SABBATARIAN ADVENTISM FROM 1844 TO 1849

A dissertation
presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Merlin D. Burt

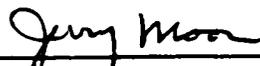
APPROVAL BY THE COMMITTEE:



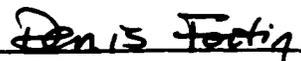
Faculty Adviser,
George R. Knight
Professor of Church History



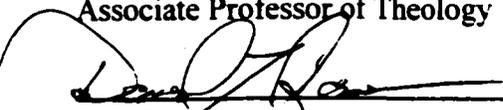
P. Gerard Damsteegt
Associate Professor of Church History



Jerry Moon
Associate Professor of Church History



J. H. Denis Fortin
Associate Professor of Theology



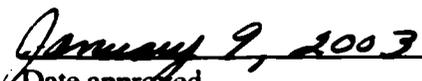
David L. Rowe
Professor of History
Middle Tennessee State University



Director, Ph.D./Th.D. Program
Randall W. Younker



Dean, SDA Theological Seminary
John K. McVay



Date approved

ABSTRACT

**THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, INTERCONNECTED DEVELOPMENT,
AND INTEGRATION OF THE DOCTRINES OF THE SANCTUARY,
THE SABBATH, AND ELLEN G. WHITE'S ROLE IN
SABBATARIAN ADVENTISM FROM
1844 TO 1849**

by

Merlin D. Burt

Adviser: George R. Knight

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, INTERCONNECTED DEVELOPMENT, AND INTEGRATION OF THE DOCTRINES OF THE SANCTUARY, THE SABBATH, AND ELLEN G. WHITE'S ROLE IN SABBATARIAN ADVENTISM FROM 1844 TO 1849

Name of researcher: Merlin D. Burt

Name and degree of faculty adviser: George R. Knight, Ed.D.

Date completed: December 2002

The Topic

The doctrines of the sanctuary and the Sabbath, along with Ellen White's prophetic role, progressively evolved and integrated during the five years following the October 1844 Millerite time expectation and were the fundamental elements in the formation of the Sabbatarian Adventist movement and ultimately the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

The Purpose

The purpose of the study was to situate the interconnected development of the sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen White's prophetic ministry within the ferment of

Adventist ideas and events, show the immediate theological climate, and give a connected progression of Bridegroom (or Shut Door) Adventism and Sabbatarian Adventism from October 1844 to July 1849. In order to accomplish the primary purpose of this dissertation it was necessary to chronologically reconstruct and analyze the interconnected historical development of the selected Adventist doctrines against the backdrop of Adventist interactions, ideas, and experience by showing their stage-by-stage integrated progression.

The Sources

This was a documentary study based primarily on published and unpublished primary sources produced by Millerite and post-Millerite Adventists between 1844 and 1849. Both primary and secondary sources were used for background, historical context, and perspective. The most heavily used primary sources were periodicals, the correspondence collections of the Ellen G. White Estate, and other archives containing Adventist resources.

Conclusions

The theological development of the sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White's prophetic influence within the Bridegroom and Sabbatarian Adventist branches of Millerite Adventism demonstrates a connected progression with apparent chronological stages between October 1844 and the formation of the new religious entity in 1849. The three elements studied first developed somewhat independently during the Bridegroom phase of 1845 and 1846. Then they integrated into a new Sabbatarian Adventist movement from the fall of 1846 to the summer of 1849.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	viii
PREFACE	ix
Statement of Problem	x
Statement of Purpose	xi
Delimitations	xi
Review of Previous Research	xii
Methodology and Sources	xiv
Design of Study	xiv
Acknowledgments	xvi
 Chapter	
I. BACKGROUND IN THE MILLERITE MOVEMENT OF ECSTATIC EXPERIENCES, THE SANCTUARY, AND THE SABBATH	1
Introduction	1
Millerite Ecstatic Experiences and an Introduction to Ellen G. White	6
The Milieu of Ecstatic Experience	7
Methodist Experience	8
The Christian Connection	10
Prophetic Manifestations in the Millerite Movement	12
The John Starkweather Confusion	13
William E. Foy	15
Other Miscellaneous Millerite Visionary Manifestations	16
Introduction to Ellen G. White	18
Summary and Perspective	25
Millerite Adventist Sanctuary Understanding and the Jewish Year	27
The Time Expectation	28
The Importance of Type and Antitype in the Fall 1844 Expectation	33
Millerite Views on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary	36
William Miller's View	36
Ministers Who Supported Miller's View	37
Apollos Hale's View	38
Pre-Advent Judgment Concepts among Millerites	40
Summary and Perspective	43
Sabbatarian Thought in Millerite Adventism	45
Seventh Day Baptist Background	46

References to the Sabbath in Millerite Publications	48
James A. Begg and the Sabbath	48
First Reference to Seventh Day Baptists and the Sabbath	50
Articles on the Sabbath in the <i>Midnight Cry</i>	50
Joseph Marsh and the <i>Voice of Truth</i>	52
Sabbath-keeping in New Hampshire	53
Summary	54
Conclusion	55
2. THE DIVIDING OF ADVENTISM: OCTOBER 22, 1844, THROUGH MAY 1845	60
Introduction	60
October 22, 1844, to the Publication of the <i>Advent Mirror</i>	63
Responses to the Passing of the Time	63
William Miller	64
Joshua V. Himes	65
George Storrs	68
Joseph Marsh and the <i>Voice of Truth</i>	70
Enoch Jacobs and the <i>Western Midnight Cry</i>	72
First Vision of Ellen G. Harmon	74
Joseph Turner, Apollos Hale, and the <i>Advent Mirror</i>	77
Summary and Perspective	82
From the <i>Advent Mirror</i> to the Spring 1845 Disappointment	84
J. V. Himes, the <i>Advent Herald</i> , and William Miller	85
Western Adventism	91
Joseph Marsh and the <i>Voice of Truth</i>	92
Enoch Jacobs and the <i>Day-Star</i>	98
O. R. L. Crosier and the <i>Day-Dawn</i>	103
The <i>Voice of the Shepherd</i> and the Development of Fanaticism	107
Developments in the East	113
Samuel Snow and the <i>Jubilee Standard</i>	114
Joseph Turner, John Pearson, Jr., Emily Clemons, and the <i>Hope of Israel</i>	117
Adventist Sabbatarian Developments	119
Joseph Bates and the Sabbath	122
Sabbath-keeping in Paris, Maine	123
Sabbatarian references in Adventist papers	124
Ellen G. Harmon and Developments in Maine	127
Ellen Harmon's first trip to eastern Maine	129
Bridegroom vision in Exeter, Maine	130
Atkinson and Israel Dammon	132
Joseph Turner, mesmerism, and Ellen Harmon's new independence	140
Ellen Harmon's and James White's interaction with fanatics	146

Ellen Harmon's New Earth vision	149
Summary and Perspective	152
The Albany Conference and the Division of Adventism.	154
Two Major Dissenting Groups	158
The <i>Gospel Standard</i> and the <i>Voice of Truth</i>	160
The <i>Gospel Standard</i>	161
The <i>Voice of Truth</i>	162
Miller responds	163
Bridegroom or Shut-Door Adventists	164
Summary and Perspective	165
Conclusion	165
Sanctuary Development	166
Sabbath Development	169
Ellen G. White's Role	170
3. THE DISINTEGRATION OF BRIDEGROOM ADVENTISM: JUNE 1845 TO JUNE 1846	175
Introduction	175
The Consolidation and Expansion of Bridegroom Adventism:	
June through August 1845.	177
Emily C. Clemons and <i>Hope Within the Veil</i>	178
Emily Clemons' Biographical Background.	179
Emily Clemons' Views Concerning the New Covenant and the Final Atonement	182
Conflicts within Bridegroom Adventism	185
<i>Hope Within the Veil</i> and the <i>Hope of Israel</i>	185
Samuel Snow's Opposition	186
Enoch Jacobs' Reaction	188
Joseph Marsh and the <i>Voice of Truth</i>	190
Summary and Perspective	191
The "Apostasy" from Bridegroom Adventism to Albany	
Orthodoxy: September to December 1845	193
Samuel Snow and the <i>Jubilee Standard</i>	194
John Pearson and the <i>Hope of Israel</i>	196
Emily Clemons, C. H. Pearson, and <i>Hope Within the Veil</i>	198
The Fall 1845 Disappointment	201
The Pearson Brothers and Clemons Aftermath	205
Spiritualizing Jesus and the Second Advent	210
Ellen G. Harmon's Widening Influence and Continuing	
Differentiation from Spiritualizing Bridegroom Adventists	214
First Trip to Massachusetts	215
Second Visit to Massachusetts	221
Ellen Harmon's Time of Trouble Vision	223
The Sabbath in Boston and New England	225
Summary and Perspective	230

Remaining Bridegroom Adventists: The Move Toward Shakerism and the Scattered Remnant, January through May 1846	231
Enoch Jacobs and the <i>Day-Star</i>'s Move toward Shakerism	232
O. R. L. Crosier and the Continuing Idea of an Extended Atonement	242
The Role of Hiram Edson	250
Sabbatarian Advocates During the First Half of 1846	254
J. B. Cook and the <i>Advent Testimony</i>	254
Joseph Bates and the <i>Opening Heavens</i>	256
Ellen Harmon Publications and Influence	260
Summary and Perspective	265
Conclusion	265
Sanctuary Understanding	268
Ellen G. Harmon's Influence and the Emergence of New Leadership	270
Sabbath Developments	271
4. FROM THE SCATTERING TO THE GATHERING AND THE PUBLICATION OF <i>PRESENT TRUTH</i>: JUNE 1846 TO JULY 1849	273
Introduction	273
Integration of the Sabbath, Sanctuary, and Ellen White's Prophetic Role: June 1846 to June 1847	276
Bringing Together the Scattered Leaders	277
Bates' Tract on the Sabbath, August 1846	278
James White's and Ellen Harmon's Marriage and Their Acceptance of the Sabbath	281
Joseph Bates and the Opening Heavens Vision, November 1846	284
Sabbath and Sanctuary Proponents Meet in Western New York	290
Examining the Eschatological Significance of the Sabbath	293
Joseph Bates' Revised and Enlarged Sabbath Tract	294
Sabbath Halo Vision, April 1847	299
Bates' Booklet, <i>Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps</i>	302
O. R. L. Crosier, the <i>Day-Dawn</i>, and the Passover 1847	
Time Expectation	305
Publication of <i>A Word to the "Little Flock"</i>	308
Outlining Future Events	309
The Time of Trouble	311
From the Second Coming to the end of sin	314
Eschatological Importance of the Sabbath	316
Ellen G. White and Her Visions	319
Summary and Perspective	323
Gathering the "Little Flock" Around the Sabbath and Shut Door: June 1847 to July 1849.	325

Sabbatarian Adventism and the <i>Bible Advocate</i>: July 1847	
to February 1848	326
Background on the <i>Bible Advocate</i>	328
Letters and Articles on the Sabbath	330
Articles by J. B. Cook on the Sabbath and Joseph	
Turner's Response	338
Losing Sabbath Adherents: T. M. Preble,	
O. R. L. Crosier, and J. B. Cook	343
Joseph Bates' Answer to the <i>Bible Advocate: A Vindication</i>	
of the <i>Seventh-day Sabbath</i> —January 1848	346
The Evangelistic Sabbath Conferences: April to November 1848	352
Beginning in the East	354
The Western Conferences	357
Continuing Conferences in the East	359
The Sealing Message.	363
Joseph Bates and the <i>Seal of the Living God</i>	364
Ellen White's Broadside on the Seal of God and Her	
March 24, 1849, Vision	373
Publishing the <i>Present Truth</i>	380
Summary and Perspective	382
Conclusion	384
5. GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	390
Summary	390
Conclusions	397
Sabbath	399
Sanctuary	402
Ellen White's Role	404
Integration	406
Future Study	409
BIBLIOGRAPHY	411

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	American Antiquarian Society, Worchester, Massachusetts
AU	Center for Adventist Research, James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan
AurU	Aurora University, Aurora, Illinois
DF	Document File
EGW	Ellen G. White
EGWE-GC	Ellen G. White Estate, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Silver Spring, MD
EGWE-LL	Ellen G. White Estate Branch Office, Loma Linda University, Loma Linda, California
KJV	King James Version
LC	Library of Congress
LLU	Archives and Special Collections, Loma Linda University, Loma Linda, California
MHS	Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine
MSA	Maine State Archive, Augusta, Maine
MassHS	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts
SDB	Seventh Day Baptist
SDA	Seventh-day Adventist

PREFACE

Seventh-day Adventists trace their roots to the mid-nineteenth-century North American Second Advent movement started by William Miller. Beginning in the early 1830s, Miller preached the Second Advent of Christ “about the year 1843” on the basis of the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation. The most important of these prophecies was Daniel 8:14, “Unto two thousand three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.” Millerite Adventists understood this text to identify the time of Christ’s return. Great revival and excitement accompanied the proclamation of the Second Coming. The movement grew and expanded until it was well known in America and could count its adherents in the scores of thousands.

The influence of the movement on Americans largely ended in October 1844 after the expected return of Jesus did not materialize. The years following the disappointment were a time of confusion. The majority of Adventists gave up faith in the October 1844 interpretation and looked to new dates for the coming of Jesus. Adventists who maintained faith that God had led in the movement sought an explanation for their disappointment. Of these, a relatively small group continued to believe in the significance of the date. These became known as Bridegroom or Shut-Door Adventists. This group flourished for a time, but during the first half of 1846 various influences brought dissolution and disintegration. From the ruins of Bridegroom Adventism, a redefined Shut-Door Sabbatarian movement emerged. It is to this branch of Millerite Adventism that Seventh-day Adventists trace their roots.

Following the disappointment, Ellen G. Harmon (later White) began having prophetic visions and dreams, which continued throughout the remainder of her life. These visions and dreams gave guidance to the developing movement. Seventh-day Adventists believe that she possessed the prophetic gift.¹

The continuing hope of Christ's soon return was the undergirding idea which gave purpose to these Shut-Door Sabbatarian Adventists. During the first five years following the October 1844 disappointment, three major elements that gave definition and direction to the movement were fitted into the matrix of the anticipated Advent. These elements were: (1) a new understanding of the heavenly sanctuary ministry of Jesus, (2) the seventh-day Sabbath, and (3) the prophetic ministry of Ellen G. White. These elements initially developed separately. Subsequently they were integrated into an interconnected system, involving the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12. The new understanding explained the 1844 disappointment and provided focus for the future.

While Seventh-day Adventists were not officially organized until 1861-1863, the fundamental rationale for their existence as a movement can be traced to the first years following 1844 and to the integrated understanding of the sanctuary, Sabbath, and Ellen White in the context of the three angels and the second coming. This background demonstrates the vital importance of understanding the historical progression of these beginning elements.

Statement of the Problem

While researchers have treated various aspects of the early development of the

¹*Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, 1996, 2nd rev. ed., s.v. "White, Ellen Gould (Harmon)."

sanctuary, the Sabbath, and the role of Ellen G. White in the Advent movement, a comprehensive chronological historical study of their integrating development has been needed. The interplay and ferment of many significant persons and events have not been adequately investigated or placed in the historical progression. While some important primary sources are no longer extant, in recent years important new materials have been found.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is to situate the interconnected development of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen White's prophetic ministry within the ferment of Adventist ideas and events, showing the immediate theological climate, and giving a connected progression of the developing Sabbatarian Adventist movement from October 1844 to July 1849. In order to accomplish the primary purpose of this dissertation it is necessary to chronologically reconstruct and analyze the interconnected historical development of the selected Adventist doctrines against the backdrop of Adventist interactions, ideas, and experience showing stage by stage their integrated progression.

Delimitations

This study considers the historical development of that group of Millerites which came to believe in the Shut Door and the seventh-day Sabbath. It begins with the October 1844 disappointment and continues to the beginning of the publication of *Present Truth* in July 1849. Treatment is limited to the doctrines of the sanctuary and the Sabbath and Ellen White's role in the development process. This dissertation is not primarily a theological study but rather a step-by-step examination of the historical development.

Review of Previous Research

Documentary historical studies of the Sabbath, sanctuary, and role of Ellen White during the first years after the disappointment have appeared generally as parts of works on broader subjects. While varied types of studies treat the period from 1844 to 1849, I will consider here only those works that either reconstruct the history or cover the historical theological development.

P. Gerard Damsteegt has given careful study to the development of the theology of mission in the context of the emerging Adventist biblical hermeneutic. In a portion of his published dissertation, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Mission and Message*, he deals with the period from 1844-1849.¹ He has also written a helpful overview history of the doctrine of the sanctuary among Sabbatarian Adventists from 1845 to 1851.² Yet these publications do not emphasize the collateral interactions and influences that affected the developing doctrines. C. Mervyn Maxwell has also produced a helpful overview of the development of the sanctuary doctrine³ and a brief overview of Joseph Bates and Adventist Sabbatarian theology.⁴ Bert Haloviak presented a paper with

¹P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977; reprint, Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1995), 103-164.

²P. Gerard Damsteegt, "Among Sabbatarian Adventists: 1845-1850," in *Doctrine of the Sanctuary: A Historical Survey, 1845-1863*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute), 1989, 17-55.

³C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Sanctuary and Atonement in SDA Theology: An Historical Survey," in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical, and Theological Studies*, ed. Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Leshar (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981), 516-81. See also *Magnificent Disappointment: What Really Happened in 1844 . . . and Its Meaning for Today* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1994).

⁴C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Joseph Bates and Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath Theology," in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*, ed. Kenneth A. Strand (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982), 352-63.

a documentary historical overview of the period from 1844 to 1851 at the Andrews Society for Religious Studies.¹ Robert Haddock devoted a significant portion of his “History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary” to the early development of the sanctuary doctrine.² While using some primary sources, he depended heavily on secondary sources. Gordon Martinborough’s M.A. thesis covered the theology of the Sabbath among Adventists after the disappointment as a part of his discussion of the Seventh Day Baptist and Millerite connections.³ Raymond F. Cottrell wrote a helpful chapter on the Sabbath in America, giving an overview of Seventh-day Adventist indebtedness to Seventh Day Baptists.⁴ George R. Knight gives coverage to the post-disappointment period in the larger context of the Millerite movement.⁵ The most complete work on Ellen White’s experience is found in Arthur L. White’s biography of Ellen G. White.⁶

Alberto Timm studied the integration of the Sanctuary and the three angels’ messages with five other distinctive Adventist doctrines from 1844 to 1863.⁷ Timm’s

¹Bert Haloviak, “From Millerism, through the Scattering, to the Third Angel: Ellen White and Light from the Most Holy Place, 1844-1851,” paper presented at the meeting of the Andrews Society for Religious Studies in San Francisco, December 16-18, 1981.

²Robert Haddock, “A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Advent Movement: 1800-1915,” B.D. thesis, Andrews University, 1970, 106-78.

³Gordon O. Martinborough, “The Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath among American Sabbatarian Adventists, 1842-1850” (M.A. thesis, Loma Linda University, 1976).

⁴Raymond F. Cottrell, “The Sabbath in the New World,” in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*, ed. Kenneth A. Strand (Washington DC: Review and Herald, 1982), 244-63.

⁵George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993), 217-325.

⁶Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White*, vol. 1, *The Early Years, 1827-1862* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1985), 45-178.

⁷Alberto Ronald Timm, “The Sanctuary and the Three Angels’ Messages, 1844-1863: Integrating Factors in the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Doctrines” (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1995).

dissertation covered three periods of Adventist history: (1) pre-1844, (2) 1844-1850, and (3) 1850-1863.

Each of these documentary studies, with the exception of Alberto Timm's dissertation, which had a different objective, is either a brief overview of the period or part of a larger work with objectives different from this proposal. None of these works attempted to fulfill the objectives of this study.

Methodology and Sources

This dissertation is a documentary study based on a comprehensive examination and analysis of unpublished and published primary sources found in various archives, historical societies, libraries, and record centers. The sources used include serials, books and tracts, government records, artifacts, papers, letters, and manuscripts. These sources and archival collections are discussed in the bibliography.

Of particular importance to this study are the Adventist periodicals published between 1844 and 1849. This study has been enriched by the discovery of certain key periodical issues such as the first issue of *the Day-Dawn* published in early spring 1845 and the gathering of previously scattered issues of periodicals such as the *Voice of Truth*.

Design of Study

The study is presented chronologically with topically organized subdivisions (with the exception of the first chapter, which is provided to give background) based on the three major elements—the sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen White's role. Each chapter begins with a chronological overview to situate the development of each element within the covered time period. Chapter I examines the background within the Millerite movement of ecstatic experiences, the sanctuary, and the Sabbath.

Chapter 2 examines the dividing of Adventism into two branches during the period from the Millerite disappointment in October 1844 through the Albany, New York, conference, together with other conferences that followed through May 1845.

Chapter 3 evaluates the disintegration of the Bridegroom branch of Adventism from June 1845 through May 1846 in three phases. Bridegroom Adventism first consolidated and expanded and then rapidly contracted as radicalism, apostasy, spiritualizing, and time setting thinned the ranks. Finally, the movement collapsed with only a scattered remnant remaining.

Chapter 4 traces the gathering of the scattered Bridegroom remnant into a contiguous but reorganized Sabbatarian Adventist movement from June 1846 to July 1849. This three-year period is naturally divided into two parts. The first year covers the integration of the elements of this study together with the uniting of the new leadership. The last two years centered on the gathering of the scattered "little flock" around the integrated understanding of the Sabbath and the sanctuary. The existence of the Sabbatarian Adventist movement was defined through conferences and the publication of *Present Truth*.

The study concludes in chapter 5 with a summary and conclusion that outlines the development and integration of the three elements of this study into a new Sabbatarian Adventist movement. Within the integration of the Sabbath and sanctuary, particular attention is given to the developing Shut-Door view. Finally, some suggestions are given for future study.

Acknowledgments

This dissertation could never have been written were it not for the support of institutions and many people. I am grateful to the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists and the Ellen G. White Estate who together with Loma Linda University and the Del E. Webb Memorial Library provided the financial backing for this endeavor.

I am grateful to have had on my doctoral committee individuals who were not only conversant in the area of my study but were also able, because of their own background, to critically examine the data and my conclusions. It has been said that the closest academic relationship is that of a doctoral student and advisor. For me this has certainly proved true. Words are not adequate to express my appreciation and respect for George Knight who has contributed so much to my academic development. Thanks are also due to Jerry Moon and Gerard Damsteegt whose helpful suggestions have greatly strengthened this dissertation.

I am grateful to many individuals who have played a helpful role in the development of this study, facilitated access to research materials at various institutions, and provided emotional assistance. I would first like to thank my secretary, Trish Chapman, who protected me from interruptions and spent many hours assisting me in so many ways. Thanks are also due to my staff at the White Estate Branch Office and the department of Archives and Special Collections at Loma Linda University and particularly to my associate Marilyn Crane and receptionists Janice Little and Coleen Doran. Others who are owed a special debt of gratitude for helping in various ways are James R. Nix, Kenneth H. Wood, Timothy Poirier, Juan Carlos Viera, Don Robinson, B. Lyn Behrens, David Rios, Jerry Daly, C. Mervyn Maxwell, Nancy Vyhmeister,

William Fagal, Jim Ford, Carlota Brown, Mable Bowen, Bonnie Proctor, Don A. Sanford, David P. Krogh, Kent Ross, David Arthur, Nicholas Noyes, Dennis R. Laurie, Philip J. Lampi, Stanley D. Hickerson, Terry Swenson, Lawrence and Lois Burn, Edward and Olivia Bergeron, and Robert and Jeanne Burt.

This dissertation is dedicated to two individuals. Juan Carlos Viera believed I could complete this project and, as director of the Ellen G. White Estate, arranged for the sponsorship of my doctoral program. I also dedicate this dissertation to my closest friend and life companion Sarah Burt. For the more than six years it has taken to finish my Ph.D. she has given love and emotional support, endured my absence, and held things together at home. This dissertation is as much her achievement as it is mine. To my children Jonathan, Jared, and Celesta, many thanks for putting up with my too frequent absence and close attention to study.

And, above all, I bless my Savior Jesus Christ. It is my earnest prayer that this study will honor Him and strengthen His Church.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND IN THE MILLERITE MOVEMENT OF ECSTATIC EXPERIENCES, THE SANCTUARY, AND THE SABBATH

Introduction

The period from the conclusion of the Revolutionary War to the Civil War was a time of great optimism in the newly formed United States. Settlers were pressing north and west, taming the wilderness. This led to a fierce independence and sense of self-determination. This attitude was reflected politically as Americans embraced the personal autonomy and yeoman democracy of Jeffersonian Republicanism. The inauguration of Andrew Jackson in 1829 as president formalized the “toppling of the old order by excluding from office the wellborn and well-educated who had long been accustomed to holding the reins of power.”¹ “Old Hickory,” as Jackson was called, represented liberty and the absolute right of the person to make self-directed decisions. This personal independence extended beyond politics to the realm of religious faith and practice. The new cultural milieu stood against the established order of the Federalists and the Congregationalists. American Methodism, Baptists, and the Christian Connection became the new popular churches in northern New England and in the frontier West. Each gave individual experience a place of prominence. The primacy of

¹Winthrop S. Hudson, “A Time of Religious Ferment,” in *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Edwin S. Gaustad (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 2.

the individual led to rampant religious experimentation and diversity of thought. It was from within this ferment that a most remarkable movement emerged.

William Miller, a Baptist patriot and son of an officer of the Revolution, was the principal founder of American Adventism.¹ After seeing action at the decisive Battle of Plattsburgh on Lake Champlain in 1814, he settled as a farmer in Low Hampton, New York. Embracing Deism for a time, he became disillusioned with the idea of annihilation. In 1816 he became convinced that the Bible was “perfectly adapted to the wants of a fallen world” and wrote, “In Jesus I found a friend.”² After his conversion he embarked on an extended period of Bible study to settle any difficulties that might become apparent. In the course of this study he carefully considered the books of Daniel and Revelation. Through comparing the prophecies in these books with history, he became convinced that Jesus would come “about the year 1843.”³

He began to preach his views in 1831.⁴ Not surprisingly, he found his greatest success among more revivalist-minded denominations, such as the Methodists, Baptists,

¹Important biographies of William Miller include William Miller, *Apology and Defence* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1845); Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller, Generally Known as a Lecturer on the Prophecies, and the Second Coming of Christ* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1853); James White, *Sketches of the Christian Life and Public Labors of William Miller, Gathered from His Memoir by the Late Sylvester Bliss, and from Other Sources* (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing, 1875); *A Brief History of William Miller, the Great Pioneer in Adventual Faith*, 2d ed. (Boston: Advent Christian Publication Society, 1910); Stanley J. Steiner, “William Miller: His Travels, Disappointments and Faith” (M.A. thesis, Texas Christian University, 1970); Robert Gale, *The Urgent Voice: The Story of William Miller* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1975); Paul A. Gordon, *Herald of the Midnight Cry: William Miller & the 1844 Movement* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1990).

²Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller*, 67.

³William Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History: of the Second Coming of Christ, about the Year 1843: Exhibited in a Course of Lectures* (Troy, NY: Kemble & Hooper, 1836).

⁴Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller*, 98.

and Christians. Receiving from the Baptists a license to preach, he used methods similar to the great evangelist, Charles Finney, but without the charismatic style. As one of the last successful revivalists of the Second Great Awakening, William Miller presented his series of “lectures” wherever invited, holding protracted meetings cross-denominationally in various cities and towns throughout New England and the Midwest. Invariably his presentations resulted in revival and the widespread conversion of “infidels.” Many also embraced his views on the “prophecies.” Perhaps his most important convert was Joshua V. Himes. Himes, a Christian Connection minister, popularized the movement and spread its message through a multitude of conferences and publications.¹

While using similar methods, William Miller’s message was in distinct contrast to that of Finney and many other revivalists who held the utopian view that the world could be improved, resulting in a millennium of peace before the Second Coming of Jesus.² Miller taught that the coming of Jesus would occur imminently and herald the beginning of the millennium. He further taught that the return of Jesus would bring an end to the world. This gave great urgency to his lectures. Beyond eschatological content, his frank convincing style, sincerity, and biblical focus gave added power to his proclamation.

The Millerite movement, as it came to be called, impacted a large number of Americans.³ It has been estimated by later historians that as many as 200,000 accepted

¹David Tallmadge Arthur, “Joshua V. Himes and the Cause of Adventism: 1839-1845” (M.A. diss., University of Chicago, 1961), 4, 5.

²Charles Finney, “Holiness of Christians in the Present Life, No. 8,” *Oberlin Evangelist*, April 12, 1843, 58. See also George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993), 17, 18.

³Significant retrospective histories of the Millerite movement in chronological order include Isaac C. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message and Mission, Doctrine and People* (Yarmouth, ME: I. C. Wellcome, 1874); Albert C. Johnson, *Advent Christian History: A Concise Narrative of the Origin and Progress, Doctrine and Work of this Body of Believers*

his views with a million or more brought under the influence of the movement.¹ Miller more conservatively placed the number of true believers at “some fifty thousand.”² He also confirmed that he had given 4,500 lectures over twelve years to about 500,000 people.³ These numbers are significant considering that in 1840 the total population (free and slave) of the United States stood at just over 17 million.⁴

(Mendota, IL: Western Advent Christian Publication Society, 1918); Everett Newfon Dick, “The Adventist Crisis of 1843-1844” (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1930); Francis D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry: A Defense of the Character and Conduct of William Miller and the Millerites, Who Mistakenly Believed That the Second Coming of Christ Would Take Place in the Year 1844* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1944); Le Roy Edwin Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation*, vol. 4 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1954); David T. Arthur, “‘Come out of Babylon’: A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism, 1840-1865” (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1970); Edwin S. Gaustad, ed., *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974); David A. Dean, “Echoes of the Midnight Cry: The Millerite Heritage in the Apologetics of the Advent Christian Denomination, 1860-1960” (Th.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1977); Clyde E. Hewitt, *Midnight and Morning: An Account of the Adventist Awakening and the Founding of the Advent Christian Denomination* (Charlotte, NC: Venture Books, 1983); David L. Rowe, *Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850*, American Academy of Religion Studies in Religion, no. 38 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985); Michael Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-over District of New York in the 1840s* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986); Ruth A. Doan, *The Miller Heresy, Millennialism, and American Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987); Knight, *Millennial Fever*. For a good chronological review of Millerite histories see Gary Land, “The Historians and the Millerites: An Historical Essay,” in Everett N. Dick, *William Miller and the Advent Crisis, 1831-1844*, ed. Gary Land (Berrien Spring, MI: Andrews University Press, 1994), xiii-xxviii.

¹Knight, *Millennial Fever*, 213; Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 287.

²Miller, *Apology and Defence*, 22.

³William Miller, “Address to Second Advent Believers,” *Signs of the Times*, January 31, 1844, 196.

⁴John Marshall, *Brookes's Universal Gazetteer, Re-modelled and Brought Down to the Present Time* (Philadelphia: E. H. Butler, 1843), lvii (United States Census statistics).

The diverse background of Adventist adherents led to a corresponding diversity of doctrinal perspectives.¹ Those who joined the Millerite movement had a strong sense of personal responsibility to correctly understand the teachings of the Bible. The movement engendered an environment of change that fostered new scriptural interpretations. Consequently, various strains of nontraditional thought flourished.

The uniting theme of the movement was, of course, the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation with the expectation of the personal premillennial return of Jesus and the destruction of the world. The Millerites looked for the coming of Jesus about the year 1843, as William Miller had taught. This led to a first disappointment in the spring of 1844. The second and more significant disappointment occurred in October 1844. Following this second passing of the expected time, the movement fragmented. Two major divisions developed. Those in the first division repudiated faith in the October 1844 date and looked for a future fulfillment. This included most of the principal leaders of the movement. Those in the second division affirmed the validity of the October 1844 date. Some in the second division eventually embraced Sabbatarian views, explained the October 1844 date in terms of the heavenly sanctuary, and maintained an openness to prophetic manifestation. It is to the second group that this study will pay particular emphasis.

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to give the background within Millerite Adventism and those religious groups that most actively interacted with

¹Significant studies which examine the theological perspectives of the Millerites and the Sabbatarian branch of the post-Millerite period are Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message*; Haddock, "A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary"; Martinborough, "The Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath"; Timm, "The Sanctuary and the Three Angels' Messages."

Millerites in relation to the three principle aspects of this study—the sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen White’s role. To accomplish this, chapter I will first survey the religious milieu within Millerism and those movements closely connected to the rise of Adventism that supported visionary and ecstatic experience. This will include a pre-disappointment biographical sketch of Ellen G. Harmon (later White). Second, a review will be given of the Millerite concept of the cleansing of the sanctuary along with the related ideas of time expectation, the Jewish year, and the pre-Advent judgment. Finally, the introduction of the seventh-day Sabbath and discussion on it within Millerite Adventism up to the October 1844 disappointment will be examined. It is not the objective of this chapter to comprehensively study either the Millerite movement or the three key elements of this chapter. Rather the purpose is to give an introductory survey and helpful background to the principal focus of this paper, which is the period from 1844 to 1849.

Millerite Ecstatic Experiences and an Introduction to Ellen G. White

As the Millerite movement expanded during the early 1840s, the meetings generally followed the revival style of the time. A deep and solemn atmosphere often led to intellectual conviction and life change. While shouts, weeping, or fainting occurred in Adventist meetings, there was a paucity of dreams, visions, and more extreme bodily contortions. The occurrence of these expressions reflected popular American religion, but not the Millerite style. As the Millerite movement grew, it attracted larger numbers of people from the Methodist and Christian churches.

In the next pages we will briefly examine the religious background of ecstatic and visionary experience within the Methodist and Christian persuasions and then survey a

few Millerite ecstatics and visionaries. Then a brief biography of Ellen G. Harmon (later Ellen G. White) will provide background for future chapters.

The Milieu of Ecstatic Experience

The rapid expansion of popular religion in America during the first half of the nineteenth century overwhelmed the older more established denominations. This was particularly true in northern New England and the western frontier—from western New York to Kentucky. Within these regions religious experimentation was rampant. Revivals swept back and forth like the ebb and flow of the tide. These revivals would not have been possible without two new forms of religious expression—the camp meeting and protracted town meetings.

Around the turn of the nineteenth century, camp meetings were held in Kentucky with great success. These soon spread and became pervasive throughout the country. The camp meeting eventually became the special domain of Methodists. At camp meeting, participants could lose some of their inhibitions and devote time for prayer and spiritual exercises. For many Americans, camp meetings became an important fixture in the annual cycle of church life. They also became an important highlight for Millerites beginning during the summer of 1842 and continuing till the fall of 1844.

By the 1830s revivalism received new energy through the dynamic leadership of a lawyer and Presbyterian minister, Charles G. Finney. His methods were widely embraced by other religious groups. He brought the camp meeting to town with his “protracted meetings.” His “New Measures” included (1) praying for people in public by name, (2) allowing women to pray and testify in public to mixed audiences, and (3) appointing a pew in the front of the church as the “anxious bench” where sinners could

come to pray.¹ Finney's innovations opened the door for greater and more inclusive religious expression. His methods were embraced by other revivalists and directly impacted popular churches, such as the Methodists, Baptists, and Christians. William Miller and other Adventist preachers sometimes used some of Finney's methods.²

During the first half of the nineteenth century, camp meetings and protracted town meetings provided an environment for the rapid growth of popular churches. Methodists and Christians (and Freewill Baptists), in particular, provided a stable framework for a more demonstrative religious experience. Those demonstrations were common to both genders and could include shouting, bodily contortions, fainting, weeping, and at times even dreams and visions.³

Methodist Experience

Methodism was widely known for its network of largely unschooled itinerant preachers. These circuit riders were responsible for preaching, visiting, and establishing churches within a certain territory, often covering a vast area. Working primarily with the poorer and more common class, the result of their ministry was phenomenal growth. By the 1820s Methodists had surpassed Baptists as the largest denomination in America.⁴

¹George R. Knight, *Ellen White's World: A Fascinating Look at the Times in Which She Lived* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1998), 22.

²During March 1840 in Portland, Maine, the listeners were invited forward during Miller's meetings to "anxious" seats: see p. 19 below. Ellen Harmon had opportunity to publicly give her testimony in the Freewill Baptist Chapel in Portland, Maine: see pp. 21, 22 below.

³Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, & Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

⁴Winthrop S. Hudson and John Corrigan, *Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life*, 5th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992), 124.

Methodists were sometimes referred to as “shouting Methodists” due to their religious enthusiasm and demonstration. The frequent exclamations of “glory, glory, glory,” “Hallelujah,” and “Amen” were integral to Methodist worship.¹

In looking at the background of Methodist experience, one must not overlook Phoebe Palmer. Palmer’s father was a personal convert of John Wesley. About 1835 Palmer instituted her Tuesday evening meetings for the “Promotion of Holiness” in New York City. These meetings were destined to have a profound effect upon American religious experience in general and more particularly upon Methodist experience. Palmer said personal testimony in public was essential to the development of Christian holiness. She believed that without public testimony, religious life would slide into apostasy.² Her views, combined with Charles Finney’s “new measures,” opened the door for women to publicly participate in mixed audiences in the church. On occasion a woman had a remarkable testimony, which she would repeat, in various places. In effect, she would become a traveling revivalist. This practice was most common among Methodists and the Christian groups. It also extended into the Adventist movement.

Public testimony often included intense emotion on the part of the speaker and the hearers. It was not uncommon for individuals to shout out their love for Jesus with “Glory! Glory!” and “Hallelujah.” Fainting and other physical demonstrations were also common, particularly in camp meetings or at class meetings.

Personal testimony was frequently associated with the blessing of sanctification. Both Finney and Palmer believed that one could receive, after conversion, a second

¹Winthrop S. Hudson, “Shouting Methodists,” *Encounter*, Winter 1968, 73-84.

²Melvin Easterday Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996), 22-28.

blessing of sanctification and victory over sin through a special bestowal of the presence of Jesus. When a Christian received this blessing, he or she would often have a dramatic demonstration of the presence of the Holy Spirit.¹ Many respected these types of experiences as legitimate manifestations of the power of God.

The Christian Connection

The Christian churches sprang up almost at the same time in four different locations.² The New England branch began under the leadership of two Baptists, Elias Smith and Abner Jones.³ Jones became closely associated with the Freewill Baptists and was ordained by them.⁴ There was a close connection between the Christians and the Freewill Baptists in New England during the first half of the nineteenth century. The frequent communication, interaction, and cooperation are demonstrated through the pages of the *Christian Palladium*, a Christian periodical. The association in some places was so close that Freewill Baptist churches were referred to as Christian churches.

The “Christian Connection,” as it was sometimes called, tried to avoid any denominational distinctives and adherents referred to themselves simply as “Christians.” They had no particular creed, which allowed a considerable degree of diversity. While Ellen G. White came from a Methodist background, the other two principal founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, James White and Joseph Bates, were both active in

¹Ibid., 19.

²See Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 68-81; Richard T. Hughes, ed., *American Origins of Churches of Christ: Three Essays on Restoration History* (Abilene, TX: ACU Press, 2000).

³Michael G. Kenny, *The Perfect Law of Liberty: Elias Smith and the Providential History of America* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1994), 47.

⁴A. D. Jones, *Memoir of Elder Abner Jones* (Boston: William Crosby, 1842), 50, 51.

the Christian Church. Other principal ministerial leaders in the Millerite movement from the Christian Church included J. V. Himes, Timothy Cole, and Joseph Marsh.

Elias Smith was born in Connecticut on June 17, 1769, but grew up in Woodstock, Vermont, where his family carved a home out of the wilderness. His 1816 autobiography gives insight into his thinking as he reflected on his past experience. Converted at sixteen, he had a type of visionary experience while out gathering wood.¹ He had a further dream where an angel told him: “The Lord has appeared for you, and will preserve you, for he has a great work for you to do in the world.”² On another occasion he received a sense of God’s justice when “a light from heaven shone around” him.³

Abner Jones was also a “believer in the *direct* manifestations of the spirit of God” and expressed himself at times with “strong ejaculations” to God.⁴ Both Smith’s writing of his own visionary experience along with Jones’ expressions illustrate the openness many Christians felt towards supernatural manifestations including dreams and visions.

Mrs. Chloe Willey is an example of one who had dreams and received communications and visions of heaven, hell, and the earth from her angel guide. She joined the Baptist Church for a time but seemed suspicious of organized religion.⁵ She wrote of a thirty-day period in which she was ill but during that time received frequent

¹Elias Smith, *The Life, Conversion, Preaching, Travels, and Sufferings of Elias Smith* (Portsmouth, NH: Beck and Foster, 1816), 59.

²*Ibid.*, 76.

³*Ibid.*, 82, 169.

⁴Jones, *Memoir of Elder Abner Jones*, 52, 56.

⁵Chloe Willey, *A Short Account of the Life and Remarkable View of Mrs. Chloe Willey of Goshen, N. H.* (New York: John & Totten, 1810), 18.

communications from God through dreams. She believed that the outer wheel of her nature had been broken but that the inner wheel of grace was strong and good. About the same time she received “spiritual discernment” and could tell the difference between “a faithful and a carnal Christian and between a real saint and a hypocrite.”¹ The removal of the outer nature seems to refer to her sinful nature. With this removed, she could discern between good and evil.

Willey’s publications represent a genre of women who received dreams and visions and became “prophetesses” within a group of supporters. Such stories as Chloe Willey’s established women’s reputations as spiritual leaders. This type of phenomena was not limited to women.

Having considered the broader religious context for ecstatic and prophetic experience it is necessary to examine the scope of prophetic manifestation within Millerite Adventism. With the Methodist and Christian influence and the milieu of the time, it is not surprising that there are Millerite examples of ecstatic and visionary activity. The type of visionary activity described by Willey was much like that of John Starkweather and other Millerite extremists like R. C. Gorgas during the time leading up to the 1844 disappointments. Other seemingly benign visionary manifestations were present as well and are illustrated through the experience of William Foy and Hazen Foss.

Prophetic Manifestations in the Millerite Movement

Prophetic manifestation in the Millerite movement existed on the periphery and was considered by many of the leaders to be fanaticism. Nevertheless, the religious

¹Ibid., 17.

background of converts, the free style of interaction, and the environment of change within the movement resulted in various ecstatic and prophetic manifestations. A few of the more significant are mentioned here to serve as examples.

The John Starkweather Confusion

One of the greatest thorns in the side of Joshua V. Himes was John Starkweather. A graduate of Andover Theological Seminary, Starkweather accepted the “doctrine of the Advent” in the fall of 1842. To allow for more travel, Himes invited this promising young man to serve as his assistant pastor at the Chardon Street Chapel in Boston.

Tall and handsome, Starkweather made an instant impression. His powers of oratory matched his appearance. People were captivated by his powerful voice and the ease with which he expressed emotion. Starkweather held to the Methodist idea of the “second work” of personal sanctification. This involved “the loosing of strength” and other “bodily sensation[s].”¹ These sensations included “cataleptic and epileptic phenomena,” which he called the “great power of God.”

His association with Himes lasted only six months. Starkweather’s unwillingness to temper the promotion of his views on sanctification along with efforts to undermine Himes’ leadership led to his removal as assistant pastor. Refusing to leave quietly, he drew off a number of the Chardon Street Chapel members and began meeting at Ritchie Chapel. Starkweather continued to promote his views during the late summer and early fall of 1843. At the Bridgeport, Connecticut, camp meeting the “extravagances” of a few

¹*Defence of Elder Joshua V. Himes: Being a History of the Fanaticism, Puerilities and Secret Workings of Those Who under the Garb of Friendship, Have Proved the Most Deadly Enemies of the Advent Cause* (Boston: No. 8 Chardon-street, 1851), 7, 8. See also Knight, *Millennial Fever*, 174-177.

young men connected to Starkweather created a disturbance and led to widespread negative newspaper coverage. Behind the “fanaticism” was a belief that “gifts were to be restored to the church.” The young men professed to have the gift of “discerning of spirits.” Reflecting on the underlying problem, Josiah Litch wrote:

The origin of it, is, the idea that the individuals thus exercised are entirely under the influence of the Spirit of God, are his children, and that he will not deceive them and lead them astray; hence every impulse which comes upon them is yielded to as coming from God, and following it there is no length of fanaticism to which they will not go.¹

The “gifts” at times even amazed Starkweather. One young man had a “hallucination” and imagined he had the power to keep railroad cars from moving. In another account, a woman believed she could walk across the Connecticut River.²

It was not until the next year that Starkweather’s influence was largely broken. He called a “Union Conference” at the Marlboro Chapel, in Boston, on April 16 and 17, 1844. The conference was for the purpose of uniting the “disaffected” Adventists but “no two were of the same mind.” Even Starkweather’s leadership was questioned. A Mr. Lemuel Tompkins had “cataleptic exercises” which caused him to spin around and make grunting noises and finally lie on his back on the ground. His revelation was that Starkweather had a devil. Starkweather, for his part, said Tompkins had a devil. By the end of the second day, confusion reigned. Various ones were speaking at the same time while several women were in “mesmeric ecstasies.” The meeting was finally aborted when the owner of the building expelled them all.³

¹Josiah Litch, “Protest,” *The Midnight Cry*, September 14, 1843, 29.

²*Defence of Elder Joshua V. Himes*, 11, 12.

³*Ibid.*, 12-15.

After this, Starkweather published a hymnbook, some tracts, and a few numbers of a paper with little effect. It seems that he later accepted the “doctrine of spiritual wifery,” and was separated from his family.¹

William E. Foy

William E. Foy was a Black Freewill Baptist preacher who experienced two visions during 1842. The visions convinced him of the soon coming of Jesus and he traveled to various places sharing them.

Twenty-four-year-old Foy, a native of Maine, received his first vision in Boston on January 18, 1842. It lasted for two and a half hours. “I was immediately seized as in the agonies of death,” he wrote, “and my breath left me; and it appeared to me that I was a spirit separate from this body. I then beheld one arrayed in white raiment.”² In this vision he saw the saints in paradise. His second vision occurred two weeks later on February 4, 1842, in Boston. “I heard a voice, as it were, in the spirit, speaking unto me.” he recalled, “I immediately fell to the floor, and knew nothing about this body, until twelve hours and a half had passed away as I was afterwards informed.” In this vision he saw the judgment bar of God and “innumerable multitudes” gathered before it.³

¹Ibid., 16.

²William Foy, *The Christian Experience of William E. Foy together with the Two Visions He Received in the Months of Jan. and Feb. 1842* (Portland, ME: J. and C. H. Pearson, 1845), 9. For a helpful treatment on Foy see Delbert W. Baker, *The Unknown Prophet* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1987).

³Foy, *Christian Experience*, 16.

Some contemporaries remembered that Foy had additional visions.¹ Through a newspaper announcement it is known that Foy was holding meetings at the Casco Street Christian church in Portland during February 1844.² About the same time, the *Portland Tribune* described an unnamed Black man, probably Foy, who had “dreams and prognostications.”³

With the help of two Millerite publishers, John and Charles H. Pearson, Foy published his first two visions on January 3, 1845, in a little twenty-four-page tract titled *The Christian Experience of William E. Foy together with the Two Visions He Received in the Months of Jan. and Feb. 1842.*⁴ Ellen G. Harmon, who received her first vision just before the publication of this tract, remembered hearing and talking with him. Foy also heard Harmon describing her vision at an Adventist meeting. He gave “a shout,” and “jumped right up and down” and kept saying that “it was just what he had seen [in vision], just what he had seen.”⁵

Other Miscellaneous Millerite Visionary Manifestations

Three other visionary manifestations about the time of the October 1844 disappointment add some additional color and insight. Ellen G. White remembered that

¹J. N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1909), 146; Ellen G. White and C. C. Crisler, “Interview with Mrs. E. G. White, Regarding Early Experiences,” August 13, 1906, Ms. 131, 1906, EGWE-GC.

²William Ellis Foy, “Notice,” *Portland Advertiser*, February 27, 1844, 2.

³“When Will Wonders Cease?” *Portland Tribune*, February 10, 1844, 351.

⁴Box titled “District of Maine,” 183, Copyright Office, LC.

⁵Ellen G. White and C. C. Crisler, “Interview with Mrs. E. G. White, Regarding Early Experiences,” August 13, 1906, Ms. 131, 1906, EGWE-GC.

Hazen Foss of Poland, Maine, had received visions but refused to share them publicly. After hearing Ellen White speak in early 1845, he met with her and said, "The Lord gave me a message to bear to His people, and I refused after being told the consequences. . . . I heard you talk last night. I believe the visions are taken from me, and given to you."¹

From New York, Nathaniel Whiting wrote to William Miller just after the October 1844 disappointment about a woman named Mrs. Higgins who was preaching that people should leave the cities and large villages. Whiting ascribed these views to manifestations of the "gift of tongues & modern prophecies."²

In Philadelphia, a Dr. R. C. Gorgas claimed to have had a vision that Christ would come at three o'clock in the morning of October 22, 1844. He published his prophecy in a broadside a short time before the expected date and managed to convince George Storrs.³ To his later embarrassment, Storrs arranged for the publication of Gorgas' views in a *Midnight Cry* Extra. Since Storrs was widely respected and had recommended the material, it was given to the printers before being examined. Several hundred were mailed before the press was stopped and the "sheets burned." Local newspaper editors acquired a copy and the prophecy was spread around the country as an example of Millerite "fanaticism."⁴ Incidents such as these, along with the excesses of Starkweather, fueled the flames of public disgust for Millerites. To the few authenticated accounts of Millerite charismatic excesses were added numerous unsubstantiated and contrived

¹Ellen G. White to Mary Foss, December 22, 1890, Lt. 37. 1890, EGWE-GC.

²Nathaniel Whiting to William Miller, October 24, 1844, AurU.

³C. R. Gorgas, "In Honor of the King of Kings," broadside printed about October 16, 1844. See also Knight, *Millennial Fever*, 174-177.

⁴"Vision of C. R. Gorgas," *Midnight Cry*, October 31, 1844, 143-144.

stories.¹ Events such as these confirmed Miller, Himes, and other Adventist leaders in their opposition to visions and ecstatic experience.

Introduction to Ellen G. White

Ellen G. White played a vital role in the developing Sabbatarian movement that grew out of the Millerite movement after 1844. Her visions served as an encouragement to those who had lost faith in the movement and as a check against extreme fanatical ideas. As we will see in future chapters, her prophetic influence played an integral role in the theological development of the Sabbath and Sanctuary doctrines. But rather than originating concepts, her visions enriched and extended the theological insights of others. The following brief outline of her background leading up to the 1844 disappointment provides an illustration of the religious experience of Millerite Adventists in Portland, Maine, who were from a Methodist or Christian background and sets the stage for her important role in the years following the October 1844 disappointment.²

Ellen Gould Harmon and her fraternal twin, Elizabeth, were the last of eight children born to Robert and Eunice Harmon on November 26, 1827, near the small town of Gorham, Maine. Her father was a hat maker and sometime farmer. The Harmon family was closely affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church. They joined the Chestnut Street Methodist church after moving to Portland, Maine.³ In that church,

¹See Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*," 303-426.

²Good accounts of Ellen G. White's early experience include: Ellen G. White, *Spiritual Gifts: My Christian Experience, Views and Labors in Connection with the Rise and Progress of the Third Angel's Message*, vol. 2 (Battle Creek, MI: James White, 1860); A. L. White, *Ellen G. White: The Early Years*; Herbert E. Douglass, *Messenger of the Lord: The Prophetic Ministry of Ellen G. White* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 1998), 44-131.

³Frederick Hoyt, "Ellen White's Hometown: Portland, Maine, 1827-1846," in *The World of Ellen G. White*, ed. Gary Land (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1987), 12-31.

Robert Harmon served as a class leader and at one point even assisted in the founding of a branch congregation near his home.¹ Ellen Harmon's earliest impressions of God were formed from her parents and from the preachers and class leaders of the Methodist church.

When about nine years of age, she suffered an accident caused by an older schoolmate in a Portland common. Ellen White remembered: "I turned my head to see how far she was behind me, and as I did so, she threw the stone and it hit me on the nose. A blinding, stunning sensation overpowered me, I fell senseless."² For most of the rest of her childhood she suffered with complications from this accident. She developed a chronic cough that was thought to be tuberculosis. This accident, her family influence, and her own natural disposition caused Ellen Harmon to take religion very seriously.

When William Miller came to Portland in the spring of 1840, the Harmon family was among those attending the meetings at the Casco Street Christian church. During the meetings, twelve-year-old Ellen Harmon came forward to the "anxious seat" for prayer. She and her family were fully convinced regarding Miller's views and became leading lay supporters of the Adventist cause in Portland, Maine.

In the late summer or early fall of 1841, she attended, with her family, a Methodist camp meeting in Buxton, Maine. It was at this camp meeting that she

¹"Leaders Meeting Minutes and Membership Records—1836-1845," August 12, 1840, Chestnut Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Portland, Maine.

²James White, "Mrs. Ellen G. White: Her Life, Christian Experience, and Labors," *Signs of the Times*, January 6, 1876, 44.

experienced conversion.¹ At first she could not understand the physical demonstrations she saw:

Some things at this camp meeting perplexed me exceedingly. I could not understand the exercises of many persons during the conference meetings, both at the stand and in the tents. They shouted at the top of their voices, clapped their hands, and appeared greatly excited. Quite a number fell, through exhaustion, it appeared to me; but those present said they were sanctified to God, and this wonderful manifestation was the power of the Almighty upon them. After lying motionless for a time, these persons would rise and again talk and shout as before. In some of the tents, meetings were continued through the night, by those who were praying for freedom from sin and the sanctification of the Spirit of God. Quite a number became sick in consequence of the excitement and loss of sleep, and were obliged to leave the ground. These singular manifestations brought no relief to me, but rather increased my discouragement. I despaired of ever becoming a Christian if, in order to obtain the blessing, it was necessary for me to be exercised as these people were.²

One day while bowed at the altar in prayer, her “burden left” and her “heart was light.” She remembered, “Jesus seemed very near to me; I felt able to come to Him with all my griefs, misfortunes, and trials. . . . I felt that the Savior had blessed me and pardoned my sins.”³ Ellen was given probationary membership in the Chestnut Street Methodist church on September 20, 1841, approved for baptism after the usual Methodist probationary period on May 23, 1842, and baptized in Casco Bay by John Hobart on June 26, 1842.⁴

¹For a more detailed account of Ellen G. White’s conversion see, Merlin D. Burt, “Ellen G. Harmon’s Three Step Conversion between 1836 and 1843 and the Harmon Family Methodist Experience” (Term paper, Adventist Heritage Center, AU, 1998).

²Ellen G. White, “Life Sketches: The Christian Experience, Views and Labors of Ellen G. White in Connection with the Rise and Progress of the Third Angel’s Message.” Ms., n.d., 18, 19, EGWE-GC. Hereafter referred to as “Life Sketches Manuscript.”

³Ibid., 21, 22.

⁴Membership Ledger and Church History, 1827-1851, Chestnut Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Portland, Maine.

Methodists believed sanctification to be a “second work of grace” or a “second blessing.” For them it was not a state of sinless perfection but rather one of perfect love and right intentions. This seeking after and receiving of the blessing of sanctification is what Ellen Harmon observed at the Buxton camp meeting. In the months after her baptism, she longed for a state of entire consecration and felt a strong conviction to pray in public. Being shy, she struggled with this conviction. It was at a meeting in her uncle’s house, probably in early 1843, that she finally received this “blessing.” As others knelt for prayer, she also bowed, and before she even realized it her voice was lifted in prayer. She wrote:

As I prayed, the burden and agony of soul that I had so long endured, left me, and the blessing of the Lord descended upon me like the gentle dew. I praised God from the depths of my heart. . . . The Spirit of God rested upon me with such power that I was unable to go home that night. When I awakened to realization, I found myself cared for in the house of my uncle. . . . When I was first struck down, some of those present were greatly alarmed, and were about to run for a physician . . . but my mother bade them let me alone, for it was plain to her, and to the experienced Christians, that it was the wonderful power of God that had prostrated me.¹

The following day she realized an entire change had come over her soul. A gentle assurance and confidence in God filled her. She had experienced the blessing of God. After this she gave her testimony first in the Adventist meeting (probably at Beethoven Hall), resulting in a strong positive response by the congregation. Soon she was asked by Samuel E. Brown to share her experience at the Freewill Baptist Christian Chapel located

¹E. G. White, “Life Sketches Manuscript,” 41, 42, EGWE-GC.

on Temple Street in Portland.¹ Brown was an Adventist minister and had been present at the previous meeting. With subdued heart and tearful eyes she expressed her love for Jesus and the “melting power of the Lord came upon the assembled people. Many were weeping and others praising God.” A call for sinners to arise for prayer was made with wonderful effect.² Ellen Harmon’s experience was in no way singular among Portland Adventists, nor was it uncommon for Methodists and Christians in that area. On the other hand, it was unusual for a girl of her age to have such intensity of feeling and experience.

Other Portland Adventists also experienced the power of God in a dramatic way, similar to Ellen Harmon. A fascinating story is told of the Pearson family, who it seems had been opposed to Ellen Harmon’s experience of falling down in the Spirit. While the Pearsons were attending one of the Adventist area meetings, one of their own family members was “prostrated as one dead.” “His relatives stood weeping around him, rubbing his hands and applying restoratives. At length he gained sufficient strength to praise God, and quieted their fears by shouting with triumph. . . .”³ The young man was unable to return home that night. The result was a new faith on the part of the family in this type of demonstration. A few weeks after the above testimony, “the large family of

¹Harlowe Harris, *The Portland Directory for the Year 1841* (Portland, ME: Arthur Shirley & Son, 1840). See also S. B. Beckett, *The Portland Reference Book, and City Directory for 1846* (Portland, ME: Thurston, Fenley & Co., 1846). There were two Freewill Baptist Christian churches in Portland. One was on Casco Street; the other, called the Christian Chapel and pastored by Samuel Brown, was located at 11 Temple Street.

²Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White, Being a Narrative of Her Experience to 1881 as Written by Herself; with a Sketch of Her Subsequent Labors and of Her Last Sickness Compiled from Original Sources* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1915), 41–42.

³Ellen G. White, “Mrs. Ellen G. White: Her Life, Christian Experience, and Labors,” *Signs of the Times*, March 16, 1876, 116.

Brother P[earson] were engaged in prayer at their own home” and “the Spirit of God swept through the room and prostrated the kneeling suppliants.” Robert Harmon, Ellen’s father, came in soon afterward and “found them all, both parents and children, helpless under the power of the Lord.”¹

Besides the Pearson family, other Adventists in Portland experienced the same dramatic physical manifestations. On one occasion, Levi Stockman, an Adventist Methodist minister, was preaching in Beethoven Hall. S. E. Brown, the Christian minister in whose church Ellen had previously shared her testimony, was also on the platform. Brown was deeply moved by the sermon. “Suddenly,” Ellen White wrote, “his countenance grew pale as the dead, he reeled in his chair, and Elder Stockman caught him in his arms just as he was falling to the floor, and laid him on the sofa behind the desk, where he lay powerless until the discourse was finished. He then arose, his face still pale, but shining with light from the Son of righteousness, and gave a very impressive testimony.” This man was usually slow of speech, had a solemn manner, and was generally free of any excitement. However, on this occasion he had new power as he “warned sinners and his brother ministers to put away unbelief.” A call was made and hundreds responded. A sea captain jumped to his feet with tears running down his face and “involuntarily raised his hat, and swung it above his head with the free movement of an old sailor, and in the abandonment of his joy, shouted, ‘Hurrah for God! I’ve enlisted in his crew, He is my Captain! Hurrah for Jesus Christ!’” He then sat down overpowered with emotion. Other testimonies were shared. As the meeting adjourned (at a late hour) and the people returned to their homes, voices could be heard from

¹Ibid.

various quarters praising God. Ellen White recollected, "No one who attended these meetings can ever forget those scenes of deepest interest."¹

As opposition to Miller's teachings increased in Portland during 1842 and 1843, the Harmon family became the principal concern of William Farrington, the new pastor of the Chestnut Street Methodist church. After a lengthy examination by four committees between February and June 1843, a "committee of trial" was appointed on August 14, 1843. A week later, the Harmon family members who had embraced Adventism were expelled from membership "for a breach of discipline." Robert Harmon appealed this decision at the September 2, 1843, "Quarterly Meeting Conference for the Portland Station," as was his right under Methodist discipline.² After hearing his arguments, the Conference "unanimously voted to sustain the decision of the committee in his expulsion."³

The Harmon family "constantly attended the Second Advent meetings in Portland," either at Beethoven Hall, at one of the Christian meetinghouses, or in various homes. Along with other Adventists, they experienced the anticipation then the disappointment following the passing of both the spring and fall 1844 time expectations.

¹Ellen G. White, "Mrs. Ellen G. White: Her Life, Christian Experience, and Labors," *Signs of the Times*, March 23, 1876, 124-125. For a more detailed account of ecstatic experiences see, Merlin D. Burt, "Ellen G. White and Religious Enthusiasm in Early Adventist Experience," Historical/Theological Consultation, June 17-19, 1998, 19-36, EGWE-GC.

²*The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford, 1842), 92-94.

³"Quarterly Meeting Book," Chestnut Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Portland, Maine. While previously available, the quarterly meeting book is now missing at the Chestnut Street Church. Therefore the exact title of the record book is not known. The pertinent passages quoted had been copied by Allan Lindsay, previous to the book being misplaced.

Summary and Perspective

Within the Millerite movement there were various manifestations of ecstatic and visionary activity. These included shouting, weeping, physical contortions, and fainting. Sometimes during these exercises the person claimed to have visions with more direct communication from God or would receive a gift of the Spirit such as the discerning of spirits. These manifestations were not original to the movement, but were a reflection of the religious background of its adherents. In particular, Methodists and Christians had openness to both ecstatic and visionary experiences. The free and expressive style of camp meetings, the influence of town revivals, and the Methodist concept of the second blessing of sanctification all created a conducive climate for intense religious expression.

At the center of much of the excitement was the obligation of personal testimony as promoted by Charles Finney and Phoebe Palmer. Palmer believed that testimony was essential to the Christian's life. Her views were widely embraced by Methodists and other revivalists. The public testimony and the second blessing of sanctification were often closely connected. Testimony was a time of intense and deep religious expression for the person. There was a strong yearning for real holiness and righteousness that was usually demonstrated in the life as an individual interacted with society. Those who knew the person duly noted life changes, which added credibility and support for the demonstration.

Both Finney and Palmer believed that testimony and sanctification were necessary for both men and women. Thus women found a place of public participation in religious meetings with both sexes present. Sometimes the testimony was so dramatic that the person was asked to share it repeatedly. The result was that men and sometimes women became unofficial "preachers," going from place to place telling of what the Lord had

done for them. After a time, some were given ministerial credentials. In fact, William Miller himself became a licensed minister for the Baptist Church through this method.

Experience within the Millerite movement often paralleled the type of revival experienced by Methodists and Christians. Though deeply serious and quite didactic in style, Millerite meetings often brought a strong emotional response because of the dramatic and significant nature of the message. The specific individuals and events described in this chapter in some cases represented excesses and did not always represent the typical Millerite style. Nevertheless, the excesses were representative of the tone and tenor of the popular religion of the time. Difficulties most often arose when genuine reform and holy living did not follow the demonstration. "Fanaticism" led to aberrant behavior, such as one person seeking a place of control and authority, improper relationships between men and women, and a spirit of extreme judgmentalism and condemnation. Still, for many, the belief remained strong that God gave ecstatic experience and even visions as He worked in a person's life.

In this respect, Ellen Harmon (later White) reflected the milieu of her time. Her sincerity, the intensity of her conversion, and the physical response of losing strength following her testimony all gave evidence to her hearers that God was in fact with her and had blessed her with His Spirit. Her desire to be holy and entirely consecrated was in close harmony with her Methodist background. She was asked to share her testimony at various meetings in the Portland area. Up through the October 1844 expectation she did not stand out in a dramatic way, nor was her experience out of character with that of many other Millerites or Methodists.

While visionary activity was active on the periphery of Millerite Adventism, an understanding of the sanctuary and typology in relation to prophetic interpretation and time expectation was at the center of Millerite thought. Millerite sanctuary perspectives together with their understanding of the Jewish year and typology laid the foundation for the ideas that would emerge following 1844. It is therefore needful to give some background on these vital subjects.

Millerite Adventist Sanctuary Understanding and the Jewish Year

Historicism was a prominent method of biblical prophetic interpretation current in America during the early nineteenth century. Millerite Adventists, in harmony with the Protestant reformers, stood firmly in the historicist camp. In fact, it was essential to the entire structure of the Millerite message. Like many Reformation and post-Reformation theologians, Adventists identified the papacy as the little horn of Daniel 7:25. They saw the major time prophecies of Daniel and Revelation as presenting a sweep of history from the time of Daniel or John down to the Second Coming of Jesus.

Adventists found the prophecies of Daniel 8 and 9 to be particularly relevant. They identified the beginning of the seventy weeks of Daniel 9:24-27 as the year 458/457 B.C. and connected this beginning date to the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14. Following the historicist method, they understood a day to represent a year. Thus the seventy weeks or 490 days extended from the decree to restore and rebuild Jerusalem to the events connected with the baptism and death of Christ and the beginning of the Christian Church. Believing that the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 had the same beginning, they extended it to "about the year 1843."

Daniel 8:14 (KJV) reads, "Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall

the sanctuary be cleansed.” An understanding of both prophetic time and the “cleansing of the sanctuary” is a vital background for this study and were essential to the Millerite interpretation of this text. In this section we will first look at the progression of time expectation during 1843 and 1844. Next we will consider the role that typology played in the fall 1844 expectation. Then we will examine the understanding of William Miller and other Adventist ministers, on what constituted the “cleansing of the sanctuary.” Finally, we will look at some views that prepared the way for a revised post-1844 understanding of what constituted the “sanctuary.”

The Time Expectation

In each edition of William Miller’s published lectures he began with the Bible text, Titus 2:13 (KJV), “Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ.”¹ While he emphasized the soon coming of Jesus, he was unwilling to be precise in defining when Jesus would come. The title of his published lectures always included the phrase, “about the year 1843.” As the time approached, Adventists became more focused on what “about the year 1843” might mean. On January 1, 1843, Miller concluded a fourteen-point synopsis of his views by writing that he was “fully convinced that some time between March 21st, 1843, and March 21st, 1844, according to the Jewish mode of computation of time, Christ will come.”²

From the beginning of the Jewish year in 1843 and continuing throughout the

¹Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History* (1836), 11.

²William Miller, “Synopsis of Miller’s Views,” *Signs of the Times*, January 25, 1843, 147. See also Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission*, 37, 38.

year, various ideas circulated among Millerites as to when Christ might come. The spring and fall festivals figured most prominently. On May 3, 1843, Miller suggested that the seventh month or the autumn of the year pointed to the Second Advent and defended his conclusion with eleven reasons. In summary he wrote:

All the ceremonies of the typical law that were observed in the first month, or vernal equinox, had their fulfillment in Christ's first advent and sufferings: but all the feasts and ceremonies of the seventh month, or autumnal equinox, can only have their fulfillment at his second advent.¹

As the fall of 1843 approached, "the expectations of many were raised, that the Lord would come at the season of the Feast of Tabernacles."² When Jesus did not come Millerites turned their attention towards the spring of 1844. Miller and his associates were very careful not to set a day for the coming of Jesus. In the May 3 letter to Miller, J. V. Himes and S. Bliss wrote:

There are so many different points within the year that it would be impossible to fix positively on any one of them. We therefore only give the evidence that points to the different times and agree with Mr. Miller, that the day must be left for the event to decide.³

Just before March 21, 1844, a correction was given for when the Jewish year would end. An article written by one of the editors of the *Advent Herald* declared that "the true Jewish year, extends to the New Moon in April."⁴ By determining the time of

¹William Miller, "Letter from Wm. Miller," *Signs of the Times*, May 17, 1843, 85.

²J. V. Himes, S. Bliss, and A. Hale, eds., *Advent Shield and Review*, May 1844, 77.

³William Miller, "Letter from Wm. Miller," *Signs of the Times*, May 17, 1843, 85. See also Apollos Hale, *Second Advent Manual: In Which the Objections to Calculating the Prophetic Times Are Considered; the Difficulties Connected with the Calculation Explained; and the Facts and Arguments on Which Mr. Miller's Calculations Rest. Are Briefly Stated and Sustained* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1843), 97.

⁴[J. V. Himes, S. Bliss, or A. Hale], "The Jewish Year," *Advent Herald*, March 20, 1844, 52, 53.

the barley harvest in Palestine, it was concluded by different ones that the Jewish year 1844 began variously between April 17 and April 29.¹ Neither this nor any other April date was specifically articulated in Adventist papers. According to the article, the change from March to April was based on the differences between the Rabbinic and the Karaite calendars.² The Rabbinic calendar followed a traditional model and their year commenced with the new moon nearest the vernal equinox, which fell in March. The Karaites based their calendar on when the barley ripened in Palestine, because the Mosaic instruction required that the first fruits of the harvest be waved before the Lord.³ The Karaites thus began their year with the appearance of the new moon nearest the ripening of the barley harvest, which in Palestine occurred in April during 1844. Many Millerites accepted the Karaite calendation. The adoption of the Karaite calendar became even more significant for Millerites during the summer and fall of 1844 since the tenth day of the seventh month was placed in October rather than September. The Millerites knew that most Jews celebrated Yom Kippur on September 23, 1844. But Millerites chose to follow the more obscure, but biblically based, Karaite reckoning.⁴

After the passing of the Jewish year in the spring of 1844, "the great body of the Adventists settled down" in the belief that they could no longer be certain about any

¹Joseph Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps, or a Connected View of the Fulfilment of Prophecy by God's Peculiar People from the Year 1840 to 1847* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1847), 15; Philo, "Jewish Calendar," *Midnight Cry*, April 27, 1843, 30; "Chronology," *Signs of the Times*, June 21, 1843, 123.

²[J. V. Himes, S. Bliss, or A. Hale], "The Jewish Year," *Advent Herald*, March 20, 1844, 52, 53.

³Lev 23:9-14.

⁴See [Sylvester Bliss], "The Seventh Month Movement," *Advent Shield and Review*, January 1845, 273-278. This article includes contemporary evidence that the Karaite calendar was observed in Palestine during the 1840s.

“particular times.”¹ The next months were a “tarrying” time as they waited for Jesus to come at any point.

Even before the March 1844 date had passed, Samuel S. Snow had been convinced that Jesus would come in the autumn of 1844.² By the spring or summer of 1844 he became settled that the tenth day of the seventh month—October 22—was the day Jesus would return. According to Himes, by July 1844 the message had begun to revive some Millerites.³ At the Exeter, New Hampshire, camp meeting, August 12-17, 1844, the various “influences met, mingled into one great movement, and rapidly spread through all the Advent bands in the land.”⁴ Snow referred to the fall 1844 proclamation as the “True Midnight Cry.”⁵

Many of the prominent leaders of the movement were among the last to accept a definite time, but as they saw the power of the proclamation and the deep sanctifying effect it produced on the people, they were convinced that the power of God was at work. It was near the end of September that two important Millerite editors, Joseph Marsh and Nathaniel Southard, publicly committed themselves to the October date.⁶ Miller and

¹[J. V. Himes or N. Southard], “The Present and the Past,” *Midnight Cry*, October 31, 1844, 140.

²Samuel S. Snow, “Dear Bro. Southard,” *Midnight Cry*, February 22, 1844, 243, 244.

³[J. V. Himes, S. Bliss, or A. Hale], “The Advent Herald [sic],” *Advent Herald*, October 30, 1844, 93. See also Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*, 30; Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message*, 356-359.

⁴[J. V. Himes, S. Bliss, or A. Hale], “The Advent Herald [sic],” *Advent Herald*, October 30, 1844, 93.

⁵S. S. Snow, “Behold the Bridegroom Cometh: Go Ye Out to Meet Him,” *True Midnight Cry*, August 22, 1844; S. S. Snow, *True Midnight Cry*, October 4, 1844.

⁶[Joseph Marsh], “Seventh Month,” *Voice of Truth and Glad Tidings*, September 25, 1844, 140. N. Southard, “The Scale Turned,” *Midnight Cry*, October 3, 1844, 100.

Himes finally capitulated on October 6, just sixteen days before the expected date.¹

There was some variation as to the date for the tenth day of the seventh month. It was most commonly calculated as October 22, 1844, but many thought that it could extend to October 23, 1844.² So widely was this idea promoted that even popular newspapers focused on October 23 as well as October 22.³

After the passing of these dates, some Adventists continued to hope that the Feast of Tabernacles might be the time when Jesus would come.⁴ After the passing of Tabernacles, there was some question whether perhaps November instead of October was the seventh month.⁵ Apart from these and other possible times, many Adventists continued to greet each morning as the possible day that Jesus would come. But as 1844 waned, so did hope that Jesus would come. We read of the finality of the disappointment in a January 1, 1845, editorial of the *Advent Herald*:

That year [1844] has now expired. We have consequently now reached a point of time to which none of the prophetic periods can be extended, if time has been correctly marked, and our dates for their commencement were correct. We must

¹E. C. Clemons to William Miller, October 10, 1844, AurU; William Miller, "Brother Miller's Letter on the Seventh Month: Behold the Bridegroom Cometh," *Midnight Cry*, October 12, 1844, 121.

²George Storrs, "Go Ye out to Meet Him: The Tenth Day of the Seventh Month," *Advent Herald*, October 16, 1844, 1st ed., 82; "Behold He Cometh: On the Tenth Day of the Seventh Month, Which Answers to the 22d or 23d of October," *Midnight Cry*, October 19, 1844, 134; [Joseph Marsh], "This Number," *Voice of Truth*, October 17, 1844, 163; "The Second Adventists,—or Millerites," *Ontario Messenger*, November 13, 1844.

³"Millerism," *Ontario Messenger*, November 4, 1844, 3; "Millerism," *Toronto Examiner*, October 23, 1844, 1; "Second Advent Believers," *Western General Advertiser*, October 9, 1844, 2. In this study, I will usually refrain from giving specific reference to October 22, 1844, because many Adventists included October 23 as a possible date.

⁴Emily C. Clemons to William Miller, October 10, 1844, AurU.

⁵Emily C. Clemons to J. V. Himes, November 13, 1844, AurU.

therefore acknowledge that we were either premature in those dates, or that human chronology is not perfectly accurate.¹

Attempts to reinterpret what had happened in 1844 began in earnest with the beginning of 1845. As we shall see in the next chapter this led to new ideas regarding the significance of October 22, 1844, and a reinterpretation of the meaning of the sanctuary.

The Importance of Type and Antitype in the Fall 1844 Expectation

During 1843 and 1844, the Jewish year was very much on the minds of Adventists as they looked for times when Jesus might come. The October 22, 1844, date received strong emphasis due to the antitypical application of the Day of Atonement and the blowing of the Jubilee trumpet.

In his widely distributed paper, the *True Midnight Cry*, Samuel Snow dedicated the last part to an evaluation of "the types." "The Law of Moses contained a shadow of good things to come," he wrote, "a system of figures or types pointing to Christ and his kingdom." Snow applied the spring festivals of the Jewish year to the first coming of Jesus and showed that Christ was crucified at Passover with a "strict regard for time." He argued that the fall festivals in the seventh month of the Jewish year were to be applied to the Second Coming of Jesus. He also argued that on the Day of Atonement the High Priest went in and came out of the Most Holy Place of the tabernacle on the "same day." His conclusion was thus:

Now the *important point* of this type is the *completion* of the reconciliation at the *coming* of the high priest *out of* the holy place. The high priest was a type of

¹"The Termination of the Prophetic Periods," *Advent Herald*, January 1, 1845, 164. See also "Address to the Public: Our Confession—Defence of Our Course—Our Position," *Advent Herald*, November 13, 1844, 108-112.

Jesus our High Priest; the most holy place a type of heaven itself; and the coming out of the high priest a type of the coming of Jesus the second time to bless his waiting people. As this was on the tenth day of the 7th month, so on that day Jesus will certainly come, because not a *single point* of the law is to fail. *All must be fulfilled.*¹

Snow further noted that the Day of Atonement was also the time of the blowing of the jubilee trumpet, for the redemption of all the land. Since the Feast of Tabernacles began five days after the Day of Atonement he believed it to be a type of the "marriage supper of the Lamb; which will be celebrated in the New Jerusalem, the tabernacle of God which is to be with men."²

On September 25, 1844, Joseph Marsh published Snow's article in full and gave his support to the tenth day of the seventh month.³ "Those therefore who contend that there is no certainty about the TIME of the fulfillment of the TYPES," he wrote, "will do well to remember that they are striking a fatal blow at the foundation of all our Christian hopes."⁴ He went on to show how Christ's fulfillment of the spring types proved him to be the true Messiah.

The editors of the *Advent Herald* were slower than Marsh to embrace Snow's idea that the timing of the type defined the timing of the antitype. In a two-part article they concluded that it was "very doubtful" that the "old typical institutions" gave a "strict

¹Samuel S. Snow, "Behold, the Bridegroom Cometh; Go Ye Out to Meet Him." *True Midnight Cry*, August 22, 1844, 4.

²Ibid.

³Samuel S. Snow, "Behold the Bridegroom Cometh; Go Ye Out to Meet Him." *Voice of Truth*, September 25, 1844, 137-139.

⁴[Joseph Marsh], "According to the Scriptures." *Voice of Truth*, September 25, 1844, 140.

chronological order” for when Christ was to appear.¹ One week later, on October 2, the “doubt” was tempered by the re-publication in the *Advent Herald* of Snow’s *True Midnight Cry* article.² On October 16, Snow’s article was re-published a second time with great certainty. An editorial in the same issue summarized with comments the arguments that Samuel Snow had presented.

We may well inquire whether there is any clue to the time in the year, when we may expect the coming of the Lord with more confidence than at any other time. It is very evident that we can have no clue to the time of the year, only as it can be obtained from the types of the Levitical law—the time of the observances of the various sacrifices and feasts which were shadows of the good things to come, as well as some of them commemorative of past events.³

After going through the various festivals, including the Day of Atonement and the Jubilee, the *Advent Herald* summarized, “We have then certainly great reason to look on, this day, for the great release, and the greatest of all Jubilees, and to expect the coming out from the inner sanctuary, of our great High Priest.”⁴

In his October 6, 1844, letter, William Miller wrote regarding the types, “I see a glory in the seventh month which I never saw before. Although the Lord had shown me the typical bearing of the seventh month, one year and a half ago, yet I did not realize the force of the types. . . . Let Bro. Snow, Bro. Storrs and others be blessed for their instrumentality in opening my eyes.”⁵ T. F. Barry summed up the significance of the

¹[J. V. Himes, S. Bliss, or A. Hale]. “Tenth Day of the Seventh Month.” *Advent Herald*, September 25, 1844, 61.

²Samuel S. Snow, “Reasons for Believing,” *Advent Herald*, October 2, 1844, 70-72.

³[J. V. Himes, S. Bliss, or A. Hale] “Behold! The Bridegroom Cometh! Go Ye out to Meet Him!!!,” *Advent Herald*, October 16, 1844, 86.

⁴*Ibid.*, 87.

⁵William Miller, “Bro. Miller’s Letter, on the Seventh Month: Behold the Bridegroom Cometh,” *Advent Herald*, October 16, 1844, 2nd ed., 88.

types to Millerites most succinctly, “The Prophets [Dan. 8-9] give the year of the Judgment Day, and the *Law of Moses* [Lev. 23] the Month and Day.”¹

Millerite Views on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary

In the decades following the French Revolution, a bevy of pre-millennial historicists, primarily in England, gave attention to the meaning of the time prophecies in Daniel 7 and 8. Those who examined Daniel 8:14 naturally centered their work on the chronological aspect. It was necessary for them to come to some conclusions regarding the meaning of the “cleansing of the sanctuary.” For these interpreters, the “sanctuary” was almost universally understood to be a symbol of the Christian church. The cleansing was usually viewed as the purification of the church. The idea of a heavenly sanctuary was given little or no consideration.²

William Miller’s View

As William Miller gave careful consideration to the meaning of the sanctuary and its cleansing in Daniel 8:14, he came to conclusions similar to the pre-millennialist interpreters of his day. Miller gave a definitive statement on the cleansing of the sanctuary in an article in the *Signs of the Times* which was republished in tract form by J. V. Himes.³ Himes wrote in a preface to the tract: “Many are inquiring what constitutes ‘the Sanctuary.’ As no definite answer has been given in any distinct work now before

¹T. F. Barry, “The Day and Hour Now Known,” *Voice of Truth*, October 17, 1844, 163.

²Haddock, “A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary,” 50.

³William Miller, “Cleansing of the Sanctuary,” *Signs of the Times*, April 6, 1842, 1, 2.

the public, we have been induced to publish the following brief, but conclusive answer to this momentous question.”¹

Miller identified seven different possible sanctuaries in the Bible and quoted texts to demonstrate them. They were as follows: (1) Jesus Himself. (2) heaven. (3) Judah, (4) the Jerusalem Temple, (5) the inner compartment or “Holy of Holies” within the Jerusalem Temple, (6) the earth, and (7) the saints. Miller then considered each biblical meaning of the sanctuary and identified what he believed were the correct ones to apply to Daniel 8:14. He wrote:

Not the first, *Christ*, for he is not *impure*. Not the second, *heaven*, for that is not *unclean*. Not the third, in Judah, for literal Judah is cut off, and is no more a people. . . . Not the fourth, the *temple*, for that is destroyed. . . . Neither the Holy of Holies in the temple at Jerusalem, for that too was destroyed with the temple. . . . Then there are but two things more, which may be called a sanctuary, which may, or ever will require cleansing; and those are the EARTH and the CHURCH: when these are cleansed, then, and not till then, will the entire sanctuary of God be cleansed, and *justified*.²

Miller next asked and answered the question of how the earth and the saints would be cleansed. His conclusion was that the earth would be cleansed “by fire” at the “glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.” And that the saints would be cleansed when glorified at the Second Coming of Jesus.³

Ministers Who Supported Miller’s View

Most Adventist ministers accepted either all or part of Miller’s view. Many, like

¹William Miller, *Letter to Joshua V. Himes, on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 2.

²*Ibid.*, 7, 8.

³*Ibid.*, 9-14.

Charles Fitch, supported the idea that the earth would be cleansed with fire.¹ Others gave greater focus to the idea that the Christian church was the sanctuary. Josiah Litch, one of the more independent thinkers of the Millerite movement, articulated this view in greater detail than did Miller. He understood the church to be the “true sanctuary, of which Christ is the High Priest”² and quoted Psalms 78:54, where the sanctuary is equated with the “Mountain” or “New Jerusalem.” Litch understood the “Mountain” to be “where Christ will dwell, in the land of promise.”³ While he was a little vague about what he meant by the “land of promise,” he seemed to connect it back to the Church and the New Jerusalem.⁴

Apollos Hale’s View

While William Miller’s perspective on the cleansing of the sanctuary was without doubt the dominant view in the movement, there were alternative ideas. Apollos Hale, associate editor of the Boston *Signs of the Times* and a prominent Adventist minister, took Litch’s view further. He believed that the sanctuary was the Promised Land of Israel. In his *Second Advent Manual*, he gave a different list from Miller as to what the sanctuary was. He gave seven meanings: (1) The “name of a particular part of the temple,” (2) “different parts of the temple,” (3) the “temple itself,” (4) “places of worship

¹Charles Fitch, *The Glory of God in the Earth* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 29.

²Josiah Litch, *Address to the Public, and Especially the Clergy, on the Near Approach of the Glorious, Everlasting Kingdom of God on Earth, as Indicated by the Word of God, the History of the World, and Signs of the Present Times* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 83. See also Haddock, “A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary,” 93.

³Josiah Litch, *Prophetic Expositions: Or a Connected View of the Testimony of the Prophets Concerning the Kingdom of God and the Time of Its Establishment*, vol. 1 (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 117.

⁴Ibid.

generally, true or false,” (5) “heaven,” (6) the “promised land,” and (7) the “tabernacle of God in the heavenly state.”¹ Hale settled on the sixth, “the promised land.” He wrote: “By ‘the sanctuary,’ then, I understand to be meant, ‘the place where the Lord made for himself to dwell in, the mountain of his inheritance.’—the land given to Abraham.”² The cleansing of the sanctuary was “its purification from the wicked agents of its desolation and the removal of the curse which is upon it.”³ This he understood to occur at the “time appointed—the end of the 2300 days.”⁴

To summarize, William Miller set the tone in defining the “sanctuary” of Daniel 8:14. He believed it was the earth and the Christian church. An added idea held by some, such as Apollos Hale and probably Josiah Litch, was that Jerusalem or the land of Israel was the sanctuary. Adventists may have had different definitions for the sanctuary, but all were united in believing that the “cleansing” of the sanctuary would occur in connection with the Second Coming of Jesus.

The Millerite idea of the “cleansing of the sanctuary,” while directly linked to the Second Coming of Christ, was not associated with any special activity by Christ in the heavenly sanctuary. The idea of a heavenly judgment would not begin to play a role in the developing concept of the sanctuary until late 1844 or early 1845. Even so there were some fairly well developed concepts of a pre-advent heavenly judgment during the early 1840s that need to be examined. This background is important for understanding the

¹Hale, *Second Advent Manual*, 45, 46.

²*Ibid.*, 51.

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Ibid.*, 52.

interplay of ideas regarding the sanctuary in the next chapters.

Pre-Advent Judgment Concepts among Millerites

The editor of the *Advent Herald* considered the pre-Advent judgment to have had enough influence on the movement to be included in his summary of events leading up to the October 22, 1844, disappointment. He wrote:

During the same time [summer of 1844], our brethren in Maine had embraced the view that the Judgment must precede the Advent; that it synchronized with the harvest, and was not only at the end of the world, but occupied a period immediately preceding the end. In accordance with this view, they taught that we were in the Judgment, that the last dividing line was being drawn, and that the servants of God were being sealed in their foreheads.¹

Thus the idea of a final sealing and heavenly judgment colored the understanding of some Adventists before the October 1844 disappointment. As we will see, it also strengthened their conviction that the judgment resulted in the closing of the door of salvation for the world.

Josiah Litch was the first Millerite preacher to propose that a final heavenly pre-Advent judgment would precede the Second Coming. Litch, a prominent Methodist minister, was one of the most important converts to the Millerite movement. Beyond Miller's "Lectures," he was the first to publish a commentary-like book on Daniel supporting the "probability of the Second Coming of Christ about A. D. 1843."² While disagreeing with Miller on some points, he generally supported Miller's conclusions. At the second General Conference held in Lowell, Massachusetts, in June 1841, he

¹"The Advent Herald [*sic*]." *Advent Herald*, October 30, 1844, 93.

²Josiah Litch, *The Probability of the Second Coming of Christ about A. D. 1843: Shown by a Comparison of Prophecy with History; up to the Present Time, and an Explanation of those Prophecies Which Are Yet to Be Fulfilled* (Boston: David H. Ela, 1838).

presented his view on the present reality of the judgment. He spoke of a progressive “Order of the Judgment.” He believed that before the Second Coming of Jesus and the first resurrection, there must be a “trial” that “proceeds according to law and evidence.”

He described this trial thus:

The books were opened and another book was opened, which is the book of life; from this evidence the character and doom of every one, small and great is fixed. The trial closes, and those who are acquitted are discharged from custody at once, at the first resurrection; judgment is given to them, in their favor, and they live and reign.¹

Litch understood this judgment to include not only those who had died and waited for the resurrection, but also those who would be alive when Jesus returned. This led to an important concept that would influence one segment of Adventists after 1844. “As the judgment,” he penned, “is to be prior to the resurrection, when will the living be judged? Certainly before the appearing of Christ to execute judgment. But the character and conduct of men cannot be decided on until their probation ends and their moral character is finally fixed.”² Litch compared the final close of probation to the seven-day period that preceded the Noahic flood and the closing of the door of the ark. Based on the seventh seal of Revelation 8:1, he placed this judgment of the living during the half-hour silence in heaven. He expressed it thus:

The seventh seal, then, was opened to give time for the judgment from God’s books, on the living nations. An hour, prophetic time, is fifteen days; half an hour seven and a half days. . . . That period will undoubtedly be the great time of

¹ Josiah Litch, “The Doctrine of the Millennium: The Order of the Resurrection and Order of the Judgment,” *Second Advent Tracts*, No. 12, June 1841, 11, 12. See also P. Gerard Damsteegt, “Historical Background: Early Nineteenth Century,” in *Doctrine of the Sanctuary: A Historical Survey, 1845-1863*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989), 1-16; Haddock, “A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary,” 91-94; C. M. Maxwell, “The Investigative Judgment,” 545-581; C. M. Maxwell, *Magnificent Disappointment*,” 71-85.

²Ibid.

tribulation, such as was not before; and also the time when the seven last plagues will be poured out on the earth. . . . During those seven days the living will be judged and sentenced, and then Christ will personally appear to execute judgment.¹

Towards the end of 1843, Apollos Hale largely copied Litch's idea of the two-phase heavenly pre-Advent judgment.² This is particularly significant in that a few months after the October 1844 disappointment, Hale and Joseph Turner published a one-issue paper entitled the *Advent Mirror*. This paper suggested that Jesus had come to the wedding—or judgment—beginning at the tenth day of the seventh month, 1844.³ This periodical, as well as other papers and articles that argued for a Shut Door of probation, sometimes focused on a pre-Advent judgment.

William Miller, though not specifically mentioning a pre-Advent judgment, did conclude that probation would close just before the Second Coming. He wrote to J. V. Himes on October 6, 1844: "I am strong in the opinion that the next will be the last Lord's day sinners will ever have in probation; and within ten or fifteen days from thence, they will see Him; whom they have hated and despised."⁴ Miller was not exact in his dating of the tenth day of the seventh month. He put it twenty to twenty five days from October 6, 1844. He believed there was a short period before the coming of Christ when probation would close.

¹Ibid., 12. See also Litch, *Prophetic Expositions*, 1842, 1:50-52.

²Apollos Hale, *Herald of the Bridegroom! In Which the Plagues That Await the Enemies of the King Eternal Are Considered; and the Appearing of Our Lord to Gather His Saints*. . . (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, December 1, 1843), 22, 23.

³A. Hale and J. Turner, "Has Not the Savior Come as the Bridegroom?" *Advent Mirror*, January 1845.

⁴William Miller, "Brother Miller's Letter, on the Seventh Month." *Midnight Cry*, October 12, 1844, 122.

The idea of a pre-Advent judgment for the dead and then the living was an active but not heavily emphasized concept in the years before the passing of the 1844 time. Josiah Litch pioneered the idea, which influenced other Millerite ministers such as Apollos Hale and probably some Adventists in Maine. It is probable that Joseph Turner influenced the Maine Adventists through the Portland periodical, the *Hope of Israel*. Unfortunately, the only extant issue is dated after the October 1844 disappointment. The idea of a Shut Door, or close of probation for the world previous to the Second Advent, became critical to Adventists who clung to the importance of the October 1844 date.

Summary and Perspective

William Miller, the ministers who joined him, and the multitude of people who responded to the Advent message longed with their entire beings for Jesus to come. Their study was not merely an academic exercise. Miller, who had chewed the dust of agnostic deism, cherished the message of the Bible and the Christ of the New Testament. Not only had the Christian message resolved his personal doubts, it had given a new focus to his life. His study of Daniel and Revelation, against the background of historicist thought, brought him to the conclusion that Jesus would come about the year 1843.

While he and other Adventists were reluctant to set a specific time, as March 1843 and the beginning of the Jewish year approached it was understandable that they began to look to different parts of the year for the fulfillment of their expectation. As the year progressed and finally concluded in March/April 1844, Adventists experienced a progression of anticipations and disappointments. Even after April 1844, there was a unity and conviction that Jesus would come soon and fulfill the prophecies. Miller, J. V.

Himes, and other leaders were reluctant to set another date throughout the summer of 1844. But as Samuel Snow promoted his typological argument with ever-growing success, a spontaneous revival took hold of thousands of Advent believers. It was so powerful and dramatic that Miller and the other reluctant ministers were finally convinced that it must be of God.

Typology was central to the fall 1844 anticipation. While the prophecies pointed to the year 1844, the typical Jewish year revealed the month and even the day. Snow concluded in harmony with Miller's own convictions that the spring festivals of the Jewish year applied to the first coming of Christ and the fall festivals applied to his Second Coming. He singled out the Day of Atonement as the typical cleansing of the sanctuary. Since Miller and most other Adventists connected the sanctuary to the earth and the Christian church, it seemed reasonable to believe that Jesus would come on the Day of Atonement in 1844. The only question was which month? Since the spring 1844 anticipation had been extended by some Millerites from March to April based on the Karaite calendar, it was natural to again apply the Karaite calendar to the Day of Atonement in the fall of 1844. Thus, Snow and others settled on October rather than September as the correct month for the Advent.

Up through the fall of 1844, Adventists did not connect the cleansing of the sanctuary in Daniel 8:14 to a heavenly sanctuary or heavenly event. Josiah Litch, though, did suggest the idea of a heavenly pre-Advent judgment. He understood the heavenly judgment to be in two phases—first for those who had died and then for the living. The judgment for the living he connected to a close of human probation. Though not necessarily based on a judgment perspective, many Adventists, including Miller, believed

that human probation would close just before the Second Coming of Jesus. When the time passed, many concluded that the final proclamation had been given and that probation had closed.

As we will see in the next chapter, some Adventists continued to apply the typical system to the October 1844 date, but reinterpreted the significance from the literal Second Coming to a heavenly coming of Jesus as the Bridegroom to His bride, the heavenly Jerusalem. The background that is provided in this section is essential to understanding the development of the Bridegroom concept and subsequently the heavenly sanctuary doctrine.

Sabbatarian Thought in Millerite Adventism

Having now reviewed the Millerite background of ecstatic experience and sanctuary-related prophetic interpretation; it is necessary to consider the final element of this study—the introduction of seventh-day Sabbatarianism. An understanding of thought related to the seventh day within Millerite Adventism previous to 1844 helps to situate and give context to the emergence of Sabbatarian Adventism between 1845 and 1849, which will be carefully studied in subsequent chapters.

Interest in the seventh-day Sabbath among Millerites was surprisingly active during the early 1840s though it remained a minor issue that did not have the support of the most important Adventist leaders. In fact, most Adventists considered it an irrelevant side issue when compared to the imminent return of Jesus.

The Sabbath was first brought to the attention of Millerite Adventists through the evangelistic efforts of Seventh Day Baptists. In this section we will first examine the Seventh Day Baptist background in America and its evangelistic initiatives during the

early 1840s. Then we will look at references to the Sabbath in Millerite publications. Finally, we will consider the experience of New Hampshire Adventists in relation to the Sabbath.

Seventh Day Baptist Background

The seventh-day Sabbath was first brought to the attention of Millerite Adventists through Seventh Day Baptists. During the early 1840s there was a special effort by Seventh Day Baptists to promote the Sabbath among other Christian denominations. Beginning in England during the seventeenth century, the Sabbath was cherished by Baptists. With the arrival of Stephen Mumford in 1664, Sabbatarian Baptists arrived in the new world. Mumford settled in Rhode Island where dissenting religious views were tolerated. Two other seemingly independent strains of Baptist Sabbatarianism emerged in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The movement grew slowly and by 1800 had about one thousand adherents. In 1802, the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference organized. This opened the door for greater support of scattered believers and for mission outreach. By 1841, the membership had reached 5,500 in fifty churches with sixty-two ministers.¹ By then the Seventh Day Baptist denomination was ready for more direct outreach to other denominations on behalf of the Sabbath.²

¹James Bradley, *Seventh-Day Baptist Register*, October 6, 1841, 126.

²Good studies on Seventh Day Baptist history include: James Bailey, *History of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference: From Its Origin, September 1802, to Its Fifty-third Session, September 1865* (Toledo, OH: S. Bailey and Company, 1866); Don A. Sanford, *A Choosing People: The History of Seventh Day Baptists* (Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1992); 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, 1982), 244-263.

Seventh Day Baptists were historically quite passive in sharing the Sabbath with other Christian groups.¹ They believed that since the Sabbath was the truth, eventually all Christians would naturally come to accept it. The 1841 Seventh Day Baptist General Conference session reflected a remarkable shift in the church's evangelistic orientation. Instead of passively waiting for the Lord to make a change, the church decided that evangelism of the Sabbath was "required" by God.² Following this conference, Seventh Day Baptists embarked on an aggressive mission to other churches on behalf of the Sabbath.

In 1842 the Sabbath Tract Society began publishing a series of tracts with the objective of "introducing the Sabbath" to the "Christian public."³ Special days of fasting and prayer were called between 1843 and 1845 to entreat the Lord's blessing as they made "an appeal to the various orders of Christians in reference to the Sabbath of the Bible."⁴ Understandably, effort was especially directed toward convincing other Baptist groups.

To the disappointment of Seventh Day Baptists, churches did not generally respond to their evangelistic efforts. American Adventists, though, were an exception. The *Sabbath Recorder* reported in June 1844:

We learn from several sections, that considerable numbers of those who are looking for the speedy appearance of Christ, have embraced the seventh day, and commenced observing it as the Sabbath. . . . Now the believers in the speedy

¹Bailey, *History of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference*, 9-10.

²James Bradley, *Seventh-Day Baptist Register*, November 17, 1841, 150.

³*An Apology for Introducing the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment to the Consideration of the Christian Public*, Sabbath Tracts, vol. 1, no. 1 (New York: Sabbath Tract Society, James B. Swain, August 1842).

⁴Bailey, *History of the Seventh-Day Baptist General Conference*, 245-246.

Second Advent, stand in a position where they do not feel bound by any creed, and having sufficient self-denial to lead them to practice according to their convictions of duty, are just the persons to understand the requirements of the Word of God in this matter. . . . Now, although we do not feel at liberty to fix any time for the coming of the Lord, we do feel at liberty to suggest, that the best preparation for that event is to be found in a love for the truth, and obedience to it.¹

The words “considerable numbers” in the above quotation imply that the editor of the *Recorder* had information on many Adventists who had accepted the Sabbath by June 1844. There are some strong indicators supporting the “considerable numbers” statement.

References to the Sabbath in Millerite Publications

Beginning in 1841 and continuing through 1844, Millerite publications gave evidence that the Sabbath was being promoted among and accepted by some Adventists. These comments and articles made direct reference to either Seventh Day Baptists or Adventist Sabbatarians.

James A. Begg and the Sabbath

The first direct reference in Millerite Adventist literature to the seventh-day Sabbath by a Sabbatarian appeared in an April 1, 1841, letter from James A. Begg in the *Signs of the Times*.² Himes was always anxious to cultivate connections with Adventists in the British Isles. It is therefore not surprising that he published the letter from Begg—a Scottish Adventist minister who had authored important works on prophecy. In his letter Begg expressed his belief in the seventh-day Sabbath. He even wrote of plans to

¹George B. Utter, “The Second Advent and the Sabbath,” *Sabbath Recorder*, June 13, 1844, 2.

²James A. Begg, “Letter from Scotland,” *Signs of the Times*, April 1, 1841, 3. See also, E. N. Dick, “The Adventist Crisis of 1843-1844,” 223.

write a book on “the continued obligation of the Seventh Day, as the Christian Sabbath.” In 1850 he followed through on his intentions.¹

Begg had first accepted the Sabbath during the early 1830s, shortly after he began writing on the subject of Bible prophecy.² While it is uncertain whether Begg was a Seventh Day Baptist, he was a frequent contributor to the *Sabbath Recorder* beginning in 1845. In later years he also wrote and sold various books on the Sabbath, some of which were Seventh Day Baptist publications.

One month after Begg’s letter an unsigned article, probably written by Himes, presented the typical Millerite view in regard to the Sabbath. “We have seen six days, or six thousand years nearly past, during which the new creation work has gone forward, and are warranted to expect the seventh day, or one thousand years of a glorious Sabbath, as at hand; when the Lord Jesus Christ shall rest with his redeemed.” Referring to the eternity that will follow the millennium, the article concludes, “God has covenanted with his people an eternal Sabbath.”³ A second article in the same issue of *Signs of the Times* titled “The Ordinance of the Year of Jubilee” presented the Sabbath as applying to the commencement of the Jubilee at the Second Coming of Jesus.⁴ William Miller joined

¹James A. Begg, *An Examination of the Authority for a Change of the Weekly Sabbath at the Resurrection of Christ: Proving That the Practice of the Church in Substituting the First Day of the Week, for the Appointed Seventh Day, Is Unsanctioned by the New Testament Scriptures* (Glasgow: By the Author, 1850).

²George B. Utter and James A. Begg, “The Sabbath in Scotland: Letter from James A. Begg,” *Sabbath Recorder*, May 1, 1845, 177.

³“Thoughts on the Second Appearing and Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ,” *Signs of the Times*, May 1, 1841, 19.

⁴“The Ordinance of the Year of Jubilee,” *Signs of the Times*, May 1, 1841, 22.

other prominent Adventist ministers in promoting these types of arguments.¹

First Reference to Seventh Day Baptists and the Sabbath

In April 1842, B. Clark—a Seventh Day Baptist minister—attempted to introduce the Sabbath to Adventists through the columns of the *Signs of the Times*. We find the following note from the editor:

Brother B. Clark's letter, on the Sabbath is received. We wish to have no controversy with "Seventh Day Baptists," on the subject of the Sabbath. "Let everyone be fully persuaded in his own mind." We both agree that there is a Sabbath—a "sign," of the blessed Sabbath rest which remains for the People of God. "Therefore let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect to a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath, which are a shadow of things to come." Col. 2:16, 17.²

Through this brief note in the *Signs*, it became clear that the editor was not willing to engage in a discussion of the Sabbath with Seventh Day Baptists. Silence reigned in Adventist papers on the subject of seventh-day Sabbath-keeping until shortly before the October 1844 disappointment. This silence though did not accurately reflect Adventist interest in the Sabbath.

Articles on the Sabbath in the *Midnight Cry*

On September 5 and 12, 1844, the *Midnight Cry* published lengthy articles on the Sabbath. The editor summarized his perspective: "We love the seventh-day brethren and sisters, but we think they are trying to mend the old broken Jewish yoke."³ He wrote: "We feel borne irresistibly to the conclusion that there is no particular portion of time

¹William Miller, *Lecture on the Typical Sabbaths and Great Jubilee* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 22.

²"To Correspondents," *Signs of the Times*, April 6, 1842, 5.

³"The Lord's Day," *Midnight Cry*, September 12, 1844, 77.

which Christians are required by law to set apart, as holy time.” The *Midnight Cry* did concede that if there was a “particular portion of time” which God had required to be observed as holy, it was “the seventh day of the week, that is Saturday.”¹ The articles even suggested that Adventists go one step further and “leave off applying the word ‘Sabbath’ to the first day of the week.”² There must have been considerable unpublished correspondence against the articles. Some even suggested that the *Midnight Cry* was giving more support to the Sabbath than to Sunday. On October 3, 1844, a short article entitled “The Lord’s Day” appeared to reassure Sunday-keeping Adventists:

We cannot afford more room for this subject now. We did not wish to grieve any dear brother or sister. We prize the Lord’s day as a blessed privilege. We believe that the constitution of man calls for a weekly rest from labor. We know the soul needs to be released from earthly cares, as often. The fourth commandment accords with the wants of all mankind. We consider the observance of the first day of the week as equally pleasing to God as the observance of the day preceding it.³

The Seventh Day Baptist *Sabbath Recorder* reacted to the Sabbath articles in the *Midnight Cry* with the following sentiments,

The new discovery of the Second Advent believers, which makes it morally certain to them that Christ will come on the tenth day of the seventh month, has probably unfitted their minds in a great measure for the consideration of the claims of the Sabbath upon their attention. The editor of the *Midnight Cry*, after a faint attempt to enlighten his readers in relation to the claims of the “Lord’s Day,” abandons the investigation.⁴

The *Midnight Cry* did publish one letter with a positive reference to the Sabbath about the same time. A woman named S. Blake from Richmond, Rhode Island, wrote:

¹“The Lord’s Day,” *Midnight Cry*, September 5, 1844, 69.

²“The Lord’s Day,” *Midnight Cry*, September 12, 1844, 77.

³“The Lord’s Day,” *Midnight Cry*, October 3, 1844, 100.

⁴George B. Utter, “The *Midnight Cry*,” *Sabbath Recorder*, October 10, 1844, 62.

I am still with the body of Advent believers in the main principles. I do love to see firmness, honesty, and moral courage in the Christian believer: no shrinking from any Bible truth, however much against our worldly interest or former views; I am a Bible Sabbath keeper, and love to see due regard paid to every command of our blessed Lord.¹

After the above discussion, the *Midnight Cry* again fell silent on the subject of the Sabbath. Thereafter silence or opposition against the seventh-day Sabbath remained the steadfast position of papers published or edited by Joshua V. Himes.

Joseph Marsh and the *Voice of Truth*

The Adventist paper, *Voice of Truth*, published in western New York by Joseph Marsh, was silent on the subject of the Sabbath through 1844. During 1845, as we shall later see, Marsh did address the subject of the Sabbath through the *Voice of Truth*. As editor, he felt free to give lengthy responses when he disagreed with a correspondent.

James White remembered a personal discussion between William Arnold and Joseph Marsh on the subject of the Sabbath.

When William E. Arnold, of Rochester, N. Y., in 1844, stated to Elder Joseph Marsh his convictions of duty to observe the seventh-day as the Sabbath, Elder Marsh replied that the first day of the week, as the Sabbath for Christians, was clearly proved from the word of God, and the unvarying practice of the Christian church. Mr. Arnold invited him to give the subject especial attention. He promised to do so and reported the next Sunday. His report was simply this: That he had examined the subject, and had become satisfied that the Sabbath was Jewish, and that there was none for Christians.²

Marsh, like Himes, rejected the importance of keeping the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath. These pre-disappointment positions set the tone for future discussions on the subject in various Adventist papers.

¹S. Blake, *Advent Herald*, October 2, 1844, 72.

²James White, *Life Incidents, in Connection with the Great Advent Movement, as Illustrated by the Three Angels of Revelation 14* (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing, 1868), 275, 276.

Sabbath-keeping in New Hampshire

Frederick Wheeler has been considered the first Sabbath-keeping Adventist minister in America. Wheeler, an itinerant Methodist Adventist minister from Hillsboro, New Hampshire, had accepted the Sabbath by the spring, 1844.¹ Rachel Oaks, a Seventh Day Baptist widow, had moved from Verona, New York, to Washington, New Hampshire, by the beginning of 1844. She brought with her a zeal for the seventh-day Sabbath, as well as various evangelistic tracts on the subject published by her denomination. There is an interesting story that comes indirectly through W. A. Spicer from F. W. Bartle, a neighbor of Frederick Wheeler, when Wheeler had lived in New York. Bartle wrote:

He [F. Wheeler] told me that they had held a quarterly meeting in the church, celebrating the Lord's supper. In his sermon about the service he made the remark that all persons confessing communion with Christ in such a service should be ready to follow Him, and obey God and keep His commandments in all things. Later, he said, he met Mrs. Preston [Rachel Oaks Preston], who reminded him of his remarks about the meaning of communion with Christ. "I came near getting up in the meeting at that point," she told him, "and saying something." "What was it you had in mind to say?" He asked her. "I wanted to tell you that you would better set that communion table back and put the cloth over it, until you begin to keep the commandments of God." Elder Wheeler told me that these words cut him deeper than anything that he had ever had spoken to him. He thought it over and soon he began to keep the Sabbath.²

Wheeler's son remembered that his father preached his first sermon on the Sabbath in his hometown of Hillsboro, New Hampshire. George Wheeler wrote:

Father preached it [first Sabbatarian sermon] in Washington Barnes Red school house in the town of Hillsboro, and continued to hold meetings there for some

¹George Wheeler and C. E. Eldridge, "Interview with George Wheeler," May 5, 1934, DF, EGWE-GC; W. A. Spicer, "The Fulfilling Word," *Review and Herald*, November 24, 1910, 10; F. Wheeler, "A Message from Our Most Aged Minister," *Review and Herald*, October 4, 1906, 9.

²W. A. Spicer, "Our First Minister," *Review and Herald*, February 15, 1940, 8.

time, until the tax payers complained about it. Then Ev. Barnes cleared out his wheelwright and plow shop, and meetings were held there.¹

While Frederick Wheeler responded to Rachel Oaks' appeals, many Adventists in the Washington region were not as interested. S. N. Haskell wrote of Rachel Oaks:

She told me that she was much disappointed because the people were so deeply interested in the coming of the Lord that they would not listen to her. She thought after the time when they expected the Lord to come had passed, they certainly would read her [Seventh Day Baptist] publications; but even then they did not seem to be interested. Because of this lack of interest she felt sad indeed.²

By the end of 1844, however, a little company, which included various members of the Farnsworth family and some friends, began keeping the Sabbath in Washington, New Hampshire. Some others in the area around Washington had already accepted the Sabbath before the disappointment. T. M. Preble, an Adventist minister who lived near Frederick Wheeler, accepted the Sabbath around August 1844.³ In the next chapter we will examine T. M. Preble's contribution to Adventist Sabbatarian understanding in more detail.

Summary

Sabbath-keeping interest among Millerites before the October 1844 disappointment was largely a result of Seventh Day Baptist evangelistic initiatives. After publishing a series of tracts to promote the Sabbath, they distributed them to various denominations. It seems that of the different religious groups they contacted, the Adventists were the most responsive to their efforts. This was not a formal response on

¹George Wheeler and C. E. Eldridge, "Interview with George Wheeler," May 5, 1934, EGWE—GC.

²S. N. Haskell, "Our First Meeting-House," *General Conference Bulletin*, June 2, 1909, 290.

³T. M. Preble, "The Sabbath," *Voice of Truth*, August 27, 1845, 432.

the part of Advent publications. Joshua V. Himes, Joseph Marsh, and other Adventist editors were generally opposed to the Sabbath and give little notice of it in their papers. But a significant number of Adventists apparently did accept the Sabbath. Like the concept of the unconscious state of the dead, and millenarianism, Sabbath keeping remained a peripheral but active concept among Millerites. As far as can be discerned from the documentary evidence, Sabbath-keeping was not confined to any particular segment of Adventism before the October 1844 disappointment. In various places throughout New England and in old England there were Adventists who accepted and kept the seventh-day Sabbath.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided background on the three central subjects of this study (sanctuary, Sabbath, and Ellen G. White's role in the Sabbatarian movement) and situated the Millerite movement within the larger religious and cultural climate of the time.

Millerism arose at a period in American history when people were particularly open to new ideas. With the Second Great Awakening and the active religious experimentation of the time, the westward expansion, and a strong sense of personal independence and millennial expectation, the stage was set for the success of the movement.

William Miller and his associates emphasized the cognitive elements of the message, yet the result of their preaching went far beyond new ideas. People were converted and revivals swept through town after town. The movement attracted people from the more experiential and demonstrative denominations, particularly the Methodist and Christian churches. It was this background rather than the Millerite message that

brought into the movement some ecstatic and prophetic expressions. Miller, Himes, and other leaders resisted these types of manifestations as fanatical. Nevertheless, they were present on the margins of the movement and influenced both internal and external impressions of it. Most challenging was the case of John Starkweather. He taught that when people were truly converted, their impressions became holy and could be trusted. He also believed that the gift of discerning spirits allowed Christians to evaluate the experience of others. These concepts led to a great deal of confusion and conflict.

Within the Millerite movement there were manifestations of the prophetic gift. Probably the most controversial "prophet" was Dr. R. C. Gorgas of Philadelphia. He produced no end of confusion by drawing off a group of Adventists and predicting that Jesus would come at a specific hour on October 22, 1844. When George Storrs was brought under his influence, it produced a great deal of criticism from the public press and cast the Millerite movement in a fanatical light.

In many ways the experience of Starkweather and Gorgas established a baseline of antagonism that prepared the way for the strong opposition to the Shut-Door and Bridegroom concepts, which became operative in the first months of 1845. The experiential similarities among Starkweather, Gorgas, and many of the advocates of the Shut Door predisposed Litch, Himes, and Storrs to reject the Shut Door out of hand. As fanaticism rose, Himes and those associated with him became entrenched in their opposition. Still, in many ways, Starkweather and Gorgas were not so far out of line from the restorationist and revivalist trends of the day.

Ellen Harmon was not a controversial figure during the period leading up to the disappointment. Her unique role did not begin until her first vision in December of 1844.

This chapter has given introductory information on her early experience and her family's connection to the Millerite movement. The Harmon family was in many ways typical of other Adventist families. They were upstanding members of the Methodist Church and sought to bring their Adventist understanding into their local church. At first the results were encouraging, but as the expected date for Christ's return approached, opposition grew. This opposition led to their eventual expulsion from the Chestnut Street Methodist church in Portland, Maine.

Ellen Harmon, while having health problems due to an accident, had a deep and profound conversion experience. The demonstrative aspects of Methodist experience were a natural part of the religious expression that Ellen Harmon was familiar with. She was accustomed to such demonstrations as shouting, weeping, loss of physical strength, and public testifying. Her deep Christian experience would have a significant impact upon her prophetic activities in the years following her first vision. It was her relationship with Jesus that would buoy her up as she faced extreme trials.

The two doctrinal topics considered in this chapter—Sabbatarianism and Sanctuary—demonstrate the dynamic character of the movement. The idea of the “cleansing of the Sanctuary” was important to Adventists because it was linked to the time expectations of 1843 and 1844. William Miller and most others in the movement were settled on the idea that the sanctuary was the church and the earth. They believed that both would be cleansed in connection with the coming of Jesus. Some went a little further and believed that the sanctuary was Jerusalem or the land of Israel, which would be cleansed in connection with the Second Coming. The dominant millenarian view that came from England said that Israel would play a vital role in converting the world during

the millennium. Millerites were generally opposed to millenarian views. The idea of a heavenly sanctuary was not adequately defined during the period before the October 1844 disappointment. Josiah Litch and Apollos Hale did introduce the idea of a heavenly pre-Advent judgment, but did not connect it in any way with the sanctuary or its cleansing. Miller joined these men in promoting the idea that probation would close a short time before Jesus returned. As we will see in the next chapter, these concepts laid the foundation for post-disappointment Shut Door views.

Another vital element that set the stage for further sanctuary understanding was the idea of typology in the Jewish year. Among Adventists, first William Miller in 1843 and then Samuel Snow in 1844 gave emphasis to this idea. That resulted in Adventists giving greater attention to those feasts and ceremonies that might be connected to the Second Coming. It was Samuel Snow who gave the types imperative importance during the summer of 1844. By focusing on the Day of Atonement with its attendant sanctuary cleansing imagery, it seems that Snow settled on October 22, 1844, as the time of Christ's return. The explosive spread of Snow's message convinced many that it was in fact the "true midnight cry." Theologically it was the typological application that gave such great power and certainty to the definite date for Christ's return. Based on the fall types of the Jewish year, Adventists were convinced that Jesus would come on the Day of Atonement—the tenth day of the seventh month.

The presence of Sabbatarianism within the Millerite movement, like ecstatic and prophetic activity, came not from within the movement itself but from outside influences. The Seventh Day Baptists were the evangelistic promoters of the Sabbath to Adventists. Like other excurses within Adventism, such as the restoration of Israel and the non-

immortality of the soul, the Sabbath remained on the periphery. Miller and his associates accepted none of these “irregular” ideas. Nevertheless, the seventh-day Sabbath was more actively considered and accepted by Millerites than some have previously thought. Perhaps the most significant statement that demonstrates the extent of Millerite Sabbatarianism comes from the *Sabbath Recorder*, a Seventh Day Baptist periodical. In the paper it was noted that “considerable numbers” of Adventists “embraced the seventh day.” The accuracy of the Seventh Day Baptist assessment is corroborated by the publication of a two-part article on the Sabbath in the *Midnight Cry* during September 1844. The article wrote of “seventh-day brethren and sisters” and tried to lessen the importance of the subject of the Sabbath. Like conditionalism, Sabbatarianism had become an active minority position among Millerite Adventists. That position prepared the way for the conversion of T. M. Preble, an Adventist minister, to the Sabbath during the summer of 1844. Preble, as we will see in the next chapter, published an important tract on the Sabbath that would convince many Adventists to embrace Sabbatarianism.

Having established an introduction and baseline for Millerite Adventist thought regarding the three principal subjects of this study (the Sanctuary and Sabbath, and Ellen G. White’s role), the following chapters will develop in detail their progressive development and integration in the complex post-disappointment environment. In the next chapter we will chronologically examine the development of American Adventism from the disappointment through May 1845. This critical period saw the division of Adventism into at least two branches and began to set the stage for the differentiation of a distinctly Sabbatarian branch of Adventism.

CHAPTER 2

THE DIVIDING OF ADVENTISM: OCTOBER 22, 1844, THROUGH MAY 1845

Introduction

For Millerites, the time period from October 1844 through May 1845 brought more change and schism than any other period in Adventist history. During this period the movement permanently split apart. In this chapter these seven months have been divided into three phases. The first phase continued from the October disappointment until early January 1845, and might be called the waiting and watching phase. During this time Adventists generally remained united and retained openness to what might happen. The second phase, which continued till about the middle of April 1845, was a time of new ideas, growing division, and fanaticism. Confusion grew at an alarming rate and propelled the movement toward the schism of the third and final phase. During the last phase the central event was the Albany, New York, Conference. The result of this and the subsequent conferences was the dividing of Adventism into separate groups.

This chapter and the subsequent chapters are organized differently from the first. Chapter 1 covered the entire time period before the October 1844 disappointment and looked at the background of the three major topics of this paper—Sabbath, Sanctuary, and Ellen White's ministry. This chapter and the subsequent chapters cover each period in great detail. Thus the organizational style is changed from topical to chronological.

Since the progression of topics is developmental it seems best to approach them in a sequential manner. This chapter places the three central topics of the paper within the setting of their development in the movement. In the conclusion the significance of the developments of each topic will be considered along with any trends towards integration.

During the growing confusion and schism, some developments in sanctuary understanding emerged among those who continued to believe in the prophetic significance of 1844. At the same time the key leaders of the movement retreated from some former positions to a safer and more conservative view. Sanctuary understanding during this time period among key leaders such as Miller and Himes might be considered static. They locked their understanding of the cleansing of the sanctuary to the Second Coming of Jesus.¹ The idea of a close of probation for the world before the Second Coming was also completely abandoned.² Sanctuary perspectives among the more “radical” Adventists at this time could be considered tentative, confused, and transitional. It took further developments during the summer and fall of 1845 to clearly establish a new trend that would play a vital role for Sabbatarian Adventism.

During the period covered in this chapter there were significant new developments in Sabbatarianism. During the second phase of the time period covered in this chapter, interest in the Sabbath grew rapidly among the radical or Bridegroom Adventists. The central event that generated interest in the Sabbath was the publication of T. M. Preble’s article and tract. Preble’s works were read with interest by many and produced a new surge of Sabbath-keeping.

¹“Prophetic Time Not Expired,” *Advent Herald*, February 19, 1845, 12.

²“Will the Door of Mercy Close before the Coming of the Lord?” *Advent Herald*, March 19, 1845, 44.

Finally, the role of prophetic influence emerged as both a unifying and dividing facet. The rise of fanaticism and particularly the effect of mesmerism, spiritualizing, and extreme literalizing threatened to disintegrate the movement. It was these extreme developments more than anything else that rushed the Millerite leaders to Albany where safe and carefully defined boundaries could be established. During the six- or seven-month period from October 1844 through the Albany Conference, the central concepts of this study—Sabbath, Sanctuary, and prophetic influence—came to be exclusively cherished by the smaller, more radical segment of “Bridegroom” or “Shut Door” Adventists.

The following is a broad outline of each of the three phases of this chapter. In the first phase a survey will be given of the positions of William Miller and key leaders in the movement concerning the October 1844 disappointment. Next we will examine Ellen White’s first vision and then give an overview of the Bridegroom concept and the Shut Door as presented in the *Advent Mirror*. In the second phase we will examine several major emerging trends in Adventism. These include: (1) the varying positions of the different Adventist editors both in the East and in the West, (2) the spring 1845 time expectation, (3) the linkage of Sabbatarianism with the more radical segment of the movement, (4) Ellen White’s prophetic ministry with a consideration of other prophetic claimants, and (5) the rise of fanatical influences. The third phase will focus on the Albany, New York, and subsequent conferences, the various reactions to them, and how the movement actually divided. Finally, consideration will be given to how these changes in the movement laid the foundation for developments during the summer and

fall of 1845 that would culminate in the collapse of Bridegroom Adventism and most of the fanatical influence.

October 22, 1844, to the Publication of the *Advent Mirror*

The last two months of 1844 were a time of waiting and reconsideration for Adventists who maintained their faith in the prophecies. True believers were placed in an uncertain and difficult position. Reactions ranged from waiting and watching, to utter rejection of the seventh-month movement. As the year waned, at least three responses to the seventh month developed. First, a significant number abandoned the October 1844 date and refused to set any new dates, believing that the prophecies were correct, but were in some way chronologically flawed. Second, a major segment of Adventists, while abandoning the correctness of the October date, looked for the Advent at Passover in the spring of 1845. This group continued to set additional times throughout 1845. A third group was open to the idea of new dates for the Second Coming but continued to feel that in some way the "seventh month" movement had fulfilled prophecy. During the final weeks of 1844 and the first weeks of 1845, a general unity prevailed among Adventists. Miller, Himes, and others all hoped and expected a recovery for the movement similar to the weeks following the spring 1844 disappointment.

Responses to the Passing of the Time

By looking at different Adventist periodicals it is possible to get a more specific idea of how Adventists reacted to the passing of the October 1844 time. Through the various periodicals we will consider the following individual positions: (1) The contrasting reactions of William Miller and Joshua V. Himes. (2) the more radically

negative reaction of George Storrs, who rejected “definite time,” (3) Joseph Marsh’s rejection of typology as a basis for prophetic chronological fulfillment, (4) Enoch Jacobs’ continued conviction that the “seventh month” movement had been the “Midnight Cry,” (5) Ellen Harmon’s first vision and her affirmation of the continued relevance of the seventh-month movement, and, perhaps most important, (6) the Bridegroom concept as presented by Joseph Turner and Apollos Hale in the *Advent Mirror*. Each of these responses laid the foundation for the conflicts that would follow in the succeeding months.¹

William Miller

The October 1844 disappointment was a tremendous blow to William Miller. As time passed he went back to his desk to “review the whole subject.” He reconsidered what the “whole school of modern writers” on prophecy had written, including “Stuart, Chase, Weeks, [and] Bush,” and concluded: “By taking the whole together, instead of disproving the position we have taken, as it respects prophecy, they confirm me in my views.” He was willing to wait even a few years, if necessary, to allow for errors in chronology.²

He reviewed the momentous year of 1844 with these words:

If the experience which we have passed through from the beginning of the present year,—the tarrying time from April until Oct. and the sanctifying influence of the seventh month, with the humiliation and patience of those, who are evidently looking for the redemption of the true Israel,—is not the beginning and

¹Studies on the changing dynamics after the disappointment include: Arthur, “Come out of Babylon,” 85-96; E. N. Dick, “The Adventist Crisis of 1843-1844,” 216-224.

²William Miller, “Letter from Brother Miller,” *Morning Watch*, January 2, 1845, 3.

preparation of the final *cleansing of the sanctuary*, then I will acknowledge I am deceived.¹

He wrote further, "I feel confident that God will justify his word, and the time which we have preached: for we cannot have varied far from the truth in our own views of the seven times, the 2300 days, the 1335 days, the trumpets, &c." "Brethren, hold fast; let no man take your crown," Miller wrote earnestly, "I have fixed my mind upon another time, and here I mean to stand until God gives me more light.—And that is *To-day*. TO-DAY, and TO-DAY, until he comes, and I see HIM for whom my soul yearns."²

Joshua V. Himes

A letter from J. V. Himes, published on November 27, 1844, gives a good summary of Himes' views at the time. He wrote:

We have now passed every point of *definite time*, in which we looked for the beloved Savior. And yet I do not give up the question—I only give up the *fact* that our chronologies are not to be depended upon for literal exactness, as to time. But we are in the circle of a short period, and may look now every hour for the advent.³

Himes then expressed pastoral concern for Adventists: "I feel now, that we have a duty to perform to our brethren and sisters, scattered abroad, and many of them without homes. . . . I hope we shall be kept from dissensions and strife, and walk in love, and seek to do what we can to save souls."⁴

Reflecting back on the disappointment half a year later he related, "according to his own experience, as soon as the seventh month passed by he was fully satisfied he had

¹William Miller, "Letter from Bro. Miller," *Midnight Cry*, December 26, 1844, 205.

²William Miller, "Letter from Wm. Miller," *Advent Herald*, November 27, 1844, 128.

³J. V. Himes, "Letter from J. V. Himes," *Voice of Truth*, November 27, 1844, 173.

⁴*Ibid.*

been mistaken and that his business still was to proclaim the doctrine of Christ's coming."¹ Himes practiced what he preached. Beginning on December 20, 1844, and continuing through January 5, 1845, he embarked on a tour through parts of Vermont and New York where he spoke in various churches. He had laid aside any idea of definite time, concluding that the "Advent will take place within the few years of disputed time among chronologists."² He "put the Advent press in full operation" to "comfort the saints, to re-arouse the slumbering churches to a candid examination of the Advent doctrine, and once more publish salvation through a crucified Redeemer in its fullness and power." Himes described a meeting at Waterbury, Vermont, where some had "entertained the opinion that our work was done, as it related to the conversion of sinners." He noted "as the meeting progressed, that this view was given up by most; and a desire was expressed by all to have right views on this all important question."³ The remainder of his communication described a progression of meetings he held in various places with generally good response. Bubbling with enthusiasm he summarized his trip with these words:

We are happy to assure the friends of the blessed hope of the gospel, that there never was, so far as our personal observation has extended, a better state of things among advent believers, as to preparation, than now. And as to any *going back*, the tide is setting the other way. The number, as well as the faith of advent believers is increasing. They are rising in their strength, and once more girding themselves for the re-awakening of a slumbering church and world . . . "before he [God] riseth up and shuts to [*sic*] the door."⁴

¹"Advent Conference in Boston," *Morning Watch*, June 12, 1845, 186.

²J. V. Himes, "In the Field Again," *Advent Herald*, January 15, 1845, 180.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., 181.

During this tour, Himes held a conference in Low Hampton, New York, at William Miller's home. Miller prepared an address that essentially said to hold on and keep faith that Jesus would come soon.¹

A week after Himes returned from his tour, Apollos Hale, an associate editor of the *Advent Herald*, went on a tour of New Hampshire. His report of meetings with the "brethren" contained less optimism than Himes' reports and no mention of speaking in any churches or public places.² But Himes' optimism remained strong. A few days later, on January 18, he was again working in areas outside of Boston, reporting that his meetings were "full" and "deeply interesting."³ During the early part of February, he was in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore with plans to spend the last two weeks of February in Canada.⁴ During these first months of the year Sylvester Bliss was left to continue the publication of the *Advent Herald*. The letters from Hale, Himes, and Miller were all addressed to Bliss.

It seems that Himes hoped that, much like the spring of 1844 disappointment, Adventists would again unite, lay aside specific time, and spread the message of the soon coming of Jesus. This hope was shattered during late February and early March 1845 as William Miller publicly gave his support to the Shut-Door views presented in the *Advent Mirror*.

¹William Miller et al., "Low Hampton Conference," *Advent Herald*, January 15, 1845, 182, 183.

²A. Hale, "Editorial Correspondence," *Advent Herald*, January 22, 1845, 188, 189.

³J. V. Himes, "Editorial Correspondence," *Advent Herald*, January 29, 1845, 196.

⁴Joshua V. Himes to William Miller, February 13, 1845, MassHS; "Appointments for Canada," *Advent Herald*, February 12, 1845, 8; J. V. Himes, "Philadelphia and Baltimore," *Morning Watch*, February 13, 1845, 52.

George Storrs

George Storrs was perhaps the most significant and vocal casualty of the “seventh month” movement. He went from being one of the strongest supporters of the “seventh month” to being its greatest critic. His published retraction and complete rejection that it was possible to know the “definite time” for the Second Coming affected many Adventists. He also apologized for his support of C. R. Gorgas and repented of his urging Adventists to “leave business entirely and attend meetings only.” He even concluded that his ideas had been caused by “mesmerism.”¹ Within a few months Storrs even attributed the entire seventh-month movement “to presumption” rather than the moving of the Spirit of God.²

J. B. Cook lamented the “new” George Storrs with the following words:

Allow me kindly to say that Bro. S’s faith has one grand defect. It ascribes supremacy to his impressions, rather than to the unambiguous word of the Lord. . . . Till our Brother’s faith rests on the word of God, in *all* matters of doctrine and duty, he will be liable to “the steaming process”—exposed to “Mesmerism,” or Dr. Gorgas’ vision: A man of strong mind, like all others not settled down on the rock of truth, may vibrate, just like the pend[u]lum, from one extreme to the other.³

Even William Miller expressed concern for Storrs:

I am yet on the rock of presumption, as Bro. Storrs calls it, and I can not honestly get off. To jump into every boat that comes along and call each of them truth, and then delusion, How shall I ever know I am in the truth? I think I can see two great leaks in Bro. S.’s boat Truth, and I hope he will find it out, before it dashes on the breakers of the world’s applause, or swamps on the quicksands of unbelief.⁴

¹George Storrs, “Note from Brother Storrs,” *Midnight Cry*, October 31, 1844, 138; idem, “A Confession,” *Midnight Cry*, October 31, 1844, 144.

²George Storrs, “Letter to Bro. Jacobs,” *Morning Watch*, March 6, 1845, 78.

³J. B. Cook, “Letter from Bro. Cook,” *Day-Star*, April 1, 1845, 26.

⁴William Miller, “Letter from Bro. Miller,” *Day-Star*, April 8, 1845, 31.

Miller confessed that he had “expected the Steamer the same time it started from the heavenly port.” “Herein,” he wrote, “I might have been a little careless in not discovering the exact time it would take to arrive at the rock [or dock].” His determination was to “wait, and have *patience*” and he appealed for Storrs and other Adventists to wait patiently “for God to reveal the mystery of *time* or 1843 and the movement of the 7th month.” “I deny,” he wrote, “that either of those times was a lie.”¹

By July, George Storrs was publicly critical of Miller and wrote:

Mr. Miller, in a letter published in the Voice of Truth [*sic*], some weeks since, said that if my present position is true, in regard to definite time for the advent, and some other matters, we had all been wrong— [and] ought to make our confessions. . . . I love and honor him for his *sincerity*, and his abundant labors in spreading abroad what he honestly believed was the truth; yet I believe he was in error, and those of us also who aided him in promulgating his peculiar views, specially on the subject of *time* for the advent. Nor do I think the only error was one of “*chronology*.”²

During the summer and fall of 1845 the dust settled on the separation between Storrs and his former Adventist colleagues. In the *Bible Examiner* he returned to his earlier theme of the non-immortality of the soul. He also expressed his support for the millenarian concept of the literal return of the Jews to Palestine.

In reviewing his position on the Millerite message he wrote: “I think to give my present views on the ‘little horn’ of Dan. 8th, and the ‘2300 days.’ I have not a particle of faith that those days bring us to the *exact time* of the advent.”³ Storrs also presented an article on “definite time.” He wrote: “For the last ten months my mind has not been shaken or moved by any thing I have seen or heard as to the fact that no definite *day* or

¹Ibid., 31, 32.

²George Storrs, “Relation to Mr. Miller,” *Bible Examiner*, July 16, 1845, 5.

³George Storrs, “Bible Examiner,” *Bible Examiner*, November 1845, 4.

year is given in any of the prophetic numbers, in the Bible, for the second advent.” “It is truly astonishing,” he wrote concerning Adventist time-setting, “to see how easily they can move from one *date* to another, and [how] equally certain, different brethren are, that they are right, while they differ from each other, and then differ with themselves.”¹

Joseph Marsh and the *Voice of Truth*

Joseph Marsh, editor of the *Voice of Truth* published in Rochester, New York, held himself and his paper in a waiting position until the middle of November 1844. On November 20, 1844, he put his readers on notice that they had been “greatly mistaken” and should “humbly acknowledge all” their “mistakes.”² A lengthy follow-up article rejected Samuel Snow’s typological application of the fall festivals to the Second Coming of Jesus. Marsh believed that all the types pointed either to Christ’s first coming, or to the entire gospel era since the cross. He specifically singled out the Day of Atonement to demonstrate his point of view using Hebrews 7:27 to show that Christ offered himself “once” at the cross. He saw Jesus as “our High Priest” who had entered “‘into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us’—the anti-type of the most holy place.” The “Day of Atonement,” or “Gospel day” as he called it, had been “going on for more than eighteen hundred years.” Regarding the blowing of the Jubilee trumpet or the Feast of Tabernacles, Marsh concluded that the New Testament was not clear on the anti-type, but that it probably applied like the Day of Atonement to the entire Christian era.³

¹George Storrs, “Second Advent—Definite Time,” *Bible Examiner*, November 1845, 4.

²[Joseph Marsh], “Seventh Month,” *Voice of Truth*, November 20, 1844, 172.

³[Joseph Marsh], “Seventh Month—Mistakes Developed,” *Voice of Truth*, November 27, 1844, 174-176.

Unlike Storrs, Marsh embraced the possibility of a new “definite time.” By rejecting the anti-typical perspective that had been so important in giving certainty to the October 1844 movement, he prepared the way for new times based on different arguments. Marsh continued to publish articles, both his own and others, presenting possible dates for the conclusion of the prophecies. During the first months of 1845, Marsh became one of the principal supporters of the spring of 1845 anticipation.¹

Marsh was greatly concerned that Himes had joined Storrs in rejecting any new “definite time.”² Marsh also did not share Himes’ cordial attitude toward the churches. He continued to believe that they were “Babylon” and that probation was closed or “nearly so for them.”³ He stopped short of saying that the door of mercy had been finally closed for all individuals:

A few here and there, who have not rejected the last offers of mercy, are the only ones that are being saved as brands snatched from the burning. The work is rapidly and surely being closed up. The harvest is nearly ripe for the sickle, a few days more and the last sheaf will be gathered in: it may now be done. . . . We have no hope of even partially waking up the church and world again to holy things. The sleep of death is upon them.⁴

But apart from these differences, both Marsh and Himes believed that the October 1844 date had been a mistake. Because of his position on typology, Marsh was unwilling

¹H. H. Gross, “The Present Truth,” *Voice of Truth*, March 5, 1845, 24; O. R. Fassett, “Letter from O. R. Fassett,” *Voice of Truth*, February 26, 1845, 20; [Joseph Marsh], “The Approaching Crisis,” *Voice of Truth*, March 19, 1845, 40; [Joseph Marsh], “Our Conference,” *Voice of Truth*, March 26, 1845, 48.

²[Joseph Marsh], “Something Wrong,” *Voice of Truth*, February 12, 1845, 10; “Something Wrong Again,” *Voice of Truth*, March 12, 1845, 33.

³[Joseph Marsh], “The Harvest,” *Voice of Truth*, January 1, 1845, 194; “Our Last Work,” *Voice of Truth*, January 15, 1845, 102; “Meeting in Canandaigua,” *Voice of Truth*, February 12, 1845, 10.

⁴[Joseph Marsh], “Door of Mercy,” *Voice of Truth*, February 26, 1845, 19.

to align himself with the new Bridegroom concept. Himes indulged a hope that the *Voice of Truth* would join him in opposition to what he considered the dangerous new Bridegroom idea being promoted by Joseph Turner. For Marsh, though, this and other issues paled to near insignificance in light of the expected soon coming of Jesus in April 1845.

Enoch Jacobs and the *Western Midnight Cry*

J. V. Himes initially founded the *Western Midnight Cry* in Cincinnati, Ohio. George Storrs served as editor for the first volume and then moved to Philadelphia, due to health concerns. Enoch Jacobs, who was visiting from New York during December 1843, agreed to take over the editorship of the paper.¹ What began as a temporary project continued until February 1845, when Jacobs changed the title of the *Western Midnight Cry* to the *Day-Star*.

The first four issues of volume four of the *Western Midnight Cry* are missing, but in number five, published on November 29, 1844, Jacobs expressed his own challenge in dealing with the disappointment: “Our present danger lies in the strong temptation to run into one of two extremes. The first is, in totally abandoning the whole position relative to the tenth day, and the other, that of making a wrong application of Scripture to that extraordinary movement.” Jacobs would prove over the next year that he would not abandon the “Midnight Cry” of the fall, 1844.

His initial idea, which soon gave way to other explanations, was focused on a heavenly judgment. He titled his comments: “Evidence that the Judgment might have set on the Tenth Day of the 7th Month.” Drawing from Samuel Snow’s typological

¹[Enoch Jacobs], “The Editor,” *Western Midnight Cry*!!!, December 9, 1843, 4.

arguments, Jacobs argued that the judgment had two parts: The “sitting in judgment,” which he believed began on the tenth day, and the execution of the judgment which would occur at the Second Coming. Jacobs proposed that Christ’s sitting in judgment would take forty days. He summarized: “Definite time for the personal appearing of our Lord is certainly contained in the Bible, and if it lies not at the end of *forty days* from the ‘tenth day,’ it most assuredly does between that time and the end of the Jewish year [April 1845].” Jacobs was reluctant to define the meaning of “sitting in judgment.” He hinted at a work on Christ’s part of “putting away the sins of his people as a body, before he personally appears.” Jacobs was clear that he did not believe that his view proved that probation was closed. “I always have,” he wrote, “and always shall, feel it my duty to point the *enquiring [sic] penitent* to Christ.” The real purpose of this entire article was to confirm the continued importance of the seventh-month movement. “Our mistakes have not been in wrong calculation of *time*,” wrote Jacobs, “so much as the proper application of events. No point of time will probably ever be understood long enough before the event to constitute another rallying point, for this would be a *second* ‘Midnight Cry.’”¹

The publication of J. B. Cook’s and J. D. Pickands’ “small sheet,” titled the *Voice of the Fourth Angel*, inspired Jacobs to conclude, like Joseph Marsh, that under the fourth angel it was the “imperative duty of God’s children to pray for his coming.”² Jacobs’ paper was emphatic in supporting “definite time.” He expressed concern about the

¹[Enoch Jacobs], “The Time,” *Western Midnight Cry!*, November 29, 1844, 3, 4. See also Bert Haloviak, “From Millerism, through the Scattering, to the Third Angel: Ellen White and Light from the Most Holy Place, 1844-1851,” paper read at Andrews Society for Religious Studies, San Francisco, California, December 16-18, 1981, Ellen G. White Estate Branch Office, LLU; C. M. Maxwell, “The Investigative Judgment,” 545-581.

²[Enoch Jacobs], “Voice of the Fourth Angel,” *Western Midnight Cry!*, December 21, 1844, 28.

Advent Herald which wrote of “indefinite time” and “1847,” and indicated that although he “loved the spirit of their letters,” yet “they made us sad.” Jacobs then defined what he meant by definite time: “[It] is not a ‘day or hour’ that we may reach with our present system of reckoning; but a small circle of a few weeks, or months at the outside. The most of us are looking to the termination of the present Jewish year, for the time of deliverance: Some few think they can see as far as the next *seventh month*.”¹ By January 1845, Jacobs was convinced of the spring 1845 date based on the “type of the Jubal trump.” He linked the beginning of the blowing of the jubilee trumpet to October 22/23, 1844. In all of the various ideas he promoted, the tenth day of the seventh month remained his reference point. Jacobs, like Marsh, kept a strong faith in definite time, but he went one step further and held to the continued prophetic significance of the fall 1844 movement.

First Vision of Ellen G. Harmon

As the autumn weeks of 1844 turned into winter, Millerite confidence in the “Midnight Cry” of the “seventh month” began to wane. Along with other faithful, Ellen Harmon questioned why Jesus had not come. Though possessing a deep Christian experience she struggled with failing health. A chronic lung disorder combined with doubts concerning the “Midnight Cry” made her seventeenth birthday, on November 26, anything but pleasant. She and most of the Adventists in Portland, Maine, had given up their faith in the October 1844 movement and thought the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 pointed to some future date.²

¹[Enoch Jacobs], “The Time,” *Western Midnight Cry!*, January 23, 1845, 43.

²James White, *A Word to the “Little Flock,”* n.p., 1847, 22.

During the cool days of December an event occurred that would have a remarkable long-term impact on many Adventists. It also dispelled Ellen Harmon's doubts concerning the "Midnight Cry." That pivotal event was Harmon's first vision.

Ellen Harmon was staying in the home of Elizabeth Haines in Portland in order to give her mother a break from caring for her invalid daughter.¹ While engaged in family prayer with Haines and three other women Ellen experienced her revelation. With hoarse whispers punctuated by coughs, she began to pray. Immediately she lost sight of everything around her and was shown a view of the Advent believers. She described her vision with these words:

While praying at the family altar, the Holy Ghost fell on me, and I seemed to be rising higher and higher, far above the dark world. I turned to look for the Advent people in the world, but could not find them—when a voice said to me, "Look again, and look a little higher." At this I raised my eyes and saw a straight and narrow path, cast up high above the world. On this path the Advent people were travelling to the City, which was at the fa[r]ther end of the path. They had a bright light set up behind them at the first end of the path, which the angel told me was the Midnight Cry. This light shone all along the path and gave light for their feet so they might not stumble. And if they kept their eyes fixed on Jesus, who was just before them, leading them to the City, they were safe. But soon some grew weary, and they said the City was a great way off, and they expected to have entered it before. Then Jesus would encourage them by raising His glorious right arm. . . . Others rashly denied the light behind them, and said that it was not God that had led them out so far. The light behind them went out leaving their feet in perfect darkness, and they stumbled and got their eyes off the mark and lost sight of Jesus, and fell off the path down in the dark and wicked world below. It was just as impossible for them to get on the path again and go to the City, as all the wicked world which God had rejected.²

Having a naturally shy disposition and fearful of opposition, Harmon shared her vision with only a few people. Understandably, word began to get around to the Advent

¹J. N. Loughborough, "Some Individual Experience, A Companion to the Book 'The Great Second Advent Movement,'" October 27, 1918, 43, 44, EGWE-GC.

²Ellen G. Harmon, "To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad" broadside, April 6, 1846.

believers in Portland about her experience. Joseph Turner, a leading Adventist minister, was particularly interested in what she had been shown. A meeting was appointed in the Harmon home for her to communicate what she had been shown. On the day of the appointed meeting, Ellen, fearful of the response, went by sleigh to a home in another part of the city. As she entered the home she happened to meet the very person she was seeking to avoid, Joseph Turner. Surprised to see her, Turner asked her if she was in the way of her "duty" to which she refused to answer a word. The meeting at the Harmon home was held without Ellen. Later the same evening she came home resigned to share what she had been shown. The next morning Turner knocked on the door and asked to speak with her. With "fear and trembling," Harmon told him what she had seen. To her surprise and considerable relief, she heard Turner affirm her vision and experience saying, "he had told out the same last evening."¹

The immediate effect of this vision was to confirm Ellen Harmon's faith and about sixty others in Portland, Maine, in the "Midnight Cry."² About a week after her first vision, Harmon had a second vision and was told that she must share what she had been shown. In this second vision she saw the trials and opposition she would face in sharing the vision.³

While the influence of Ellen Harmon's visions was only local at first, it grew in significance as time passed. Certainly her first vision played at least a minor role in encouraging Joseph Turner to keep his faith in the October 1844 movement. Soon after

¹Ellen G. White to Joseph Bates, July 13, 1847, Lt. 3, 1847. EGWE-GC.

²James White, *A Word to the Little Flock*, 22.

³E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:35.

hearing Harmon's account, Turner and Hale published the *Advent Mirror* in Boston. As we will see, this paper supported the continuing significance of the "seventh month" movement based on an interpretation of the parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25. The most controversial and divisive part of their interpretation was the Shut-Door concept.

Joseph Turner, Apollos Hale, and the *Advent Mirror*

Before discussing the Shut Door it is first necessary to give an overview of the concepts presented in the *Advent Mirror*. This paper, more than any other, influenced Adventists to accept the new Bridegroom view. The ideas expressed would ultimately split Adventism and devastate Himes' hope of a unified movement.

For Millerites during the summer of 1844, the allegorical parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25 was of vital importance. Phrases such as "Behold the Bridegroom Cometh," "Shut Door," and the "Midnight Cry" found their origin in this story. By January 1845, Joseph Turner and Apollos Hale had prepared the *Advent Mirror* for publication. The entire document was dedicated to the Bridegroom concept. That concept linked the parable with the progression of the Advent movement before, during, and after 1844. They wrote:

Does this parable give a history of the Adventists, or not? Did they not take their Bibles and go forth, expecting to meet the Lord in '43? When that time passed did he not tarry to them? [*sic*] Did they not then slumber and sleep? Have they not heard the cry, Behold, the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him! And did they not then arise and trim their lamps? Surely our history is a perfect fulfilment of the parable, and if so, they have their lamps now trimmed and

burning, and are waiting their Lord's return from the wedding, or they have gone to buy.¹

Turner and Hale cherished the idea that the October 1844 movement must have been a fulfillment of the great prophecies Adventists had so carefully studied. Since Christ had not come as King at the Second Coming, they proposed that He had instead come as a Bridegroom to a heavenly wedding. With Jesus as the Bridegroom, they identified the heavenly New Jerusalem as the bride, the marriage as the act of Christ in receiving His kingdom in heaven, and the Advent believers as the virgins.

The main focus of the *Advent Mirror* was to explore the meaning of the marriage. The paper divided the marriage into two steps, the marriage itself and the marriage supper. The supper was linked to the Second Coming of Jesus as King. The marriage, it was argued, occurred in heaven and preceded the Second Coming. Turner and Hale presented the coming of the Son of Man to the Ancient of Days in Daniel 7:9-10, 13-14 as describing events connected with a heavenly marriage. The Ancient of Days—God the Father—sat in judgment and gave to the Son of Man—Jesus—“dominion, glory and a kingdom.” Christ was made a King as He received the New Jerusalem at the marriage. As King, Jesus then went from the wedding to the “marriage supper,” which occurred when He gathered His saints at the Second Coming. Thus they linked the fall 1844 date to the marriage which they believed confirmed the soon return of Jesus.²

The effect of the *Advent Mirror*, for those who accepted its propositions, was to lock in the significance of the seventh-month movement and emphatically remove the

¹A. Hale and J. Turner, “Has Not the Savior Come as the Bridegroom?” *Advent Mirror*, January 1845, 2.

²*Ibid.*, 1, 2.

possibility of another “Midnight Cry.” For Hale and Turner, the ten virgins had arisen and trimmed their lamps in the seventh month movement. Those with oil had responded to the cry “Behold the Bridegroom cometh.” Christ had changed His role from that of Intercessor to King, and the door of probation for the world at large had closed.¹

The *Advent Mirror* placed post-disappointment Advent believers in the “guest-chamber” waiting for the marriage supper. The guest-chamber concept came from another parable found in Matthew 22:1-14. With all the guests present, the door to the chamber had been shut and probation closed. The guests or Advent believers were waiting only for the “final examination of the King.” Their work was to keep their garments and wait. With emphasis, the *Advent Mirror* concluded: “*The judgment is here!*” The paper refrained from drawing any specific conclusions about just what the judgment was and how it pertained to Advent believers who were waiting in the “guest-chamber.”² As we will see in the next chapter, a sharp division later developed among Bridegroom Adventists as to whether the judgment was completed in one day on the tenth day of the seventh month or whether it began on that day and continued over an extended period of time.

The real result of the “judgment” in the *Advent Mirror* was that “sinners” could no longer be saved. The paper asked the question: “Can any sinners be converted if the door is shut?” The answer was: “Of course they cannot, though changes that may appear to be conversions may take place.”³ It is vital to understand what was meant by “sinners”

¹Ibid., 2-4.

²Ibid., 1, 3.

³Ibid., 4.

in order to understand how Turner and Hale applied the Shut Door to people outside of the Advent movement. “Sinners” were those who had “rejected the truth” and had “turned away their ears with loathing from its warnings and promises.”¹ The article elaborated very carefully that individuals could still be saved. The following excerpt clearly explains their position:

As it is a fundamental principle in the economy of heaven, that “it is accepted according to what a man hath,” we know that at the closing of the door of mercy, all who fear God and work righteousness, according to the light they have, must be embraced by the arms of his mercy; though as the measure of light they have differs, the apparent form of their character must differ. And there may be changes in the form of their character, which we might call conversions, though it would imply no change in their inward character before God. That such may be found, for whom we should labor, there can be no doubt; and in fact, it is with such a class only, few indeed is their number, that our labors are in any sense successful. The few that make up this class, would, therefore, form the limits of our labors for others, excepting that we exhort one another. But to think of laboring to convert the great mass of the world at such a time, would be as idle as it would have been for the Israelites, when they were down by the Red sea, to have turned about to convert the Egyptians.²

The *Advent Mirror* used the children of Israel as another illustration of how the Shut Door applied to the world: “So it was at the time of the Savior’s ministry; after he had pronounced their doom and declared ‘their house was left unto them desolate,’ we know that individuals were the subjects of mercy, and were actually brought to believe in Christ.”³

From these comments, it can be concluded that the Shut Door did not mean that individuals could not be brought to believe in Christ but rather that the rebellious “sinner” could not be “converted.” It was hard for most Adventists to imagine that anyone in the

¹Ibid., 3, 4.

²Ibid., 4.

³Ibid.

United States could have missed hearing the message of the soon coming of Jesus. The

Advent Mirror put it thus:

We can hardly endure it, that a cause so well sustained by the truth of God, that has excited so wide an interest, and is so fraught with promise in everything that can rejoice the Christian heart, should sink into contempt. We have been accustomed to ride upon the whirlwind and storm, it is difficult to accommodate ourselves to the dead calm.¹

Thus, following the disappointment, the paper that defined the Bridegroom and Shut-Door concepts did not exclude everyone outside the Advent movement from salvation. People who had followed all the light they had received were still “subjects of his [God’s] mercy.” It was only for those who had actually spurned light and turned from the truth that the door of salvation was closed.² It needs to be noted that the *Advent Mirror* did not originate the idea of the Shut Door or the heavenly Bridegroom concept; these had come to Adventists through William Miller and George Storrs.³ The *Advent Mirror* rather focused previous understanding on the October 1844 experience.

The message of the *Advent Mirror* gave continuity to the Advent movement and explained why Millerites had been disappointed. It also built on the previous typological applications proposed by Samuel Snow, Josiah Litch, Apollos Hale, and William Miller himself. The paper gave hope to many who had been desperately disappointed. Now they understood why Jesus had not come as they had expected and why they could look

¹Ibid., 3.

²Significant studies on the shut door issue include: Rolf J. Poehler, “. . . And the Door Was Shut’ Seventh-day Adventists and the Shut-Door Doctrine in the Decade after the Great Disappointment,” Term Paper, AU, 1978; Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 104-124; Robert W. Olson, “The ‘Shut Door’ Documents: Statements Relating to the ‘Shut Door,’ the Door of Mercy, and the Salvation of Souls by Ellen G. White and Other Early Adventists,” 1982, EGWE-GC.

³See page 41, 42 above; [Enoch Jacobs], “The Shut Door,” *Day-Star*, December 13, 1845, 47; Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 42-44, 96-99.

with confidence to the future. Perhaps most important, it said that God had led them in the “seventh month” movement and fulfilled the prophecies; that they had truly had the “Midnight Cry.”

Summary and Perspective

For Adventism the period from the October 1844 disappointment until the publication of the *Advent Mirror* was transitional. While some abandoned the movement, many more maintained a waiting and watching posture. As time passed, those within the movement began to adopt different positions in relation to the passing of the time. George Storrs represented those Adventists who, while not rejecting the historicist position on the time prophecies or premillennialism, completely rejected “definite time.” He determined that the exact time could not be known and in fact that Scripture prohibited time setting. Joseph Marsh represented those Adventists who, while rejecting the typological basis of the seventh-month movement, fervently believed that the time for the Advent could be known and in fact should be known by God’s people. J. V. Himes was the leading voice for those who believed they had been mistaken about the October 1844 date and should now go back to the world and continue the proclamation until a better understanding of chronology could be developed. For Himes it was vitally important to believe that the door of mercy was still open. Unlike Storrs, Himes did not seem to be as certain in his opposition to any new definite time. William Miller represented those who continued to hold to the core beliefs of the movement, clung to the belief that God had led in the October 1844 experience, and thought that probation had closed. Miller, like many, had adopted a wait and watch position until further events or understanding unfolded.

Enoch Jacobs and the *Western Midnight Cry*, along with Joseph Turner and Apollos Hale and the *Advent Mirror*, stood for those who continued to cherish the belief that God had fulfilled prophecy in the “seventh month” movement. Though they were united in continuing to hold to a typological application in understanding the timing of the chronology, Jacobs was unwilling during this period to adopt the new Bridegroom concept or the Shut Door as advocated by Turner and Hale. It was the *Advent Mirror* more than any other publication that led the way in redefining the significance of the fall 1844 experience. The *Advent Mirror* was widely distributed and became the watershed publication for the new understanding.

Given the positions of leaders such as J. V. Himes and George Storrs, it is not surprising that the *Advent Mirror* was seen as controversial. At first it was one idea among many that were circulating. But, as we will see in the next section, with the publication of letters from William Miller supporting the Shut Door and the Bridegroom conclusion, a crisis developed. Miller’s ruminations on the Shut Door destabilized Himes, Sylvester Bliss, Josiah Litch, and others of their persuasion. With Miller’s support of the Shut Door and the rise of fanatical excesses and extreme spiritualizing, the stage was set for conflict and schism.

Ellen Harmon represented an additional important development. Her December 1844 vision convinced many in Portland, Maine, that the October 1844 movement had fulfilled the prophecies. Her first vision also played at least a minor role in encouraging Joseph Turner while the *Advent Mirror* was in preparation. The guidance she received through her visions strengthened the faith of an ever-increasing number of Adventists that God had led in the “Midnight Cry.” The most important trend in Adventism, which

would lead to division and finally a permanent split in the movement, was a belief that the October 1844 movement had continued prophetic significance. Ultimately the line would be drawn between those who accepted and those who rejected the “True Midnight Cry.”

From the *Advent Mirror* to the Spring 1845 Disappointment

During the three-month period from late January to the end of April 1845, the positions established during the first phase were strengthened and expanded. The greatest creativity was demonstrated within the ranks of those who continued to cling to the seventh-month movement. That creativity was expressed in many ways. It included the publication and discussion of articles supporting the seventh-day Sabbath, new concepts regarding the meaning of the sanctuary, prophetic manifestations, and various innovative interpretations of Scripture. Openness to new perspectives led to the extreme practices of mixed gender kissing, embracing, foot washing, the “no work” doctrine, and excessive humility. The new ideas, combined with social excesses among many Shut-Door Adventists, hurried the movement to schism.

In this section we will first examine the position of the *Advent Herald* toward the various new ideas. Connected to that treatment we will also examine the transition of William Miller from support of the Bridegroom concept to opposition. Second, we will look at the growing time excitement for the 1845 Passover in both New England and the West, and among both “mainline” and Bridegroom Adventists. The expectation in the West was most strongly supported by Joseph Marsh and the *Voice of Truth* but included Enoch Jacobs and the *Day-Star*. In the East, time excitement was promoted by the

editors of the *Hope of Israel* and the *Jubilee Standard*.¹ Finally, we will consider new developments in the East and particularly in Maine by those who continued to support the significance of the seventh-month movement. This will include a careful examination of Sabbatarian interest, the rise of fanaticism, and the visions of Ellen G. Harmon and her increasing influence in the Northeast.

J. V. Himes, the *Advent Herald*, and William Miller

In January and February 1845 the hopeful tone of the *Advent Herald* began to fade. With the publication of the *Advent Mirror* and letters by William Miller supporting the Shut Door, the momentum had grown to dangerous proportions. These developments brought Himes almost to a state of panic. The story began to unfold during the waning days of January 1845 with Miller writing a letter to J. V. Himes for the *Advent Herald*.

Miller requested that his letter be published because he had received correspondence from “every part of the country” concerning the October disappointment and the “closing of the door of mercy.” His letter thus addressed these two issues in order.

In answer to the question on how to relate to the October disappointment, Miller proposed that the Second Coming would occur by the end of the Jewish year. He wrote on February 12: “I have strong hope that this year will bring our glorious King, and that the scenes of the seventh month will be manifested to be the beginning of the sounding of the last trump.”² Miller based his conclusions on a typological application of the Jewish

¹Overviews of this period are given by: Arthur, “Come out of Babylon,” 96-129; Knight, *Millennial Fever*, 245-266; passim.

²William Miller, “Letter from Mr. Miller,” *Advent Herald*, February 12, 1845, 2.

year and the sounding of the Jubilee trumpet. Quoting Leviticus 25, he noted that the trumpet was sounded in the year of Jubilee on the first and tenth day of the seventh month. This blowing of the trumpet proclaimed the freedom of captives throughout the land of Israel. Miller asked: "But did they go free on that day?" and then answered, "No. It was a proclamation of freedom only. When did they go free? At the end of the year." He concluded: "I have a strong expectation that Christ will come before the Jewish year will expire."¹ Thus Miller carried Samuel Snow's typological application one step further and concluded that, based on the Jubilee year, the Second Coming would occur at the end of the Jewish year in the spring of 1845. Miller's application was shared by many others including Enoch Jacobs in the newly published *Day-Star*.

After giving his reason for confidence in the October 1844 date, Miller moved on to sensitively affirm that probation had closed for the world. He used a series of texts to verify the Shut Door. His texts were in no way linked to the Matthew 25 parable or the Bridegroom concept as used by the *Advent Mirror*. Miller concluded:

I did believe, and must honestly confess I do now, that I have done my work in warning sinners, and that in the seventh month. I know my feelings are no rule for others, therefore, let every one who feels he has a duty to do to sinners let him do it, I will have no hard feelings. But I must be honest; when I am enquired of, I must state my own conviction honestly. I have done it, and given my reasons from the word of God.²

It should be noted that Miller had long held that probation would close before the Second Coming.³ J. V. Himes had concurred with Miller and even included an essay on

¹Ibid., 2, 3.

²Ibid., 3.

³Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History*, 97, 98.

the subject in his 1841 compilation of Miller's manuscripts.¹ After October 1844 Miller sincerely believed that his work for the world was finished and that probation had closed. In December 1844 a letter from him was published without editorial comment which made his position clear: "We have done our work in warning sinners, and in trying to awake a formal church. God, in his providence has shut the door."²

By the end of January 1845, Miller's position on the close of probation was causing Himes much perplexity and concern. In the context of Himes' new opposition to the Shut Door, due largely to the publication of the *Advent Mirror*, the February 12, 1845, letter seemed highly inflammatory. While the editors of the *Advent Herald* could not refuse to publish a letter from Miller, they made the unusual decision to disagree with him in print. Sylvester Bliss and Himes responded with a lengthy eight-point rebuttal, concluding that Miller's view on the "close of probation" rested "entirely upon inferences from texts." One of their arguments was that in the parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25, the Bridegroom came and then the door was shut. Their conclusion was that probation would not close until Jesus had actually come.³ The rebuttal totally ignored Miller's views on the Jubilee and the spring 1845 date for the Second Coming. Their main concern was to keep the "door of mercy" open. Never had Miller received this type of public response from his principal supporters. Before publishing the letter and rebuttal, Himes wrote to "my dear father Miller" to soften the impact:

¹Joshua V. Himes, *Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology, Selected from Manuscripts of William Miller: with a Memoir of His Life* (Boston: Moses A. Dow, 1841), 251, 252.

²William Miller, "Letter from Bro. Miller," *Advent Herald*, December 11, 1844, 142.

³William Miller, "Letter from Mr. Miller," *Advent Herald*, February 12, 1845, 3, 4. The rebuttal was directly appended to the letter from William Miller.

I do not see the matter as you do, yet, I always distrust my own judgment when differing from you, on any great point. In this case however, I *must differ*, till I see more light. You may be right after all, but we will soon see.¹

Then, as the rebuttal was going to press, Bliss wrote to Miller apologizing for having to disagree with him publicly.² Two weeks later Himes wrote to Miller expressing his despair over the division caused by new views. He exclaimed that "if things go on as they had for much longer" he would have to "shut up" both of his publishing offices. He then appealed to Miller, "Your *old view is the true view*. I like the 'old wine' best. . . . There never was so dangerous and critical a time with us as now."³ Himes' idea of the "old view" was the more general proclamation of the prophecies without any dependence upon typology to establish specific time.

It is not known just when Miller sent his letter on the Jubilee and the close of probation to Himes. It was published with no date and the original is no longer extant. On January 22, 1845, Joseph Turner wrote to Miller to explain his views on the Bridegroom without any mention of the *Advent Mirror*.⁴ Since Miller also did not mention the *Advent Mirror* and used arguments different from those expressed in the paper, it was probably not yet published. But by February 6, 1845, Miller had read the *Advent Mirror* and written another letter. This time he submitted it to the *Voice of Truth* rather than the *Advent Herald*. He wrote:

I do believe in the main they [Turner and Hale] are right. . . . Has Christ come in the sense spoken of [in], Matt. 25:10? I think he has. Was the contract finished, and when? My opinion is, that it was on or about the 10th of the seventh

¹Joshua V. Himes to William Miller, January 28, 1845, MassHS.

²Sylvester Bliss to William Miller, February 11, 1845, MassHS.

³Joshua V. Himes to William Miller, February 13, 1845, MassHS.

⁴Joseph Turner to William Miller, January 22, 1845, AurU.

month. . . . I have not seen a genuine conversion since. . . . I know many of my brethren whom I highly esteem, will, and do, disagree with me on this matter. I would advise them not to have any hardness.¹

About the same time that Miller's letter was published in the *Voice of Truth*, the *Advent Herald* published an editorial suggesting that the great time prophecies were true and not yet fulfilled. Himes and Bliss placed the broad window of time for its fulfillment between 1843 and 1847.² With strong words Himes rejected the view that the Bridegroom had come on the tenth day of the seventh month in 1844:

The views now adopted by some, that the seventh month movement was a *final one*; that the seventh trump then sounded; that the mystery of God was then finished, and the door of mercy closed, &c., we must wholly dissent from, as being unscriptural. While we still hold that the hand of God was particularly in that work, and that a great and good work was wrought for saint and sinner, yet it was not a *final one*. We were mistaken as to the *time*; and as to the event, we could look for nothing but the *personal coming of the Bridegroom*, and that did not occur!³

If Himes was concerned when he wrote Miller on February 13, 1845, he must have become quite anxious when he read the second letter in the *Voice of Truth*. On March 8 and 9, following appointments in Canada, Himes went to Low Hampton to talk with Miller. It was during these two days that Miller had a conversion from his Shut-Door views.⁴

It must have been with immense relief that Himes reported in his papers that Miller had abandoned the Bridegroom idea and the Shut Door to follow his former view

¹William Miller, "Extract of a Letter from Bro. Miller." *Day-Star*, March 11, 1845, 13, quoted from *Voice of Truth*, probably February 19, 1845.

²"Prophetic Time Not Expired." *Advent Herald*, February 19, 1845, 12.

³J. V. Himes, "A Word to the Advent Brethren Scattered Abroad." *Advent Herald*, February 19, 1845, 13.

⁴J. V. Himes, "Canadian Tour," *Morning Watch*, April 3, 1845, 110.

of “literal interpretation.” Himes minimized the extent of Miller’s support for the Shut Door with the following words:

For a little time, he cherished some views, relating to the door of mercy, and the coming of the Bridegroom, that were not in strict accordance with the above principle of exposition [Himes’ view]. The peculiar and the striking circumstances of the time, led him into the view. But, the *fact of souls being converted* in different places, as formerly, at once showed the mistake, which he readily and cheerfully corrected. He now regards his original view of the Midnight Cry, and of the wise and foolish virgins, to be the correct one. Let our friends re-examine his sermon on the Ten Virgins. We believe it is the true exposition.¹

Besides new conversions, the growing fanaticism must have confirmed Miller in his decision to abandon the Shut-Door view. He wrote to Himes a couple of weeks before the Albany Conference with these words: “It is a peculiar time. The greatest variety of fanciful interpretations of Scripture that was ever heard, is now being presented by new luminaries in every direction—reflecting their rays of light and heat. And some of these are wandering stars, and some emit only a twilight. I am sick of this everlasting changing.”² Miller rejected in the strongest terms Samuel Snow’s April 10, 1845, assertion in the *Jubilee Standard* that Himes was one of three fallen shepherds:³ “What! Three shepherds cut off in one month! And you one of them! Well, if it is so, I know of no shepherds who will stand the test, by their *works* at least. When I read that, I could not help speaking. . . . I often think, when I hear a brother condemning and judging another, what an excellent Pope he would make.”⁴

¹Ibid.

²William Miller, “Letter from Bro. Miller,” *Advent Herald*, April 16, 1845, 73.

³Samuel Snow, “The Three Shepherds,” *Jubilee Standard*, April 17, 1845, 44.

⁴William Miller, “Letter from Bro. Miller,” *Advent Herald*, April 16, 1845, 73.

William Miller, at least for a time, remained supportive of “definite time” for the Second Coming. He wrote to Marsh in the middle of March 1845, expressing concern for George Storrs’ desire to leave time out of Adventist considerations.¹ By April though, like Himes, Miller had become tentative regarding the spring 1845 expectation: “We must learn to have patience. If Christ comes this spring we shall not need it long; and if he does not, we shall need much more. I am prepared for the worst, and hope for the better.”²

As one considers the schism of Millerite Adventism during the first half of 1845, the significance of Miller’s early support for the Shut Door cannot be underestimated. His December 1844 letter prepared the way for the publication of the *Advent Mirror*. Then in February 1845, many Adventists read Miller’s two letters along with the views published in the *Advent Mirror*. Miller’s support gave legitimacy and impetus to the new position. When he reversed his position less than a month later, many believed it was due to J. V. Himes’ influence and pressure.

Western Adventism

While the Bridegroom and Shut Door struggle raged in the East, a very different situation existed in western New York and Ohio. The strong resistance of Himes, Bliss, and Litch was not present. The April 1845 time expectation was eclipsing other issues. In fact, so strong was Marsh’s support that in print it appeared as significant as the spring and fall 1844 movements. Beyond the many passionate letters from readers, some

¹William Miller, “Letter from William Miller,” *Voice of Truth*, March 26, 1845, 49.

²William Miller, “Letter from Bro. Miller,” *Advent Herald*, April 16, 1845, 73.

western Adventists were even leaving their regular denominations.¹ Enoch Jacobs, like Marsh, supported the springtime expectation, but with more discretion. In both the *Voice of Truth* and the *Day-Star*, reaction against the publication of the *Advent Mirror* was muted. Neither Marsh nor Jacobs embraced the Bridegroom concept, but their greater concern was with the censorship and narrow interpretations that Himes and his associates had brought to the *Advent Herald*. The two main Western papers promoted distinct rationales for why Jesus would come in the spring and how the seventh-month movement fitted into the prophetic scheme. A notable and extremely significant development was the March 1845 publication of the *Day-Dawn* by O. R. L. Crosier and F. B. Hahn. This paper supported the concepts of the *Advent Mirror* but went further to develop the beginnings of a unique heavenly sanctuary work of Jesus. Finally, the West had its own radical publication with Orlando Squires and the *Voice of the Shepherd*. This paper spiritualized every aspect of Scripture in a manner not even dreamed of in the *Advent Mirror*. The views of this paper were most widely reflected in the fanaticism in Maine and the Boston area throughout most of 1845. These various Western developments played an important role in the changing texture of Adventist faith and experience.

Joseph Marsh and the *Voice of Truth*

In many ways the *Voice of Truth* had the same spirit of hope and expectation of the soon coming of Jesus during the first four months of 1845 as Adventist papers had during 1844. Marsh retained the "spirit" of the movement in the West, which seems to have protected believers from much of the fanaticism, confusion, and division which was

¹F. B. Hahn, "Withdrawal from the Church," *Voice of Truth*, April 16, 1845, 23. See also Joseph Marsh, "Existence of Creeds a Reason Why We Should Not Go Back to the Church," *Voice of Truth*, April 30, 1845, 33-35.

present in the East. The powerful anticipation eclipsed all other topics and diminished division over smaller matters. In the East where the expectation was weaker, or in the case of Himes and his associates almost non-existent, Adventists became embroiled in controversy over the Shut Door and the Bridegroom.

The first stirrings of the spring 1845 time movement in the *Voice of Truth* came with the publication of an article on the “fourth angel” and the “harvest” by J. D. Pickands.¹ The article was first published in the *Voice of the Fourth Angel*, edited by J. D. Pickands and J. B. Cook of Cleveland, Ohio.² While Pickands did not set a specific time for the Second Coming in this article, there was a clear time component. He believed that the first three angels’ messages of Revelation 14 represented the Millerite movement and that a fourth angel (Jesus) was ready to harvest the earth. “The Bridegroom,” he said, had “taken his position to come to the marriage supper of the Lamb.” If God’s people would pray and prepare themselves, then the coming of the Bridegroom could be hastened. His message gave a reason for the short interval of time that was passing before the actual Second Coming. It also gave urgency to revival and prayer. Emily C. Clemons, Lucy M. Hersey, J. B. Cook, T. F. Barry, and Joseph Marsh, among others, embraced this concept with enthusiasm and began to preach the “harvest” message.³

¹J. D. Pickands, “Our Position and Duty,” *Voice of Truth*, January 8, 1845, 107, 108 [97, 98]; idem, “Our Position and Duty,” *Voice of Truth*, January 15, 1845, 101.

²See *Defence of Elder Joshua V. Himes*, 21, 22.

³E. C. Clemons, “The Reaping Time: Rev. 14-15,” *Voice of Truth*, January 8, 1845, 99; J. D. Pickands, “My Dear Bro. Marsh,” *Voice of Truth*, January 8, 1845, 99; T. F. Barry, “Jesus Will Come in Answer to Prayer,” *Voice of Truth*, January 22, 1845, 105; [Joseph Marsh], “Our Last Work,” *Voice of Truth*, January 15, 1845, 102, 103.

This message found full expression at a meeting in Canandaigua, New York, held from January 31 to February 2, 1845. The meeting was probably hosted by Dr. Franklin B. Hahn, who owned a farm on the east shore of Lake Canandaigua where a Millerite camp meeting had been held during the summer of 1844.¹ The town of Canandaigua is situated on the north shore of the lake. Marsh wrote of the meetings thus:

Brethren Pinney and Barry, attended during the meeting, and showed among other things, that one important duty or work of God's people now is, to pray, "come Lord Jesus" "Thy kingdom come" or "Thrust in the sickle and reap, for the harvest is ripe." They felt the weight of their message, as did the praying souls who heard and most fervently joined with them in this prayer. . . . Near one hundred joined in this feast of love and faith.²

The "fourth angel" or "harvest" message began the revival that unfolded into the spring 1845 expectation. In the same issue reporting the Canandaigua meeting, Pickands wrote an explicit letter looking to the spring 1845 date:

I am now satisfied that the Jubilee trumpet sounded on the 10th of 7th month, in this the 49th year. Next spring will open the grand Jubilee—Amen. . . . He [Christ] had finished the work of atonement, and come out of the most holy place, and taken his seat on the cloud going to his Father, the Ancient of days to ask (Ps. 2.) to receive the kingdom.³

Soon after Pickands' letter, H. H. Gross wrote a definitive article with specific dates for the spring hope in a five-page article. He traced all the main prophetic periods studied by Millerites to "about April 20th to 23d next." Like William Miller, he explained the continued relevance of the seventh-month movement using the Jubilee trumpet argument.⁴

¹"Advent Camp Meeting," *Ontario Messenger*, July 31, 1844, 2.

²[Joseph Marsh], "Meeting at Canandaigua," *Voice of Truth*, February 12, 1845, 10.

³J. D. Pickands, "Letter from J. D. Pickands," *Voice of Truth*, February 12, 1845, 12.

⁴H. H. Gross, "The Present Truth," *Voice of Truth*, March 5, 1845, 21-25; William Miller, "Letter from Mr. Miller," *Advent Herald*, February 12, 1845, 2, 3.

As April 1845 arrived, Joseph Marsh and many other ministers who lived or worked in the West were ardently focused on the Second Coming.¹ In various letters reference was made to the three great definite times in the movement—the “preaching of ’43,” the “tenth day of the seventh month,” and the spring 1845. Most continued to argue that the “true Midnight Cry” had been given in October 1844 to prepare the way for the actual coming of Jesus in 1845. Besides Western ministers, some from the East also wrote in the Western papers supporting the time expectation.

After weeks of covering the coming or present “crisis,” as the spring expectation was called, Marsh sought to temper the expectation slightly. He had never been comfortable setting a specific day and wrote: “The next prominent definite time to which we may now especially look, is the coming month. It is not positive he will then come, but highly probable.”²

Marsh remained open to the idea of a shut door but would not say with certainty that probation had actually closed.³ He wrote: “A few here and there, who have not rejected the last offers of mercy, are the only ones that are being saved as brands snatched from the burning. The work is rapidly and surely being closed up. The harvest is nearly ripe for the sickle, a few days more and the last sheaf will be gathered in: It may now be

¹O. R. Fassett, “Letter from O. R. Fassett,” *Voice of Truth*, February 26, 1845, 19, 20; C. B. Hotchkiss, “Revelation of Jesus Christ,” *Voice of Truth*, March 12, 1845, 29-32; G. W. Peavey, “Behold I Come Quickly,” *Voice of Truth*, March 19, 1845, 29, 30; [Joseph Marsh], “The Approaching Crisis,” *Voice of Truth*, March 19, 1845, 40; C. S. Minor, “The Last Test,” *Voice of Truth*, March 19, 1845, 42, 43; J. B. Cook, “Letter from Bro. Cook,” *Voice of Truth*, April 2, 1845, 7; O. R. L. Crosier, “Prophetic Day and Hour,” *Voice of Truth*, April 9, 1845, 15; E. R. Pinney, “Letter from Br. Pinney,” *Voice of Truth*, April 16, 1845, 18; C. Pearsall, “Letter from C. Pearsall,” *Voice of Truth*, April 16, 1845, 23.

²[Joseph Marsh], “Our Conference,” *Voice of Truth*, March 26, 1845, 48. See also [Joseph Marsh], “Present Crisis,” *Voice of Truth*, April 2, 1845, 4.

³*Defence of Elder Joshua V. Himes*, 20.

done.”¹ Some correspondents supported the Shut Door, but most dissented or were uncertain. The majority, though, supported the “wedding” concept as presented in the *Advent Mirror*. Two statements are representative: “We would say notwithstanding the wedding took place on the 10th day of the seventh month, yet we believe the door of mercy is *not shut*, only to such as shut it against themselves.”² “It seems that the position taken by brethren Hale and Turner in the ‘Mirror,’ showing that the marriage precedes the appearing of Christ in his glory is the correct one. But although correct in this, they have evidently mistook in the closing of the door of mercy.”³

During this period tension grew between Marsh and Himes over “definite time” and censoring. Marsh, like most “definite time” advocates, strongly resisted George Storrs’ positions and questioned why Himes so freely published his letters and articles while rejecting articles by Clorinda Minor and Emily Clemons.⁴ Himes visited Marsh briefly during March 1845, trying to mend broken fences. He told Marsh that he did not entirely oppose definite time. Marsh wrote: “Br. Himes takes the position that the prophetic periods cannot extend beyond ‘47—they may terminate any day; hence, he is looking for the coming of the Lord momentarily.”⁵ After the Albany Conference, Marsh continued to be negative towards the censoring and organizing posture of Himes and his

¹[Joseph Marsh], “Door of Mercy,” *Voice of Truth*, February 26, 1845, 19.

²C. B. Hotchkiss, “Revelation of Jesus Christ,” *Voice of Truth*, March 12, 1845, 31.

³G. W. Peavey, “Behold I Come Quickly,” *Voice of Truth*, March 19, 1845, 37.

⁴[Joseph Marsh], “Something Wrong,” *Voice of Truth*, February 12, 1845, 10; [Joseph Marsh], “Something Wrong Again,” *Voice of Truth*, March 12, 1845, 33; E. C. Clemons, “Letter from E. C. Clemons,” *Voice of Truth*, March 19, 1845, 41; C. S. Minor, “Retrospect of the 7th Month,” *Voice of Truth*, March 19, 1845, 42.

⁵[Joseph Marsh], “Br. Himes,” *Voice of Truth*, March 26, 1845, 48.

associates. Throughout 1845 there was a greater diversity of correspondence in the *Voice of Truth* than in the *Advent Herald*.

As the spring 1845 date neared, Marsh warmed to the October 1844 movement and acknowledged that it was in fact the Midnight Cry. At the same time he continued to reject the typical applications that had given the message such force. Marsh concluded that the period from October 1844 to April 1845 was the “*tarrying time after or passed [sic] the midnight cry.*”¹

While the spring 1845 expectation gave a continuing significance to the seventh-month movement, it also made the Albany, New York, Conference planned by Himes and others seem irrelevant. Marsh noted that he and others in the West had been invited to attend but had “confident expectation and joyful hope that the gathering of the saints into the kingdom of God” would “supercede the necessity of a Conference at Albany.”² However by April 23, 1845, the last of a series of dates in the month passed and many Adventists were again disappointed. “We still find ourselves here in this wicked world, not cast down, though disappointed in not seeing our Lord,” wrote Marsh.³ “Though our disappointment does not lie in the Lord’s not coming on one of these or any particular day, yet it is in a certain sense one continued disappointment with us.” Marsh then concluded: “For we have been for some time past, now are, and with our present views shall be until he comes, anxiously looking for him. We know not why he taries so

¹[Joseph Marsh], “Midnight Cry,” *Voice of Truth*, April 9, 1845, 13.

²[Joseph Marsh], “Mutual Conference,” *Voice of Truth*, April 9, 1845, 13.

³[Joseph Marsh], “What Next?” *Voice of Truth*, April 30, 1845, 36.

long.”¹

J. V. Himes, focused on more worldly matters, noted: “Brethren GALUSHA, MARSH, BARRY, and others in the West, look with interest for the Advent at the termination of this Jewish year. But, if time continue, they assure us, they will unite with us in the deliberations of the Conference [at Albany].”² With characteristic caution he wrote: “As to the time of the Advent; though we might look with interest, to the termination of the present Jewish year, for the great release, still, we cannot look with the same *positiveness* as heretofore. Yet we do look, and pray for, the ‘Coming One.’ But we consider it to be our duty, to occupy in the Lord’s work, until his actual coming.”³

In reflecting on the spring 1845 disappointment, Marsh reaffirmed the key beliefs that motivated him. These included: (1) the Church is still Babylon, (2) that believing in a definite time was still legitimate, and (3) that the coming of Jesus was still imminent. He also continued to reject the Bridegroom concept and any anti-typical application of the Jewish year to the Second Coming.⁴

Enoch Jacobs and the *Day-Star*

When Enoch Jacobs changed the name of his paper from the *Western Midnight Cry* to the *Day-Star*, the very title declared his support for the spring 1845 time expectancy. In explaining the name he wrote: “Here we are at the end of our Chart. The

¹[Joseph Marsh], “The Definite Day,” *Voice of Truth*, April 23, 1845, 28.

²[J. V. Himes], “The Mutual Conference,” *Morning Watch*, March 27, 1845, 104.

³J. V. Himes, “A Word to the Advent Brethren,” *Morning Watch*, April 3, 1845, 112. See also “Definite Time,” *Advent Herald*, April 2, 1845, 61, 62.

⁴[Joseph Marsh], “At the Door,” *Voice of Truth*, May 7, 1845, 44; [Joseph Marsh], “Remarks on the Above,” *Voice of Truth*, May 7, 1845, 42.

day has dawned! The Seventh Trump has begun to sound!”¹ Jacobs equated the “Seventh Trump” with the Jubilee trumpet and the “preaching of the seventh month” or the “Midnight Cry.” Jacobs’ position on the Jubilee was similar to that proposed by William Miller, H. H. Gross, and others who extended the Jubilee release of the captives half a year from the seventh month 1844 to the end of the Jewish year in 1845.² In writing Storrs, he concluded: “The Lord is at the door, and will come in the year of Jubilee, which I believe with all my heart, from evidences before presented, is the coming Jewish year.”³ Thus Jacobs in the *Day-Star* joined with Marsh in the *Voice of Truth* to proclaim spring 1845 as the time for Jesus’ return.

There were significant doctrinal differences between Jacobs’ and Marsh’s papers. Jacobs continued to promote Samuel Snow’s typological applications as presented in the *True Midnight Cry*. Like the October 1844 date, the Jubilee year view was dependent on typology. Though he allowed some discussion, Marsh never did accept the Jubilee idea.

For some time Jacobs did not accept the Bridegroom idea as expressed in the *Advent Mirror*. When Charles Burlingham of Boston wrote to the *Day-Star* in February 1845 advocating the new view, Jacobs gave the following response:

Our brother is, no doubt, in a gross error here. If the Bridegroom came on the tenth day, and they that were ready went in, in any sense agreeing with the text, (Matthew 25:10;) they went in WITH HIM TO THE MARRIAGE. Admitting this to be true we shall be under the necessity of adopting the unsound principle of “spiritual fulfillment of prophecy”—a case of which never *has* been and never *can* be proved.⁴

¹[Enoch Jacobs], “The Day-Star,” *Day-Star*, February 18, 1845, 3.

²Enoch Jacobs, “Letter to Bro. Storrs,” *Day-Star*, February 18, 1845, 4.

³Enoch Jacobs, “Letter to Bro. Storrs,” *Day-Star*, March 18, 1845, 19.

⁴[Enoch Jacobs], “Letter to Charles Burlingham,” *Day-Star*, February 25, 1845, 8.

As Jacobs followed the debate between Apollos Hale and Sylvester Bliss in the *Advent Herald*, his position began to soften. He wrote in March 1845:

Who has the strength of argument, will not probably be decided till our Lord appears; and that will be as well, for if I was to decide, it would be that *both* have *gained it*, and both have lost it. Bro. Bliss's argument, however, leaves us a large circle in which to grope in darkness, while Bro. Hale's introduces us to *day light* at once, and of course has more of the literal rendering of Scriptures.¹

Two weeks later, on March 25, 1845, Jacobs published a lengthy article from the *Hope of Israel* supporting the Bridegroom concept and the spring 1845 date. The concluding words rang passionately: "The passover! The passover! The day and hour of Jesus' coming, King of kings and Lord of lords! Who cannot see the day and hour of Jesus' coming! . . . O Israel, thine hour of triumph is at hand."² "I perfectly agree with the conclusion," Jacobs wrote, "that we are fully justified in expecting our Lord the present spring, but have generally arrived at those conclusions by a different argument."³

Throughout February and March 1845, Jacobs wrote respectfully of the *Advent Herald* and the *Morning Watch*. Jacobs lamented that Himes wanted only three copies of the *Day-Star*, while he was requesting twenty-five of the *Morning Watch* for distribution.⁴ By April, Jacobs began to take a stronger stand against those who he thought were "smiting" the flock. This led to an article on J. V. Himes and the Clorinda Minor letter to the *Advent Herald*, which Himes had refused to publish. Like Joseph Marsh, Jacobs found the refusal by Himes to publish divergent views and his strong

¹[Enoch Jacobs], *Day-Star*, March 11, 1845, 16.

²"To the Believers Scattered Abroad," *Day-Star*, March 25, 1845, 24.

³[Enoch Jacobs], *Day-Star*, March 25, 1845, 24.

⁴"Something Wrong," *Day-Star*, March 4, 1845, 11; Enoch Jacobs, *Day-Star*, March 11, 1845, 16.

words against Shut-Door Adventists to be a "spirit of proscription." Jacobs argued strongly for more openness to varying opinions among Adventists. His comments also demonstrate the strength of the Bridegroom concept in Ohio:

I must candidly say, that from every evidence I can obtain, the great mass of Adventist believers in this section, are inclined to the belief that Bro. Hale has the strength of Scripture argument on his side; yet they have no quarrel with those that favor Bro. Bliss's view. We have never issued a "bull extraordinary" against them because they would not believe with us: And had we been disposed so to do, we have no one west of the Allegheny's that we consider sufficiently authorized to do it.¹

As the spring date approached there was a great deal of disagreement on the specific date when Christ would come, but all in Cincinnati were united in their support of definite time. Jacobs indicated that those who opposed definite time had left. Yet the number of Adventists was not diminished. Rather their congregations were "as large, or larger than they ever have been."²

On April 22, 1845, Jacobs wrote that if the readers in the country received his paper, then the Passover would have passed and that "God's waiting people" would again be disappointed and "tried to the utmost."³ The next week, Jacobs made his confession: "The anniversary of the Passover day, to which so many eyes have been directed with high hopes of deliverance from our earthly bondage has now passed . . . and we have been thus called to suffer another sore disappointment."⁴

Following the spring 1845 disappointment, Jacobs hardened in his opposition to Himes and those opposed to definite time. He also fully embraced the idea that Christ

¹Enoch Jacobs, "A Word to the Advent Brethren," *Day-Star*, April 15, 1845, 37.

²[Enoch Jacobs], "The Cause in This Place," *Day-Star*, April 15, 1845, 36.

³[Enoch Jacobs], *Day Star*, April 22, 1845, 42.

⁴[Enoch Jacobs], "The Passover," *Day-Star*, April 29, 1845, 48.

had come as a Bridegroom in October 1844. At the same time Jacobs resisted those who were trying to spiritualize the Second Coming of Jesus and equate the coming of the Bridegroom with the Second Coming and the resurrection. He also resisted the idea of a shut door, which made it impossible for Adventists to fall from grace.¹

After the spring disappointment, letters began to appear in the *Day-Star* that affirmed God's leading in all of the various Adventist time expectations. As has been noted, these sentiments were similar to those published in the *Voice of Truth*. C. S. Minor wrote: "Yes '43 was right, the 7th month was right, and the late precious feast of the Passover week, confirms the whole to me. God was in it." She ended her letter with the words, "your happy sister."² Jacobs made reference to the seven "definite times" mentioned by the *Morning Watch*. They ranged from February 15, 1843, up to October 22, 1844. Jacobs concluded that although some Adventists had been disappointed seven times it was better than being indifferent. "Any thing," wrote Jacobs, "having a tendency to make Christians feel that Christ will not soon come, or that our assurance of it is not as strong as it has been, seems to me to be from the *wrong source* to say the least." Jacobs believed God had worked in each expectation and at some point one of them would be correct.³

It seems that for Marsh and Jacobs, a culture of time expectation had developed which allowed for disappointment without loss of faith. "Definite time" had become an unofficial article of faith. As various time expectations rolled by, new ones took their

¹Enoch Jacobs, "Letter from Bro. Butt," *Day-Star*, May 13, 1845, 1-3.

²C. S. Minor, "Letter from Sister Minor," *Day-Star*, May 20, 1845, 6.

³[Enoch Jacobs], "Definite Time," *Day-Star*, March 11, 1845, 16.

place. Certain dates made a stronger impact on one individual than on another and some dates were widely accepted. For many, particularly in the West, the spring 1845 disappointment joined the spring and fall 1844 disappointments as the most significant.

O. R. L. Crosier and the *Day-Dawn*

Enoch Jacobs gave brief notice of the March 1845 issue of the *Day-Dawn* published in Canandaigua, New York, by O. R. L. Crosier and Franklin B. Hahn, but apparently did not carefully read the paper. His conclusion was that it had a “good spirit—the sentiments differing but a little from those of Bro. Hale—‘The Jubilee Standard,’ and ‘The Hope of Israel.’”¹ In fact, the paper contained dramatically important new ideas that connected the heavenly sanctuary to the Bridegroom concept. It built both on the earlier concepts of the pre-advent judgment published by William Miller, Josiah Litch, and Apollos Hale² and the new Bridegroom understanding presented in the *Advent Mirror*. As was noted above, Jacobs in November 1844 did some creative modification of the heavenly judgment ideas presented by Litch and Hale by suggesting it would last forty days. However, Jacobs, like the others, did not connect the heavenly judgment idea to a heavenly sanctuary atonement ministry of Christ. In the March 1845 issue of the *Day-Dawn*, O. R. L. Crosier’s major contribution was publishing the idea that the October 1844 date was the beginning of a new and unique extended heavenly sanctuary atonement by Jesus in the Most Holy Place. Crosier went beyond Jacob’s idea of an extended heavenly judgment and presented heavenly sanctuary and atonement imagery.

¹[Enoch Jacobs], *Day-Star*, April 15, 1845, 36.

²See pp. 40-43 above.

Crosier began his ministry in the Wesleyan Church but withdrew in 1843 at the age of twenty-three to begin preaching the Advent message. Being an orphan, he developed strong attachments with various ones during his childhood and young adult life. One of these was a fellow Adventist, Dr. Franklin B. Hahn of Canandaigua. Hahn, a well-respected medical doctor, was eleven years older than Crosier. It seems that in publishing the *Day-Dawn*, Crosier did the writing and Hahn provided the funding and made the arrangements. In fact, Hahn's home in Canandaigua was always open to Crosier. It also doubled as the Advent meeting place. Crosier traveled in a circuit to Port Gibson, Rochester, and Canandaigua. When in Port Gibson, he stayed in the home of Hiram Edson, another older Adventist whose home served as the place of meeting.¹

While Crosier and Hahn accepted the basic premise of the *Advent Mirror*, that the marriage had begun in October 1844 and that the door was shut, they launched in a different direction. Crosier, who did the actual writing of the article, understood that the parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25 gave a "chronology of four important events, viz: (1) The tarrying time, (2) the midnight cry, (3) the marriage, and (4) shutting of the door."² Of these four they saw the marriage as "being the point or nucleus about which all the others cluster."³ The tarrying time Crosier equated with the period during the late spring and early summer of 1844, when the "believers" "slumbered and slept." The

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Early History of Ontario County Revealed in Story of Late Owen R. L. Crozier," *Daily Messenger*, November 22, 1923, 17, 22. See also 1850 United States Federal Census for Ontario County, New York; Alberto Ronald Timm, "O. R. L. Crosier: A Biographical Introduction," Term Paper, AU, 1991; Hiram Edson, *Manuscript Fragment*, n.d., AU.

²George Storrs, "Go Ye out to Meet Him: The Tenth Day of the Seventh Month," *Bible Examiner*, September 24, 1844, 2. Storrs developed the first two of Crosier's four points previous to the October 1844 disappointment.

³O. R. L. Crosier and F. B. Hahn, reprint of early 1845 *Day-Dawn* issue published on last page of *Ontario Messenger*, March 26, 1845.

Midnight Cry he saw as the October 1844 movement. The shutting of the door occurred “before the marriage proceeds.” Crosier’s explanation of the marriage was that Jesus had begun a special extended mediatorial work in the Most Holy Place for His saints. Crosier wrote: “As the anti-type of the jubilee trumpet occupies more than a literal day[,] may not the atonement also occupy more than a literal day?” Continuing, he wrote,

If the jubilee trumpet sounded or began to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month—of which we have not a doubt—on that day our great High Priest made, or began to make, the grand and final atonement: See Lev. 16:33, 34. . . . So Christ is to receive his kingdom *before, and preparatory to*, the utter desolation of the kingdoms of this earth.¹

Crosier divided the mediatorial work of Christ into two parts. He wrote: “The object of the typical institutions was to bring these two offices, that Christ was to perform as the Redeemer of mankind, to our limited comprehension. These were typified by the two apartments or services in the two apartments of the tabernacle.” Crosier defined these two offices. First the holy place applied to “intercession for transgressors” which continued till the beginning of the marriage on the Day of Atonement, or the “tenth day of the seventh month” 1844. Then at that point Christ began a work in the “holy of holies” “for his saints exclusively.” This work was a “final atonement,” when the “sins of the whole house of Israel” were to be “cast into eternal oblivion.” Quoting Leviticus 25:9, Crosier wrote, “Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubilee to sound, on the tenth day of the seventh month, in the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land.” Next, he explained, “as the antitype of the jubilee trumpet . . . occupies more than a literal day[,] may not the atonement also occupy more than a literal

¹Ibid.

day?"¹

By April 1845, Crosier had progressed further in his understanding. "On that day (Oct. 23 [1844])," he wrote to the *Hope of Israel*, "Jesus closed the tarrying time by entering upon the office of bridegroom or the final atonement." He continued: "Our great High Priest is now making the atonement for the whole Israel, while we should be engaged in the most important prayer." Concluding the thought, he wrote: "Some supposed that if Christ entered upon the work of atonement on the tenth, he has left the mercy seat, and hence that all access by prayer is cut off. But the mercy seat is in the Holiest of all . . . so that he has approached directly to the mercy seat. . . . To encourage us in this crisis he says, let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith."²

Thus while the door had been shut for the world, Crosier sought to encourage Bridegroom Adventists to look to Jesus and come to Him in prayer with "full assurance." He wished to affirm that Jesus had not left them alone, but instead He stood before the mercy seat in the most holy place of the heavenly sanctuary. For Bridegroom Adventists there was an open door into the Most Holy Place.

Perhaps the most important aspect of Crosier's article was his proposal that the final ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary extended over a period of time. During March and April 1845, two views developed on the heavenly atonement ministry of Jesus in the heavenly sanctuary. The extended atonement view as presented by Crosier was the minority position. Most Bridegroom Adventists believed that the atonement was completed on the tenth day of the seventh month 1844. The majority view will be

¹Ibid.

²O. R. L. Crosier, "From Bro. Crosier," *Hope of Israel*, April 17, 1845, 4.

covered in more detail when we discuss Samuel Snow and the *Jubilee Standard*. Further consideration will also be given to these two views in the next chapter when we discuss Emily Clemons and the paper she edited—*Hope Within the Veil*.

The significance of the articles by O. R. L. Crosier and Emily Clemons in laying the foundation for a heavenly sanctuary understanding cannot be underestimated. These two became the most important promoters of the extended atonement view. For the sake of continuity and because her real contribution began during the late spring and early summer of 1845, Emily Clemons and her positions will be covered in the next chapter. Her concepts, though, on the heavenly sanctuary were beginning to develop during the first months of 1845.¹

The *Voice of the Shepherd* and the Development of Fanaticism

Fanatical and spiritualizing ideas emerged as a challenging diversion for Millerites during the first half of 1845. J. V. Himes' main accusation against the Bridegroom concept was that it spiritualized texts that pointed to the Second Coming of Jesus. In an open letter to Adventists concerning the October 1844 experience, he wrote:

We must dissent from those who take the ground that we have not been *mistaken* in any of our past calculations [about the fall 1844 time]. The views now adopted by some, that the seventh month movement was a *final one*; that the seventh trump then sounded; that the mystery of God was then finished, and the door of mercy closed, &c., we most fully dissent from, as being unscriptural. . . . A mystical, or spiritual view of the subject does not help the matter; such a view is a departure from all correct principles of interpretation. And if the spiritual view is to be adopted in this case, we may as well give up the *literal*, and follow the

¹See pp. 182-185 below.

former altogether. Such a course would overthrow our hope entirely, and leave us little else than Swedenbourginism!¹

Himes must have felt vindicated in his opposition to the spiritualizing effect of the Bridegroom concept when Orlando Squires began publication of the *Voice of the Shepherd* in Utica, New York, during March 1845. This paper spiritualized almost every tangible aspect of Christian belief. These included rejecting a literal heaven,² a literal destruction of the world by fire,³ a literal resurrection,⁴ a literal “body of Jesus in the universe of God,” and a literal Second Coming.⁵ The *Voice of the Shepherd* proposed that all of these were accomplished in a spiritual sense within the Christian’s own experience. Himes concluded, “We had never dreamed, that men, styling themselves Adventists, would ever reach such a point of *spiritualization*, as to explain away, in this astounding manner, the plain language of the Word of God.”⁶

Supporters of the *Advent Herald* connected the extreme views of the *Voice of the Shepherd* to the Bridegroom concept. In April 1845, Josiah Litch, of Philadelphia, exclaimed that if he had the “credulity” to believe that Christ had actually come the previous October and was thus in the new Jerusalem, how was it that “five or six months” had passed without Litch “knowing it.” He was obviously trying to use humor and logic

¹J. V. Himes, “A Word to the Advent Brethren Scattered Abroad,” *Morning Watch*, February 13, 1845, 56. See also J. V. Himes, “A Word to the Advent Brethren Scattered Abroad,” *Advent Herald*, February 19, 1845, 13.

²Orlando Squires, “Where Is Heaven?” *Voice of the Shepherd*, March 1845, 4, 5.

³C. H. Fenton, “The Harvest of the Earth,” *Voice of the Shepherd*, March 1845, 1.

⁴S. Fenton, “The Resurrection,” *Voice of the Shepherd*, March 1845, 8.

⁵Orlando Squires, “This Same Jesus,” *Voice of the Shepherd*, March 1845, 5.

⁶[J. V. Himes], “Another New Message,” *Morning Watch*, April 10, 1845, 117.

to show the absurdity of the *Voice of the Shepherd* conclusions.¹

Most of the supporters of the Bridegroom view never dreamed of spiritualizing the Second Coming or anything else. They simply believed that when Christ came as the Bridegroom, it was not referring to the Second Coming—as had been preached before 1845—but to a heavenly event preceding it. Samuel Snow wrote against the views expressed in the *Voice of the Shepherd*, which was copied by Enoch Jacobs in the *Day-Star*, with the strongest words:

Among the many errors that are afloat and sweeping the unteachable and unstable to perdition, is one which, like “a fiery flying serpent,” is coiling itself around some who have been walking with us, and *stinging them to death*. We mean the monstrous sentiment that the coming of Jesus, our glorious King, is spiritual or mystical. . . . For the same kind of reasoning which would prove the New Jerusalem a figure would likewise prove the New Earth a figure. Not only so: but heaven, angels, Christ, and God must be but mere figures also. And what is this but atheism?²

Joseph Marsh, in the *Voice of Truth*, also strongly opposed the new spiritualizing views. He was amazed at those who would “spiritualize away the real body or person of Christ.”³ He rejected the idea that God the Father was just an “essence” that “fills all boundless space.” “The Bible,” Marsh wrote, “represents God as a real person.” He ended his long article with the words: “We fondly hope that those who have embraced it [spiritualizing view], will be delivered from this fatal snare of the enemy.”⁴

¹Josiah Litch, “Did the Bridegroom Come in 1843?” *Morning Watch*, April 10, 1845, 119.

²Samuel S. Snow, “Spiritualizing,” *Jubilee Standard*, April 17, 1845, 45; “Spiritualizing,” *Day-Star*, April 29, 1845, 48.

³[Joseph Marsh], “Spiritualism,” *Voice of Truth*, May 28, 1845, 68.

⁴*Ibid.*, 70.

The *Voice of the Shepherd* continued publication through at least September 1845. As we will see, the paper did have an influence upon some of the more fanatical Shut-Door Adventists—particularly in Maine and Massachusetts. Ironically, it was William Miller’s advocacy of personal Bible study, based on Protestant Reformation heritage, which made it possible for radical views to develop. The Adventist belief in the primacy of Scripture and the priesthood of all believers encouraged investigation of new ideas and paved the way for new and creative interpretations. The Millerite search for truth and the pervasive restorationist influence of mid-nineteenth-century New England combined with the uncertainty and disappointment of the 1844 experience to create an environment that fostered unbiblical ideas and practices.

The first reference to fanaticism in 1845 came from a report given by J. V. Himes. It appears that there was some fanatical activity in Waterbury, Vermont, of a similar nature to what John Starkweather had fostered in the Boston, Massachusetts, area during the early 1840s.¹ Himes on behalf of the “brethren” took his stand against “all kinds of fanaticism, such as ‘spiritual redemption,’ ‘discerning of spirits,’ ‘working of miracles,’ etc., into which some” had “been led.”²

Toward the end of March 1845, Himes wrote to Miller concerning spiritualizing and fanatical influences in Portland, Maine. Prominent in this regard was Israel Dammon, whose widely reported trial in February as a disturber of the peace and vagrant in Dover, Maine, was a significant embarrassment to many Adventists. Himes wrote:

Things are in a Bad way at Portland. Damon [*sic*] and his spiritual wife, recently put up to Bro Pearson’s and Damon, almost carried the whole family with him for

¹For a discussion of the Starkweather fanaticism see pp. 13-15 above.

²J. V. Himes, “In the Field Again!” *Morning Watch*, January 16, 1845, 22.

a time. Dammon's *spiritual wife* had a vision at Bro. P[earson's] House in relation to John Pearson and Miss Clemons who went out for a short time together one day last week. The Lord showed her, in a vision, while they were gone, that the Devil was in *John* and Miss *Clemons*!! Father Pearson, was made to believe it, and when John and Miss C[lemons] returned, he would not let them into the house. So they were kept out for a time. But John made his father see the deception of Damon at last and so sent him off.¹

James White and Ellen Harmon while disagreeing with Himes' views on the October 1844 experience joined him in strongly opposing the spiritualizing views of the *Voice of the Shepherd*. Sometime in April or May 1845 they with others made a trip to eastern Maine, including a visit to the town of Garland. Ellen White recollected:

We were sent to Garland, Maine, where we met Elder Damon [*sic*] and many others in meeting and bore our testimony, that they were in error and delusion in believing that the dead had been raised. I told them that God had shown me that Satan had been introducing fanatical errors, that he might deceive and destroy their souls. . . . Elder Damon arose and began to leap up and down, crying out, ["The dead are raised and gone up; glory to God! Glory, glory, hallelujah!"] Others followed his example. Elder Damon said, ["Don't be tried, Brother White. I cannot sit still. The spirit and power of the resurrection is stirring my very soul. The dead are raised, the dead are raised, and gone up, gone up."] Our testimony was rejected, and they clung tenaciously to their errors. Elder Damon and several others were baptized many times and frequently by the hand of a woman, Mrs. Ayers [*sic*], a female preacher who had drunk deep of fanaticism. We had done our duty, and with hearts filled with sorrow we turned from these our brethren that we had loved, reluctant to leave them in error and delusion. . . . Many of this company went on farther and farther in delusion and deception, following impressions and impulse rather than the word of God.²

It is unclear whether James White and Ellen Harmon were responsible for changing Dammon's spiritualizing views. But by July 1845, Dammon had abandoned the position. He wrote: "We are literalists in these bands in Exeter, Garland, Adkinson

¹Joshua V. Himes to William Miller, March 27, 1845, MassHS. Israel Dammon's surname name is spelled variously in letters, books, and periodicals as Dammon, Damman, Damon, and Daman. John Pearson or "Father Pearson" needs to be differentiated from his sons John Pearson, Jr., and Charles H. Pearson. Subsequent references to John Pearson or John Pearson, Jr., apply to the son.

²Ellen G. White to J. N. Loughborough, August 24, 1874, Letter 2, 1874, EGWE-GC.

[sic], and Orrington. We believe God's Holy Book. As our Lord went up, so will he return. (or in His person.)"¹

Besides spiritualizing, some Adventists engaged in other forms of fanaticism.

The word "fanaticism" is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as the "tendency to indulge in wild and extravagant notions in religious matters."² This accurately describes the condition of some groups of Millerites during 1845. Fanaticism was manifested in several forms. As has been already discussed, it was seen in the extreme spiritualizing of literal or tangible aspects of Christian faith and human experience.

Another type of fanaticism was extreme literalization. This included such views as voluntary humility. Some believed that to follow Jesus' command to become as little children, they should show their humility by creeping upon the ground. Some began to creep rather than walk when they went on errands into town. One time in South Paris, Maine, Cyprian Stevens got down in front of a stagecoach full of passengers. It frightened the horses and angered the driver. He plied the whip on Stevens so severely that he was bruised and bleeding.³ Besides extreme spiritualizing and literalizing, some Adventists showed mental and emotional imbalance. For instance, a few were teaching that people should cut off their hair, while others said it was wrong to eat anything grown that year. One man named Hewitt thought he was to eat nothing but sugar.⁴ A fourth type of fanaticism, much like the perfectionism advocated by John Starkweather, was

¹Israel Dammon, "Letter from Bro. Dammon," *Day-Star*, August 5, 1845, 51.

²Compact Edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*: Complete Text Reproduced Micrographically (1971), s.v. "Fanaticism."

³Marion C. Stowell Crawford to Ellen G. White, October 9, 1908, EGWE-GC.

⁴Extracts from a letter of Marion C. Stowell Crawford to W. C. White, October 14, 1908, EGWE—GC; From an interview between Ellen G. White and C. C. Crisler, 1906, EGWE-GC.

manifested by improper mixed gender interactions. One example of this involved William H. Hyde, the seventeen-year-old son of a Portland bookseller. He became involved with Adventists who were advocating that they “show their love for one another” in a familiar way. They believed that they could remain pure and lie together innocently on the same bed.¹ Finally, there was fanaticism connected with the influence of mesmerism. The story of the interactions between Ellen G. White and Joseph Turner, which we will examine later in this chapter, graphically illustrates the effect of mesmerism.² These various forms of fanatical behavior continued among Adventists in various places and in various forms throughout 1845 and 1846.

Developments in the East

While the West was united in looking for the Second Coming in April 1845, the East was experiencing increasing turmoil and doctrinal conflict. Since we have already discussed the perspective of William Miller and the Himes publications, we will consider two important publications that supported the Bridegroom concept—the *Jubilee Standard* and the *Hope of Israel*. Then we will examine the resurgence of Millerite Sabbatarian thought through T. M. Preble’s letter published in the *Hope of Israel* and his subsequent tract. Finally, we will examine Ellen Harmon’s experience and her interaction with fanaticism in Maine.

¹From an interview between Ellen G. White and C. C. Crisler, 1906, EGWE-GC.

²See pp. 140-145 below.

Samuel Snow and the *Jubilee Standard*

Samuel Snow's Christian experience was integrally intertwined with the Advent movement. Until 1839, Snow was a "callous and hardened Infidel" and a "settled unbeliever in the Bible." But in 1839, when he was about thirty-five years old, a copy of Miller's lectures fell into his hands. The more he read it the more impressed he became. The "perfect harmony between Daniel and the Revelations, and the history which is a perfect fulfillment of the Revelations," convinced him that the Bible was the "word of God." Snow joined the Congregational Church in 1840, since it was the only church in the place he lived. He remained a member until the fall of 1843 when he left over their opposition to the "Advent faith." It was at one of the first Millerite camp meetings (in East Kingston, New Hampshire), during the early summer 1842, that he committed himself to preach the truth of the "Lord Jesus Christ to the world."¹ He was ordained at a Millerite conference in Worcester, Massachusetts, in December 1843.² Thus Snow's entire spiritual life was entwined with the Advent movement.

When Jesus did not come as expected in October 1844, Snow maintained his faith in the typological applications he had published in the *True Midnight Cry*. But he concluded that the chronology was a year off and that "time would be prolonged to the 7th month of 1845."³ During December 1844, Snow became the pastor for the Adventist

¹Samuel S. Snow, "Remarks of Bro. S. S. Snow," *Midnight Cry*, March 7, 1844, 260.

²W. S. Campbell, "The Worcester Conference," *Signs of the Times*, January 10, 1844, 175.

³Samuel S. Snow, "Our True Position," *Morning Watch*, January 15, 1845, 23; Idem, "Letter from Br. Snow," *Voice of Truth*, April 16, 1845, 20.

congregation in New York City.¹ In February 1845, Joseph Turner came to New York City to promote the Bridegroom view. After hearing four discourses in Franklin Hall, and engaging Turner in discussion, Snow was converted to Turner's view. Snow wrote:

The Lord sent Br. Turner to New York with his message, that the types were fulfilled—the jubilee trumpet had been blown—the atonement was finished—the Lord Jesus had come to his marriage with the Bride; (i.e., the “great city, the holy Jerusalem,”) *and the door was shut.*²

H. H. Gross was present at these same meetings to convince the listeners that they should give up the “seventh month theory, and embrace the first month [April 1845].” He also argued against Turner's Bridegroom view.³ But when Turner spoke at the last meeting, all Gross' arguments were swept aside. Snow described feeling “wave after wave of light and glory roll into my soul; and I that night became established upon the rock of eternal truth.” On March 13, Snow and B. Matthias began a new paper, the *Jubilee Standard*, for the purpose of promoting the Bridegroom view.⁴ The collection of issues for this important periodical is incomplete, but enough are available to gain a clear picture of most of Snow's positions during this time period.

In April 1845, Snow reprinted a mid-March 1845 editorial entitled “And the Door Was Shut.” This article covered in a comprehensive way Snow's rationale for believing that Christ had come as the Bridegroom in heaven rather than to the earth in the fall of 1844. Followed Josiah Litch's heavenly judgment idea from the early 1840s, Snow

¹Samuel S. Snow, “From Bro. S. S. Snow.” *Midnight Cry*, December 26, 1844, 205, 206; *Defence of Elder Joshua V. Himes*, 19.

²Samuel S. Snow, “Letter from Br. Snow,” *Voice of Truth*, April 16, 1845, 20.

³H. H. Gross, “Letter from H. H. Gross,” *Voice of Truth*, March 19, 1845, 43.

⁴*Defence of Elder Joshua V. Himes*, 19.

applied it to the period following the disappointment. Quoting Daniel 7:13 and 14, he wrote:

Therefore the judgment of the living and the dead must precede the appearing of the Son of man to *execute judgment*. God the father first decides upon the character and destiny of all, both living and dead. . . . During the time of this process of judgment the Son of man mounts the car of glory, and comes before his Father and the vast multitude of angels that minister unto him and stand before him, and there confesses the names of all who are not ashamed to confess him before men. The Father hears with an approving smile, and, the reconciliation being complete, the Father gives the kingdom to his Son.¹

For Snow the dramatic events just described were all completed "on the 10th day of the 7th month." He wrote: "It was on the tenth day of the seventh month [that] the Levitical high priest finished the atonement at his coming out of the most holy place. . . . We had formerly supposed that when our great High Priest should come out of the most holy place, he must necessarily come to earth. But this was a mistake." Snow followed the *Advent Mirror* position that the "bride, the Lamb's wife, is the New Jerusalem." He believed that after the wedding occurred in heaven, then Christ would return to the earth for the wedding supper. The *Advent Herald* advocated the view that the New Jerusalem was simply a figure of the church, which would be married to Christ at the Second Coming.² Not only was the New Jerusalem equated with the church, but the sanctuary also was "not the earth, but the visible Church."³

Snow connected the Day of Atonement to the blowing of the Jubilee trumpet: "It seems as clear to us as the light of the sun at noon-day, that our Lord must leave the Holy

¹Samuel S. Snow, "And the Door Was Shut," *Jubilee Standard*, April 24, 1845, 53.

²"Response to Apollos Hale, 'Has the Bridegroom Come?'" *Advent Herald*, March 5, 1845, 29. See also "The New Jerusalem," *Morning Watch*, April 3, 1845, 108, 109.

³"Response to George Storrs, 'Definite Time of the Second Advent Not Known,'" *Morning Watch*, March 20, 1845, 96.

of Holies on the TENTH DAY OF THE SEVENTH MONTH. On the same day the Jubilee trumpet was always to be blown. . . . As the Jubilee trumpet was sounded in the forty-ninth year, and the redemption followed in the fiftieth year,” so “our glorious King is coming in 1845, the Jubilee trumpet was blown on the tenth day of the seventh month 1844.” He concluded: “It follows that the mystical body of Christ is complete—the last member has been added to it. . . . *The Bridegroom has come to the wedding—AND THE DOOR IS SHUT.*”¹

It was important to Snow that Jesus had left the “Holy of Holies” on October 22, 1844, and had closed His priestly ministry to take up His kingly rule. Snow argued that during the fiftieth Jubilee year there was no sowing or reaping, and that when Jesus came in 1845 the captives would be freed and every family’s inheritance restored.

Thus Snow supported the Bridegroom and Jubilee Trumpet concepts and became one of the strongest supporters of the one-day atonement view. This was of course in direct contrast with what O. R. L. Crosier had presented in his March 1845 *Day-Dawn*. Thus while Snow supported an extended judgment, he rejected a post-Shut-Door extended sanctuary atonement. As we will see in the next chapter, he also strongly opposed Emily Clemons’ extended atonement view as presented in *Hope Within the Veil*.

**Joseph Turner, John Pearson, Jr., Emily Clemons,
and the *Hope of Israel***

The *Hope of Israel* began publication in Topsham, Maine, about August 1844 under the editorship of Joseph Turner and John Pearson Jr.² The paper continued

¹Samuel S. Snow, “And the Door Was Shut,” *Jubilee Standard*, April 24, 1845, 52-54.

²“The Hope of Israel [sic],” *Advent Herald*, August 7, 1844, 5.

publication for about a year under the principal editorship of Pearson. During at least part of this time, Pearson worked closely with James White, who will figure prominently in this study.¹ Pearson, C. H. Pearson, and Emily Clemons edited the one extant issue, dated April 17, 1845, in Portland, Maine.

The extant issue has a helpful retrospective editorial on the role of the paper in promoting distinct issues not covered in other Adventist papers. "In some respects we have trodden a different path from that of most of the other Advent Periodicals" stated the editorial, "in advocating the last truths, viz: the Bridegroom come, door shut, &c., heaven's blessings have rested upon us in a peculiar manner. . . . Our subscription list has been rapidly enlarging."² Certainly the paper did follow a "different path" from other papers. It became the benchmark and primary supporting voice for several key initiatives. Besides the Bridegroom concept and the Shut Door, the paper also published articles supporting the seventh-day Sabbath and the Passover 1845 time expectation. It is probable that further initiatives probably could be added if other issues were extant.

Himes laid the blame for the Shut-Door concept "at the feet of Joseph Turner, of Maine, sometime near the 1st of January, 1845." Himes described Turner as "a man of an active temperament," who "had rather a winning address, and a reputation for sanctity." He also described him as having "strong mesmeric power." Turner acknowledged his role in spreading the Shut Door: "In every place I visited, I found a goodly number, I think quite a majority, who were and are now believing, that our work is all done for this

¹J. White, *Life Incidents*, 107, 112, 115.

²"Our Paper," *Hope of Israel*, April 17, 1845, 2.

world; and that the atonement was completed on the 10th day of the 7th month.” He concluded: “Nearly all who heard me, gladly received the message.”¹

The *Hope of Israel* stopped publication by the summer of 1845. The editors of a new paper, the *Hope Within the Veil*, took over the press at that time. The *Hope of Israel* was reactivated for a single and final issue by John Pearson Jr. in early fall 1845. The *Hope Within the Veil* and the final issue of *Hope of Israel* will be carefully examined in the next chapter. During its year of publication, the *Hope of Israel* played an important role in the Advent movement, particularly in Maine and the Northeast.

Adventist Sabbatarian Developments

Through a review of Adventist papers one finds that Sabbath-keeping during 1845 was evident in print almost exclusively among eastern Bridegroom Adventists.

“Nominal” or traditional Adventists, as a rule, rejected Sabbatarianism as “Jewish.” As we saw in the last chapter, Seventh Day Baptists were active and fairly successful in convincing many Adventists to accept the Sabbath. This influence continued but was overshadowed by the publication of T. M. Preble’s tract on the Sabbath in March 1845.

On February 13, 1845, in the midst of the Shut-Door debate, Preble wrote a letter for the *Hope of Israel*, from his home in East Weare, New Hampshire, on the subject of the Sabbath.² Preble’s article and subsequent tract were the single most important influence during 1845 in promoting the seventh-day Sabbath to Adventists. At the same time that Preble’s work was published, Bridegroom Adventists were showing interest in

¹Joseph Turner, *Hope of Israel*, January 24, 1845, quoted in *Defence of Elder Joshua V. Himes*, 18, 19.

²T. M. Preble, “The Sabbath,” *Review and Herald*, August 23, 1870 (reprinted from the *Hope of Israel*, February 28, 1845), 73-74.

the subject of foot washing and the “salutation” kiss. As we will see in the next chapter, these concepts became linked with the Sabbath during the last half of 1845.

Thomas M. Preble, born July 14, 1810, became the first American Millerite Adventist minister to advocate Sabbatarianism in print. Preble served as a minister in the Freewill Baptist Church for about five years. He was “serving a church of this faith at Nashua, New Hampshire” when “he was brought into contact with William Miller.”¹ Towards the end of 1841, while in his second year as pastor at Nashua, he “embraced the message of Christ’s soon coming.” “Bro. P[reble] immediately started out to proclaim it [the soon coming of Jesus], which resulted in his expulsion from the church in about six weeks.”² By February 1842 he had been ex-communicated from the Freewill Baptist Church in Nashua,³ though he remained an Adventist minister for the rest of his long life.

Preble’s first article on the Sabbath was written on February 13, 1845, as a letter to John Pearson. It was published in the *Hope of Israel* on February 28. His article was followed in March 1845 by a twelve-page publication titled, *A Tract, Showing That the Seventh Day Should Be Observed as the Sabbath, Instead of the First Day: “According to the Commandment.”*⁴ This tract even more than the article was destined to impact Adventist believers throughout New England.

Preble’s discussion of the Sabbath began with these words:

¹Johnson, *Advent Christian History*, 441. See also T. M. Preble, “A Mob,” *Signs of the Times*, January 15, 1842, 159.

²Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message*, 222.

³T. M. Preble, “Nashua, N. H.,” *Signs of the Times*, February 15, 1842, 173.

⁴T. M. Preble, *Tract, Showing That the Seventh Day Should Be Observed as the Sabbath, Instead of the First Day “According to the Commandment”* (Nashua, NH: Murray and Kimball, 1845).

The remarks of Bro. Miller, in his "Lecture on the great Sabbath." I like very well, because I believe they are true. In speaking of the Sabbath he says, "Its being contained in the ten commands, written by the finger of God, on both tables of the testimony, graven on stone, to be a sign forever, and a perpetual covenant, proves, in my opinion, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that it is as binding upon the Christian church, as upon the Jewish, and in the same manner, and for the same reason[s]."

Preble further quoted Miller's lecture on this subject: "It is a sign because God has given it to us expressly for that purpose."¹ Preble did not credit Frederick Wheeler with influencing him in regard to the Sabbath, though their close geographical proximity and shared Adventist faith suggest that there was a connection between the two men. Wheeler, as was noted in chapter I, accepted the Sabbath several months before Preble.

Preble kept and taught the Sabbath for only three years. "From the summer of 1844, to that of 1847," he wrote, "I conscientiously observed the seventh day—or Saturday—for the Sabbath."² He explained his own background and convictions with the following words:

In early life I was taught by my parents and others, to "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy," &c.; and I subsequently found that in every instance where this command was found, it always referred to the seventh day—never the first day.³

In 1847 Preble abandoned his former position after becoming convinced that the entire Ten Commandments were typical and done away at the cross. He continued at least for a time to believe that Sunday was not "particularly holy" and kept Sunday only because of Christian tradition. Preble always retained, with other Sunday-keeping

¹T. M. Preble, *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, August 23, 1870, 73 (reprinted from *Hope of Israel*, February 28, 1845). Preble's quotes from Miller are found in Himes, *Views of the Prophecies*, 1841, 157-158, 160.

²T. M. Preble, "Letter from T. M. Preble," *Advent Herald*, July 3, 1852, 214.

³Ibid.

Adventists, Miller's teaching that the millennium or "seventh thousand year[s]" would be the "great Sabbath." The Sabbath movement was never really led by Preble. Instead, his tract seems to have served as a catalyst to inspire Adventists to explore the subject further. It was Preble's principal converts to the Sabbath who had the greater influence on Adventist Sabbatarianism.

Joseph Bates and the Sabbath

Joseph Bates was among those who read Preble's article on the Sabbath in the *Hope of Israel*. He was destined to become the most important Sabbatarian advocate, later publishing several tracts on the subject.¹ These tracts were influential in convincing James and Ellen White and many others to accept the Sabbath.

Bates described his own conversion to the Sabbath thus:

My friends and neighbors, and especially my family, know that I have for more than twenty years, strictly endeavored to keep the first day of the week for the Sabbath, and I can say that I did it in all good conscience before God, on the ocean, and in foreign countries as well as my own, until about sixteen months since I read an article published in the *Hope of Israel* [*sic*], by a worthy brother, T. M. Preble, of Nashua, which when I read and compared with the bible, convinced me that there never had been any change. Therefore the seventh day was the Sabbath, and God required me as well as him to keep it holy. Many things now troubled my mind as to how I could make this great change . . . but this one passage of scripture was, and always will be as clear as a sunbeam. "*What is that to thee: follow thou me.*" In a few days my mind was made up to begin to keep the fourth commandment, and I bless God for the clear light he has shed upon my mind in answer to prayer and a thorough examination of the scriptures on this great subject.²

¹See C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Joseph Bates and the Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath Theology," in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*, ed. Kenneth A. Strand (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982), 352-363.

²Joseph Bates, *The Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign, from the Beginning, to the Entering into the Gates of the Holy City, According to the Commandments* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1846), 40.

For a time, between February/March 1845 and the publication of his first tract on the Sabbath in August 1846, Bates' faith in the Sabbath wavered.¹ Bates followed Preble's creation and Ten Commandment basis for the Sabbath. In the next two chapters we will see that most Bridegroom Adventists who became Sabbatharians moved to a different basis. These changes will be examined in chapter 3. During 1846 Bates was instrumental in bringing the Sabbath back to Preble's original view.

Sabbath-keeping in Paris, Maine

In the spring of 1845 Preble's tract on the Sabbath was sent to Lewis B. Stowell in Paris, Maine. He set it aside, but his fifteen-year-old daughter, Marian, picked up the tract and read it.² Convinced that the seventh day was the Sabbath, she wrote: "I expected to stand alone. From my heart I said, 'No other day but the one God gave and sanctified will I observe.'" She shared the tract with her brother, Lewis Oswald Stowell, who also decided to keep the Sabbath. Marian wrote of the experience many years later:

It was Friday; he [Oswald] split up all the wood necessary for over Sunday. I made my usual loaf of cake that I might not be a Sabbath-breaker any longer. The next Monday, I gave the tract to J. N. Andrews [he was also fifteen years of age]. He read and returned it, saying, "Have your father and mother read this?" "No, but I have, and found that we are not keeping the right Sabbath. Are you willing to keep the right Sabbath, Brother John?" "Indeed I am. Will you keep it with me, M[arian]?" "Of course, Brother O[swald] and I kept it last Sabbath. We will be glad to have you join us; but you take Elder Preble's tract back for your father and mother to read without saying one word in regard to it." "All right." Very soon came the words, "Have Brother and Sister Stowell read this tract?" "No," was their son's reply, "But M[arian] and O[swald] have." One room soon held us

¹Ibid.

²William B. Lapham and Silas P. Maxim, *History of Paris Maine: From Its Settlement to 1880 with a History of the Grants of 1736 & 1771 Together with Personal Sketches, a Copious Genealogical Register and an Appendix* (Paris, ME: Printed for the Author, 1884), 738.

all. Two families kept the next “Lord’s day,” not the first day of the week, but the one given to our first parents in their Eden home.¹

Lewis Stowell sent a letter and ten dollars to the Seventh Day Baptist minister in Hopkinton, Rhode Island, to obtain some books on the Sabbath. Soon “Father Griswald” came bringing the package Lewis had ordered. Griswald was surprised to find that they were Adventists and not Seventh Day Baptists. Marian Stowell wrote:

The distribution of these Seventh-day [sic] Baptist tracts soon added to our small number seven other families, representing North and South Paris, Norway, and Woodstock [Maine]. Soon after [August 1846] an excellent tract came from the pen of Elder Joseph Bates, the reading of which brought in our beloved Elder James White and his wife.²

The two examples of Sabbath-keeping mentioned above (by Joseph Bates and the Stowell/Andrews families) were not noted in Adventist papers during 1845. Similar experiences were happening to other Adventists in New England, which is verified by letters, and editorial comments in Adventist papers.

Sabbatarian references in Adventist papers

On April 20, 1845, Joseph Marsh, editor of the *Voice of Truth*, wrote the *Advent Herald* from West Randolph, Massachusetts, warning of “new tests of fellowship” which were dividing Adventists. He quoted Colossians 2:16, and cautioned his readers not to judge regarding Sabbaths, and other “shadows of good things to come.”³ On April 23, 1845, Marsh published in the *Voice of Truth* an article by G. W. Peavey on the ceremonial washing of feet. Peavey had argued that God would have his people walk “in

¹M. C. Stowell Crawford, “A Letter from a Veteran Worker,” *Southern Watchman*, April 25, 1905, 278.

²Ibid.

³J. D. Marsh, “Letter from Brother J. D. Marsh,” *Advent Herald*, May 21, 1845, 115.

all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.”¹ During the summer and fall of 1845, the phrase “commandments and ordinances” became a catch phrase that included the seventh-day Sabbath, foot washing, and the salutation kiss.

In May 1845, Marsh published a letter from C. P. Whitten on the seventh-day Sabbath. Whitten, like T. M. Preble, was from Nashua, New Hampshire, and had been convinced on the Sabbath from reading Preble’s tract. In concluding his letter, Whitten wrote: “It is better to obey God than man, especially where man’s commandments cut across God’s truth.”² Marsh gave a lengthy reply to Whitten, using various traditional arguments against the Sabbath.³ Marsh’s combining of “feet-washing and the Jewish Sabbath” in his response suggest that Peavey’s reference to “commandments and ordinances” included the Sabbath.⁴ Whitten soon gave up the Sabbath, considering it to be one of “those things which God has ‘blotted out.’”⁵

Preble wrote a response to the Sabbath-related comments exchanged between Marsh and Whitten in the *Voice of Truth*. His lengthy letter defended the Sabbath and answered a number of Marsh’s arguments against the Sabbath. Preble ended his letter with the same emphatic words he had used in his tract, that those who kept Sunday for Sabbath were the “*Pope’s Sunday Keepers!! And GOD’S SABBATH BREAKERS!!!!* [sic].”⁶ When Marsh published Preble’s letter on August 27, 1845, he replied to Preble’s

¹G. W. Peavey, “Washing Feet,” *Voice of Truth*, April 23, 1845, 29.

²C. P. Whitten, “Seventh Day Sabbath,” *Voice of Truth*, May 14, 1845, 52.

³Joseph Marsh, “To Brother Whitten,” *Voice of Truth*, May 14, 1845, 52-53.

⁴Joseph Marsh, “Controverted Questions,” *Voice of Truth*, May 14, 1845, 49.

⁵C. P. Whitten, “Letter from C. P. Whitten,” *Voice of Truth*, June 18, 1845, 92.

⁶T. M. Preble, “The Sabbath,” *Voice of Truth*, August 27, 1845, 432-434.

comments on the Sabbath point by point. Marsh considered Preble to be judging him and anyone who did not hold sabbatarian sentiments. Marsh concluded that he would not again open his paper to the Sabbath question.¹ Preble must have keenly felt Marsh's rebuttal. Six months later Marsh referred to a letter from Preble that spoke of "several things" that had been a "cause of grief to him."²

On July 23, 1845, the *Advent Herald* published an editorial titled "The Christian Sabbath." The article began with the words: "As the question has been mooted by some respecting the day that should be observed as the Sabbath, it may not be amiss to present a few testimonials touching that point. It has been claimed that the observance of Sunday instead of Saturday was of Popish origin."³ The mention of "Popish origin" was probably a reference to Preble's tract. On the last page, Preble had laid blame for making Sunday into a Sabbath upon the Pope and the Catholic Church.⁴ Himes' editorial reviewed the various positions of the early church fathers on the subject, attempting to show that the Sunday Sabbath did not come from the Pope or the Roman Catholic Church. Thus the editors of the *Advent Herald* and the *Voice of Truth* rejected the seventh-day Sabbath.

Shortly after T. M. Preble's August 1845 letter to Joseph Marsh in the *Voice of Truth*, Enoch Jacobs, editor of the *Day-Star*, joined the discussion with a two-part article on the Sabbath. He then published several letters supportive of the Sabbath from his readership. In rejecting the Sabbath, Jacobs argued for William Miller's view that the

¹[Joseph Marsh], "Reply to Br. Preble," *Voice of Truth*, August 27, 1845, 433-444.

²[Joseph Marsh], "Bro. T. M. Preble," *Voice of Truth*, February 18, 1846, 65.

³"The Christian Sabbath," *Advent Herald*, July 23, 1845, 190-191.

⁴Preble, *Tract*, 10.

Sabbath of creation was a type of the “great Sabbath” of the millennium to come. Jacobs wrote that “the Sabbath was first given as a *type* of that day of ‘rest’ in the New Creation, spoken of by all the Holy Prophets.” He then indicated that Paul “pointed to a Sabbath to be kept, which was then future” when the “six days (6000 years) work” was finished. Jacobs concluded that any day when “brethren . . . assemble themselves together for worship” was the “day” for him to “observe.”¹ For Jacobs, the Sabbath was a “type or shadow” which applied only until Christ came at the first advent.²

It should be noted that while Jacobs rejected the seventh-day Sabbath, he did support the “ordinance” of washing feet. We have seen that the Sabbath and washing feet were somewhat connected in the *Voice of Truth*. The link between the Sabbath and other “ordinances” becomes even more evident in the *Day-Star*. In the next chapter we will examine in more detail the spreading revival of Sabbath interest and its link to foot washing and other “ordinances” during the late summer and fall of 1845.

Ellen G. Harmon and Developments in Maine

During the first half of 1845, Ellen G. Harmon’s influence and interaction with Adventists began to expand. She made several short trips to areas close to Portland, Maine, and at least three more extensive trips—two to eastern Maine and one to New Hampshire and Vermont. Awareness of her first vision began to spread early.³ In light of the scandal surrounding the visions of C. R. Gorgas in Philadelphia, during October

¹ Enoch Jacobs, “The Sabbath,” *Day-Star*, August 11, 1845, 3, 4; William Miller, “The Great Sabbath,” *Signs of the Times*, January 15, 1842, 155-156.

² Enoch Jacobs, “The Sabbath,” *Day-Star*, August 18, 1845, 5.

³ Otis Nichols, “Statement by Otis Nichols,” n.d., EGWE-GC.

1844, and the subsequent public support of Gorgas by George Storrs in a *Midnight Cry* Extra, the prevailing Millerite attitude was strongly against the manifestation of visions. Joseph Marsh even exclaimed: “We believe in no other visions than those which are recorded in the Bible.”¹ To this predisposition was added the fact that Harmon interacted with the more radical edge of Adventism because they continued to support the October 1844 experience. Because of this association she has received much unwanted notoriety, particularly due to being named in the Israel Dammon trial. During these early months of her prophetic experience she was often placed in difficult and uncomfortable positions. Yet as time passed, she became a strong opponent of the fanatical activities and beliefs of some Bridegroom Adventists.

In this section we will track Ellen Harmon’s first extended trip to eastern Maine to share her first vision. The most important aspects of this trip were the receiving of her second major vision in Exeter and her visit to Atkinson that resulted in the widely publicized trial of Israel Dammon. Then we will examine Harmon’s controversy with Joseph Turner and mesmerism. Next we will give some consideration to her and James White’s interaction with fanatics, including other prophetic claimants. Finally, we will examine her third major vision and the circumstances surrounding it. This section will focus on the more important aspects of Ellen Harmon’s growing influence on and participation with Bridegroom Adventists. No attempt is made to provide an exhaustive overview of her various interactions during this time period but rather to represent her developing perspective and growing influence.

¹[Joseph Marsh], “Bro. C. R. Gorgas,” *Voice of Truth*, April 23, 1845, 32.

Ellen Harmon's first trip to eastern Maine

After a brief trip to Poland, Maine, to visit her sister and some of the Advent believers there, Ellen Harmon made her first extensive trip through eastern Maine during the cold winter month of February 1845.¹ William Jordan was going on business to Orrington, accompanied by his sister (Sarah Jordan), and Ellen Harmon was urged to go with them.² The towns Harmon visited included Orrington, Garland, Exeter, and Atkinson. The latter three locations were all within twenty miles of each other and about twenty-five to thirty miles northeast of Bangor. The town of Orrington was about five miles south of Bangor. These were small rural farming communities, where people had carved a home out of the wilderness, knew their neighbors, and watched out for them. In each of these places she shared the substance of her first vision. This trip was a time of great trial for Ellen Harmon. After meeting James White, word spread that she was traveling with him and unsavory rumors found their way back to Eunice Harmon, Ellen's mother. To avoid scandal Eunice begged her daughter to return home. This greatly distressed Ellen since her good name had previously never been questioned.

During this trip remarkable events occurred which placed seventeen-year-old Harmon in the midst of fanatical confusion. During the next few years she was obliged to meet and oppose similar problems in various places. Little is known about the meetings in Orrington and Garland except that Harmon shared her first vision with a

¹E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:38.

²James White and Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches: Ancestry, Early Life, Christian Experience, and Extensive Labors, of Elder James White, and His Wife, Mrs. Ellen G. White* (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing, 1880), 197.

“large number” of Adventists who came from “different places to hear” her “message.”¹ More is known about events in Exeter and Atkinson. In Exeter, she received her second major revelation, known as the Bridegroom vision, and in Atkinson the now well-known arrest and trial of Israel Dammon occurred.

Bridegroom vision in Exeter, Maine

Ellen Harmon received her vision on the “Bridegroom’s coming” “about the middle of February 1845.”² In her first broadside publication, she described what she had seen with the following words:

I saw the Father rise from the throne, and in a flaming chariot go into the Holy of Holies, within the veil, and did sit. There I saw thrones I had never seen before. Then Jesus rose up from the throne, and the most of those who were bowed down arose with Him; and I did not see one ray of light pass from Jesus to the careless multitude after He arose, and they were left in perfect darkness. Those who rose up when Jesus did, kept their eyes fixed on Him as He left the throne and led them out a little way.--Then He raised His right arm, and we heard His lovely voice saying, “Wait here--I am going to My Father to receive the Kingdom; keep your garments spotless, and in a little while I will return from the wedding and receive you to myself.” And I saw a cloudy chariot, with wheels like flaming fire, and Angels were all around it as it came where Jesus was. He stepped into the chariot and was borne to the Holiest, where the Father sat. There I beheld Jesus, as He was standing before the Father, a great High Priest.³

This vision is particularly significant in that it situated Jesus and the Father in the heavenly sanctuary and described a transition to the Most Holy Place. The vision also seems to have convinced both Ellen Harmon and those present concerning the Bridegroom concept and the Shut Door. Ellen White in 1847 described a little of the

¹E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:38, 39.

²Ellen G. White to Joseph Bates, July 13, 1847, Lt. 3, 1847, EGWE-GC. For an explanation of Hiram Edson’s role, see pp. 250-254 below.

³Harmon, “To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad,” broadside, April 6, 1845.

setting of her vision in her oldest surviving handwritten letter:

While in Exeter, Maine[,] in meeting with Israel Dammon, James [White], and many others, many of them did not believe in a shut door. I suffered much at the commencement of the meeting. Unbelief seemed to be on every hand. There was one sister there that was called very spiritual. She had traveled and been a powerful preacher the most of the time for twenty years. She had been truly a mother in Israel. But a division had risen in the band on the shut door. She had great sympathy, and could not believe the door was shut. (I had known nothing of their differences.) Sister Durben got up to talk. I felt very, very sad. At length my soul seemed to be in agony, and while she was talking I fell from my chair to the floor. It was then I had a view of Jesus rising from His mediatorial throne and going to the holiest as Bridegroom to receive His kingdom. They were all deeply interested in the view. They all said it was entirely new to them. The Lord worked in mighty power setting the truth home to their hearts. Sister Durben knew what the power of the Lord was, for she had felt it many times; and a short time after I fell she was struck down, and fell to the floor, crying to God to have mercy on her. When I came out of vision, my ears were saluted with Sister Durben's singing and shouting with a loud voice. Most of them received the vision, and were settled upon the shut door.¹

Israel Dammon dated his acceptance of the Bridegroom understanding to the influence of James White, perhaps at this meeting. Dammon wrote to Samuel Snow on June 1, 1845, describing his experience with these words: "Some time in the first part of the winter Bro. James White came to this place and gave us the subject of the wedding—the coming of Christ to the Ancient of Days to take the kingdom. We submitted to all the truth recorded in God's Word, and it gave a new spring to our faith."² While Dammon credits James White with bringing the Bridegroom message, undoubtedly Ellen Harmon's vision also played an important role. Consideration of Harmon's developing perspective concerning the Shut Door is deferred to chapter 4. From Exeter, Maine, Harmon, along with James White, Israel Dammon, and others went to Atkinson. There

¹Ellen G. White to Joseph Bates, July 13, 1847, Letter 3, 1847, EGWE-GC; see also Marian Stowell letter, August 17, 1875, EGWE—GC.

²Israel Dammon, "Letter from Bro. Dammon," *Jubilee Standard*, June 5, 1845, 104.

seems to have been a core group of people who attended most of the meetings where James White and Ellen Harmon spoke.

Atkinson and Israel Dammon

It was in Atkinson, Maine, that events transpired, which were noted around the nation and led to the branding of Ellen Harmon and James White as fanatics. Emotions were running high among people in the Atkinson community and throughout eastern Maine as they watched Adventists act with seeming irresponsibility toward their property and families. The strong anticipation that Jesus would come in the spring had led many Adventists in Maine to dispose of their possessions. Some Adventists in Bangor, Orrington, and other places had their property placed under the control of local selectmen to prevent them from selling it and thus being left without a home. The “no work” doctrine that many Adventists in the region had embraced was another great public concern. Since Adventists felt that Christ would come in a few short weeks or months, they saw no need to work. In fact, some Adventists felt that to work would be a denial of faith. Various towns legally intervened to prevent the sale of Adventist property. A Bangor paper chronicled how selectmen in nearby Orrington had posted notice that property purchases from Adventists would be voided and wrote:

We learn that some thirty citizens of Orrington have become so much excited with the advent theories of “Father Miller,” as to neglect all business and to live upon their substance by selling stock from their farms and the furniture from their dwellings. They have set the twenty third of next month [April 23, 1845] as the day when the world will be destroyed and they shall be caught up in the air to meet their Lord.¹

¹“Miller Excitement,” *Bangor Whig and Courier*, February 19, 1845.

The paper went on to say that “the number of these believers is increasing.” On March 25, 1845, eleven Orrington Adventists who would not work were declared insane and placed under guardianship.¹ The next week further legal action was reported: “There was a great excitement at Police Court in this city yesterday on the occasion of the trial of several persons complained of as Idlers and Vagrants and disturbers of the public peace. Four men from Orrington were adjudged guilty and sentenced to thirty days each in the House of Correction.”²

Himes who had confidently rejected the Spring 1845 date, wrote a strongly worded letter to William Miller against the “no work” attitude:

The influence of this present movement is now leading many of the *farmers* to neglect ploughing and all preparations, planting, &c-. Some are selling off their cattle, &c-, say they only want enough to last till the 23rd of April. The door is shut and the Bridegroom has come, the marriage has taken place and now they say the Lord *must come*. I shall clean my skirts from this matter, in a kind way. And I think if you could advise all to attend to their proper duties, in a scriptural way, it might have a good effect.³

The widespread negative publicity generated from the Dammon trial and other legal actions were a great embarrassment for many Millerites. Through published statements and public presentations, Himes sought to distance himself and Adventists from the activities of the “fanatics.”

On March 26, 1845, the *Advent Herald* warned against “Israel Dammon, and John Moody, two married men, and Miss Dorinda Baker, who are travelling in *company* to various places teaching disgusting extravagancies.” The notice concluded: “This Mr.

¹“Adventists under Guardianship,” *Bangor Whig and Courier*, March 26, 1845.

²“Trial of ‘Millerites’ as Vagrants,” *Bangor Whig and Courier*, April 2, 1845.

³Joshua V. Himes to William Miller, March 12, 1845, MassHS.

Dammon is the one whose trial in Maine has been reported in all the papers. We repudiate all these notions of public feet-washings, embracings, kissings, &c., &c.”¹

The report of the trial and events leading to Dammon’s arrest were first printed in the *Piscataquis Farmer* and then the *Portland Eastern Argos*. From these accounts the story was copied and recopied.² On Saturday evening, February 15, Dammon and another man from Exeter named “Elder Hall” were leading out in a meeting in the home of James Ayer, Jr.³ About twenty-five people had gathered, at least in part, to hear Ellen Harmon give an account of her midnight cry vision. Also present was Dorinda Baker, a young single woman, who had been sickly for some years.⁴ It was reported at the trial that her father had spent \$1,000 for her medical care. In examining the events of that Saturday night through the eyes of the witnesses at the trial and against the backdrop of the wider Adventist experience, a picture of what happened begins to emerge.

The principal reason the court and public officials prosecuted Dammon was the fear that foreigners would consume the property of their Adventist citizens and leave them in poverty and thus a burden to society. Benjamin Smith, a selectman of Atkinson, testified at Dammon’s trial that the arrest had occurred because the defendant and others were living upon the means of certain Adventist citizens of Atkinson. The town officials feared that the Adventist citizens would become town charges since the state of Maine’s

¹“Warning to Adventists,” *Advent Herald*, March 26, 1845, 56.

²Examples: “The Fruits of Millerism,” *New York Observer*, March 22, 1845, 47; “The Horrors of Millerism,” *Ontario Repository*, March 26, 1845, 2.

³E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:40, 41; “Trial of Elder I. Dammon: Reported for the *Piscataquis Farmer*,” *Piscataquis Farmer*, March 7, 1845, 1.

⁴Dorinda Baker was born August 1, 1817, to Joseph and Hannah Baker, MSA.

settlement laws dictated that town officials and taxpayers were legally required to support their poor.¹

Dammon was arraigned and then tried at the Dover, Maine, courthouse before the honorable Moses Swett on Monday, February 17, 1845. At the trial the courthouse was crowded. The event must have been the prime community entertainment of the month, if not the year. Besides Dammon, there were a total of thirty-eight witnesses, twenty-one for the prosecution and seventeen for the defense.² The plaintiff, Hartford J. Rowe, was a farmer who charged that Dammon was an “idler” and a “vagabond” going from “place to place, begging.” He further asserted that Dammon was a “common railer or brawler, neglecting his calling, or employment, misspending his earnings, and does not provide for the support of himself [and] family.” Dammon pled “Not Guilty” to the charges.³

The attorneys for the prosecution were C. P. Chandler and H. G. O. Morrison, and the defense attorney was J. S. Holmes. Holmes, a mason by profession, was certainly not a supporter of Adventists, though he did support the free practice of religion. In later years, he remembered the case as “one of the grandest defenses of religious toleration and

¹“Trial of Elder I. Dammon: Reported for the Piscataquis Farmer,” *Piscataquis Farmer*, March 7, 1845, 1; Jean F. Hankins, “‘Every Town Shall Maintain Their Own Poor’: New England’s Settlement Laws,” *Maine History*, Fall 2000, 169-185.

²Bruce Weaver, “Incident in Atkinson: The Arrest and Trial of Israel Dammon,” *Adventist Currents*, April 1988, 23. For additional dialogue on the Dammon trial see Rennie Schoepflin, ed., Jonathan Butler, Ronald Graybill, and Frederick Hoyt, “Scandal or Rite of Passage? Historians on the Dammon Trail,” *Spectrum*, August 1987, 37-50; Robert W. Olson to White Estate Board of Trustees, White Estate Staff, Research Centers, October 21, 1987, EGWE—LL.

³“Trial of Elder I. Dammon: Reported for the Piscataquis Farmer,” *Piscataquis Farmer*, March 7, 1845, 1.

freedom” that he had ever seen.¹ Though Dammon was convicted and sentenced to ten days in the House of Correction, Holmes appealed the ruling and, according to Dammon, “the warrant was quashed” and he was “acquitted without date.”²

It is important to make observations concerning the Dammon trial. First, James White and Ellen Harmon were not present at the trial. Second, while certain allegations were undisputed by all the witnesses, others were contested by the defense. We will look at the trial from two perspectives: (1) events that were commonly acknowledged and (2) events that were challenged.

Various Adventists at the trial believed with Dammon in the religious obligation of foot washing, kissing, hugging, crawling, kneeling, and baptizing. Like him they also rejected religious organization and were at ease with such demonstrations as shouting and singing. The defense and state witnesses were united in testifying that these exercises and demonstrations were practiced at the meeting. It was also agreed Ellen Harmon was supported by a pillow on the floor while in a trance or vision throughout much of the evening. At times she would partially rise up to communicate a message from the Lord.³

Some statements made by prosecution witnesses were disputed by the defense. Prosecution witnesses observed that the defendant opposed the regular churches in the strongest terms. Defense witnesses agreed only to a point. They included a proviso that

¹John F. Sprague, Esq., “James Stuart Holmes: The Pioneer Lawyer of Piscataquis County,” *Bangor Historical Magazine* 4 (July 1888-June 1889): 34; quoted in Bruce Weaver, “Incident in Atkinson: The Arrest and Trial of Israel Dammon,” *Adventist Currents*, April 1988, 24.

²Israel Dammon to Samuel Snow, *Jubilee Standard*, June 5, 1845, 104.

³“Trial of Elder I. Dammon: Reported for the Piscataquis Farmer,” *Piscataquis Farmer*, March 7, 1845, 1.

not all individuals or even some churches were necessarily lost. Isley Osborne, a witness for the defense and an Adventist, was reported to have said regarding Dammon's view of the churches: "He believes there is good, bad, and indifferent in all churches—he thinks it best to come out from them, because there is so many that has [*sic*] fallen from their holy position."¹ Jacob Mason, another Adventist defense witness, also clarified their position on the churches: "Brother Dammon said the churches were of that description—said they were lyers [*sic*], rogues, &c. I did not understand him to include all, but individuals."² Joel Doore, an Adventist from Atkinson, said for the defense: "Elder Dammon said there was [*sic*] bad characters in the churches; I did not understand him to say all."³ Abel S. Boobar, another Adventist, corroborated with these words: "Elder D. said the churches were in a fallen state, and he had rather risk himself in the hands of the Almighty as a non-professor, than to be in the place of some of the churches."⁴ Even James Ayer, Jr., in whose home the Saturday evening meeting was held, thought Dammon believed "there were members of the churches who he referred to instead of the whole."⁵ Adventist witnesses thus testified that, though the churches were fallen, not all individuals were included.

The disparity of testimony between prosecution and defense witnesses often focused on James White and Ellen Harmon. One area of disagreement was the description of Ellen Harmon as the "Imitation of Christ." Only Loton Lambert of all the

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., 2.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., 1.

witnesses reportedly said that Dammon had referred to Harmon with that title. Lambert's friend, Leonard Downes, may have concurred, but the newspaper reporter omitted much of his testimony. None of the other prosecution or defense witnesses had ever heard her described with that title. Loton Lambert's testimony was often challenged by the defense. His testimony became more suspect when it came out in the trial that he was the one person whom Ayer had asked to leave his home. The defense implied that Lambert was a disrupter rather than an unbiased witness. To salvage some credibility, the prosecution brought in witnesses to prove Lambert had not concocted his whole story on the spot.¹

Besides his "Imitation of Christ" testimony, Lambert said that James White went into the bedroom with Dorinda Baker and was not seen the rest of the evening. This was hotly disputed by several of the defense witnesses. Ayer, the host of the meeting, testified that it was Mrs. Osborn who went into the bedroom with her. Later when Baker made a loud noise in the room, Ayer testified that he and Mr. Wood of Orrington went in to see how she was. Wood supported her with his arm because of her distress. It seems that Lambert and a few other prosecution witnesses interpreted Wood's supporting Baker with his arm as a romantic gesture.²

At the meeting both Ellen Harmon and Dorinda Baker were described as having visions. The nature of their activities and testimony, as described by the witnesses, were somewhat different. Ellen Harmon remained in a central room on the floor in a "trance" throughout the entire evening. Occasionally she would rise up with a testimony for some

¹Ibid., 2.

²Ibid., 1.

individual. Baker was much more active than Harmon. She had been on the floor but would arise and go to people to speak with them and at one point was taken into a bedroom. When she was finally brought out Joel Doore testified that she “had a message” for him. “She said I had thought hard of her (I acknowledged I had)” affirmed Doore. After he was “satisfied” that he had been in “error” they “kissed each other with the holy kiss.”¹ Harmon’s experience was much more circumspect. She did not do any kissing and according to Jacob Mason and Job Moody would “describe” the “cases” of various ones correctly and urge them to be baptized. William C. Crosby a respected prosecution witness wrote, presumably of Harmon, “Her object seemed to be to convince them that they must not doubt.”²

What was the response of James White and Ellen Harmon to the Dammon trial? There is little doubt that they thought the believers gathered in the Ayer home were following the Lord. As late as 1860, Ellen White attributed the difficulty in arresting Dammon, that Saturday night, to the power of God.³ She clearly supported various types of overt demonstrations of the Holy Spirit’s power in people’s lives. Her support for losing strength, shouting, weeping, and so forth, pre-dated her visions and was rooted in her Methodist background. Between 1842 and 1844 she had lost strength under the power of God in connection with her conversion and witness. She had also shouted out her praise to God as would have been natural for Methodists of the time.⁴ It is not so

¹Ibid., 2.

²Ibid., 1.

³E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:41.

⁴See p. 8ff. above.

clear from the trial testimony that she supported the mixed-gender kissing or voluntary humility. She and James White were not described by any of the witnesses as participating in those acts. In fact, her other interactions with Adventists after Atkinson make it clear that she was strongly opposed to the mixed-gender aspect.

It should be noted that seventeen-year-old Ellen Harmon had only recently received her first vision and had not yet been shown the danger of fanaticism. During February 1845, Adventists were only beginning to be differentiated into opposing groups. The Bridegroom view had been published in the *Advent Mirror* only a few weeks before. Why Jesus had not come was the burning question on most Adventists' minds. Ellen Harmon and James White clearly embraced the Bridegroom concept as an answer and were promoting the continued relevance of the October 1844 movement. They understandably wanted to be with other Adventists who shared these views. At first the fanatical excesses seemed less important than their shared faith. Very soon, however, as we will see, Ellen Harmon in particular went through a baptism of fire in opposing various excesses. Soon Dammon and those in the East would be in opposition to her because she rebuked them for accepting spiritualizing views. Most difficult and distressing for her though was her battle with Joseph Turner and fanatical mesmerism.

Joseph Turner, mesmerism, and Ellen Harmon's new independence

As has already been noted, Joseph Turner was considered to be the principal supporter of the Bridegroom concept. As a prominent Adventist minister, writer, and editor located in Portland, Maine, he had inspired both respect and fear in the heart of young Ellen Harmon. During December of 1844 she had feared Turner's rejection of her first vision, and his initial support had been a great encouragement. Early in 1845 her

intuition told her that he might not be trustworthy. The first indication of this was her decision not to accompany him to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for some meetings.¹

In this subsection we will examine the critical role Turner played in Harmon's opposition to fanaticism. While emotionally traumatic, her opposition to Turner's views gave her a new independence and autonomy. The conflict prepared the way for a differentiation among Bridegroom Adventists and gathered together a group of believers loyal to the positions held by James White and Ellen Harmon.

The split between Harmon and Turner probably occurred in March 1845, following her return from her second major trip, which involved a tour through parts of New Hampshire and Vermont. On this trip Harmon and those accompanying her visited Claremont, New Hampshire, where they were confronted with "spiritual magnetism" and the practice of mesmerism.² This philosophy of healing was very popular in antebellum New England and was adopted by some Adventists, including Turner.

Originated by Viennese physician Franz Anton Mesmer (1734-1815), "Animal Magnetism," as it was called, taught that an invisible magnetic fluid permeated the universe. Mesmer theorized that disease produced an imbalance of this fluid within the human body, which could be cured through the use of magnets and electrical current. He eventually abandoned the use of magnets and proposed that the "healer's body" "permeated with animal magnetism, could redirect the patient's magnetic fluid without the use of magnets." He accomplished this by a variety of means, including touching and

¹Ellen G. White, "Interview with Mrs. E. G. White Re. Early Experiences," August 13, 1906, Ms. 131, 1906, EGWE—GC.

²E. G. White, "Life Sketches Manuscript," 116-119, EGWE-GC.

making “passes” over the subject’s body.¹ The goal was to induce a “crisis” by altering the subject’s mental state through fever, delirium, convulsions, uncontrolled weeping, and nervous twitches. Mesmer saw these manifestations as healthy symptoms of healing. Suggestibility and dominance were used to produce a trance and thus re-align the body. An egotistical man, Mesmer claimed to have even mesmerized the sun.² James Braid later redefined the term “mesmerism” as hypnotism and Mesmer became known as the father of modern hypnosis.³

While returning from New Hampshire, Ellen Harmon received a vision that transformed her relationship with Joseph Turner and many of the more extreme Shut-Door Adventists. She wrote:

I was shown that the cause of God had been wounded in *Maine* and His children disheartened and scattered by a fanatical spirit, and that J[oseph] T[urner] and J[ohn] H[owell], whom we had placed confidence in, were scattering the flock, and under a cloak of godliness were casting fear among the trembling, conscientious ones. I saw that we must go and bear our testimony in Maine.⁴

Upon returning to Portland, Maine, Harmon attended a meeting led by Turner in the home of Elizabeth Haines. During the meeting Harmon was taken off in vision and began to speak. Turner soon indicated that what she was seeing was from the Lord. But then a frown came to Harmon’s face. She said that Turner was not keeping the

¹Irving Kirsch, Steven Jay Lynn, and Judith W. Rhue, “Introduction to Clinical Hypnosis,” in *Handbook of Clinical Hypnosis* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1993), 5.

²John C. Burnham, “Franz Anton Mesmer,” *International Encyclopedia of Psychiatry, Psychology, Psychoanalysis, and Neurology*, ed. Benjamin B. Wolman (New York: Aesculapius Publishers, 1977), 7:213.

³Henry Alan Skinner, *The Origin of Medical Terms* (Baltimore, MD: Williams & Wilkins, 1949), 186.

⁴Ellen G. White, “Early Experiences in Meeting Fanaticism,” Ms. 2, 1845, EGWE-GC.

commandments of God but transgressing them by giving attention to other women. With this revelation, Turner said that the first part of the vision was from the Lord but the second was a kind of mesmerism from someone in the room. Once Harmon came out of vision she felt the tension and slipped out.

A woman stopped Harmon outside the door and asked her to speak to one of her two daughters who was under the influence of Turner. Agreeing, Harmon went upstairs and spoke with the girl. "I told her what her dangers were, to have no intercourse with him in speech, or to see him alone, he would mesmerize her if she did." Describing Turner's methods years later, she wrote: "He could take a child and set it up on his hand, and so mesmerize the child that it would stay there if he took his hand away." She concluded: "It was hypnotism, but we did not know what it was."¹

Following her visit with the young girl, Ellen Harmon left the house and went to see Turner's wife. "She looked most discouraged," Harmon later recalled, "I put my arms around her back, and [I] cried like a baby." Through her own tears, Mrs. Turner exclaimed, "Sister Ellen, my heart is breaking," and told how her husband had been spending a lot of time with Sarah Jordan in their home at night. Turner had been "hovering right over her all the time." As a result, this young woman thought she was having visions. Because Mrs. Turner could not accept these late-night sessions, Joseph Turner had told his wife that she was lost. Harmon assured her that God still loved her, which was a great encouragement.²

¹Ellen G. White, "Interview with Mrs. E. G. White Re. Early Experiences," August 13, 1906, Ms. 131, 1906, EGWE-GC; idem, "Life Sketches Manuscript," 127, 128, EGWE-GC; idem, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:49.

²Ellen G. White, "Interview with Mrs. E. G. White Re. Early Experiences," August 13, 1906, Ms. 131, 1906, EGWE-GC.

A distress similar to that of Mrs. Turner affected the Harmon family. The Harmon home in Portland was for a time a center for Turner's meetings. Robert and Eunice Harmon became so disgusted with his excesses that they closed their home and went thirty miles away to the town of Poland, Maine. There they stayed with one or the other of their two married daughters—Harriet McCann and Mary Foss. Turner was very upset with this resistance and told Ellen Harmon that her father was in danger of being lost.¹

Soon Ellen went to Poland to be with her family at the home of Samuel and Mary Foss. Turner had also come to Poland and was holding meetings nearby—probably in the home of Captain John Megquier. Under the stress of Turner's opposition, Ellen Harmon was taken ill. Prayers were offered and soon relief came and she was taken off in vision. She was shown that she must go to the nearby meeting and confront Turner. Fearful of his emotional manipulation, Harmon asked for protection. She was assured that additional angels would be sent if she needed them. "We went and found quite a large gathering of brethren and sisters," she wrote. "J[oseph] T[urner] was there. He had boasted that he understood the art of mesmerism, and that he could mesmerize me; that he could prevent me from having a vision, or telling a vision in his presence."² With these poignant words she described what happened next:

He had his eyes looking right out of his fingers, and his eyes looked like snakes eyes, evil. I turned and looked right around, I raised both hands, and [cried out],

¹Ibid.

²E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:62.

“Another Angel, Lord: another angel.” The Spirit and power of God came upon me, and I was taken off in vision right there.”¹

Through her vision Harmon had the freedom to share her testimony even with Turner present. She later wrote: “With strong confidence, rejoicing in GOD, we returned to my sister’s.”² After that experience, Turner never wanted to be in a meeting where Ellen Harmon was present. There may be more to this story than what Ellen White recollected. A local newspaper reported the arrest in April 1845 of several Adventists meeting at “the house of Mr. Megquier, in Poland” including “Joe Turner and another named Harmon.” It is not clear whether this was the meeting described above or which member of the Harmon family was arrested.³

In 1848 Joseph Bates confirmed Turner’s involvement in mesmerism and fanaticism in Maine with the following comments directed at him:

Since the winter of 1845, you have, by your deceptive arts, and false expositions of God’s Word, taught and practiced ridiculous things in the churches, such as God never has, nor ever will approve. . . . I am told, that in reply to some of these charges: that you had studied or looked into the subject of mesmerism that you might ascertain the cause, or meaning, of the delusions practiced by the advent people. . . . It may pretty clearly be that this is one of the first and principal causes of the state of things now among many in Maine, especially where your influence was felt.⁴

Thus Ellen Harmon distinguished herself by her opposition to mesmerism and was one of the key Bridegroom proponents. Her separation from certain aspects of

¹Ellen G. White, “Interview with Mrs. E. G. White Re. Early Experiences,” August 13, 1906, Ms. 131, 1906, EGWE-GC.

²E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:62, 63, 69.

³“Millerism,” *Daily Eastern Argus*, April 28, 1845.

⁴Joseph Bates, *A Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath, and the Commandments of God: With a Further History of God’s Peculiar People, form 1847 to 1848* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1848), 15-17.

radical Adventism would continue throughout 1845 and into 1846, until, with the new rise of Sabbatarianism, a new group of Adventists would form. Harmon's experience with Turner is also a good illustration of how she differed from other prophetic claimants in Maine.

Ellen Harmon's and James White's interaction with fanatics

Unfortunately, there are few early primary sources that document Ellen Harmon's opposition to various fanatical excesses. There are though several early letters from James White that show his and presumably Ellen Harmon's opposition to fanaticism. On August 19, 1845, he wrote to the *Day-Star* from Portland, Maine, telling of Harmon's "Midnight Cry" vision. He applied her view concerning Adventists falling off the path to the various fanatics and those who had rejected the "Midnight Cry" with the following words:

In all our trials, none have been so keen and heart-rending, as those which have arisen from . . . among ourselves—professing great spiritual discernment. Trying to lead the flock, they threw the household into confusion, while they themselves were servants of sin. There is no safe place for a servant of Jesus Christ to plant his feet, but on the truths of the Bible. . . . You are aware that in this section, the charge of "fanaticism" is made against the Adventists, and I regret that our adversaries have so much ground for their charge. . . . The devil got up a counterfeit to deceive the saints, and many of our best brethren were led away from the truths of the blessed Bible, and followed *impressions* alone, thinking every thing that looked miraculous . . . must be of God.¹

In another letter written towards the end of September, White referred to "the Spiritualizers" who were "inducing some to 'deny the only Lord God and our Savior Jesus Christ.'"² A month and a half later he wrote emphatically that the "literal heavens"

¹James White, "Letter from Bro. White," *Day-Star*, September 6, 1845, 17.

²James White, "Letter from Bro. White," *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 47.

were “yet to shake before the Father’s voice” and that the “literal Sign of the Son of Man” would appear.¹ Finally, in early January 1846 he strongly opposed those who “spiritualize away the existence of the Father and Son, as two distinct literal [sic] tangible persons, also a literal Holy city and throne of David.”²

It seems clear from these statements that the problem of fanaticism was very much on James White’s mind and that he opposed, among other ideas, the following of “impressions alone,” “counterfeit” miracles, and spiritualizing. By linking some of his comments to Ellen Harmon he implied that she was also opposed to these excesses or at least not participating in them. White’s September 6, 1845, letter argued that supernatural miracles alone were not proof that a doctrine was from God. He believed that the “devil got up a counterfeit to deceive the saints.” One form in which this “counterfeit” was manifested was through false visions. White acknowledged that the public had considered them to be a part of the fanaticism which had resulted in persecution—even arrest, being whipped, and put in jail.³

During 1845 there were at least five female prophetic claimants who interacted with Ellen Harmon. They were Dorinda Baker, Sarah Jordan, Mary Hamlin,⁴ Miss Blaisdell,⁵ and Phoebe Knapp. Some of the information we have on these women is sketchy and comes from descriptions given years later. The following are some examples of Ellen White’s recollections. They seem to fit well with James White’s observations.

¹James White, “Letter from Bro. White,” *Day-Star*, November 29, 1845, 35.

²James White, “Letter from Bro. White,” *Day-Star*, January 24, 1846, 26.

³James White, “Letter from Bro. White,” *Day-Star*, September 6, 1845, 17.

⁴Marion C. Stowell Crawford to Ellen G. White, October 9, 1908, LLU.

⁵Ibid.

One humorous account concerned a woman, probably Dorinda Baker, who was having a vision when Harmon was present:

She [Baker] was holy, tall, dignified. . . . The poor woman did not know what spirit she was of. "But, Sister Howland," said I [Harmon], as though I was whispering, "get a pitcher of cold water, good cold water, and throw it right in her face, that will bring her out of it the quickest of anything you can do." She [Howland] started to get the water, but before she got there, she [Baker] had come out [of vision].¹

Another account involved the spiritualizing views of Phoebe Knapp who was professing to have visions from God. While visiting Orrington a second time during the spring of 1845, Harmon encountered Knapp as she entered a home. "Immediately P[hoebe] K[napp] fell to the floor in great apparent agony, crying to the family, 'You are in danger, danger, danger.'" Harmon knelt in prayer and asked God to remove the false burden from this woman and she came out of "vision."²

While Ellen Harmon may have been sympathetic to some forms of religious demonstration, she was consistently opposed to the mixed-gender aspect of foot washing, the salutation kiss, the practice of humility (which required people to crawl about upon the floor), and the Starkweather-like idea that people could trust their impressions as being holy.³

¹From an interview between Ellen G. White and C. C. Crisler, 1906, EGWE-GC.

²Ellen G. White, "Early Experiences in Meeting Fanaticism," Ms. 1, 1845, EGWE-GC; idem, to J. N. Loughborough, August 24, 1874, Letter 2, 1874, EGWE-GC.

³Ellen G. White, "Early Experiences in Meeting Fanaticism," Ms. 2, 1845, EGWE-GC; idem, *A Sketch of the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White* (Saratoga Springs, NY: James White, 1851), 7, 8; idem, to J. N. Loughborough, August 24, 1874, Lt. 2, 1874, EGWE-GC; J. N. Andrews, "Testimonials," September 1874, EGWE-GC; Marion C. S. Truesdail, L. O. Stowell, W. A. Barton, C. C. Chase, P. F. Chase, and L. B. Stowell, "Testimonial," August 17, 1875, EGWE-GC.

An emphatic later recollection by Ellen White illustrates her opposition to mixed-gender foot washing. Once a man came up to her in a meeting and said: "The Lord tells me, Sister White, that I must wash your feet." "The Lord tells me," she responded, "that you have no business with my feet at all. When my feet are washed it will be by a sister, not by any man." The man then began to "cry and cry and cry and cry." Said Ellen, "I wouldn't use up my strength in that way, because it doesn't make any more impression on me than the barking of a dog, not a bit."¹

Ellen Harmon's New Earth vision

During the time period covered in this chapter Ellen Harmon received numerous visions. Yet there were three major visions which were seen as most important for general guidance and information. These were later published as articles, in a broadside, and finally in a tract.² The first two visions, which have already been covered, occurred in Portland and Exeter, Maine, in December 1844 and February 1845 and were known as the *Midnight Cry* and *Bridegroom* visions. The third vision, which we will now examine, identified as the *New Earth* vision, was probably received in Portland, Maine, during the spring of 1845.³ All three of these visions were centered on Jesus. It was Jesus who had led the Advent band in the "seventh month movement"; it was Jesus as the *Bridegroom* who led them into the *Most Holy Place*; and, as we will see, it was Jesus who walked

¹From an interview between Ellen G. White and C. C. Crisler, 1906, EGWE-GC.

²Ellen G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," *Day-Star*, January 24, 1846, 31, 32; idem, "Letter from Sister Harmon," *Day-Star*, March 14, 1846, 7; idem "To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad," broadside, April 6, 1846; White, *Sketch of the Christian Experience*, 1851, 9-15.

³Some have dated this vision in the fall of 1845. Because the vision is closely linked to William H. Hyde's fanaticism and because Hyde abandoned faith in *Bridegroom* Adventism before the end of summer 1845, a spring date seems more plausible.

with them in the new earth. Though the New Earth and Midnight Cry visions are connected in most published accounts, they actually occurred some months apart. Her refreshingly literal description of the new earth strongly counteracted the rampant spiritualizing that has been described:

With Jesus at our head we all descended from the City down to this earth, on a great and mighty mountain. . . . Then we began to look at the glorious things outside of the City. There I saw most beautiful houses, that had the appearance of silver, supported by four pillars set with pearls. . . . I saw another field full of all kinds of flowers, and as I plucked them I cried out, They will never fade. Next I saw a field of tall grass most glorious to behold; it was living green, and had a reflection of silver and gold, as it waved to the glory of KING JESUS. . . . Then we entered a wood, not like the dark woods we have here; but light and beautiful. . . . We passed through the woods, for we were on our way to Mount Zion. . . . We shouted Alleluia, glory, and entered into the City. And I saw a table of pure silver, it was many miles in length, yet our eyes could extend over it. I saw the fruit of the tree of life, the manna, almonds, figs, pomegranates, grapes, and many other kinds of fruit. I asked JESUS to let me eat of the fruit. He said, Not now. Those who eat of the fruit of this land, go back to earth no more. . . . You must go back to earth again, and relate to others what I have revealed to you. Then an angel bore me gently down to this dark world.¹

Harmon's description included a literal temple or sanctuary in the New Jerusalem.

She wrote: "I saw a veil with a heavy fringe of silver and gold, as a border on the bottom; it was very beautiful. I asked Jesus what was within the veil. He raised it with his own right arm, and bade me take heed. I saw there a glorious ark, overlaid with pure gold, and it had a glorious border, resembling Jesus' crowns."²

A seventeen-year-old boy named William H. Hyde turned the account of this

¹E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:52-55.

²Harmon, "To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad," broadside, April 6, 1846; Ellen G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," *Day-Star*, January 24, 1846, 31, 32. Because Ellen White combined her description of her Midnight Cry vision and New Earth vision in early accounts, some ambiguity remains regarding whether this description of the heavenly sanctuary is based on her Midnight Cry or New Earth vision. The reference is placed here because of Ellen White's direct linkage of the sanctuary as a source for some of the food for the great supper described at the end of her vision. In any event the earliest accounts were written as a unit and are intended to counteract the spiritualizing view.

vision into a poem, which was subsequently published by J. V. Himes in his *Advent Harp*.¹ Himes published it unwittingly without realizing it was based on Harmon's vision. For a time, Hyde had been involved with some fanatics located in Topsham, Maine, who taught that men and women could lie together in bed without having sinful thoughts.² After becoming dangerously ill with bloody dysentery he had allowed James White and Ellen Harmon to remove him from the home where he had been staying. He was subsequently healed and for a time was supportive of White and Harmon.

In the days previous to the New Earth vision Harmon had been very ill. In Portland she continued to face strong opposition from Turner. His attempts to turn Adventists, including her family, against her affected her health. At times she was delirious and mentally confused, saying strange things. Attending her during this illness was Elizabeth Haines—in whose home she had received her first vision in December 1844.³ Later, Turner and John Howell were able to convince Haines to sign a statement concerning some of the things Harmon had said during her delirium. This document, as we will see in the next chapter, had a very damaging effect on her influence in Massachusetts and made it difficult for her to extricate herself from criticism.

¹Reuben H. Walworth, *Hyde Genealogy or the Descendants, in the Female as Well as the Male Lines, from William Hyde of Norwich, with Their Places of Residence, and Dates of Births, Marriages, etc., and other Particulars of Them and Their Families and Ancestry* (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1864), 1145; *The Advent Harp: Designed for Believers in the Speedy Coming of Christ* (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1849), 452, 453.

²Ellen G. White, "Notes from a Talk with Mrs. Ellen G. White," December 12, 1906, EGWE-GC; from an interview between Ellen G. White and C. C. Crisler, 1906, EGWE-GC; idem, *Life Sketches: Ancestry, Early Life, Christian Experience, and Extensive Labors, of Elder James White, and His Wife, Mrs. Ellen G. White* (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing, 1888), 200, 201.

³E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:69, 51, 302.

Special prayer was given for Ellen Harmon and the “disease was rebuked.” It was then that she was taken off in vision and given a view of the new earth. Concerning the words of Hyde’s poem, she wrote: “Those who have published, read and sung them have little thought that they originated from a vision of a girl, persecuted for her humble testimony.”¹

Summary and Perspective

During the first three months of 1845 Adventist perspectives in the East and the West were different. In the West the focus was centered on the spring 1845 time expectation. In the East, attention was focused on the Bridegroom concept and the Shut Door, which was strongest in Maine and the northeast. Of course these major concepts overlapped into all regions. Joshua V. Himes, Josiah Litch, and other ministers connected with them were unwilling to accept the spring 1845 date with any certainty. They also strongly opposed the Shut Door and the Bridegroom view. Until mid-March 1845, William Miller supported the new ideas that were circulating--both the spring expectation and the Bridegroom concept. But then Miller shocked many freethinking Adventists by abandoning these positions and supporting Himes.

By April 1845, Adventism was splitting apart. Himes, Miller, and most other leading Adventist ministers rejected the continued relevance of the October 1844 experience and the principal ideas that had spun off the date. Other Adventist ministers and editors such as Samuel Snow, John Pearson, and Joseph Turner continued to cling to the importance of the fall 1844 movement and the idea that Jesus had come as the

¹Ibid., 55. See also James White, *Present Truth*, November 1850, 86.

Bridegroom. Enoch Jacobs joined this position after the spring disappointment. Thus by mid-April the lines were clearly drawn.

Bridegroom Adventists faced strong opposition not only due to their Shut-Door position, but also because of growing fanatical excesses. Particularly in Maine, radical Adventists held to various views, such as rejecting any work, holy kissing, foot washing, physical humility, rebaptism, spiritual wives, and mesmerism. The mixed-gender aspect of the salutation kiss, foot washing, and familiarity was particularly offensive to those who were watching from the sidelines, including both Adventists and the general public. “Spiritualizing” became the theological characteristic of many Shut-Door Adventists. More and more aspects of the Christian hope were made to apply only to the inner experience of the Christian. These ideas were most strongly promoted by Orlando Squires in his paper, the *Voice of the Shepherd*. Spiritualizing and various excessive practices were strongly resisted by both James White and Ellen Harmon.

Harmon, who had received her first vision in December 1844, began to travel during the first months of 1845. The principal focus of her labors was among the more radical Adventists. Like them she believed that the fall 1844 movement had been the true midnight cry and had fulfilled Bible prophecy. She also embraced the Shut-Door concept along with the Bridegroom message and may have held to the more open view that some might still be saved. After her second major trip in late March or April, which took her to New Hampshire and Vermont, she began to strongly oppose fanatical ideas—particularly mesmerism and spiritualizing. Harmon also strongly opposed the mixed-gender exercises. Because her visions were superficially similar to other women visionaries in Maine, and because of her close association with the more radical element of Adventism,

she was often considered to be part of the fanaticism. Being only seventeen, it was a tremendous challenge for her to oppose such leading Bridegroom ministers as Turner. Yet her independent positions gave her an autonomy which placed her in a leadership role. While not immediately evident to most Adventists, Ellen Harmon, James White, and others like them were the beginning of a separate strain of Bridegroom Adventism that would survive the extremes of 1845 and forge a new distinct identity during 1846 and 1847.

The Albany Conference and the Division of Adventism

The most seminal events that permanently sundered the unity of Adventists were the spring conferences which began in Albany, New York. The Albany Conference met from April 29 to May 1, 1845,¹ and was followed by similar conferences in New York City (May 6, 7),² Philadelphia (May 13-15),³ Baltimore (May 18-22),⁴ and Boston (May 26-29).⁵ Following these conferences, J. V. Himes, with William Miller participating when his health allowed, held other successful conferences and meetings in various places. This included a June 1, 1845, visit to Portland, Maine, one of the key centers of dissent. According to Himes the Sunday evening meeting there was full and

¹“Mutual Conference of Adventists at Albany,” *Advent Herald*, May 14, 1845, 105-108; *Proceedings of the Mutual Conference of Adventists, Held in the City of Albany, the 29th and 30th of April, and the 1st of May, 1845* (New York: Joshua V. Himes, 1845).

²“Conference of Adventists at New York,” *Advent Herald*, May 21, 1845, 116-118.

³Josiah Litch, “Philadelphia Conference,” *Morning Watch*, May 22, 1845, 168.

⁴Lemuel Osler, “The Baltimore Conference,” *Advent Herald*, June 18, 1845, 151.

⁵“Advent Conference in Boston,” *Morning Watch*, June 12, 1845, 185-190; “Advent Conference in Boston,” *Morning Watch*, June 19, 1845, 197-200.

overflowing.¹ The net effect of the conferences was a reorganization of leadership and a narrowed definition of the boundaries of Adventist doctrine. Dissenting Adventists were consigned to the periphery as those of “another class”² “who were once with us.”³

The Albany meeting, organized by Himes, was intended to specifically counter millenarianism,⁴ the Shut Door, and the fanatical excesses in Maine. On April 22, 1845, one week before the Conference, Himes heatedly wrote to Miller:

Things in Maine, are *bad*—very *bad*! And all has resulted from *bad management*—and *bad teaching*, and *Millerism perverted*! Turner and those of his cloth have done the mischief by their new fangled theology, if it may be called *theology*. But I trust we shall yet see the truth justified, and fanaticism condemned, either in the Advent, or by a true exhibition of the truth by those who have it. The *Hope of Israel*, is covering up the iniquity in the East. Bro. Pearson’s family and all in with the kissing, and feetwashing, and these leads [*sic*] to the rest of the extravagances—a part of them have been baptized into the *third* [?] *covenant* also! Such a course cannot be affirmed by rational adventists very long. They ought to come out, against all such iniquity boldly—but they do not.⁵

Himes was certainly prepared to practice what he preached. He was preparing to boldly oppose “iniquity” at the Albany Conference. Even the announcement for the meeting had an ominous tone. It invited those “who still adhere to the original Advent faith, as proclaimed by us to the world, for the last few years.”⁶ The clear implication was that others were not invited. The meeting was organized with sixty-one members,

¹J. V. Himes, “Editorial Correspondence,” *Advent Herald*, June 10, 1845, 149, 150.

²*Ibid.*, 159.

³“Conference of Adventists at New York,” *Advent Herald*, May 21, 1845, 117.

⁴Millenarians differed from Millerites in believing that at least some people would survive the Second Coming of Christ to have a second chance at salvation during the millennium and that the Jews would be restored to Palestine at the end of the 2300 days to herald the beginning of the millennium; see Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 58-63.

⁵Joshua V. Himes to William Miller, April 22, 1845, MassHS.

⁶“A Mutual Conference,” *Advent Herald*, March 26, 1845, 56.

mostly Adventist ministers. Miller was the chair, pro tem, and Himes the secretary pro tem. Elon Galusha was elected president, with S. Bliss and O. R. Fasset as secretaries. The first day of the conference was devoted to organization and reports from various fields. The reports included repeated mention of the “peculiar views” and “extravagant notions” that “prevailed in the east.”¹ Significantly, there were no ministerial reports from Maine, which had become enemy territory and was referred to as the “east.” The most important goal of the conference was to adopt a statement of beliefs that defined what the members considered correct Adventist doctrine. The first six statements articulated the underlying beliefs of Adventists, while the last four were a reaction against millenarianism, universalism, and the Shut Door. The statements can be summarized as follows: (1) The earth will be destroyed by fire at the Second Coming, (2) the Second Coming will be personal and visible, (3) the Second Coming is imminent based on the chronology of the prophetic periods, (4) salvation comes through repentance and faith in Jesus followed by godly living, (5 and 6) there will be two resurrections—the first for the righteous before the millennium and the second for the wicked after the millennium, (7) literal Israel will not be restored before the Second Coming for there is no difference between Jew and Gentile, (8) the world will not all be converted, but rather destroyed at the Second Coming, (9) ministers should preach the gospel and the kingdom of heaven at hand, and (10) the righteous dead do not receive their reward until the Second Coming.²

¹“Mutual Conference of Adventists at Albany,” *Advent Herald*, May 14, 1845, 105, 106.

²*Ibid.*, 106, 107.

The notes from the Albany and succeeding conferences were formulated to unite Adventists on the great general principles of the Advent message and reject the various “new” ideas that were circulating. Additional resolutions included:

Resolved. . . that we have no fellowship for Jewish fables and commandments of men, that turn from the truth, or for any of the distinctive characteristics of modern Judaism. And that the act of promiscuous feet-washing and the salutation kiss, as practiced by some professing Adventists as *religious* ceremonies, sitting on the floor as an act of voluntary humility, shaving the head to humble one’s self, and acting like children in understanding, are not only unscriptural, but subversive,—if persevered in,—of purity and morality.¹

The Albany Conference reaffirmed the rejection by Millerites of modern Israel as a prophetic fulfillment. “*Resolved*, that we consider the doctrine of the restoration of the natural Jews, as a nation, either *before* or *after* the second advent of Christ, as heirs and inheritors of the land of Canaan, as subversive of the whole Gospel system.”² This statement was similar to an earlier standardized statement of “Fundamental Principles” which said: “The only restoration of Israel yet future, is the restoration of the Saints to the New Earth, when the Lord my God shall come, and all his saints with him.”³

A week later, on May 6 and 7, 1845, at the New York City Conference, a resolution supported most of what had been voted at Albany with some elaboration:

Resolved, that we have no confidence in any new messages, visions, dreams, tongues, miracles, extraordinary gifts, revelations, impressions, discerning of spirits, or teachings, &c. &c, not in accordance with the unadulterated word of God.

Resolved, that we regard the literal interpretation of the Scriptures as the true one, except in those cases where the context, or some other Scripture, or our own

¹Ibid., 107.

²“Mutual Conference of Adventists at Albany,” *Morning Watch*, May 8, 1845, 151.

³“Fundamental Principles on Which the Second Advent Cause Is Based,” *Advent Herald*, February 28, 1844, 28.

senses, demand that we should adopt the secondary, or figurative sense of words.¹

These resolutions and the impressions given from the notes and comments at the meetings opposed universalism—a traditional foe. But they were more specifically calculated to exclude Bridegroom Adventists, and any who participated in new ideas or fanaticism. Beyond this, formerly held or tolerated perspectives, such as belief in a shut door, were expelled from Adventism. Millenarian views had been previously rejected by Millerites in various publications, and the Albany Conference restated their position with added emphasis since some had turned to these ideas as an answer to the October 1844 disappointment.² The conferences formalized an organization that excluded the diverse perspectives and individuals who had previously participated or at least interacted within the movement. Naturally those excluded found the entire proceedings offensive in the extreme. The spring conferences convinced many Bridegroom Adventists that their former respected colleagues had changed and were now in opposition to a “definite time” for the Second Advent and those who supported it.³

Two Major Dissenting Groups

As we have just seen, the spring 1845 conferences singled out three groups as being dangerous to the Advent movement: Universalism, millenarianism, and the Bridegroom or Shut-Door Adventists. Of the first two, universalism had been a longtime foe of all Adventists and had no sympathy within the movement. Millenarians had

¹“Conference of Adventists at New York,” *Advent Herald*, May 21, 1845, 118.

²Josiah Litch, “Mr. Litch’s Reply to Rev. Ethan Smith, and Others on the Little Horn in Daniel’s Fourth Kingdom,” *Signs of the Times*, May 1, 1840, 17-19; “The Restoration of the Jews,” *Signs of the Times*, August 15, 1840, 76-77; Himes, *Views on the Prophecies*,” 225-231.

³John Pearson, “Mutual Conference at Albany,” *Jubilee Standard*, May 22, 1845, 87-88.

interacted with Millerites due to a similar hermeneutic on prophecy, though they had very different views concerning the Second Coming and the Millennium. The rejection of Bridegroom Adventists was perhaps most dramatic because they had been very much within the orbit of Adventist thought. The Albany Conference in effect cut off the segment of Adventists who believed in a shut door as it related to the October 1844 movement or other related dates. In cutting off this last group, the conference formalized a schism in Adventism.

Adventist millenarians reacted against the Albany Conference through the *Gospel Standard*. From comments in the *Advent Herald*, it is clear that they continued to challenge the new “orthodox” Adventism. Millenarianism was not new to Adventist thought. During the first half of the nineteenth century it was popular in England and on the European continent.¹ Like Millerite Adventists, millenarians believed in the historicist method of interpretation and the pre-millennial coming of Christ. They differed from Millerites in believing that the inhabitants of the world would not be entirely destroyed at the Second Coming. In their view some would survive to have a second chance during the millennium. They saw Islam as the “little horn” of Daniel 8:9-14 which would be destroyed at the Second Coming, thus opening the way for the Jews to return to Palestine and establish a millennial kingdom. Then the entire world would be converted during a peaceful and prosperous millennium. Miller and Litch wrote during the spring of 1840 concerning these views in their published responses to Ethan Smith

¹Ernest R. Sandeen, “Millennialism,” in *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Edwin S. Gaustad (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 108, 109.

and David Campbell.¹

The second excluded group was represented during the spring and summer of 1845 through the *Day-Star*, *Jubilee Standard*, *Hope of Israel*, and the more irregular or briefly published papers like the *Day-Dawn* and *Hope Within the Veil*. It was the second excluded group that had the doctrinal diversity that had once characterized the broader movement. From the shards of fragmentation, one segment of the excluded Shut-Door Adventists would eventually come together in an Adventist Sabbatarian movement which is the ultimate focus of this study.

The Gospel Standard and the Voice of Truth

There were a few dissenting observers who attended the Albany Conference. These included M. Allen, an Adventist millenarian who supported the *Gospel Standard*.² The conflict between Silas Hawley Jr., principal editor of the *Gospel Standard*, and the editors of the *Advent Herald* had begun before the fall 1844 disappointment. The *Gospel Standard* began publication in July 1844 to allow Hawley and others to present their millenarian ideas more forcefully since their opportunities had been restricted in other Adventist publications.³

In the spring of 1844, the *Advent Shield* contrasted Millerite Adventism with, what it called, “Millenists” and “Millennarians.” “Millenists,” or post-millennialists,

¹Josiah Litch, “Mr. Litch’s Reply to Rev. Ethan Smith, and Others on the Little Horn in Daniel’s Fourth Kingdom,” *Signs of the Times*, May 1, 1840, 17-19; Himes, *Views on the Prophecies*, 1841, 172-181; see also Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 58-63; Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 52.

²M. Allen, “General Remarks on the Above,” *Gospel Standard*, May 15, 1845, 74, 75.

³[S. Hawley, Jr.], “Our Paper—Reasons for Its Appearance—Its Objects,” *Gospel Standard*, July 4, 1844, 2.

believed in the “universal spiritual reign of Christ a thousand years, before his second personal advent.” “Millennarians” were described as believing in “the return of the Jews, as such, either before, at, or after the advent of Christ, to Palestine, to possess that land a thousand years.” Millenarians also believed that a part of the “heathen” would be left after the Second Coming to be subjected to and converted by the Jews. Millerites emphatically rejected these ideas and taught that the world and everyone in it would be destroyed at the Second Coming of Jesus.¹

The Gospel Standard

The *Gospel Standard* portrayed the Albany Conference as an organizational meeting for a new sect. It pointed to the ordination of new ministers, the attempt at the conference to make the name “Adventist” their sectarian title, and the formation of a creed.² Additionally they pointed to the sectarian nature of the meeting in excluding millenarians from Adventism. The *Gospel Standard* cited Himes as saying that if any Adventists had sympathy with “Judaism,” then the Albany group wanted “nothing to do with them.”³

An added complication to the relationship between the *Gospel Standard* and the *Advent Herald* was the fact that the *Gospel Standard* relocated to Boston. Adventists sympathetic to Himes wrote that after the *Gospel Standard* “removed to Boston, it became very belligerent. Its conductors obtained a purloined copy of the subscription list

¹J. V. Himes, S. Bliss, and A. Hale, eds., “The Rise and Progress of Adventism,” *Advent Shield and Review*, May 1844, 47, 48.

²[S. Hawley, Jr.], “A Miller Sect Organized!,” *Gospel Standard*, May 15, 1845, 76, 77.

³M. Allen, “General Remarks on the Above,” *Gospel Standard*, May 15, 1845, 75.

of the 'Herald,' and sent its attacks to all the subscribers of that paper. It afterwards recanted, acknowledged the falsity of the charges it had made, and died the next year for want of patronage."¹ An *Advent Herald* editorial described Hawley with the following words:

We hold some truths with them in common, but in the essential features of the system, we have no faith or sympathy. . . . Some have attempted to sail under advent colors, assuring the Advent bands who have opened their doors to them, that they were very nearly agreed, and have thereby deceived some, and divided the congregations. The time has come when trees should be known by their fruits, especially in this time of our trial.²

While the above-mentioned millenarian views had long been rejected by Millerites, the harmony on prophetic chronology had brought interaction and dialogue. After the Albany Conference it seems that traditional Millerite Adventists made a more emphatic separation from fellowship. This was offensive not only to the millenarian Adventists but also to many Millerites. They felt that there should be room for more diversity and disagreement rather than less. Many Millerites came from a restorationist background such as the Christian Connection or Freewill Baptist and therefore believed that Adventists should not only resist forming a creed or organizing, but should also allow for a broad umbrella when defining Adventist faith.

The Voice of Truth

Joseph Marsh, who had been a minister of the Christian Church, was very uncomfortable with the organizing aspects of the conferences and the creedal exclusionary statements. While Marsh was not yet a millenarian, he did find the Albany

¹*Defence of Elder Joshua V. Himes*, 25.

²"Brother Silas Hawley, Jr.," *Advent Herald*, March 19, 1845, 47.

resolutions to be too narrow and the conclusions too exclusive in their definitions. Marsh saw organization as a way of restricting Christian liberty. While not opposed to the statement of beliefs at the conference, he was opposed to the requirement of accepting “the WHOLE of it, without ADDITION, DIMINUTION OR ALTERATION.”¹

The net result of Marsh’s reaction to Albany was a continued willingness to dialogue with Adventists who did not support the conference. For a short time his paper served as a place for those outside of fellowship to express their views and receive feedback. Himes desperately wanted Marsh to support his position. He understood the broad influence that Marsh carried in the West. If Adventism was to be united and the “fanatics” excluded, he needed Marsh.

Miller Responds

In an attempt to pacify Marsh, Miller gave a step-by-step answer to Marsh’s objections and to the *Gospel Standard*. First, he emphatically denied that the Albany Conference had adopted the name “Adventists” as an organizational title: “I should oppose our being called in an associated capacity, a church with *any name*. The Conference at Albany made no provision for calling churches by any distinctive appellation.” He also tried to give a moderating view on the statement of faith: “There is no man living without his distinct creed; for a creed is nothing more or less than (*credo*) a belief. . . . What has the Albany Conference done? Why, it has committed the crime of informing the world [of] some of the important truths which the members of it believe the

¹[Joseph Marsh], “The Albany Conference,” *Voice of Truth*, May 21, 1845, 61.

Bible inculcates.”¹

Notwithstanding Miller’s article and other attempts to accommodate Marsh’s concerns, the Albany Conference had the effect of dividing the movement and giving those with opposing views a separate identity. Even within the Albany group, division later arose over conditionalism and time expectation. The eventual result was the emergence of several Adventist denominations.²

Bridegroom or Shut-Door Adventists

The other significant category of Adventists removed from fellowship by the spring 1845 conferences was those who continued to hold to a “typical” or “figurative” understanding of prophecy as originally presented by Samuel Snow in the late summer and fall of 1844. The Bridegroom understanding, Jubilee trumpet, and other such ideas were placed outside the definition of “original Advent faith.” Anyone who held to the Shut Door, believed in the “characteristics of modern Judaism” (such as the seventh-day Sabbath or millenarianism), accepted visions or revelations, or was in any way connected to fanaticism was cut off from the greater Advent body.³

This condemnation was too broad a swipe for many Adventists. Adventism had begun as an interdenominational movement that cast its net as widely as possible. People were allowed wide latitude in personal beliefs. An open nonrestrictive approach to

¹William Miller, “The Albany Conference: Objections to Its Doings Considered,” *Advent Herald*, June 4, 1845, 129-131.

²For a good explanation of the development of the various denominations see Knight, *Millennial Fever*, 283-293, 327-329.

³Joseph Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps, or a Connected View of the Fulfillment of Prophecy, by God’s Peculiar People from the Year 1840 to 1847* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1847), 53, 54.

Scripture had been fundamental to William Miller's study. It was the freedom to discover new truth that had drawn so many Christians and Freewill Baptists to the movement. The new restrictive definitions charted a new course that was unacceptable to many who had joined the movement.

Summary and Perspective

The Albany Conference formalized the division of Adventism into various parts and eventually led to the establishment of several separate denominations. The *Advent Herald* ministers considered themselves to be the true Adventists. They included many of the principal leaders of the movement including William Miller and constituted the largest segment of Adventists. The Millenarian contingent initially was scattered throughout the ranks of Adventists, albeit without official sanction, but eventually became a separate entity. Finally, the Bridegroom branch of the movement, while exercising remarkable creativity, burned itself out by becoming more and more extreme. From the ashes of confusion and fanaticism, a new category of Adventists would eventually emerge that would adopt Sabbatarianism and a new understanding of the sanctuary to explain the October 1844 disappointment.

Conclusion

The content of this chapter has made it clear that the seven-month period following the October 1844 disappointment was a period of increasing confusion and division for Millerite Adventists. The most important contributing factors include the promotion of the Bridegroom concept and Shut Door through the *Advent Mirror* and other publications, the April 1845 time expectation, the development of fanatical extremes in the Northeast, and the increasing dogmatism of the ministers supporting the

Advent Herald as demonstrated at the Albany Conference. Other factors that would become increasingly important during the first months and in succeeding years after the disappointment include the visions of Ellen Harmon, the publications of O. R. L. Crosier and Emily Clemons, and the continued promotion of Sabbatarian thought.

The foundational concepts and events connected to the three central subjects of this study (Sanctuary, Sabbath, and Ellen G. White's role) became increasingly important during this period. This is largely due to the fact that the foundation was being laid for both a separation between Adventists and the establishment of a theological basis for a new branch of Adventism. No movement begins in a vacuum; rather there are events and contributing factors that play a role in the progressive development and finally the integration of core concepts. This chapter has integrated developments in these three areas within the broader context of the movement to place them in their proper perspective. The three subjects must now be considered and some preliminary conclusions drawn. This chapter is foundational to what will follow.

Sanctuary Development

As we saw in chapter 1, Josiah Litch, Apollos Hale, and William Miller had already laid the foundation for a heavenly sanctuary ministry of Jesus through the ideas of a special time-of-the-end judgment and the Shut Door. The publication of the *Advent Mirror* was the pivotal event that provided a framework for further study and examination of a heavenly sanctuary ministry of Jesus. The *Advent Mirror* did not originate many new ideas but rather applied previously developed concepts to the October 1844 Midnight Cry movement. It built on what had already been presented concerning the Shut Door and the parable of Matthew 25, and integrated Samuel Snow's

typological application, which led to obvious conclusions. When William Miller gave his support to many of the ideas advocated by the *Advent Mirror*, Adventists were inclined to give the *Advent Mirror* a more careful look. When J. V. Himes, Sylvester Bliss, and Josiah Litch came out strongly against the Shut Door and the Bridegroom concept, the stage was set for a dramatic conflict.

Much of the argument turned on the legitimacy of the typological applications promoted by Snow in his widely published article that made up the *True Midnight Cry*. The lines were drawn there. The publishers of the *Advent Mirror*, *Day-Star*, *Jubilee Standard*, and *Hope of Israel* came out in support of typology. On the opposing side were the *Advent Herald*, *Midnight Cry*, and *Voice of Truth*. Functionally though, the *Voice of Truth* was preoccupied with the April 1845 time expectation and showed sympathy for the publications supporting typology because they tended to also advocate the April 1845 date. This left two publications in opposition, both under the direction of Himes. Until Miller abandoned the Shut Door, Himes was in a very difficult position. Papers were multiplying, and increasing numbers of Adventists were embracing the *Advent Mirror* position. From Himes' perspective, the spring conferences beginning in Albany, New York, were a way to recover what was left of "orthodox" Adventism. The conferences were both a success and a failure. They did succeed in uniting the main element of the movement around many of the previous traditional positions. The conferences failed in that they, like the *Advent Herald*, were seen by many as being too dogmatic and creedal. Many Adventists had been drawn to the movement because it allowed wide diversity of perspective and advocated continued biblical study. When creativity was stifled, there was a negative reaction.

The publication of the *Day-Dawn* in March 1845, while not having wide influence, was a vital beginning for O. R. L. Crosier in articulating the idea of an extended atonement ministry of Jesus in the heavenly sanctuary—beginning on the tenth day of the seventh month 1844. This paper laid the foundation for the publication of Emily Clemons' *Hope Within the Veil* and Crosier's February 1846 *Day-Star* extra. Both of these publications will be examined in detail in the next chapter. While Crosier and Franklin Hahn were publishing the *Day-Dawn* in western New York, Emily Clemons was beginning to form her own independent concept of an extended atonement ministry of Jesus in the heavenly sanctuary. Clemons' role and contribution will be covered in detail in the next chapter.

The Bridegroom teaching lent itself to the concept of a special heavenly ministry of Christ. The application of typological arguments and the links with pre-disappointment close-of-probation concepts all naturally led to the position advocated by the *Advent Mirror* and the *Day-Dawn*. While this chapter has given the positions of various papers, there are unavoidable gaps. The absence of all but one issue of the *Hope of Israel*, an incomplete set of the *Western Midnight Cry*, and the inability to examine some single-issue papers could suggest that some conclusions in this study may be somewhat skewed. Fortunately, there was a lot of give and take between Adventist publications. Thus through the pages of the *Day-Star* and the *Jubilee Standard*, it is possible to gain a reasonable idea of the positions advocated in the *Hope of Israel*. Perhaps someday additional issues of these papers will be discovered and thus shed more light on this important subject.

Sabbath Development

After Seventh Day Baptists introduced Sabbatarianism to Adventists during 1842-1844, it remained a minority position much like conditionalism and millenarianism. The promotion of the Sabbath was given a significant boost when T. M. Preble, a Millerite minister, published an article and then a tract on the subject during February and March 1845. Preble's article and his tract, titled *A Tract, Showing that the Seventh Day Should Be Observed as the Sabbath, Instead of the First Day; "According to the Commandment,"* was widely read by Adventists. Based on periodical correspondence and editorials, it appears that many either accepted or were sympathetic to Sabbatarianism.

In the weeks following Preble's publication, a change can be observed in who supported Sabbatarian concepts. During the period before the fall 1844 disappointment, Millerites were more united, and acceptance of the Sabbath was not identified with a particular segment or category of Adventists. During the spring of 1845, however, Preble's tract had its main influence among Bridegroom Adventists. Published first in the *Hope of Israel*, the article linked Sabbatarianism to the Shut-Door movement. Thus during the spring of 1845 the Sabbath came to be identified with Shut-Door Adventism. This identification was also due to an additional factor. The more fanatical or radical Bridegroom Adventists linked the Sabbath to other "ordinances and commandments" of the Lord, such as the salutation kiss and foot washing. This connection began to appear as early as the spring of 1845 as evidenced by a letter from G. W. Peavey and the editorial response to it. We will see even more clearly in the next chapter that the Sabbath did not stand alone but rather was encumbered with practices and personalities that made it objectionable to some, including Joseph Bates, J. B. Cook, and James and

Ellen White. As we will see in the next chapter, the artificial linking of Sabbatarianism to other practices was transitory. With the demise of many fanatical influences a small core of very different supporters emerged. They would shift the emphasis and relevance of the Sabbath to a different level.

Ellen G. White's Role

During the period discussed in this chapter Ellen G. Harmon had her first visions. While her role was at first minor, it grew as the months passed. During the first half of 1845 she received three major visions which were later published as articles, a broadside, and finally in a tract. Her first major vision, given in Portland, Maine, in December 1844, became known as the Midnight Cry vision. The second, referred to as the Bridegroom vision, occurred in Exeter, Maine, in February 1845. The third, called the New Earth vision, was probably received in Portland, Maine, during the spring of 1845. These three visions confirmed that the seventh-month movement was the true Midnight Cry, showed a heavenly transition with Christ coming to the Father as the "Bridegroom" and "great High Priest," and gave a view of the new earth. Considered as a unit, these visions gave continued meaning to the October 1844 experience and supported the developing sanctuary rationale. Additionally they played an important role in countering the spiritualizing views of many fanatical Adventists by portraying the Father and Jesus as literal beings and heaven as a physical place. In each of these visions Jesus was central. He was leading the Advent believers on the path to heaven. They were following Him as He went to the Father, and it was Jesus who was walking and talking with them in the new earth.

Besides her three foundational visions, Ellen Harmon had a number of other visions. One of the more significant was her Grantham, New Hampshire, vision where she was shown the danger of fanaticism and told to oppose it. One of the key elements that differentiated her from the several other female prophetic claimants was her independence of thought and action. Though only seventeen years old, she confronted the most powerful and influential Adventist minister in Maine—Joseph Turner. As has been noted, Turner was one of the principal promoters of the Bridegroom concept and the Shut Door during the first half of 1845. It was not his Bridegroom theology that led to Harmon's opposition. Rather, it was his use of mesmerism and manipulation. Both in and out of vision she staunchly opposed his practices of mental and emotional manipulation, particularly of young girls. For Turner, other visionary women seemed to be controllable, but Harmon was an unpredictable enigma and therefore dangerous. As we will see in the next chapter, his continued opposition would be the most difficult and emotionally painful aspect of her experience through the rest of 1845. While initially seeming to weaken her influence, in the end, Turner's opposition validated her visions and gave her an unsought prophetic leadership role. In light of her naturally shy and introverted personality, it is remarkable that she gained such authority. As we will see, most of her supporters came to differentiate between what she saw in vision and her personal uncertainty and inexperience.

During 1845 Harmon's independence led to formidable opposition from nearly every direction. Not only did Turner focus his energy on discrediting her, but also the more extreme fanatics and various spiritualizers opposed her. Harmon's steadfast rejection of mixed-gender foot washing and kissing gained her enemies, as did her open

confrontation with visionary spiritualizers such as Dorinda Baker and Pheobe Knapp. On the other side of Adventism, the more “orthodox” Himes contingent identified her with the fanatics and rejected her experience. Finally, the general public linked her to fanaticism due to the widely reported Israel Dammon trial.

It was Ellen Harmon’s independence that made her one of the most remarkable Adventist individuals of this period. Considering her youth, the confusing circumstances in which she was placed, her ill health, and her inexperience, it is amazing that she was able to exhibit a balance and maturity well beyond her years. Among Shut-Door Adventists it was these characteristics, combined with her earnestness and sincerity, that gave her a growing leadership role. James White, who associated with Harmon during this period, shared many of her convictions and with her began to differentiate himself from some aspects of Bridegroom Adventism. An additional support to Harmon during this period was her parents, who believed her visions were from God. Those who accepted her role began to form the nucleus of a “little flock,” which by the fall of 1846 would begin to unite on a Sabbatarian platform.

The newspaper account of the Dammon trial is the earliest account of Harmon’s visions and thus it is significant. A simple reading of the trial report in the *Piscataquis Farmer* and *Eastern Argos* gives the impression that Adventist religious expression was bizarre and unusual. But Adventist enthusiasm was not that different from what was exhibited at Methodist camp meetings or at town revivals during the 1840s. While Adventist meetings included shouting, acts of humility, prostration, baptism, and testimony, those elements were not new or unique to Adventists. The mixed-gender embracing, kissing, and foot washing combined with the lateness of the hour was

scandalous but was not the most significant concern of public officials. The greater concern was that Adventist families in their communities would lose their possessions and become charges of the public. Dammon was perceived as an interloper who was taking advantage of citizens and encouraging them not to work. As a young girl, Harmon was incidental to the trial. That she attended and participated in the Adventist meeting in Atkinson, Maine, should not be surprising. Harmon and the Atkinson Adventists shared one key element of faith that brought them together—they believed that the October 1844 movement had fulfilled prophecy. Being two months beyond her first vision, she had only begun to differentiate her own perspective from the various strains of thought that were developing among Shut-Door Adventists. Nevertheless Harmon's interaction with fanaticism during 1845 would haunt her throughout the rest of her life. Critics have drawn on events from this early period as evidence that her experience and ministry were tainted and her prophetic claims false.

As the dust settled from the Albany, New York, and succeeding conferences, it became clear that the Millerite movement was no longer united. Called the "scattering time," the movement turned inward and lost its momentum and divided into two clearly definable parts. The largest group was the "orthodox" Adventists, which included such luminaries as J. V. Himes, William Miller, and Josiah Litch. The other segment was given the loose designation of "Shut Door" or "Bridegroom" Adventists. "Orthodox" or "nominal" Adventism as represented in the *Advent Herald* became increasingly irrelevant to Shut-Door Adventists. For the purposes of this study, the relevance of J. V. Himes, William Miller, and other leading "orthodox" Adventist ministers largely ends with the spring 1845 conferences. The key elements of this study—sanctuary, Sabbath, and Ellen

White's influence—became the possession of the Shut-Door segment of Adventism. As we have seen and will see further in the next chapter, there was by no means uniformity within Bridegroom or Shut-Door Adventism. From the summer of 1845 to the spring of 1846, the movement as a unit would collapse under the pressure of apostasy and fanatical excess and be scattered to the four winds. From the ashes of fanaticism, conflict, division, and apostasy some of the few remaining Shut-Door Adventists would begin to form into a "little flock" that would unite and forge a new identity based on the key elements of this study.

CHAPTER 3

THE DISINTEGRATION OF BRIDEGROOM ADVENTISM: JUNE 1845 TO JUNE 1846

Introduction

For Bridegroom Adventists, the year between June 1845 and June 1846 was a time of great transition and change. At first, interest in the Bridegroom perspective remained high among Millerites. While the Albany and subsequent conferences had defined Adventist orthodoxy, there was a large and dynamic periphery that still believed that the October 1844 Midnight Cry experience had prophetic significance and leaned toward the Bridegroom or Shut-Door position. They were represented and encouraged by three regular papers—the *Jubilee Standard*, the *Hope Within the Veil*, and the *Day-Star*.

Bridegroom Adventism exhibited a great deal of theological diversity concerning the Second Coming of Jesus. Many held to a literal view, while others held a spiritual view or sought to blend the two. Most hoped that Jesus would finally come at the conclusion of the Jubilee year sometime in October or November 1845. As the time approached, various ideas were circulated which focused on different dates.

A mixture of other issues, such as the ordinance of foot washing and the communion service, the salutation kiss, baptism, the Sabbath, the timing of the atonement, and the meaning of the new covenant, was discussed or practiced.

Theological disagreements between the editors of Bridegroom papers led to ever-stronger

exchanges. As time passed each editor underwent a dramatic shift in beliefs, which resulted in increasing confusion and fragmentation for their readers. The end result was the nearly complete collapse of Bridegroom Adventism.

In tracing the events of this crucial year, I will give particular attention to the progression of sanctuary and Sabbath understandings and to Ellen Harmon's role. We will see that the distinctive Bridegroom sanctuary perspectives moved from a more experiential new-covenant view, as promoted by Emily Clemons, to a more tangible typological viewpoint based on the Levitical sanctuary service, as presented by O. R. L. Crosier. We will also see that Sabbatarianism grew in prominence but with a shifting rationale. From being linked to controversial "commandments," such as foot washing and the salutation kiss during the summer and fall of 1845, Sabbatarian sentiment returned to a more stable and defensible Ten Commandment and creation rationale during the spring of 1846. Finally, we will trace the significant activities of Ellen Harmon. During the last months of 1845 and the first months of 1846 she spent most of her time in Massachusetts sharing her visions, which challenged the spiritual Second Coming view and resisted certain extremes. Out of the resulting conflict emerged a small but significant group who shared or were influenced by her views. We will find that this group survived the waves of disappointment, desertion, and theological confusion to become the core leaders of a redefined Sabbatarian Adventism that moved beyond the Bridegroom view.

This chapter examines the progression of these changes in three phases. In the first phase, covering the summer of 1845, we will examine the atonement and new-covenant views as presented in *Hope Within the Veil* and its interaction with other

Adventist papers—particularly the *Jubilee Standard*. Samuel Snow, editor of the *Jubilee Standard*, became increasingly confrontational towards other Bridegroom editors and finally terminated his paper. The second phase covers the period from September through December 1845. During this time the dominant Bridegroom concerns were linked to the “apostasy” of John Pearson, his brother Charles, and Emily Clemons to Albany orthodoxy, and the ending of the Jubilee year in the fall of 1845. The shock and uncertainty caused by these multiple setbacks led many either to join in the retreat to orthodoxy or move toward a spiritualizing view. The third phase is largely centered on the one remaining regular Bridegroom paper, the *Day-Star*. During January 1846 the editor, Enoch Jacobs, experienced a dramatic theological shift from a literal to a spiritual view of the Second Coming and then rapidly moved towards Shakerism. Taking many with him, he left only scattered individuals who remained faithful to both the significance of the Midnight Cry and a literal Second Coming. This “scattered remnant” or “little flock” included the individuals who became the key leaders of Sabbatarian Adventism.

The Consolidation and Expansion of Bridegroom Adventism: June through August 1845

As we saw in the last chapter, the spring of 1845 brought about the realignment of Millerite Adventism. The Albany, New York, conference and subsequent conferences had defined the boundaries of orthodoxy for the main body of Adventists. This Albany orthodoxy totally excluded the continued prophetic significance of the October 1844 movement or any scriptural interpretation that supported it. It particularly rejected the Shut-Door and the heavenly wedding concept as drawn from the parable of Matthew 25:1-13 by Bridegroom Adventists. The sundering of sympathies between these two

groups set them on increasingly divergent paths.

For Bridegroom Adventism, the summer of 1845 was a time of debate and growing diversity. From the foundational idea of the heavenly wedding grew a cluster of new and differing interpretations. Inspiring many of these new ideas was Emily C. Clemons and her paper *Hope Within the Veil*. Almost as soon as the paper began, Samuel Snow in the *Jubilee Standard* began to challenge her conclusions. Joining him in this opposition was John Pearson, editor of the *Hope of Israel*. While Pearson's specific concerns are not clearly articulated in the extant literature, Snow's views are quite evident. Both were particularly disturbed by Clemons' ideas on the extended atonement and the new covenant. Since Pearson's paper had gone dormant in June 1845, Snow became the principal antagonist. His vigorous opposition placed Bridegroom Adventists in the position of being forced to choose between differing views. Through the *Day-Star*, Enoch Jacobs attempted to play a mediating role between Clemons and Snow by opening his paper to a wide spectrum of views within the Bridegroom context.

In this section of chapter 3 we will first examine the background of Emily Clemons and what can be known of her unique sanctuary views during the spring and summer of 1845. Then we will survey the views of Samuel Snow and the interplay between his views and those of Clemons. Next we will look at the role Enoch Jacobs played through the *Day-Star* in casting as wide a net as possible for Bridegroom Adventists. Finally we will give consideration to Joseph Marsh and the *Voice of Truth* as he linked with J. V. Himes and the *Advent Herald* in opposing the Bridegroom view.

Emily C. Clemons and *Hope Within the Veil*

Emily C. Clemons has remained an obscure figure among historians of Millerite

Adventism and Seventh-day Adventism. This is remarkable, considering the fact that she played a vital role among Bridegroom Adventists during the crucial spring and summer of 1845. The publication of her paper, *Hope Within the Veil*, played a vital role in the developing understanding of the heavenly sanctuary among Bridegroom Adventists. Perhaps the neglect is due to the fact that her impact on the Bridegroom Adventism was so brief—ending abruptly during October 1845 when she and those associated with her abandoned their Bridegroom views and rejoined Himes and Marsh. Because of Clemons' important role and the lack of information about her, a more extensive outline of her background and experience will be given.

Emily Clemons' Biographical Background

Emily Catherine Clemons was born in North Granby, Connecticut, to Allen and Catherine Clemons.¹ The family lived in a substantial colonial home with 1,000 acres of farmland.² While we do not know her birth date, Clemons was baptized as an infant in the Granby First Congregational Church on September 27, 1818.³ Her father was an active lay leader in the church where he served as treasurer during the 1820s. Clemons joined the church on July 1, 1832, and continued as a member until she moved to Rochester in 1843.⁴

¹For more detail on Clemons, see Merlin D. Burt, "Emily C. Clemons and the Developing Sanctuary Doctrine During 1845," research paper, AU, 1997.

²The home still stands at 130 Lost Acres Road, North Granby, Connecticut. See also, J. A. Spalding, comp., *Illustrated Popular Biography of Connecticut* (Hartford, CT.: Case, Lockwood, and Brainard Co., 1891), 176.

³Granby, Connecticut First Congregational Church Records, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, CT, 2:69.

⁴*Ibid.*, 5:16.

Clemons grew up in a home committed to education. Her father helped found the Granby Social Literary Society in 1812 and then served in succeeding years as a trustee and secretary of the organization. The society served in part as a lending library for the community.¹ The Clemons children naturally took their place in society as educators and leaders.²

Emily Clemons moved to Rochester, New York, in 1843 to become principal of the female department of the Rochester Collegiate Institute and to teach classes in geometry, rhetoric, algebra, and history.³ While local church records do not mention Clemons, the *Advent Herald* noted that she joined the Presbyterian Church.⁴ It was probably in Rochester that she first came in contact with Joseph Marsh and the Millerite message. In February of 1844 she published "Redemption Nigh," her first article in an Adventist paper, which gave her various reasons for believing in the soon coming of Jesus.⁵

Clemons soon became a regular contributor to the *Advent Herald* and other Adventist papers. Her articles were generally substantive and well written. They also breathed a spirit of personal piety and religious experience. In May and September of

¹Record book of the Social Literary Society, Granby, Connecticut. The book dates from July 23, 1812, to about 1820. Salmon Brook Historical Society, Granby, Connecticut.

²Spalding, *Illustrated Popular Biography*, 176-177.

³James L. Elwood and Dellen M. Dewey, *A Directory and Gazetteer of the City of Rochester for 1844 Containing an Alphabetical List of All the Heads of Families, Businessmen, and Mechanics, with Their Several Places of Residence; Also, Brief Notices of Most of the Religious, Literary and Benevolent Associations of the City, Military and Fire Departments, etc., etc.* (Rochester: Canfield and Warren, 1844), 18; "Rochester Collegiate Institute Public Examination Schedule," pamphlet file, Rochester Historical Society, Rochester, NY.

⁴Emily C. Clemons, "Redemption Nigh," *Advent Herald*, February 14, 1844, 4-7.

⁵*Ibid.*, 6.

1844, Clemons and C. S. Minor jointly edited a periodical for women titled, *Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion*.¹ In addition to her letters and commentary, Clemons wrote frequent poetry for Adventist papers and some of her poems were set to music.²

In early October 1844, Clemons returned to the East and was closely allied to J. V. Himes and William Miller. With Himes and many other leading Millerite ministers she was slow to accept the October 1844 date, but by the first days of October Clemons expressed her new faith in a letter to Miller: “The Lord is coming! Glory be to God! dear brother we shall soon meet in the kingdom—Till then a short farewell!”³ Just before the expected date, Clemons went home to North Granby, Connecticut, to be with her parents and like thousands of others she was disappointed when Jesus did not come. During November 1844 she became hopeful that Jesus would come in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles, but by the end of November she had abandoned hope in any “definite day for the Lord to come.”⁴

Clemons was among the first to embrace the Harvest Message promoted by J. D. Pickands in his *Voice of the 4th Angel*.⁵ Pickands had presented his views in Worcester, Massachusetts, and wrote to Marsh that Clemons was “wide awake again” and now had

¹“The Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion [sic],” *Advent Herald*, May 22, 1844, 128.

²Emily C. Clemons, “The Bridegroom and the Bride,” *Advent Herald*, January 29, 1845, 199; idem, “Earth and Heaven,” *Advent Herald*, February 5, 1845, 206.

³Emily C. Clemons to William Miller, October 10, 1844, AurU.

⁴Emily C. Clemons to J. V. Himes, October 29, 1844, AurU; idem to William Miller, November 13, 1844, AurU; idem, “Letter from E. C. Clemons,” *Advent Herald*, December 18, 1844, 150.

⁵See pp. 93-95 above.

“something new to write about.”¹

Clemons with others naturally moved from the Harvest Message to the Bridegroom Message as presented in the *Advent Mirror*.² Consequently, tension between her and Himes increased until by February 1845 her correspondence and poems were no longer welcome in Himes’ papers. Clemons had joined Joseph Marsh in the Passover 1845 expectation and Marsh continued to print her articles and poems in the *Voice of Truth* until May of 1845 when her ideas concerning the atonement turned him against her.

As opposition to the Bridegroom concept grew during March 1845, Clemons relocated from Massachusetts to Portland, Maine. Himes wrote to Miller: “Miss Clemons, has gone down to P[ortland] to help edit the *Hope of Israel*. She has become very visionary, and disgusted nearly all the good friends here. What course she will pursue there I know not.” He exclaimed to Miller that he would not “humbug himself” with the various date settings, including the April 23, 1845, Passover expectation. The one extant issue of the *Hope of Israel* lists Clemons as an editor.³

Emily Clemons’ Views Concerning the New Covenant and the Final Atonement

It was from within the cradle of Bridegroom understanding that the idea of a heavenly sanctuary ministry, linked to the October 1844 date, was first nurtured. During

¹J. D. Pickands, “My Dear Bro. Marsh,” *Voice of Truth*, January 8, 1845, 199; E. C. Clemons, “The Reaping Time—Rev. 14-15,” *Voice of Truth*, January 8, 1845, 199; idem, “The Stumbling Blocks,” *Voice of Truth*, January 15, 1845, 101-102.

²Emily C. Clemons to William Miller, February 17, 1845, AurU.

³J. V. Himes to William Miller, March 12, 1845, MassHS; Emily C. Clemons, *Hope of Israel*, April 17, 1845, 1.

1845, most Bridegroom Adventists, including even John Pearson and James White, believed that Jesus had finished His heavenly sanctuary atonement on or by the “10th day of the 7th month,” 1844.¹ The champion promoter of this view during the first half of 1845 was Samuel Snow and the *Jubilee Standard*. He wrote:

The point of time arrived, on the 10th day of the 7th month, when the atonement or reconciling was completed, and of course *no more were to be reconciled*. . . . The message was accompanied by the seal of the Holy Ghost, and was therefore truth. It follows, therefore, that the Bridegroom received the Bride, i.e. New Jerusalem the capitol [*sic*] of his kingdom, the atonement was finished and the Jubilee trumpet was blown, on the 10th day of the 7th month.²

Contrary to this accepted position of a completed atonement was O. R. L. Crosier’s view, as presented in his March 1845 *Day-Dawn* publication, that Jesus had begun an extended final atonement ministry in October 1844.³ Crosier was not alone in his view of a special extended atonement. Emily Clemons also believed that Jesus was continuing a special heavenly sanctuary ministry, but she had a different focus. Her understanding was centered on the experiential aspects of the “New Covenant” and “Day of Atonement.” She wrote in a letter on March 20, 1845: “Ah how fearful to count the blood of the covenant (offered in the holiest on the great day of atonement) an *unholy thing*, and thus do despite to the spirit of grace.”⁴ Two weeks later on April 5, 1845, she

¹ Enoch Jacobs, “The Time,” *Western Midnight Cry*, November 29, 1844, 19; “To the Believers Scattered Abroad,” *Day-Star*, April 22, 1845, 21-24 (taken from the *Hope of Israel*); F. G. Brown, “Letter from Bro. Brown,” *Day-Star*, April 15, 1845, 34; G. W. Peavey, “Unto Two Thousand and Three Hundred Days: Then Shall the Sanctuary Be Cleansed,” *Jubilee Standard*, August 7, 1845, 166; James White, “Watchman What of the Night!,” *Day-Star*, September 20, 1845, 25; John Lewis, “Letter from Bro. Lewis,” *Day-Star*, October 25, 1845, 8; Lewis Hersey, “Letter from Bro. Hersey,” *Day-Star*, November 15, 1845, 24.

² Samuel Snow, “Behold He Cometh!!,” *Day-Star*, April 22, 1845, 41, quoted from *Jubilee Standard*.

³ See pp. 103-107 above.

⁴ Emily C. Clemons, “Letter from Sister Clemons,” *Day-Star*, April 15, 1845, 35.

wrote to the “Little Flock” through the *Jubilee Standard* that the “new covenant” commenced with the “marriage” of the Bridegroom in heaven on the Day of Atonement during October 1844, when God’s people went into the marriage and “the door was shut.” She asked the question: “Is there not a special baptism attending this new covenant?” For Clemons a special end-time new covenant baptism of the Holy Spirit brought the presence of Jesus and freedom from sin. During that time she argued that the “Lord takes his people by the hand, and commences writing his laws on their hearts.” For her the “true light” of the new covenant was having the “Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead *dwelling in you.*”¹

In a May 29, 1845, article titled “The House Finished,” Clemons continued to articulate the same new-covenant ideas. The “house,” or God’s people, were to be “finished” or cleansed “from all sin” through the new covenant. This occurred during the Day of Atonement when Jesus received “the kingdom” and became “both King and Priest.”² C. S. Minor was among those who shared Clemons’ idea that the final atonement was a “new covenant” time for sanctifying God’s people. Minor believed the final atonement period was “preparatory to our translation and his [Christ’s] glory.”³ As we will see later in this chapter, Clemons’ (and Minor’s) eschatological holiness view gave new impetus to the spiritualizing of the Second Coming. Nevertheless, Clemons, like Crosier, gave emphasis to a unique extended atonement ministry by Jesus in the

¹Emily C. Clemons, “Dear Brethren and Sisters of the Little Flock,” *Jubilee Standard*, April 17, 1845, 43; on “little flock” see also C. S. Minor, “Letter from Sister Minor,” *Day-Star*, July 29, 1845, 45; E. L. H. Chamberlain, “Letter from Bro. Chamberlain,” *Day-Star*, August 11, 1845, 1, 2; “The Little Flock,” *Day-Star*, October 3, 1845, 37.

²Emily C. Clemons, “The House Finished,” *Jubilee Standard*, May 29, 1845, 96.

³C. S. Minor, “Letter from Sister Minor,” *Day-Star*, November 22, 1845, 30.

heavenly sanctuary. This is demonstrated through the comments of those, like Samuel Snow, who were opposed to the views she presented in her articles and letters. We will now examine responses to Clemons by four Adventist editors—John Pearson, Samuel Snow, Enoch Jacobs, and Joseph Marsh.

Conflicts within Bridegroom Adventism

By the summer of 1845 the battle was joined between the two Bridegroom concepts on the atonement. The first, a one-day atonement view, was championed by Samuel Snow and supported by most Bridegroom Adventists, while the second, an extended atonement view, was promoted by Clemons and Crosier. Two Bridegroom editors came out in opposition to Clemons's views—John Pearson and Samuel Snow. They may have been willing to tolerate some discussion of the idea of an extended atonement but they were not ready for a paper devoted almost exclusively to the subject. Another editor, Enoch Jacobs, sought to steer a middle course and maintain unity through the pages of the *Day-Star*. Finally Joseph Marsh stood in opposition to the views of both Clemons and Snow.

Hope Within the Veil and the Hope of Israel

During May 1845, publication of the *Hope Within the Veil* began in Portland, Maine, edited by Clemons and published by Charles H. Pearson. While no extant issues remain, it seems that Clemons dedicated the paper to presenting her concepts on the final atonement and new covenant holiness.¹ The very title of the periodical suggests a link to the heavenly sanctuary.

¹Joseph Marsh, "Hope within the Vail [*sic*]," *Voice of Truth*, May 7, 1845. 45.

Hope Within the Veil was printed on the press owned by John Pearson. John Pearson, editor of the *Hope of Israel*, strongly opposed the positions advocated by Clemons and his brother Charles. By June 23, *Hope of Israel* was no longer being published and the press was wholly under the direction of Clemons and Charles Pearson.¹ John Pearson, who owned the equipment, continued to hold an interest in the operation but became so upset that he threatened to “use violence to stop” the paper.² While none of the June 1845 issues of *Hope of Israel* are extant, Joseph Marsh gives confirmation that John Pearson was openly writing against Clemons’ new covenant views.³

The *Hope Within the Veil* first appeared irregularly, but by July it was being issued on a weekly basis.⁴ The final issue of the paper was printed about the middle of September 1845.⁵ Crosier, who was a contributor to the paper, noted in October 1845 that a total of fourteen issues had been published.⁶

Samuel Snow’s Opposition

The most prominent opponent of *Hope Within the Veil* was Samuel Snow and the *Jubilee Standard*. His paper, published in New York City, had a wide circulation among Bridegroom Adventists. Snow provides us with the most detailed description of Clemons’ views as presented in *Hope Within the Veil*. When the first issue appeared in

¹C. H. Pearson, *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 46.

²E. C. Clemons, “Letters from Sister E. C. Clemons,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 47.

³Joseph Marsh, “Hope of Israel,” *Voice of Truth*, May 14, 1845, 56.

⁴Z. Baker, “Letter from Bro. Baker,” *Jubilee Standard*, August 7, 1845, 168. See also Enoch Jacobs, “To Correspondents,” *Day-Star*, July 22, 1845, 44; O. R. L. Crosier, “Letter from Bro. Crosier,” *Day-Star*, August 25, 1845, 10.

⁵Enoch Jacobs, *Day-Star*, October 3, 1845, 41.

⁶O. R. L. Crosier, “Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 50.

late May he wrote:

It is not true that the two apartments of the tabernacle were intended to represent two dispensations, or two divisions, of the covenant. Nor is it true that Jesus is now in the holy of holies. The tabernacle was a *pattern* of 'things in the heavens:' see Heb. viii. 4, 5; ix. 23. The most holy place of the tabernacle was a type of the highest heaven to which Christ went at his ascension. . . . Jesus the great High Priest *came out* of the Holy of Holies on the 10th day of the 7th month, and, having sprinkled antitypically all things appertaining to his kingdom with "clean water," and with the "blood of the covenant," the efficacy of which will *soon* be realized in its *fullness*, went into the tabernacle of the great congregation, i.e. New Jerusalem, laid aside his priestly robes *and left them there*; and now his priesthood is of another character. He is "a priest FOREVER after the [order of] Melchizedeck:" but is no longer an *intercessor*, He is a priest-king and judge.¹

This statement provides valuable insights into both Clemons' and Snow's views.

If Snow's impressions of Clemons' views are correct, and other primary sources suggest they are, then the significant differences between their views were: (1) Snow rejected the linking of a two-part ministry in the heavenly sanctuary to the old and new covenants, (2) he further believed that Jesus began His ministry in the most holy place at His ascension and not on the Day of Atonement in 1844, and (3) he held that Jesus had ended his high priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary on October 22, 1844.

On July 3, 1845, Snow reported in the *Jubilee Standard* that he had received the second and third issues of *Hope Within the Veil*. His critique of the second issue provides even more detailed information on Clemons' views. According to Snow, Clemons was teaching that the 2300 days had ended about two months previous—on "about" April 20, 1845. Since Clemons, Joseph Marsh, and many other Adventists had looked with great anticipation to the Passover 1845 date, Snow's comments seem credible. He, of course, had championed the fall types and maintained his argument that the 2300 days "ended on the 10th day of the 7th month, 1844." Clemons also had not cast off the importance of the

¹S. S. Snow, "Remarks," *Jubilee Standard*, June 5, 1845, 102.

fall 1844 date, but she may have been ambivalent as to which of the two dates completed the 2300-day prophecy. The following excerpt from Snow reiterates the essence of his disagreement with Clemons:

Another error is, that the atonement was *commenced* on the 10th day of the 7th month. If that be so what has Jesus been doing in the heavens since his ascension? Pause and reflect. No: the atonement was *finished*, and *not begun*, last autumn. Instead of Jesus *going into* the Holy of holies on the 22d of last October, he *came out*, and was united in wedlock with New Jerusalem, the "*tabernacle of the congregation*." It was *then* that the year of Jubilee commenced.¹

Snow concluded that Clemons' views were "mysticism," asked that his subscription be discontinued, and refused to accept any more papers for exchange. "Painful as it is to our feelings," he wrote, "we must say we cannot recommend it as good and wholesome food."² Snow earnestly requested that John Pearson "write" and "be *particular*" concerning what was going on in Portland, Maine.³ Snow's opposition had a detrimental effect on the circulation of his own paper, since many "Bridegroom" Adventists were either sympathetic to Clemons' views or considered him to be too judgmental.⁴

Enoch Jacobs' Reaction

Enoch Jacobs in the *Day-Star* took a more conciliatory position in responding to Emily Clemons and *Hope Within the Veil*. He wrote:

¹[S. S. Snow], "The Hope Within the Veil [*sic*]," *Jubilee Standard*, July 3, 1845, 132-133. See also [S. S. Snow], "The Atonement," *Jubilee Standard*, July 10, 1845, 141.

²*Ibid.*, 133.

³[S. S. Snow], "The *Hope of Israel*. . . .," *Jubilee Standard*, July 10, 1845, 141.

⁴Albert Lyford, "Letter from Bro. Lyford," *Day-Star*, October 18, 1845, 2; Lewis Hersey, "Letter from Bro. Hersey," *Day-Star*, August 25, 1845, 12.

The second and third numbers of this paper, edited by our esteemed, self-sacrificing sister E. C. Clemons, at Portland, Maine, is received. It breathes a good spirit, and if there are some errors in the doctrine it advances, we shall be able through grace, to correct those errors.¹

Jacobs briefly articulated his own response to Clemons' view on the covenants:

"The preliminaries of the New Covenant may be in the past, but I have considered the language relating to that Covenant, as embracing the immortality of the saints in the New Earth."² Jacobs thus deferred the promises of the new covenant to the period following the Second Coming, while Clemons placed them in the present and before the Second Coming. A week after writing the above, Jacobs acknowledged receiving the fifth issue of *Hope Within the Veil*. He considered some of the articles to be "precious" and asked that the number of issues he exchanged be doubled. He then referred to Snow with the following words: "We are fearful that Bro. Snow has been too hasty in some of his strictures upon this paper. We will wait and see how readily he can 'confess' when occasion requires."³

Regarding his consistent publishing philosophy, Jacobs wrote:

The Day-Star [*sic*], is not kept in being as an arbiter of the faith of God's people, but as a medium of communicating with one another, in the Spirit of meekness; and as such a medium, God has wonderfully sustained it. My own views will always be found in the place assigned for them, under the editorial head, and the views of my brethren over their own signatures.⁴

"Some," he wrote a month later, "know how to prize a medium of communication where they can be heard on the subject of the Advent, though their views differ."⁵

¹Enoch Jacobs, *Day-Star*, July 15, 1845, 38.

²Ibid.

³[Enoch Jacobs], "The *Hope Within the Vail* [*sic*]," *Day-Star*, July 22, 1845, 44.

⁴[Enoch Jacobs], "Responsibility," *Day-Star*, September 27, 1845, 34, 35.

⁵Enoch Jacobs, *Day-Star*, November 22, 1845, 32.

Jacobs' open attitude and middle position on the "Bridegroom" concept resulted in a steadily increasing subscription list for his *Day-Star* throughout 1845.¹ While Jacobs himself did not agree with all of the ideas he circulated through his paper, he strongly believed that there should be freedom to differ without being excluded from the Advent faith. He even published some letters from avowed fanatics.² It needs to be noted that Jacobs was not passive in what he published and would often respond to ideas with which he disagreed, but usually with respect and without attempting to censor different views. His position toward Clemons gave additional credibility to the *Hope Within the Veil*, and, as we will see in Part Two of this chapter, inadvertently encouraged support for the spiritualizing views of the *Voice of the Shepherd*.

Joseph Marsh and the *Voice of Truth*

Joseph Marsh at first thought *Hope Within the Veil* was a continuation of *Hope of Israel* with a new name and emphasis. He expressed concern over "some very important mistakes" concerning the "atonement" and the "new covenant." He then urged his readers to test new ideas by the New Testament, whose writers "understood these subjects far better" than they could.³ In July, Marsh published a letter from I. I. Leslie which he recommended to those who entertained the new-covenant views advocated in *Hope Within the Veil*. According to Marsh, Leslie had the "true light" on "this highly important subject."⁴ Leslie was "pained" that some were teaching "we are now under a

¹Enoch Jacobs, "The Paper," *Day-Star*, December 6, 1845, 41.

²"Letter from a Child," *Day-Star*, October 3, 1845, 39.

³[Joseph Marsh], "Hope Within the Vail [*sic*]," *Voice of Truth*, May 7, 1845, 45.

⁴[Joseph Marsh], "The Abrahamic Covenant," *Voice of Truth*, July 23, 1845, 392.

new covenant, which was made last fall.” In his letter, Leslie argued that the new covenant was unconditional and fulfilled in two parts: first by Jesus at his first advent and then after the Second Coming when the saints receive their inheritance. The main point of his letter was to demonstrate that there were no new “*conditions or further promises*” that applied to the time before the Second Coming.¹ Thus he rejected Clemons’ idea of a special perfecting of God’s people during a Day of Atonement or unique new covenant period.

Considering Leslie’s letter a sufficient reply to Clemons’ new covenant concept, Marsh addressed what he considered to be the errors in Samuel Snow’s one-day atonement view. Marsh did this by essentially restating his view on the types as presented in November 1844. He applied the typical fall festivals to the first coming of Jesus or the “day of salvation” when a person turned to Christ for salvation.² In this regard, his position mirrored that of J. V. Himes and the *Advent Herald*. During the summer of 1845 Marsh became more active in his opposition to the Bridegroom hypothesis and the Shut Door and was linked more closely to those of Himes’ persuasion.

Summary and Perspective

The summer of 1845 was a time of strength, conflict, and anticipation for Bridegroom Adventists. With the formal separation from Albany orthodoxy, Bridegroom Adventists had a more distinct identity. The key leaders, who also served as editors or publishers for periodicals, included Samuel Snow, John Pearson, Charles Pearson, Emily

¹I. I. Leslie, “The Abrahamic Covenant,” *Voice of Truth*, July 23, 1845, 389.

²[Joseph Marsh], “Seventh Month—Mistakes Developed,” *Voice of Truth*, November 27, 1844, 174-176; [idem], “The Atonement,” *Voice of Truth*, July 30, 1845, 400; [idem], “The Atonement,” *Voice of Truth*, August 13, 1845, 417.

Clemons, and Enoch Jacobs. The three principal papers were the *Jubilee Standard*, *Hope Within the Veil*, and the *Day-Star*. Through these papers, traveling ministers and believers were able to communicate and explore new ideas. The interactions were quite dynamic within the boundary of the Bridegroom view.

By far the most controversial editor was Emily Clemons and the *Hope Within the Veil*. Her views on the atonement and the covenants caused a rift between many Bridegroom adherents, which was particularly demonstrated by Samuel Snow in the *Jubilee Standard*. Snow viewed Clemons' ideas as "mysticism" akin to the spiritualizing views of the *Voice of the Shepherd*. Snow's strong opposition and his subsequent experience (which will be covered in Part Two) suggest that he believed that the Midnight Cry movement and his role as leader were threatened by Clemons' views. Correspondingly, Jacobs' openness to alternative views further threatened Snow's ideas and perceived central leadership role. His opposition to Clemons weakened his influence among Bridegroom Adventists who saw his antagonism as being akin to the Albany judgmentalism.

The public differences expressed in the Bridegroom papers were further complicated by the more private conflict between John Pearson and his brother Charles and Clemons, who had served with him as editors of the *Hope of Israel*. As we will see in the next section, the first major earthquake that fractured the movement occurred on the fault lines established by Snow and John Pearson. As Snow was moving toward an ego-driven fanaticism, John Pearson abandoned the Bridegroom and Shut-Door view as spiritualism. The conflicting ideas of the summer watered the seeds of schism, which bore its bitter fruit during the fall.

**The “Apostasy” from Bridegroom Adventism to Albany
Orthodoxy: September to December 1845**

The experience of Bridegroom Adventists during the fall of 1845 was one of great trial. This section will trace the progression of major reversals that left them in a state of nearly complete disarray. First, Samuel Snow ceased publication of the *Jubilee Standard* and moved off into fanaticism. Shortly thereafter, John Pearson abandoned the Bridegroom view and published a final confessional issue of the *Hope of Israel*. Then Emily Clemons and Charles Pearson reversed their position and published a full confession in the *Hope Within the Veil*. During the *Hope Within the Veil* crisis, the Jubilee year ended and once again brought a time disappointment that challenged Bridegroom Adventism’s faith in the October 1844 experience and the Bridegroom concept. Then John Pearson began to travel and labor for his former “brethren” with the active support of Marsh and Himes. His persistent efforts were marked by successful conversions that were reported with glowing terms in the *Voice of Truth* and the *Advent Herald*. C. H. Pearson continued the publication of *Hope Within the Veil* until near the end of the year with the similar purpose as his brother of bringing Bridegroom Adventists back to Albany orthodoxy. His articles were frequently excerpted in the *Voice of Truth*. The net effect of this series of blows was a serious diminishment in the number of Bridegroom Adventists. The period ended with Enoch Jacobs as the only major Bridegroom Adventist publisher and a seriously reduced number of supporters.

During this period spiritualizing influences increased among Bridegroom Adventists in the Boston area and in other parts of New England. Ellen Harmon, whose visions were opposed to spiritualizing views, traveled to Massachusetts to counter the influence. James White joined her and reported some of their struggles in letters to the

Day-Star. During the fall of 1845 Harmon's influence grew, as did opposition to her. The editor of the *Day-Star* also rejected the spiritualizing view, but sought to bring his readership together even in their differences. He therefore published a diversity of views and gave polite rebuttals where he disagreed. Among the different ideas discussed in his paper were the spiritual Second Coming, Sabbatarianism, foot washing, the salutation kiss, and, of course, various ideas on time setting.

Samuel Snow and the *Jubilee Standard*

Samuel Snow had been a staunch advocate of the Bridegroom understanding during the critical Millerite dividing time of the spring 1845. His support gave added credibility to the Bridegroom movement. Through the spring and summer he strongly opposed the spiritualizing views of the *Voice of the Shepherd* and other New England spiritualizers. He also opposed those who kept the "ordinances"—particularly foot washing. As has already been noted, he also condemned Clemons and the positions she advocated in *Hope Within the Veil*. These negative stances put him in opposition to various segments of Bridegroom Adventists and left him with a decreasing base of support. Finally, he ceased publication of the *Jubilee Standard* on August 7, 1845.¹ Eli Curtis² described how things stood in New York at that time:

I have attended Bro. Snow's meetings with a great deal of interest since the shut door party came out from Franklin Hall, till a few weeks past. . . . I suppose you are aware from the tone of the *Standard* [*sic*], that the Editor has pursued rather a rigid course since that paper was established. . . . Bro. S[now] has succeeded in *purging out* (to use Bro. S[now]'s favorite phrase) *two sets of rebels* at different times. The first were a set of Spiritualizers who annoyed our meeting by their much talking and contrary views:—seeming to show a desire to break up

¹Enoch Jacobs and Eli Curtis, "The Jubilee Standard," *Day-Star*, September 27, 1845, 36.

²See E. G. White, "Eli Curtis," *Present Truth*, May 1850, 80.

our meetings. I was not sorry when they were *purged* out; but I felt grieved that physical power was so *readily* applied to eject the *rebels* from the room. The second set were not spiritualizers, but apparently they were about as detestable to Bro. S[now] for some of them professed a desire to keep all the commandments of Jesus, even to washing of feet; and all of them had the tenacity to differ from Bro. Snow on some point.¹

As the summer had progressed, Snow had turned against Enoch Jacobs because he accepted “washing the saints feet” and published material by spiritualizers.² On August 19, 1845, Snow wrote to Jacobs, severing his association with him with the following words: “You will please discontinue the bundle heretofore sent, of your paper, and if there are any in this city who wish for it, it can hereafter be sent to the address of each individual.”³ Jacobs was deeply pained by Snow’s rejection. He wrote in response to the letter:

Am I now to receive the withering rebuke of *Bro. Snow*,—the man for whom I could have laid down my poor life, because I have not joined him in denouncing the above individuals [spiritualizers] as “anti-christs”—the “synagogue of Satan” &c., after having shown their views erroneous and unscriptural? . . . Besides my Jesus, if I have a friend on earth, such friend must be found among the outcasts for the truth’s sake. I *did* reckon my Bro. Snow among such, but by him I am now cast out, which is the severest trial that could arise from any rejection by man.⁴

While not articulated clearly in the extant *Jubilee Standard* issues, the idea that Samuel Snow was Elijah had already been circulating in New York City by August 1845. Jacobs indicated that he had been privately told that Snow claimed to be “Elijah the Prophet.”⁵ Curtis confirmed this by expressing that unlike others in New York, he

¹ Enoch Jacobs and Eli Curtis, “The Jubilee Standard,” *Day-Star*, September 27, 1845, 36.

² [Enoch Jacobs], “Remarks,” *Day-Star*, September 6, 1845, 20.

³ Samuel Snow, “Letter from Bro. Snow,” *Day-Star*, September 6, 1845, 20.

⁴ [Enoch Jacobs], “Remarks,” *Day-Star*, September 6, 1845, 20.

⁵ Enoch Jacobs and Eli Curtis, “The Jubilee Standard [*sic*],” *Day-Star*, September 27, 1845, 36.

himself did not consider Snow to be “infallible” or “the ‘Elijah’ of the last days.” Curtis concluded his observations with the words: “I know not how many still holds with Bro. S[now] in his peculiar views. I was there last Sabbath morning, and there was about fifty in attendance, but whether they all agree with Bro. S[now] or not, I cannot say.”¹

During December 1845, Snow’s supporters published the *True Day Star*. One headline proclaimed, “behold, Elijah is here.” The article explained that the end-time promise of the prophet’s return had been fulfilled “in the person of Samuel S. Snow, who has come in the power and spirit of Elijah.”² Snow continued along the same line of reasoning for at least the next few years.³ Snow’s fanaticism ended his influence upon most Adventists except for his small group of devoted followers in New York City.

John Pearson and the *Hope of Israel*

During 1844 the *Hope of Israel* had been the most prominent Millerite paper in Maine and was also widely read by Adventists in other regions. During 1845 John Pearson steered the paper in support of the Bridegroom concept. *Hope of Israel* was published until the summer of 1845 when *Hope Within the Veil* became the new standard bearer in Portland, Maine. John Pearson maintained his faith in the Bridegroom concept until August 1845 when he published his confession in a final issue of *Hope of Israel* with the help of J. V. Himes in Boston. Himes wrote to Miller and exclaimed: “John Pearson, is saved from the delusion of the *Hope of Israel!*”⁴ Both Himes and Joseph

¹Ibid.

²Joseph K. Bellows, “Behold, Elijah Is Here,” *True Day Star*, December 29, 1845, 2.

³“Come to the Marriage Supper!,” *Morning Star*, February 1848, 9.

⁴J. V. Himes to Bro. Miller, August 18, 1845, MassHS.

Marsh reprinted Pearson's open letter. Pearson began with the following words:

Having been instrumental, with many others, in giving publicity, through the "Hope of Israel," to the view, that Christ has come as the Bridegroom, and other kindred sentiments,—and being now fully persuaded, that those views are anti-Scriptural, and detrimental to the cause of truth, permit me, through the same medium, to give you the reasons of my dissent.¹

After explaining his renunciation of the Bridegroom concept, he also reviewed the positions advocated by *Hope Within the Veil*. He expressed concern that the new covenant view as presented in *Hope Within the Veil* produced a type of judgmental perfectionism, which was justified by the Bridegroom belief that "judgment was given to the saints [Dan. 7:22]." He wrote:

Those who take this view . . . that a new covenant commenced on the 10th of the 7th month [1844], must consider themselves wholly in the light and infallible; for they claim that God's laws are written on their hearts in a more perfect sense than ever before. . . . The Scriptures expressly prohibit *our* judging any, except by their fruits. . . . "THEREFORE, judge nothing before THE TIME." When will the time be? "UNTIL THE LORD COME!" [1 Cor. 4:5] Not before? By no means.

After giving his arguments, Pearson concluded with the following words:

These views of the bridegroom come, &c., I am satisfied, have been a stepping-stone to spiritualism. It is the fountain that has sent forth that unchristian, judging spirit among our brethren. . . . The history of the past winter and spring should be sufficient to satisfy us not to trust to man, whose breath is in his nostrils. It is time for us to break down before God.²

The *Day-Star* noted with sadness the publication of Pearson's confession, while at the same time suggesting that it had been written under the influence of Himes in Boston.³ Pearson strongly denied the suggestion and took full responsibility for the

¹John Pearson, "To the Readers of the 'Hope of Israel,'[sic]" *Advent Herald*, September 3, 1845, 25-27; John Pearson, "To the Readers of the 'Hope of Israel,'[sic]" *Voice of Truth*, September 10, 1845, 445-447.

²John Pearson, "To the Readers of the 'Hope of Israel,'[sic]" *Advent Herald*, September 3, 1845, 25-27.

³[Enoch Jacobs], "Another Number. . . .," *Day-Star*, September 13, 1845, 23; [idem], "Bro. J. Pearson," *Day Star*, October 3, 1845, 41.

article.¹

Pearson's retreat to Albany orthodoxy occurred at about the same time as awareness of the collapse of the *Jubilee Standard*. These twin upsets were quickly followed by another painful blow to Bridegroom Adventists. Pearson's confession particularly affected his brother Charles and Clemons. Within two weeks of John Pearson's confession, the entire Portland "office" of *Hope Within the Veil* joined the retreat to orthodoxy.

Emily Clemons, C. H. Pearson, and *Hope Within the Veil*

John Pearson's confession, published and republished during the last of August and the first of September, strongly impacted his brother Charles H. Pearson. Soon Charles was in great doubt concerning his Bridegroom views. On September 22, 1845, he wrote:

A few weeks since, my mind was powerfully called to a re-consideration of the position assumed by some of us; viz: that the Bridegroom has come, and the door is shut. Doubts had occasionally forced themselves into mind, prior to this time, but they were regarded as temptations, and as soon as possible banished. But at this time they could not be shaken off. The very sound of the Press as our little sheet, was being struck off, threw me into much distress of body and mind. The conviction that we were sending error to the flock, come [*sic*] like blight upon my spirit. I was at length obliged to express my doubts as to the correctness of the belief cherished by us, and soon learned that others, among them the printer, Bro W. H. Hyde, were similarly exercised, so much so that it was with greatest difficulty he had succeeded to set in type any of the matter handed him.²

Clemons quickly joined the "other members" of the office "family." She wrote on September 18, 1845, that after a "long trying night of anxiety" "almost simultaneously,

¹John Pearson, "Letter from Bro. J. Pearson," *Advent Herald*, September 24, 1845, 54-55; John Pearson, "Letter from Bro. J. Pearson," *Voice of Truth*, October 1, 1845, 472-473.

²C. H. Pearson, "Letter from Bro. C. H. Pearson," *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 46.

light has broken in upon us. . . . One and all here have felt shaken about our position in relation to the coming of the Bridegroom and the door being shut.”¹ Clemons expressed that they had taken a “wrong step in attempting to account for the 7th month movement.” “This,” she wrote, “led to much *anticipating* of events . . . supposing that the Bridegroom had come, and the door was shut.”² In her confession, as published in *Hope Within the Veil* and copied to the *Voice of Truth*, Clemons explained the effect of the Bridegroom concept on her other views:

Having fixed the thoughts in our minds that the Bridegroom had come, and consequently the door was shut, we proceeded of course to make a corresponding application of scripture. We supposed that most of those who believed the door shut were wise virgins, and most of those who did not thus believe were foolish. To advocate the views at all, we were under the necessity of making it a test question to all who held the same light as ourselves. This faith led us to embrace the view that the judgment was set, that the mystery of God was finished, that the gospel age had ended, that the dispensation of the fullness of times was ushered in, that the new covenant had commenced its fulfillment, &c.; to all these conclusions we arrived by reasoning upon the premises that the Bridegroom had come.³

“May the Lord forgive us,” she wrote, “for departing from the simplicity of the Gospel in understanding His word.”⁴

The first notice of the *Hope Within the Veil* reversal appeared in the October 3, 1845, issue of the *Day-Star*. Jacobs observed: “Zion’s walls are again hung in mourning. O come Lord Jesus!—Come quickly!”⁵ On October 11, 1845, a double issue of the *Day-*

¹Emily Clemons, “Letter from Sister E. C. Clemons,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 46.

²*Ibid.*, 46.

³Emily C. Clemons, “Confess Your Faults One to Another,” *Voice of Truth*, October 8, 1845, 478.

⁴Emily Clemons, “Letter from Sister E. C. Clemons,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 47.

⁵[Enoch Jacobs], “Bro. J. Pearson,” *Day-Star*, October 3, 1845, 41.

Star contained a full account of the “change.” Jacobs gave a lengthy response to Clemons’ and C. H. Pearson’s letters, arguing that their reversal was based on impressions and feelings rather than the Word of God. He finally exclaimed: “I can go no further now—Indeed I can not, for my heart sickens, and my spirits sink within me, every time I turn my eye to these letters, and think, Is it possible! Can it be that sister Clemons has pursued *such* a course, based upon *such* reasonings[?]” Jacobs decided to “lift the curtain and disclose the secret springs that must have paved the way” for “this abandonment” by publishing extracts from a private letter to him from Clemons. This letter, written on August 31, 1845, notified Jacobs that she and C. H. Pearson had been contemplating marriage for months but feared the effect it would have on other Bridegroom Adventists. Jacobs suggested that their abandonment of the Bridegroom message was rooted in their desire to marry each other.¹ O. R. L. Crosier and James White both corroborated what Jacobs had written and added that C. H. Pearson and Clemons had planned to marry during September.²

The rapid sequence of apostasies by Bridegroom editors left Jacobs in a daze and with diminished support. He exclaimed, “I only am left *alone*.” “The receipts [of donations] have been so light the last two weeks,” he acknowledged, “that there is but a faint prospect of continuing it [the *Day-Star*] in its *double* form.”³ The remaining faithful, many of whom were spiritualizers, rallied in support of Jacobs and the donations

¹[Enoch Jacobs], “Bro. C. H. Pearson, and Sister E. C. Clemons,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 48-49.

²James White, “Letter from Bro. White,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 47; O. R. L. Crosier, “Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 50.

³[Enoch Jacobs], “The Paper,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 49.

increased. Nevertheless, the Bridegroom perspective had been dealt a severe blow. The dynamics were changing and, soon, even the *Day-Star* would move in a new direction.

The Fall 1845 Disappointment

While the loss of two papers and key editors was a shock to Bridegroom believers, the effect was compounded by the failure of the fall 1845 time expectation. While other Adventists who had not accepted the Bridegroom view joined in the spring of 1845 anticipation, the fall 1845 expectation was largely limited to Bridegroom Adventists. The Jubilee year and Morning Watch views were directly linked to the October 1844 Midnight Cry proclamation and the Bridegroom concept. Many Bridegroom Adventists thought the Jubilee year would terminate with the Coming of Jesus.¹ A related idea said that the Jubilee year was divided into four “watches” of the night. When Jesus did not come, it naturally raised doubts about the Bridegroom premise. While a particular date was not heralded, the conclusion of the Jubilee year stood as a sort of last hope to resolve their dilemma for why Jesus had not come in October 1844. H. S. Gurney expressed the sentiment of many when he wrote: “I am satisfied that the cause in which we are united is the cause of God, and a few more days will demonstrate it to the world; but we are now hid from the world unless we yield our experience in the year past, and if so, we are on the devil’s ground, and his subjects triumph. But we are not of them that draw back.”² Yet again Jesus did not come, and many Bridegroom Adventists were left with little to hold on to.

¹See P. Gerard Damsteegt, “Early Adventist Timesettings and Their Implications for Today,” *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*, vol. 4 (Spring 1993): 161-163.

²H. S. Gurney, “Letter from Bro. Gurney,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 45.

As was noted in the last chapter, following the 1844 Midnight Cry various ones had looked to an antitypical fulfillment of the Old Testament fiftieth-year Jubilee. Many first thought it applied to the year during which the Midnight Cry was given and thus looked to the end of the year during the spring of 1845.¹ During the summer and fall of 1845 Bridegroom Adventists looked for the conclusion of the Jubilee year during the month of October or the first half of November.² G. W. Peavey, a prominent western Bridegroom minister, provided a representative view of the sanctuary, the 2300 days, and the Jubilee year during this time:

You will observe that that Sanctuary [earthly] was cleansed on the 10th day of every 7th month. This cleansing was a type of what Christ was eventually to perform. But when is this to be done? Answer. Unto 2300 days, then shall the Sanctuary be cleansed. This work was performed last autumn in the antitype by our great high priest. . . . The passing of time then beyond our expectation has simply shown that our mistake was in the *inferential* connexion that we made of the coming of Christ in power and great glory, and the termination of those [2300] days. There, began the Jubilee, and this autumn it terminates, and on the fifteenth of the seventh month God's Israel will be gathered to the Marriage Supper of the Lamb. Now ye way-worn pilgrims, lift up your heads and rejoice, the year of redemption has come. Amen.³

Peavey's reason for expecting the Second Coming on the fifteenth day of the seventh month rather than the tenth day revolved around the Feast of Tabernacles. In his understanding, the antitypical Feast of Tabernacles coincided with the "Marriage supper

¹[Enoch Jacobs], "The Time," *Western Midnight Cry!*, January 23, 1845, 43; William Miller, "Letter from Mr. Miller," *Advent Herald*, February 12, 1845, 2; J. D. Pickands, "Letter from J. D. Pickands," *Voice of Truth*, February 12, 1845, 12; H. H. Gross, "The Present Truth," *Voice of Truth*, March 5, 1845, 21-25; Samuel S. Snow, "And the Door Was Shut," *Jubilee Standard*, April 24, 1845, 53.

²Thos. F. Berry, "The Jubilee Trumpet," *Day-Star*, September 27, 1845, 30; G. W. Peavey, "The Fifteenth Day of the Seventh Month: The Resurrection," *Day-Star*, October 3, 1845, 38; Enoch Noyes, "Letter from Bro. Noyes," *Day-Star*, October 3, 1845, 39; Samuel Pearce, "The Morning Watch," *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 45; D. C. Tourtellot, "Letter from Bro. D. Tourtellot," *Day-Star*, November 15, 1845, 21.

³G. W. Peavey, "Letter from Bro. Peavey," *Day-Star*, November 8, 1845, 17.

of the Lamb” and that the “holy convocation or gathering which took place on that day, must be a type of the gathering of the elect from the four winds of heaven to that glorious feast.” He was uncertain whether the seventh month during 1845 commenced with the “new moon of the first of October, or that of the 30th.” Thus in his mind the Second Coming would come some time between the middle of October and the middle of November.¹

Otis Nichols expressed a similar view, but seemed to remain focused on the Day of Atonement rather than the Feast of Tabernacles. Also, his perspective appears to have been colored by Clemons’ view, contains overtones of Ellen Harmon’s first vision, as well as giving scriptural support for the heavenly sanctuary:

The 10th of the 7th month is a landmark and a glorious light for us now to look back upon, for then we believe the bridegroom, the messenger of the (new) covenant suddenly came to his temple, Mal. 3:1, which “was opened in heaven,” after the 7th angel began to sound, Lev. 16:33, Heb. 9:3-4 to finish the atonement for the people, and cleansing of the Sanctuary, Heb. 9:23, and if we cast not away our confidence in that light we have passed, and continue to look upward, and walk forward on the present truth, we shall soon see, I believe in a few days a light far more glorious.²

The idea of a Jubilee year became closely linked to a secondary but important simile, the “Morning Watch.” In June 1845 W. Thayer wrote the article that most influenced Bridegroom Adventists to accept the idea of the “watches.”³ His idea was based on the words of Jesus in Matthew 24:43 and Mark 13:35, where the hearer was warned to “watch,” for they “knew not when the master” was coming. Jesus specifically

¹G. W. Peavey, “The Fifteenth Day of the Seventh Month, the Resurrection,” *Day-Star*, October 3, 1845, 38.

²Otis Nichols, “Letter from Bro. Nichols,” *Day-Star*, September 27, 1845, 34.

³W. Thayer, “The Watches,” *Day-Star*, July 8, 1845, 34-35; see also idem, “Morning Watch,” *Voice of Truth*, July 2, 1845, 367.

mentioned in Mark the four watches of the night—"at even, or at midnight, or at the cockcrowing, or in the morning."¹ Thayer applied these four watches to the four time expectations they had experienced—spring 1844, fall 1844, spring 1845, and finally the fall of 1845. James White also promoted the idea of the watches, but disagreed with Thayer in his application to the time expectations. Instead, White argued that they represented the four three-month segments beginning in October 1844. "Now we see the watches, are 3 months each," he wrote, "the first commencing on the 10th, reached to January, when we got light on the shut door. The second brought us to the *Passover*. (Midnight, or midway in this watching night.) The third brought us to the supposed end of the 1335 days in July, since which we have been in the morning watch." White concluded: "Before the 10th day of the 7th month 1845, our King will come." He then exclaimed: "Awake, awake! awake!! ye heralds of the Jubilee, and tell the scattered flock, The morning cometh!"² Both Thayer's and White's views were accepted with enthusiasm by many correspondents to the *Day-Star*.³ There was no specific date settled upon for the fall 1845 expectation. Tentative dates that were mentioned in the *Day-Star* ranged from October 23 to the second week of November.⁴ Joseph Marsh, who had

¹Mark 13:35, KJV.

²James White, "Watchman, What of the Night," *Day-Star*, September 20, 1845, 26.

³[Enoch Jacobs], "The Watches," *Day-Star*, July 15, 1845, 38-40; Stephen Smith, "Letter from Bro. S. Smith," *Day-Star*, September 27, 1845, 36; Wm. J. Greenleaf, "Letter from Bro. Greenleaf," *Day-Star*, October 3, 1845, 38, 39; Samuel Pearce, "The Morning Watch," *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 45; Mariah Arnold, "Letter from Sister Arnold," *Day-Star*, October 18, 1845, 2; E. S. Willard, "Letter from Sister Willard," *Day-Star*, October 25, 1845, 5; Henry Emmons, "Letter from Bro. Emmons," *Day-Star*, October 25, 1845, 6, 7.

⁴[Enoch Jacobs], "The Watches," *Day-Star*, July 15, 1845, 39; G. W. Peavey, "The Fifteenth Day of the Seventh Month: The Resurrection," *Day-Star*, October 3, 1845, 38; Thomas Smith, "Letter from Br. T. Smith," *Voice of Truth*, November 18, 1845, 531.

rejected end-time typology, naturally disagreed with the Morning Watch concept. “The different watches named by our Savior, we think,” wrote Marsh, “are designed to teach, *not* the *time* of the Lord’s coming, but to impress us with the necessity of being constantly ready for that event.”¹

Otis Nichols, who opened his home to Ellen Harmon and James White, must have been deeply influenced by the Morning Watch view. On September 10, 1845, Nichols wrote to the *Day-Star*: “We believe that we are in the morning watch, and that it will end before or on the 10th of the 7th month, when we hope to see the King of Glory. . . . We shall soon see, I believe in a few days, a light far more glorious, and which will be truly manifest to all who are the true Israel of God.”² With the letter he demonstrated his faith by enclosing a large donation of \$100.00.³

When Jesus did not come, two major options presented themselves to remaining Bridegroom Adventists who were weary of disappointment. The first was to join those who had returned to Albany orthodoxy. The second option, which will be discussed later, was to adopt a spiritual view of the Second Coming. But before examining the second option we will first examine the energetic and seemingly successful efforts of the Pearson brothers in drawing their former colleagues back to orthodoxy.

The Pearson Brothers and Clemons Aftermath

During November 1845 not much hope remained for Bridegroom Adventism. All

¹[Joseph Marsh], “True Morning Watch,” *Voice of Truth*, August 20, 1845, 425; [idem], “The Watches,” *Voice of Truth*, September 3, 1845, 440.

²Otis Nichols, “Letter from Bro. Nichols,” *Day-Star*, September 27, 1845, 34.

³[Enoch Jacobs], “The Paper,” *Day-Star*, September 20, 1845, 28; “Letters and Receipts, for the Week Ending Sept. 19th,” *Day-Star*, September 20, 1845, 28.

the papers but the *Day-Star* had stopped publication, the time anticipation which had animated them for the past year was passed, and fanaticism was ravaging the “little flock.” Enoch Jacobs, the last significant Bridegroom publisher, continued to hold on for a while and with a few others thought that perhaps the Jubilee year would not end until the Passover of 1846.¹ Others held some anticipation for an 1847 date.² But these hopes did not have compelling arguments, and Bridegroom Adventism seriously lacked coherence.

John Pearson and his brother Charles became evangelists for Albany Orthodoxy. It seems that Charles Pearson reactivated the *Hope Within the Veil* for at least a few months following his abandonment of the Bridegroom concept. There were many articles excerpted in the *Voice of Truth* directed towards Bridegroom Adventists.³ Even William H. Hyde, the printer for *Hope Within the Veil*, wrote concerning his changed views on the Bridegroom.⁴

John Pearson first traveled in the East but by the end of November he had arrived in Rochester, New York, and joined up with Joseph Marsh. From this base he traveled to

¹[Enoch Jacobs], “To the Brethren,” *Day-Star*, November 1, 1845, 15; H. B. Woodcock, “The Morning Watch,” *Day-Star*, December 20, 1845, 49.

²O. R. L. Crosier, “Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 51.

³John Pearson, Jr., “To the Readers of the ‘Hope of Israel,’ [sic]” *Voice of Truth*, September 10, 1845, 445-447; Charles H. Pearson, “Dear Brethren and Sisters of the ‘Household of Faith,’” *Voice of Truth*, October 8, 1845, 477, 478; idem, “How Should We Treat the Erring?” *Voice of Truth*, October 15, 1845, 486, 487; idem, “Now the Just Shall Live by Faith,” *Voice of Truth*, October 15, 1845, 491; idem, “A Willful Sin,” *Voice of Truth*, October 22, 1845, 494; idem, “What Makes a Foolish Virgin,” *Voice of Truth*, October 29, 1845, 508; [idem?], “A Spiritual Advent,” *Voice of Truth*, November 5, 1845, 511; idem, “The Beginning of Our Confidence,” *Voice of Truth*, November 5, 1845, 516; idem, “The Day of the Lord,” *Voice of Truth*, November 26, 1845, 534, 535; idem, “The Day of the Lord,” *Voice of Truth*, December 3, 1845, 442, 443; idem, “Prove All Things,” *Voice of Truth*, December 10, 1845, 551;

⁴W. H. Hyde, “Dear Brethren,” *Voice of Truth*, October 15, 1845, 486.

Buffalo and Lockport and was “well received.”¹ Marsh was greatly impressed by Pearson’s “meek and lowly spirit” and his “honesty.” Pearson’s testimonies resulted in the waking up of the “lukewarm” Albany-oriented Adventists. His compassion and care for those who still held to the Bridegroom concept impressed many who had been critical of or rejected their former brethren. “Humble confessions” were “made by some who thought they might have done, felt, or talked wrong about their erring and dissenting [Bridegroom] brethren.” The results, according to Marsh, were meetings with “fervent prayers, warm testimonies, and songs of heavenly praise.” He concluded: “A better state of christian [*sic*] union, and a more grounded faith in the immediate coming of Christ, have not existed for a long time among us.”² The more compassionate attitude by Albany Adventists combined with Bridegroom Adventist uncertainty began to have an effect. Marsh euphemistically referred to questioning Bridegroom Adventists as “penitent wanderers” or “returning prodigal[s].”³ By the end of December 1845, John Pearson could write of his success with Bridegroom Adventists:

I rejoice greatly in hearing that the Lord is at work with our dear brethren and sisters in different parts of the land who entertained the doctrine of the Bridegroom having come. I am not disappointed at the full, frank and humble confessions they are making in consequence of their error and their unreserved consecration to the cause for the future.⁴

It was not only the labors of John Pearson and his brother Charles that brought reversals to Bridegroom Adventism. Marsh reported that other ministers, who had

¹[Joseph Marsh], “Bro. J. Pearson, Jr.,” *Voice of Truth*, December 24, 1845, 569.

²[Joseph Marsh], “Bro. J. Pearson, Jr.,” *Voice of Truth*, December 3, 1845, 544.

³[Joseph Marsh], “Bro. J. Pearson, Jr.,” *Voice of Truth*, December 10, 1845, 553.

⁴John Pearson, Jr., “Letter from Br. J. Pearson, Jr.,” *Voice of Truth*, December 31, 1845.

embraced the same meek and gentle spirit as Pearson, were also having success as they traveled.¹ Some correspondents also testified to “conversions” from the Bridegroom view.² Many of the Bridegroom Adventists in the Boston area and in Maine were abandoning the Shut Door by the end of the year or early in 1846. These included R. T. Haskins, John Howell, and T. M. Preble.³

Contrary to the expectation of many, Charles Pearson and Clemons did not immediately marry. Clemons went home to her parents in North Granby, Connecticut, where she separated for “three months from all Adventists.” She continued to believe in the “*speedy PERSONAL coming*” of Christ and regretted her “fearful error” in believing that the “Bridegroom came on [*sic*] the 7th month of '44.” “I am astonished and grieved beyond measure,” she reflected, “that I embraced and advocated this spiritualizing of the Lord’s coming as far as I did. I believe the Bridegroom-come-theory, as the leading error of the dread train that has scattered ‘fire-brands, arrows, and death’ in our ranks.” Perhaps most distressing to her was the rejection of her former Bridegroom “brethren.”

¹[Joseph Marsh], “The Cause in This City,” *Voice of Truth*, December 18, 1845, 560; [idem], “The Cause in Syracuse,” *Voice of Truth*, December 18, 1845, 561; P. Hough, “Appointments,” *Voice of Truth*, December 18, 1845, 564; [Joseph Marsh], “Bro. J. Pearson, Jr.” *Voice of Truth*, December 24, 1845, 569; R. T. Haskins, “Letter from Bro. Haskins,” *Voice of Truth*, January 7, 1846, 10.

²Thomas Smith, “Letter from Br. T. Smith,” *Voice of Truth*, November 19, 1845, 531; Mary A. Seymour, “The Bridegroom,” *Voice of Truth*, November 26, 1845, 538; Mary S. Ongley, “Letter from Sister Ongley,” *Voice of Truth*, December 19, 1845, 559; [Joseph Marsh], “The Cause in Syracuse,” *Voice of Truth*, December 19, 1845, 561; Hiram D. Stetson, “Letter from Br. Stetson,” *Voice of Truth*, January 7, 1846, 15, 16; E. Hemenway, “Letter from Sister Hemenway,” *Voice of Truth*, February 25, 1846, 71; Z. Baker, “Bro. Z. Baker to J. Pearson Jr.,” *Voice of Truth*, June 24, 1846, 99.

³R. T. Haskins, “Dear Bro. Pearson,” *Voice of Truth*, December 31, 1845, 1; T. C. Pearson, “Letter from Bro. T. C. Pearson,” *Voice of Truth*, December 31, 1845, 3; [Joseph Marsh], “Bro. J. Howell,” *Voice of Truth*, December 31, 1845, 4; John Howell, “Letter from Bro. Howell,” *Voice of Truth*, January 21, 1846, 30, 31; [Joseph Marsh], “Bro. T. M. Preble,” *Voice of Truth*, February 18, 1846, 61.

“The first fruits” of the Bridegroom view she exclaimed was “breaking the commandment of our Lord, ‘Judge not!’”¹

With the exception of a few poems, the next communication of substance from Clemons appeared as a four-part series in the *Voice of Truth*, published between February 4 and April 29, 1846.² Ever an independent thinker, Clemons proposed that the first resurrection was a spiritual event, which occurred at conversion, and that the second and final resurrection occurred following the millennium. Marsh, of course, disagreed with Clemons in remarks following each of her articles. Some Adventists who had followed the discussion were so dissatisfied with Marsh’s seeming judgmentalness of Clemons that they formed a publishing committee and on July 11, 1846, began the *Bible Advocate*.³ The first few issues of the *Bible Advocate* provided a forum for Charles Pearson, Emily Clemons, and others to present their views.⁴ At some point between April and July 1846 Pearson and Clemons were married. In the *Bible Advocate* her name changes to Emily C. Clemons Pearson. After August 1, 1846, articles by the Pearsons to the paper ended abruptly. It may be that they never again wrote for or are mentioned in Adventist papers.

The next information on Charles and Emily Pearson comes from the 1850 federal

¹Emily C. Clemons, “Letter from Sister Clemons,” *Advent Herald*, December 31, 1845, 162, 163.

²Emily C. Clemons, “Some Reasons for Our Hope,” *Voice of Truth*, February 4, 1846, 41; Three-part series, “Of Life, Death, and Resurrection,” *Voice of Truth*, March 25, 1846, 101-102; April 1, 1846, 9-10; April 29, 1846, 36-37.

³Timothy Cole et al., “Prospectus of the Bible Advocate [sic],” *Bible Advocate*, July 11, 1846, 1; [Joseph Marsh], “Bible Advocate [sic],” *Voice of Truth*, July 22, 1845, 29.

⁴[Joseph Marsh], “Bible Advocate [sic],” *Voice of Truth*, August 5, 1846, 44-45; C. H. Pearson, “The Right Motive,” *Bible Advocate*, July 11, 1846, 5-6; Emily C. Clemons Pearson, “He that Winneth Souls Is Wise,” *Bible Advocate*, July 11, 1846, 6-7; C. H. Pearson, “Adventism,” *Bible Advocate*, July 18, 1846, 13-14; idem, “Hold Fast That Which Is Good,” *Bible Advocate*, July 25, 1846, 21-22; Emily C. Clemons Pearson, “Restoration of All Things,” *Bible Advocate*, August 1, 1846, 25.

census. They were listed as having a one-year-old daughter named Catherine. their place of residence was with Emily's parents in North Granby, Connecticut, and Charles was listed as a student.¹ In later years Charles H. Pearson and Emily Clemons Pearson wrote more than a dozen books on various moralistic themes that were not linked to Adventism.² The presumption is that they abandoned their faith in the Adventist prophetic message.

Spiritualizing Jesus and the Second Advent

One of the thorniest theological issues facing Bridegroom Adventism during 1845 and 1846 was the spiritualizing of the personhood of Jesus and the Second Coming. This view had been introduced to Millerites through the *Voice of the Shepherd* in March 1845, which continued publication until at least September 1845. Until the summer of 1845 it had remained a minority view among Bridegroom Adventists, but subsequently it became a more serious threat.

Jacobs wrote as early as July 29, 1845, of the rise of spiritualizing in the "East":

It is known to our readers that a class of individuals have *recently* sprung up at the East, who take the ground that Christ has come spiritually, or that there is to be no other coming of Christ than what has already taken place in the past movements. . . . One reason why we have said so little on this subject, is, there is not a single instance yet come to *my* knowledge, of such faith being embraced by any second Advent believer west of the mountains. . . . But we now have a large, and increasing list of subscribers at the East, who are living directly in the midst of the above named *anti-scriptural* influences, and for whose benefit we are willing to publish an occasional article on the danger of anti-scriptural spiritualising.³

¹1850 United States Federal Census, Hartford County, Town of Granby, Connecticut, July 31, 1850, 150.

²Emily C. Pearson, *Ruth's Sacrifice or Life on the Rappahannock* (Boston: C. H. Pearson, 1863); Charles H. Pearson, *The Cabin on the Prairie* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1873); see bibliography for additional titles.

³[Enoch Jacobs], "Spiritualizing," *Day-Star*, July 29, 1845, 48.

Jacobs must have placed upstate New York in the East because the *Voice of the Shepherd* had been published in Utica. C. B. Hotchkiss, a contributor to the September issue of the *Voice of the Shepherd*, responded to Jacobs' July 29 article from Auburn, not far from Utica, on August 4.¹ In his letter Hotchkiss argued that the "person and character of Christ" was "none other than the Great Jehovah" who was a "spirit and can never be seen by man." He believed that the Second Coming would be a "revelation" "in his saints." Not surprisingly, Hotchkiss referred Jacobs to the *Voice of the Shepherd* for further study.² Jacobs gave a lengthy and explicit response to Hotchkiss's letter and concluded: "What possible gain to believe the doctrines advanced by Bro. H[?]. We have Christ in us by faith—we believe in all the glory that he expresses and a thousand times more; and in addition to this, we believe in the coming of Christ, yet future, according to the scriptures."³ Jacobs also published a letter from J. D. Pickands which clearly argued for a "literal, personal coming of the same Jesus that went away" as opposed to a "spiritual or mystical coming."⁴

Charles Burlingham wrote of those in the East who believed that Jesus had already come spiritually and believed that spiritualizing had greatly grown since July 1845. He wrote: "Sometime since, you told us that this doctrine had not got west of the mountains. At that time, there was not one case in Maine, or Mass. But the Devil sees

¹C. B. Hotchkiss, "Letter from Bro. Hotchkiss," *Day-Star*, September 13, 1845, 21; C. B. Hotchkiss, "The Faith Once Delivered to the Saints," *Voice of the Shepherd*, September 1845, 25; C. B. Hotchkiss, "The Key of David: Our History and Present Position," *Voice of the Shepherd*, September 1845, 27, 28.

²C. B. Hotchkiss, "Letter from Bro. Hotchkiss," *Day-Star*, September 13, 1845, 21; C. B. Hotchkiss, "Letter from Bro. Hotchkiss," *Day-Star*, October 3, 1845, 42.

³[Enoch Jacobs], "Had the Above Article. . . ." *Day-Star*, September 13, 1845, 23.

⁴J. D. Pickands, "Letter from Bro. Pickands," *Day-Star*, September 13, 1845, 24.

that his time is short . . . and of course his efforts are now directed against the ‘little flock’.”¹ Burlingham must have been reflecting upon what had happened in the Boston area for there was spiritualizing in Maine as was demonstrated in the last chapter. He expressed his concern about those who partook of the “spirit” of the “Antichrist.” “Those that are taken under its influence,” he wrote, “at once deny that Christ will ever come again—That he came on the 10th day of the 7th month by his Spirit, &c.”² Several other correspondents from Boston also followed Samuel Snow’s lead and called the spiritualizing view the anti-christ based on I John 4:3.³ One Boston spiritualizing Adventist even attempted to respond to the anti-christ charge.⁴ In early September Israel Dammon wrote to Jacobs from Boston concerning the “spiritualism” he had encountered: “I have been up in New Hampshire, and as I passed through the country, I called at Athol, Manchester, and New Boston. In all of these places, I have found this unholy influence deceiving God’s children.”⁵ In addition, Crosier wrote of how his views on the atonement countered spiritualizing:

The light I have got on the Atonement within a few months, so entirely dispelled every doubt, relating to the literal external existence of the holy city, New Jerusalem, and its descending from God out of heaven, to become the capitol [*sic*] of the New Earth, in which the throne of David will be established to Jesus,

¹Charles Burlingham, “Letter from Bro. Burlingham,” *Day-Star*, September 20, 1845, 28.

²Ibid.

³Samuel Snow, “Letter from Bro. Snow,” *Day-Star*, September 6, 1845, 20; Henry Emmons, “Letter from Bro. Emmons,” *Day-Star*, October 25, 1845, 6; P. Tiffany, “Letter from Sister Tiffany,” *Day-Star*, November 15, 1845, 21; Richard Walker, “Letter from Bro. Walker,” *Day-Star*, November 15, 1845, 21; William M. Ingham, “Letter from Bro. Ingham,” *Day-Star*, November 22, 1845, 25; H. Emmons, “Letter from Bro. Emmons,” *Day-Star*, December 20, 1845, 49.

⁴E. G. Hedge, “Letter from Sister Hedge,” *Day-Star*, January 3, 1846, 10, 11.

⁵Israel Dammon, “Letter from Bro. Dammon,” *Day-Star*, September 27, 1845, 31.

*his son according to the flesh, forever—and the Kingdom will be entire and real; Territory, Capitol [sic], Subjects, and Laws, the last being in our hearts.*¹

In the last issue of *Hope Within the Veil*, which was only half printed and never mailed, an article by Crosier entitled “Sanctuary” had been included. Clemons wrote to Crosier explaining why his article had not been published and even included a copy of the half printed issue. Though Clemons had abandoned the Bridegroom view, she was at least initially reluctant to completely reject all of Crosier’s ideas on the sanctuary and atonement. “The subject of the Atonement is not perfectly clear to us,” she wrote. “We are aware that you have a great deal of truth, but we must examine [it] more closely before we could say there was no error.”² Crosier responded: “If the subject of the Atonement was perfectly clear to them, I am satisfied they would not have made the precipitate retrograde move they have[. N]either would they have feared that they would be swept over to the Voice of the Shepherd [sic] ground.”³ Clemons, C. H. Pearson, and John Pearson seem to have believed that the rampant spiritualizing views had followed a progression from the heavenly wedding concept to the new covenant idea, and finally to a spiritual Second Coming view. Observing this effect had driven them to Albany Orthodoxy. Crosier’s point was that his view on the atonement would have protected Adventists from spiritualizing. Crosier’s views on typology and the atonement were developed later in the *Day-Star* and will be covered later in this chapter. The effect of his sanctuary views was attractive for several reasons, not the least of which was the way in which it undermined the spiritual view.

¹O. R. L. Crosier, “Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 50.

²Emily Clemons, quoted in O. R. L. Crosier, “Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 50.

³O. R. L. Crosier, “Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 50.

By the end of October 1845 nearly all correspondents to the *Day-Star* were against spiritualizing views. This trend continued until near the end of the year, at which time a dramatic shift began which will be covered in Part Three of this chapter. Before turning to that topic we will consider the experience of Ellen G. Harmon as she expanded her ministry to Massachusetts where she encountered significant challenges, including widespread spiritualizing.

Ellen G. Harmon's Widening Influence and Continuing Differentiation from Spiritualizing Bridegroom Adventists

Ellen Harmon's interactions during the summer of 1845 are largely unknown. She continued to live with her parents in Portland, Maine. Based on later recollections, we know that she made some trips to other areas in Maine and at least one trip to Portsmouth, New Hampshire.¹ The relative calm of the first two months of the summer in 1845 was followed by a tumultuous and conflict-ridden autumn in Boston, Massachusetts, and its environs. Harmon's first visit to Massachusetts during August of 1845 was protracted over some weeks. She journeyed to Roxbury, Dorchester, and Randolph (all near Boston) and then traveled to southern Massachusetts to visit Carver and New Bedford. On a subsequent visit, probably during October, she revisited many of the same areas and strengthened her association with some Adventists in those areas. During both trips she faced significant opposition from Joseph Turner and his colleague John Howell and confronted spiritualizers as her influence increased. We will now examine her interaction with Bridegroom Adventists in Massachusetts.

¹J. N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists with Tokens of God's Hand in the Movement and a Brief Sketch of the Advent Cause from 1831 to 1844* (Battle Creek, MI: General Conference Association, 1892), 119; E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 2:65, 66.

First Trip to Massachusetts

In February 1845 Nichols remembered hearing about Harmon's first vision from John Pearson, who at the time "believed [they] were a light to the believers in the seventh month movement, and a present truth."¹ When Harmon first arrived in the Boston area with her older sister, Sarah, and James White during August 1845, her labors were largely successful. In Roxbury, one of the principal leaders, Thomas H. Haskins, upon hearing her visions "confessed that they had no such reviving as the present since the time of the midnight cry of 1844."² She had similar success in Randolph, a town about fifteen miles south of Boston.³

Soon after Harmon arrived in Massachusetts, Joseph Turner and John Howell came from Maine and succeeded in convincing many, including Haskins, that Harmon's visions were "effected by mesmerism" through the influence of James White. They also traveled to Boston and other surrounding towns including Randolph and produced a similar result. Turner's charge was particularly incongruous considering his own mesmeric activities.⁴

While information is somewhat sketchy, it seems that Turner's and Howell's arguments against Harmon were strengthened by a letter Howell brought from Portland in great haste. The document, signed by Elizabeth Haines, cast doubt on the validity of Harmon's visions. It probably presented Haines' recollection of Harmon's statements

¹Otis Nichols, "Statement by Otis Nichols," n.d., EGWE-GC.

²Ibid.; *Vital Records of Roxbury, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849*, vol. 1 (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1925), 169.

³John Marshall, *Brookes's Universal Gazetteer, Re-modelled and Brought Down to the Present Time* (Philadelphia: E. H. Butler, 1843), 624; Otis Nichols, "Statement by Otis Nichols," n.d., EGWE-GC.

⁴See pp. 140-146 above.

during her spring of 1845 period of illness. At that time she was in intense conflict with Joseph Turner and his mesmeric activities. Turner had tried to undermine Harmon's influence by suggesting that her visions were caused by mesmerism. Harmon's battle with mesmerism combined with Turner's accusation led her to wonder if her own visions were in fact caused by mesmerism.¹ The stress of the conflict combined with her doubts concerning her own experience weakened Harmon's already tenuous health and she succumbed to illness that brought on fever and delirium. Her condition deteriorated until it was thought by some that she might not survive. Elizabeth Haines cared for her during this period of illness and apparently heard her express her doubts and subconscious confusion. The Howell document seems to have given Haines' recollection of Harmon's statements during her delirium. When connected to Otis Nichols' recollections, additional insights emerge:

The bands of believers in Boston, Roxbury, and Randolph—a large company[—]had become almost totally alienated to Brother and Sister White through the false teachings, deceptions, and Satanic influences of J. Turner and his associates, T. Haskins, Howel[I], and others. They were influenced to believe that her visions were of the devil, that Brother White mesmerized her, that she could not have a vision in Brother White's absence, and many other false charges were made against her.²

Based on Nichols' statement we can conclude that the Howell document not only incriminated Harmon of being under the influence of mesmerism, but also said that her visions were controlled by James White. While writing her autobiographical sketch in 1860, Ellen White contacted Haines concerning this document and conveyed the circumstances surrounding Haines's signature.

¹E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 2:57-60.

²Otis Nichols, "Statement by Otis Nichols," n.d., EGWE-GC.

As near as I can learn, H[owell] got up the document, then urged a sister [Haines], who was occasionally with me during the two weeks of my extreme sickness, when my mind wandered, as stated on page 51, to sign it. She [Haines] was then on a sick bed, suffering great confusion of mind, and to get rid of H[owell], consented to have him sign her name to the document. At a later period this sister confessed to me in tears her regret that her name was ever attached to the document. She is not a Sabbath-keeper, yet has since cheerfully given her name to a certificate on another page which kills the slanderous document.¹

At least two letters in the *Day-Star* confirm that Turner was in the Boston area at the same time as Harmon. Henry Emmons wrote: "We have . . . been much comforted and refreshed by the coming of our dear brethren Turner, and Winney and others, which has greatly cheered us."² A second letter, by Charles Burlingham, also mentions Howell and may contain an allusion to Harmon. Burlingham wrote of "the children" or Bridegroom Adventists being "burdened with visions; the result of which was, the children began to trust in them, in the room [*sic*] of going to Israel's God to learn the way of duty." Burlingham wrote further that the "visions" had the object to "destroy" the influence of "Bro. Turner, and Bro. Howell, and other of the lecturers."³

During her first trip to Massachusetts, Harmon traveled to the southeastern part of the state. According to both Nichols' and Harmon's recollections, Turner's and Howell's opposition was less successful outside of the Boston area. Particularly in Carver, Massachusetts, Harmon received more support.⁴ Before Harmon visited the town, Howell came and read his document at a meeting. Fortunately, Harmon's sister Sarah was present and was able to counter some of the accusations.⁵

¹E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 2:69, 301, 302.

²Henry Emmons, "Letter from Bro. Emmons," *Day-Star*, October 25, 1845, 6.

³Charles Burlingham, "Letter from Bro. Burlingham," *Day-Star*, November 22, 1845, 32.

⁴Otis Nichols, "Statement by Otis Nichols," n.d., EGWE-GC; E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 2:71, 72

⁵E. G. White, "Life Sketches Manuscript," 150, 151, EGWE-GC.

It was probably during her first trip to Massachusetts that Harmon received an invitation from Clorinda S. Minor to meet with her while she was visiting various ones in Boston. Harmon later recollected:

About this time sister C. S. Minor came from Philadelphia, and we met in Boston. Different errors were affecting the Advent People. The spiritual view of *Christ's* coming, that great deception of Satan, was ensnaring many, and we were often obliged, through a sense of duty, to bear a strong testimony against it. Sr. M[inor]'s influence went in favor of spiritualism, although she felt unwilling to acknowledge it.¹

Minor referred to her Boston visit in a November 6, 1845, letter to the *Day-Star*. "Some weeks since," she wrote, "I visited New York, Boston, and Portland." During the two weeks she was in these cities she considered the "flock of sheep" to be in the "tangled forest" where "wolves" had "torn" and "wounded" many. In her letter she described the division between those who held to a "literal" and those who held to a "spiritual" view.

I met with brethren and sisters of different views, whom I could recognize as children of the same Spirit, and which whom severally, I enjoyed the communion of God. One class were looking mostly at the literal promises and manifestations of the Kingdom, and the other at the spiritual.²

Minor's goal was to unite these two groups by convincing them that both had the Spirit of God and were teaching complementary aspects of the same truth. She herself blended the spiritual and literal views, which would explain why she was unwilling to take a stand during her meeting with Harmon. "God has joined the body and Spirit," she wrote, "the literal and the Spiritual, together, and we suffer loss, when we attempt to separate them." Minor expressed how much she had been blessed by those who held to

¹E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 2:72.

²C. S. Minor, "Letter from Sister Minor," *Day-Star*, November 22, 1845, 30.

the “spiritual view.” “We that have thus far looked mostly at the literal interpretation, have been verily ignorant of much of the blessedness and power of a class of scriptures that teach the glory that shall be revealed *in us* at the revelation of Jesus.”¹ Minor expressed herself similarly to Clemons’ comments on new covenant sanctification:

I believe that we are the “the temple of the living God,” and the Lord, by his Spirit came suddenly to his temple, on the 10th day of the 7th month, 1844. That he then changed his office work, in drawing near, in his second manifestation to the world. . . . He is now in a special work and sense, proving and preparing his people to reign with him. This sanctifying process, which is like fire consuming everything within us, that is not like Jesus, I understand to be entirely out of the Lord’s common, providential order, with his children in other days, and preparatory to our translation and his glory.²

Minor continued to believe that Jesus would come literally “as soon as his elect” were “thoroughly proved.”³ Thus she believed in a spiritual perfecting of God’s people as a preparation for the literal Second Coming. The tenor of her article seems to be against those who were opposed to the spiritual view. For her they had “lost their meekness, patience, and love” through a “spirit of bitterness, denunciation, and fear.”⁴

When Harmon, her sister Sarah, and Nichols came to the meeting with Minor and others, it was a mixed group that included “strong fanatics.” Harmon wrote:

They [the fanatics] dealt in a human or satanic influence, and called it the Spirit of God. I had not seen them before with my natural eyes, yet their countenances were familiar; for their errors and corrupting influence had been shown me and I felt forbidden to relate my vision in such a company. . . . The leading ones considered this a favorable opportunity to exert their influence over me, and cause me to yield to their views.⁵

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 2:73.

When Minor urged Harmon with flattery and kind words to relate her vision, she continued to refuse, saying that she “had not fellowship for their spirit.” They then attempted to command her to do her duty and tell them the visions. With the exception of warning some that Harmon believed were “honest,” she left the meeting without telling Minor or the group her visions. While it does not appear that James White was present at this meeting, he wrote to the *Day-Star* against “the Spiritualizers” in September and October.¹ In a subsequent letter he wrote: “The powers of the heavens have not yet been shaken. Who will say it is not literal, and apply it to the shaking and scattering of professed Christians! A literal sun and moon were darkened in 1780, literal stars or points of light fell from the literal heavens in 1833. And these same literal heavens are yet to shake before the Father’s voice.”² The idea of the literal/audible voice of God had an effect of reducing confidence in the growing spiritualizing concepts of many Bridegroom Adventists. Thus White, Harmon, Nichols, and others in harmony with them soundly rejected the spiritualizing and mesmeric ideas of many Bridegroom Adventists, even though it put them in opposition to leading voices such as Minor and Turner.

Within the next couple of years Minor embraced the millenarian view of the restoration of the Jews to Jerusalem and Palestine. In 1849, she, her son Charles, and a male friend, John Boyd, traveled to Jerusalem. Returning to Philadelphia in the spring of 1850, she gathered agricultural supplies to take to Palestine. She returned to Palestine in 1852 where she successfully helped Jews learn how to farm their land while she sought to

¹James White, “Letter from Bro. White,” *Day-Star*, September 6, 1845, 17; idem, “Letter from Bro. White,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 47.

²James White, “Letter from Bro. White,” *Day-Star*, November 29, 1845, 35. See also pp. 146-149 above.

evangelize them. Her agricultural efforts in Israel were greatly appreciated in Jewish circles despite their apprehension about her missionary aims. She died of cancer on November 6, 1855, near biblical Joppa at the relatively young age of 46.¹

Thus Harmon's first visit to Massachusetts was largely a time of struggle and conflict brought on by the opposition of Turner and Howell. Nevertheless, she gained a small base of support among Bridegroom Adventists in the region. Her most important supporter was Otis Nichols in Dorchester. As we will see, he played an important role in promoting her visions and ministry in Massachusetts.

Second Visit to Massachusetts

As fall 1845 was arriving, Otis Nichols invited Ellen Harmon and her sister Sarah to again visit the Boston area. He specifically asked that James White not travel with them in order to counter the belief that Harmon's visions were caused by his mesmerizing influence. Nichols' idea was to have Harmon visit the Advent "bands in Boston, Roxbury, and Randolph, and wherever the war against visions was manifest, to convince them if possible that they had been deceived by their teachers."² Accordingly, Harmon returned to the Nichols's home in Dorchester, Massachusetts. During this second trip, with Nichols' help, Harmon confronted the opposition against her visions.

While information is sketchy on her activities during this second trip, one meeting held in Randolph is prominent in later recollections. The Randolph story is most fully told by Nichols. Soon after the Harmon sisters arrived at Nichols' home, two of the

¹Yoel Rappel, "She Did What She Could," *Eretz Magazine*, Spring 1993, 70-74; see also Barbara Kreiger with Shalom Goldman, *Divine Expectations: An American Woman in 19th-Century Palestine* (Athens, OH: Ohio University, 1999).

²Otis Nichols, "Statement by Otis Nichols," n.d., EGWE-GC.

“principal leaders” from Boston, “G. Sargent and Robbins,” came to his home to talk and pray with him. They were “obstinate opposers” of Harmon’s visions. When they heard that Harmon was there, they found reasons to leave quickly but not before Robbins had warned Nichols “against her visions,” which he said were “of the devil.” Nichols expressed his disagreement and said that Harmon would like to attend their meeting in Boston the next Sabbath to share her testimony. Sargent expressed complete willingness and so the appointment was confirmed. The night previous to the appointment though, Harmon had a vision and “saw their hypocrisy.” Rather than meeting in Boston, the two men had arranged to be in Randolph in order to avoid meeting her. Nichols described the confrontation:

We went to Randolph and arrived rather late in the forenoon, and found Sargent and Robbins and F[rench] and a large roomful [*sic*] assembled in meeting. Their preachers were a good deal confused when we entered, as well as many others present, for they had expected we should have gone to Boston. They closed the forenoon exercises rather early. . . . About one o’clock P.M. the meeting was opened by singing and prayer by Sargent, Robbins, and French; then one of us prayed for the Lord to lead this meeting. Then Sister White commenced praying and was soon afterwards taken off in vision with extraordinary manifestations and continued talking in vision with a shrill voice which could be distinctly understood by all present, until about sundown.¹

The men sought to disrupt the people’s attention from what Harmon was saying by very loudly singing, talking, and reading from the Bible. As the afternoon passed, however, even some of their supporters requested that they be quiet, to which Robbins responded, “you are bound to an idol” and “you are worshipping a golden calf.” “Mr. Thayer, the owner of the house, was not fully satisfied that her vision was of the devil” and as a test he opened his “large quarto family Bible” and placed it on Harmon’s chest. She immediately “arose upon her feet and walked into the middle of the room, with the

¹Ibid.

Bible open in one hand and lifted up as high as she could reach, and with her eyes steadily looking upward declared in a solemn manner: ‘The inspired testimony of God.’ or words of the same import.” She continued to hold the Bible for some time and began to turn the pages and point to different passages with her finger as she quoted them correctly. Her eyes were not looking at the pages but were looking upward. When she rose with the Bible the men became silent but braved it out till the end. Yet even with this demonstration most of the Randolph band continued to reject her ministry.¹ Nevertheless, Harmon was progressively being established as a voice to the scattered group of supporters who opposed spiritualizing and mesmerism but still maintained faith in the October 1844 movement.

Ellen Harmon’s Time of Trouble Vision

During her trips to Boston, Harmon was mostly engaged in sharing her first three major visions as described in the last chapter—the Midnight Cry vision, the Bridegroom vision, and the New Earth vision. While in Carver, Massachusetts, during October 1845 she had her fourth major vision, known as the Time of Trouble vision. Her earliest description of this vision was published in the *Day-Star* some five months later. This vision was significant in that it convinced those who had faith in her visions to abandon their expectation that Jesus would come at the end of the Jubilee year and four watches. Her description of her vision is as follows:

About four months since, I had a vision of events, all in the future. And I saw the time of trouble, such as never was,—Jesus told me it was the time of Jacob’s trouble, and that we should be delivered out of it by the voice of God. Just before we entered it, we all received the seal of the living God. Then I saw the four Angels cease to hold the four winds. And I saw famine, pestilence and sword.

¹Ibid.

nation rose against nation, and the whole world was in confusion.—Then we cried to God for deliverance day and night till we began to hear the bells on Jesus' garment. And I saw Jesus rise up in the Holiest, and as he came out we heard the tinkling of the bells, and knew our High Priest was coming out. Then we heard the voice of God which shook the heavens and earth, and gave the 144,000 the day and hour of Jesus' coming. Then the saints were free, united and full of the glory of God, for he had turned their captivity. And I saw a flaming cloud where Jesus stood and he laid off his priestly garment and put on his kingly robe, took his place on the cloud which carried him to the east where it first appeared to the saints on earth, a small black cloud, which was the sign of the Son of Man. While the cloud was passing from the Holiest to the east which took a number of days, the Synagogue of Satan worshiped at the saints['] feet.¹

This vision, like her others, dramatically affected the people who had faith in her gift. The vision first focused their attention on the events leading up to the Second Coming. The idea that a worldwide time of trouble would precede the Advent had the effect of attenuating the practice of time setting. This change helped protect them from being caught up in the multiple, faith-weakening, time expectations that afflicted other Adventist groups in subsequent years. James White's (and presumably Otis Nichols') support for the Morning Watch concept ended before the expected date in the autumn of 1845. White wrote:

It is well known that many were expecting the Lord to come at the 7th month, 1845. That Christ would then come we firmly believed. A few days before the time passed, I was at Fairhaven, and Dartmouth, Mass[achusetts], with a message on this point of time. At this time, Ellen was with the band at Carver, Mass[achusetts], where she saw a vision, that we should be disappointed, and that the saints must pass through the "time of Jacob's trouble," which was future. Her view of Jacob's trouble was entirely new to us, as well as herself.²

Thus Ellen Harmon's visions helped at least some in the East to abandon their time setting as they came to realize that there were yet more events that needed to transpire before the Second Advent. Like her Bridegroom vision, her Time of Trouble

¹Ellen G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," *Day-Star*, March 14, 1846, 7 (written February 15, 1846).

²J. White, *A Word to the Little Flock*, 22.

vision reflected the themes and interests expressed by others in Adventist papers.¹ As we will observe later in this chapter, the Time of Trouble vision had the additional effect of countering the spiritualizing views of many Bridegroom Adventists.²

Harmon's visions and views were only one aspect that caused discussion and division among Bridegroom Adventists in Boston and other parts of New England. Another important belief, which was widely discussed and practiced, was Sabbatarianism. We will now examine the unique rationale for Sabbath keeping among Bridegroom Adventists and why some rejected it.

The Sabbath in Boston and New England

T. M. Preble's vitally important February 1845 article and March 1845 tract on the seventh-day Sabbath had led to an increased interest among Bridegroom Adventists in Sabbatarianism. As was noted in the last chapter, he and Joseph Marsh exchanged correspondence concerning the Sabbath.³ His lengthy letter to Marsh was published with a response on August 27, 1845, about the same time that Ellen Harmon first traveled to the Boston area.⁴ During the late summer and early fall, many Bridegroom Adventists were observing the "commandments," which included the salutation kiss, foot washing, the communion service, baptism, and often the seventh-day Sabbath.

In the Boston area many Bridegroom Adventists were Sabbatarians. Lewis

¹J. D. Prudden, "Time of Trouble," *Voice of Truth*, July 9, 1845, 377; idem, "Time of Trouble," *Voice of Truth*, August 6, 1845, 405, 406; idem, "Time of Trouble," *Voice of Truth*, September 17, 1845, 458, 459.

²See p. 263 below.

³See pp. 125-127 above.

⁴T. M. Preble, "The Sabbath," *Voice of Truth*, August 27, 1845, 432, 433; [Joseph Marsh], Reply to Br. Preble," *Voice of Truth*, August 27, 1845, 433, 444.

Hersey reported in a letter from Boston on August 13, 1845, that both the Sabbath and first day of the week were important: "Our little band in this city, find it good to keep holy the Sabbath day, and also find the verification of Christ's words, that they are happy that do his commands, in breaking bread and washing one another's feet, on the first, or resurrection day."¹ Another letter from Boston written August 8 by C. Main corroborates Hersey's comments and clarified that the seventh day was the Sabbath:

The Lord is blessing the bands at Randolph, Boston, and Lowell. In the latter place he has done a wonderful work. The brethren and sisters have come out of Babylon *again*, and are trying to keep *all* God's commandments, not excepting washing the saint's feet—the holy salutation, and God's Holy Sabbath—not the first day, but the day that was set apart for a sign until he comes. . . . We may be told it is all Sabbath with us now, and that it makes no difference which day we keep: But some of us have to work—we want rest, and we will have it on the seventh day.²

Jacobs, while supportive of foot washing, opposed the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath. He held to William Miller's view that it was a "type" or "shadow" of the "great Sabbath" "in the opening of the 1,000 years, at the end of the 6,000 in which man has performed all his work."³ Jacobs understood that the thousand years, or "day of the Lord" as he called it, had already begun with the "time of trouble" and that Christ had already commenced His "reign *before* he appears on earth, and before the saints are rewarded." Thus for Jacobs, "God's great Sabbath" began with the Jubilee year in 1844/1845 and would continue for a thousand years.⁴ He responded to Main and other Sabbatarians with the following comments:

¹Lewis Hersey, "Letter from Bro. Hersey," *Day-Star*, August 25, 1845, 12.

²C. Main, "Extract of a Letter from Bro. Main," *Day-Star*, August 25, 1845, 12.

³William Miller, *Lecture on the Typical Sabbaths and Great Jubilee* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 22-28.

⁴[Enoch Jacobs], "The Sabbath," *Day-Star*, August 11, 1845, 3,4; [idem], "The Sabbath," *Day-Star*, August 18, 1845, 5-7.

I have not the least unkind feeling toward those that are impressed with the duty of observing the *seventh day* as the Sabbath. If they regard the day to the Lord, it cannot be sin. . . . On the *first day* I meet the brethren at the Tabernacle [in Cincinnati, Ohio] where little children are taught the words of Jesus in the morning, and lectures given three times throughout the day. Taking the authority of Jesus, I cannot tell which of these two literal days are the most Holy.¹

At least one person in Boston accepted Jacobs' view on the Sabbath. Charles Burlingham wrote on September 5, 1845, "My soul was much comforted by the article on the 'Sabbath.' I was pleased with the spirit in which it was wrote [*sic*]. I see that there is great danger of the enemy driving the children too far." Burlingham wrote of those who were "contending that the seventh day was the Sabbath." "But there are those," he wrote, referring to those who believed the Great Sabbath had begun, "who have made a consecration of their all: They have laid their property on the altar and then got on themselves."² Israel Dammon who was in Boston on September 6, 1845, hinted to Jacobs that there were "but few who realize the position which we take on the Sabbath of rest." His comments suggest that he joined Burlingham and Jacobs in believing that Bridegroom Adventists "should rest from *all*" their "labors of a worldly nature, and also that kind of labor that we was [*sic*] once engaged in—the salvation of souls."³

In harmony with his policy of openness, Jacobs freely published letters supporting the seventh-day Sabbath, even though he disagreed with their conclusions. Henry Emmons of Boston corroborated Dammon's perception that Sabbatarianism was strong in the Boston area: "Our little Band in Boston generally on the Sabbath is chock-full, and a number has [*sic*] come in to the faith of keeping the day holy since I have come in among

¹[Enoch Jacobs], "Remarks," *Day-Star*, August 25, 1845, 12.

²Charles Burlingham, "Letter from Bro. Burlingham," *Day-Star*, September 20, 1845, 28.

³Israel Dammon, "Letter from Bro. Dammon," *Day-Star*, September 27, 1845, 31.

them. . . . Some have declared that \$50 dollars would not be accepted for the 7th day to work: Indeed a palsy has taken the hands of every brother and sister on this blessed day."¹ Lewis Hersey again wrote from Boston on November 4 to confess that he still believed in the "7th day, as the Sabbath," and that the "ten commandments are *equally* binding on us still."² Other letters from Massachusetts were published in the *Day-Star* expressing Sabbatarian sentiments.³ Even Joseph Turner joined the Sabbatarian ranks for a short time. He recollected in September 1847: "About two years since, my mind was peculiarly interested in relation to the Sabbath, and after serious and careful study, I became convinced that the seventh day was and is the Lord's Sabbath, and also that our Saturday was the seventh day.—Accordingly, I kept three Saturdays, if I remember correctly, as Sabbaths of the Lord."⁴

Sabbatarian sentiment extended beyond just the Boston area during the fall of 1845. R. E. Hamlin and his daughter wrote from Waterford, Maine, in support of the Sabbath.⁵ Stephen Pratt wrote from Jamaica, Vermont, that there were about forty Adventists who believed in "feetwashing" and the "shut door." Of the forty Adventists "about 20 of us," he wrote, "believe in the 7th day Sabbath."⁶ Oscar D. Gibson, while not sympathetic to the seventh-day Sabbath, mentioned "some" in the Houghtonville,

¹Henry Emmons, "Letter from Bro. Emmons," *Day-Star*, October 25, 1845, 6.

²Lewis Hersey, "Letter from Bro. Hersey," *Day-Star*, November 15, 1845, 24.

³George W. Jones, "Letter from Bro. Jones," *Day-Star*, August 25, 1845, 10; D. B. Gibbs, "Letter from Bro. Gibbs," *Day-Star*, November 22, 1845, 31; Oren Wetherbee, "Letter from Brother Wetherbee," *Day-Star*, January 24, 1846, 30.

⁴J. Turner, "Dear Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, September 23, 1845, 62.

⁵R. E. Hamlin, "Letter from a Child," *Day-Star*, October 3, 1845, 39.

⁶Stephen Pratt, "Letter from Bro. Pratt," *Day-Star*, November 1, 1845, 13.

Vermont, region “who preach that we must keep the seventh day as Sabbath, and in many places it has divided the saints.”¹ James L. Boyd wrote from Philadelphia that the Lord was sanctifying His people “through the truth,” which he listed as “feet-washing, the holy salutation, keeping the Sabbath.”² D. B. Gibbs accepted the Sabbath in October 1845 and gave biblical arguments for the Sabbath in his letter from West Becket, Massachusetts.³

These letters give an indication of the extent of Sabbatarianism among the largely Bridegroom oriented readership of the *Day-Star* during the fall of 1845. The interaction on the Sabbath in the *Day-Star* shows that while most Bridegroom Adventists accepted the “commandments” of foot washing, baptism, and even the salutation kiss, they were divided in regard to Sabbatarianism. In nearly every case the Sabbath was linked to these other ordinances. This was in contrast to T. M. Preble’s focus on the Sabbath as a part of the Ten Commandments and linked to creation. Of course both Preble and the spiritualizers sought to restore a New Testament faith before the Second Coming. In the Boston area Sabbatarian sentiment was particularly strong. While both spiritualizers and non-spiritualizers accepted the Sabbath,⁴ those who rejected spiritualizing seem to have mostly been unwilling to accept Sabbatarianism as well. These included Enoch Jacobs, James White, Ellen Harmon, Otis Nichols, and Israel Dammon.

¹Oscar D. Gibson, “The Sabbath,” *Voice of Truth*, September 24, 1845, 467.

²James L. Boyd, “Letter from Bro. J. L. Boyd,” *Day-Star*, November 22, 1845, 25.

³D. B. Gibbs, “Letter from Bro. Gibbs,” *Day-Star*, November 22, 1845, 31.

⁴Non-spiritualizing Sabbatarians included Lewis Hersey, “Letter from Bro. Hersey,” *Day-Star*, November 15, 1845, 24; H. Emmons, “Letter from Bro. Emmons,” *Day-Star*, December 20, 1845, 49, 50.

Summary and Perspective

The last four months of 1845 saw a series of disasters for Bridegroom Adventism. The loss of Samuel Snow and the *Jubilee Standard* to fanaticism, and the regression of Emily Clemons and the Pearson brothers with their papers *Hope of Israel* and *Hope Within the Veil* to Albany orthodoxy were compounded by the conflict over spiritualizing and the passing of the Jubilee year. As a result, the Bridegroom movement was left significantly diminished.

During this period those who believed in the literal events connected with the Second Coming emerged as the dominant influence in the *Day-Star*, the last remaining Bridegroom paper. The new leadership included ministers such as Enoch Jacobs, J. B. Cook, G. W. Peavey, T. F. Pomeroy, James White, and O. R. L. Crosier. J. D. Pickands who had been a leading opponent to the spiritual view reversed his position after the fall disappointment. As we will see in the next section, he played an important role in convincing Enoch Jacobs to adopt a spiritualizing view. Ellen Harmon's influence increased during this period as she clearly aligned herself with the literal view.

Evidence of Sabbatarianism sentiment among Bridegroom Adventists increased dramatically during the last half of 1845. While it had been within the provenance of Bridegroom Adventism since T. M. Preble's article was first published in the *Hope of Israel*, by the end of the summer the Sabbath became linked to other teachings—particularly the “commandments” of foot washing, communion, baptism, and the salutation kiss. While these latter ordinances were embraced by most, the Sabbath remained controversial. None of the principal leaders mentioned above became Sabbath advocates during 1845.

The influence of O. R. L. Crosier on sanctuary and atonement understanding rose

to prominence as Samuel Snow and his one-day atonement view diminished and Emily Clemons and Charles H. Pearson reverted to Albany orthodoxy. Crosier's emphasis did not include Clemons' idea of the new covenant or the perfecting of God's people in relation to it. His focus was rather on the antitypical aspects of the atonement as literally fulfilled in the heavenly sanctuary, the New Jerusalem, and the New Earth. His views will be covered in greater detail in the next section.

**Remaining Bridegroom Adventists: The Move Toward
Shakerism and the Scattered Remnant,
January Through May 1846**

The first months of 1846 brought about the final collapse of the Bridegroom Adventist movement. As 1845 ended, Bridegroom Adventists depended upon Enoch Jacobs and the *Day-Star* as the one remaining place where they could share their views. In Jacobs' paper a final struggle was unfolding between two contending Shut-Door groups—those with a literal view and those who spiritualized. Toward the beginning of January 1846 Jacobs embraced the spiritualizing view and began promoting it in the *Day-Star*. He rapidly moved toward Shakerism, and by April the *Day-Star* was no longer open to the ideas of Adventists who rejected Shaker sentiments. Except for sporadic, one-or-two-issue publications, Bridegroom Adventists were left without a publication to maintain communication and unity. The remaining “little flock” truly became a “scattered remnant.” The small handful of ministers and leaders, who gave guidance to the remaining few, emerged as the new leaders of a redefined movement. They rejected spiritualizing, adopted a heavenly sanctuary explanation for the October 1844 experience, and increasingly cherished a Sabbatarian viewpoint.

This section will trace the transition of Enoch Jacobs to Shakerism and examine

the views of remaining leaders, such as O. R. L. Crosier, J. B. Cook, Joseph Bates, James White, and Ellen Harmon. New leadership roles were established for each of these individuals. Crosier became the principal exponent of the heavenly sanctuary idea, Cook and Bates gave a new impetus to Sabbatarianism and joined James White and Ellen Harmon in countering spiritualizing views and in ratifying new positions. These individuals along with a few others became the initial core of a new and reorganized Shut-Door perspective.

Enoch Jacobs and the *Day-Star*'s Move toward Shakerism

In many ways Enoch Jacobs and his Ohio-based *Day-Star* was the last hope for Bridegroom Adventists. Most looked to him as the only remaining light shining in the midst of darkness. When he dramatically shifted from a literal to a spiritual view of the Second Coming and embraced Shakerism, many accepted his views and joined Shaker communities.

The Shakers had come to America with Ann Lee in 1774 and organized a millennial utopian society three years after her death in 1787. It was called the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing. By 1794 there were twelve communities in New England. The Shakers were able to convert three Presbyterian ministers who had led out in the August 1801 Cane Ridge camp-meeting revival in Kentucky. As a result, new communities were soon formed in Kentucky and Ohio. The society reached its greatest size and influence during the decades leading up to the Civil War. By the 1850s the society numbered some six thousand persons living in about twenty communities.¹ For Shakers, the Second Coming of Jesus was spiritual and "not

¹Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1972), 492-494; Hudson, *Religion in America*, 182-183.

the appearance of the same personal Being.”¹ For them the Second Coming or “second manifestation” as they called it was “not instantly universal but gradual and progressive.”² They also linked the second spiritual coming of Christ to the person of Ann Lee, who manifested the female element of the Godhead. “Hence,” for Shakers, “the image and likeness of the Eternal Mother was formed in her, as the first born Daughter, as really as the image and likeness of the Eternal Father was formed in the Lord Jesus, the first born Son.”³ Salvation was accomplished by an act of spiritual regeneration and a new birth, which brought a state of “perfection.” Perfection included the twelve virtues, of which the most controversial was living in a state of complete “contenance” or celibacy.⁴ Beyond their communal and celibate lifestyle, Shakers were known for their frugality, industry, and regulation. The term *Shaker* came from their distinctive style of worship, which included a ritualistic dance.⁵

Due to some doctrinal similarities between spiritualizing Adventists and the Shakers, it is not surprising that a fair number in Ohio and the West adopted the “spiritual” view and decided to join the Shaker community in Union Village, Ohio. Union Village was the first and most prominent Shaker community in the West. It was

¹*A Summary View of the Millennial Church, or United Society of Believers, Commonly Called Shakers: Comprising the Rise, Progress, and Practical Order of the Society Together with the General Principles of Their Faith and Testimony*, 2nd ed. (Albany, NY: O. Van Benthuysen, 1848), 245.

²Ibid., 251.

³Ibid., 265.

⁴Ibid., 296.

⁵See p. 236 below for Jacob’s description of “trembling” at his conversion.

second only to that of Lebanon, New York, in authority and size.¹ Crosier, who visited the village, described them as having about “four hundred members who own about 4000 acres of choice land under very good development.”² Crosier attempted to “labor” for the “many” Adventists who were “gathering among them [Shakers].” We will now trace Jacobs’s transition to Shakerism and the effect it had on Bridegroom Adventism.

Enoch Jacobs was most influenced by J. D. Pickands concerning the spiritual Second Coming. For a time Jacobs was unwilling to follow Pickands when he adopted the new view. Pickands wrote to Jacobs on November 17, 1845, and quickly got to the point: “We no longer stand gazing up into Heaven; this same Jesus has begun to return in like manner as he went into heaven—nay, do not startle through fear that I have lost my wits, nor turn away in disgust from a brother who still loves and honors you far more than language can express. Listen to me candidly, patiently, prayerfully.” Pickands bluntly told Jacobs, “I have changed my mind—so will you!”³ He argued that the Second Coming of Jesus was “*not a simple act, but A SERIES OF EVENTS.*” He further argued that while Christ had a body at his first coming for a “sin-offering,” at his Second Coming or “manifestation,” he would not have a “body” or “form.” Pickands further believed that Bridegroom Adventists were at the point where they had become “immortal” and would “never die.”⁴ In responding to this sensational letter, Jacobs confessed that he had strong

¹For further information on Shakers see: Priscilla J. Brewer, *Shaker Communities. Shaker Lives* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1986); Jean M. Humez, ed., *Mother’s First-Born Daughters: Early Shaker Writings on Women and Religion* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993); Daniel W. Patterson, *The Shaker Spiritual*, 2nd ed. (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2000).

²[O. R. L. Crosier], “Visit to the Shakers,” *Day-Dawn*, July 18, 1846, 2.

³J. D. Pickands, “Letter from Brother Pickands,” *Day-Star*, December 6, 1845, 38.

⁴*Ibid.*, 39.

emotions. In the course of just a few months, Snow, the Pearson brothers, and Clemons had abandoned the Bridegroom position and now Pickands and many others were moving into spiritualizing. In a somewhat disjointed way, Jacobs rejected Pickands' new views and attributed it to impatience. Jacobs wrote that he knew of only one person who had adopted the spiritual view in Cincinnati, but he expected others would seek for an "excuse to give up looking for Christ."¹

Pickands followed up with another letter on December 10, 1845. He reasserted his previous positions and intimated that J. B. Cook was with him in his view.² Jacobs emphatically denied that Cook had accepted the spiritual view of Christ's body and the resurrection. He concluded with an appeal to Pickands: "Rouse out of that by-path of mysticism, and 'come on!'"³ For a few more weeks the *Day-Star* actively opposed the spiritual view. Various letters and articles were published from correspondents who rejected Pickands and his spiritualizing perspective.⁴

In an attempt to help Pickands, Jacobs agreed to attend a conference in Cleveland, Ohio, beginning the first day of 1846.⁵ But rather than changing Pickands' views, the meeting dramatically reversed Jacobs' position. He wrote:

¹[Enoch Jacobs], "Bro. Pickands," *Day-Star*, December 6, 1845, 40, 41.

²J. D. Pickands, "Letter from Brother Pickands," *Day-Star*, January 3, 1846, 6, 7.

³[Enoch Jacobs], "Bro. Pickands," *Day-Star*, January 3, 1846, 9.

⁴T. F. Pomeroy, "Letter to Brother Pickands," *Day-Star*, December 27, 1845, 1; J. B. Cook, "Letter from Bro. Cook," *Day-Star*, December 27, 1845, 4; G. B. Purdy, "Letter from Bro. Purdy," *Day-Star*, January 3, 1846, 9; J. B. Cook, "Letter from Bro. Cook," *Day-Star*, January 3, 1846, 10; A. Penfield, "Extract of a Letter from Bro. Penfield," *Day-Star*, January 3, 1846, 12; J. B. Cook, "The Agencies Employed in the Judgment: A Brief Exposition of the Prophecy of Obediah 15-21," *Day-Star*, January 10, 1846, 18; Eli Curtis, "Letter from Bro. Curtis," *Day-Star*, January 10, 1846, 20; James White, "Letter from Bro. White," *Day-Star*, January 24, 1846, 25; J. B. Cook, "Letter from Bro. Cook," *Day-Star*, January 24, 1846, 32.

⁵"Conference," *Day-Star*, December 27, 1845, 3; J. B. Cook, "Letter from Bro. Cook," *Day-Star*, January 3, 1846, 10.

From reading the review of Bro. Pickands' letter, our readers can form some judgment of the feelings with which I attended the meeting. I went with the kindest feelings toward my *erring* brethren, but with a full determination, in the strength of God, to *put down* this anti-scriptural system of *Spiritualising*.¹

Throughout the meeting Jacobs held a tight line and "guarded against all their sympathies." But on the evening of January 5, 1846, he had a dramatic personal conversion where he "began to tremble in every limb." On that evening he "received the Kingdom as a little child." "That kingdom is here," he wrote, "and by digging in the field I have found it. Hallelujah!" He then wrote:

I know the anxiety many of you have for me, and how you have trembled lest I should run into what we have reproachfully termed Spiritualism, but I now am satisfied that my present views and experience much better accord with the plain literal reading of the Bible than ever before. Indeed I rejoice at having escaped a very dangerous kind of Spiritualising.²

After returning to Cincinnati, Jacobs gave his testimony to those assembled for a meeting. To his mind the result was dramatic. "Almost every one of the brethren" testified "that the spirit of God bore it in their hearts, and caused them to tremble in every limb." Also his wife and daughter received his "testimony" and began to rejoice "in the Kingdom." Jacobs' superlative language in describing his experience demonstrates that he had made a dramatic shift in his thinking. His position of influence caused others to join his theological perspective.³

On January 24, 1846, he published his new view on the Second Coming. In this first Bible study, he expressed his belief that the "same, real, literal, Jesus Christ, the Son of God," would "come again."⁴ Jacobs' position in January is quite similar to what

¹[Enoch Jacobs], "The Cleveland Conference," *Day-Star*, January 17, 1846, 23.

²Ibid., 24.

³[Enoch Jacobs], "The Meetings," *Day-Star*, January 17, 1846, 24.

⁴[Enoch Jacobs], "The Second Coming," *Day-Star*, January 24, 1846, 29.

Clorinda Minor presented in her letter reporting on her visit to Boston and New York.¹ Nevertheless, Jacobs, Minor, and many others were focusing on the spiritual application of the Second Coming and the spiritual came to eclipse the literal.

January 1846 was the beginning of a transition that would leave Bridegroom Adventists without a regular paper to express their views. One spiritualizer in Boston warned of the change that would come to the *Day-Star*: “There are many in the East who will avail themselves of the reading of the ‘Star,’ and you will undoubtedly lose some of its old patronage, but a class of friends are, and will be raised to sustain it.”² As time passed more and more letters and articles were published which promoted the spiritualizing perspective. These letters and articles increasingly came from Shaker communities.³ Some, on the other hand, wrote to lament the change. These included Elvira Hastings, who would later become a close friend of Ellen White. “We were made sad,” she wrote, “at first upon learning that you had embraced these spiritualizing views. We felt as though this little luminary—the Star, was to be eclipsed, and set in the fogs of mysticism.” She then implied that even if Jacobs had changed his views, the “Star” could be a “medium through which to comfort one another still.”⁴ But alas for literalists, Jacobs’ openness was rapidly ending and his distance from his former views and colleagues continued to increase. Hastings’ hope of a “medium” of “comfort” was soon seen to have been misplaced.

¹C. S. Minor, “Letter from Sister Minor,” *Day-Star*, November 22, 1845, 30; idem. “To the Remnant: ‘Little Children—Love One Another’,” *Day-Star*, January 31, 1846, 34.

²M. Williamson, “Letter from Bro. Williamson,” *Day-Star*, February 14, 1846, 51.

³Henry B. Bear, “Letter from Bro. Bear,” *Day-Star*, February 14, 1846, 51, 52.

⁴Elvira Hastings, “Letter from Sister Hastings,” *Day-Star*, March 28, 1846, 15.

Even in connection with the *Day-Star* Extra, published on February 7, 1846, Jacobs was presenting his spiritualizing views. In his brief remarks concerning Crosier's article he wrote: "The long article of Bro. Crosier's will be read with interest by many, though God is now affording his children much more light. O the wonders of his grace. The next number of our paper will be a rich feast for the household—containing the testimonies of those who have been 'born again' and 'see the Kingdom of God.'"¹

By the end of February, Jacobs had concluded that it was his "duty" to regard his wife as only "a *sister* in the Lord." He utterly denied that their group had embraced the "doctrine of spiritual wives." In fact, he was advocating the "direct opposite." He concluded: "We believe Christ is 'the way,' and that it is the present duty of Christians to live as he did—a life of celibacy, for the Kingdom of heaven's sake."²

Further changes quickly developed. Jacobs reported concerning Adventists in the Cincinnati area that "as fast as these children have been born to see the Kingdom of God, they have promptly, by the teachings of the spirit, without the commandment of any one, laid aside the mode of living peculiar to the world, such as the use of tea, coffee, tobacco, meat, &c." He also indicated that a "number of the families of the brethren have [maritally] separated and some have sent their children to the Shaker settlement."³ The natural next step was to begin moving to Shaker communities. In an article titled "The Gathering," Jacobs asked, "Is Christ now gathering in his saints?" His answer was clear: "Many have been already thrust out of Babylon, and the Shakers are affording a shelter

¹[Enoch Jacobs], "The Present Number," *Day-Star* Extra, February 7, 1846, 44.

²[Enoch Jacobs], "The Strait Gate," *Day-Star*, February 28, 1846, 61.

³[Enoch Jacobs], "The Meetings," *Day-Star*, March 14, 1846, 8.

for some till the providence of God shall open a wider field.” His idea of a progressive spiritual Second Coming was linked to Shaker communities, which he believed had been renewed. “Some spots of earth are already redeemed from under the curse,” he wrote, “and if we quickly move in the opening providences of God, we shall soon be with all the children of God to part no more forever.”¹

The changes described by Jacobs and particularly the act of sending children to Shaker communities led to public indignation in Cincinnati. Jacobs made a weak disclaimer that for him it would be a “sin” to “abandon” his “children to the tuition of the Shakers.”² The verbal attacks against Jacobs in Cincinnati escalated and the authorities notified him that a threat had been made on his life. Consequently, Jacobs moved his printing office thirty-four miles down the Ohio River to Rising Sun, Indiana, but continued to publish the *Day-Star* in Cincinnati to expedite delivery time.³

J. B. Cook, who rejected the spiritual view, considered the breaking up of families and the ending of marital relationships to be “fanaticism.”⁴ “All that the beloved John says of Christ’s having *come*,” he wrote, “is true only of the first Advent. His description of the Second, has *not* been realized. No one of us is ‘in Glory’ *like* Jesus. There is no one shining like ‘the Sun, in the kingdom of their Father.’” The notion that immortality was a “process” and thus rejecting the “change at the resurrection” he saw as “*wide* of the

¹[Enoch Jacobs], “The Gathering,” *Day-Star*, March 21, 1846, 12. See also G. W. Peavey, “New Earth and New Jerusalem,” *Day-Star*, March 28, 1846, 13, 14.

²[Enoch Jacobs], “The Meetings,” *Day-Star*, March 14, 1846, 8.

³[Enoch Jacobs], “Removal of the Press,” *Day-Star*, March 7, 1846, 4; [idem], “The Paper,” *Day-Star*, March 14, 1846, 8.

⁴[J. B. Cook], “Limitations to Divine Precept—Extremes,” *Advent Testimony*, April 1846, 14.

truth.”¹ As an afterthought, possibly in connection with his rejection of spiritualizing ideas, Cook also asserted that the “soul” did not “reside in the body, as a bird in a cage.” Instead, he believed “MAN *became* a LIVING SOUL.”²

In attempting to help Jacobs, Crosier articulated a position not too far removed from that of Emily Clemons and her new covenant sanctification view. He wrote:

Many seem not to have discovered that there is a literal and a spiritual temple—the literal being the Sanctuary in New Jerusalem (literal city), and the spiritual the church—the literal occupied by Jesus Christ, our King and Priest. . . . Between these two there is a perfect concert of action, as Christ “prepares the *place*” the Spirit does the people. When he came to his temple, the sanctuary, to cleanse it: the Spirit commenced the special cleansing of the people. Mal. 3:1-3. It is no marvel to my mind that many of our dear brethren and sisters in the absorbing sweetness and glory of the latter house have lost sight of the former.³

But Jacobs had progressed to the point where he could not accept Crosier’s belief that anything connected with the Second Coming could be “literal.” “The term ‘literal’ which you apply to the temple,” Jacobs wrote, “cannot be applied to anything belonging to the everlasting Kingdom. . . . The term real, will do better, for all things in this Kingdom are spiritual.”⁴

Crosier was so exercised by the effect Jacobs was having in convincing Bridegroom Adventists to accept the “spiritual” view that he published a second number of his *Day-Dawn* in Cincinnati. It was published in July but his letter was dated in April, soon after the above exchange in the *Day-Star*. After the April 18 letter with Jacobs’ response, Crosier’s letters and those “of a similar character from other brethren” were

¹[J. B. Cook], “We Know the Son of Man Is Come—‘In the Flesh’,” *Advent Testimony*, April 1846, 16.

²[J. B. Cook], “The Soul,” *Advent Testimony*, April 1846, 16.

³O. R. L. Crosier, “Letter from Bro. Crosier,” *Day-Star*, April 18, 1846, 31.

⁴[Enoch Jacobs], “Remarks,” *Day-Star*, April 18, 1846, 32.

“from that time excluded from the ‘Star’; notwithstanding its professed freedom as an organ of mutual communication for the brethren.”¹ Jacobs even took the additional step of refusing to provide Crosier with a list of his subscribers.² In summarizing Jacobs’ effect on Bridegroom Adventists in Ohio, Crosier wrote: “Nothing encouraging can be said of the ‘state of things in Ohio,’ only that the scattering is the last thing before ‘these wonders’ end in the deliverance of ‘everyone that shall be found written in the book.’”³

The exodus from Bridegroom Adventism came in two phases. The first was during the fall of 1845 when many followed the Pearson brothers and Clemons back to Albany orthodoxy. The second occurred largely as a result of Jacobs’ spiritualizing influence. As early as February 1846, Jacobs reported that “about 100 brethren and sisters” met daily to “talk of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.”⁴ This initially Adventist gathering began to move toward Shakerism. By May 1846 Adventists from the East were beginning to arrive “in considerable numbers” to “assemble by themselves” or “among the Shakers.” Jacobs mentioned eleven individuals including Dr. R. C. Gorgas of Philadelphia.⁵ It should be noted that Jacobs did not reject the significance of the October 1844 experience but rather redefined its meaning to align with the Shaker idea of a progressive spiritual Second Coming.

Jacobs remained a Shaker until the summer of 1847, when he came under the

¹[O. R. L. Crosier], “Letter to Bro. Jacobs,” *Day-Dawn*, July 18, 1846, 1.

²[O. R. L. Crosier], “We Labor Under Embarrassment,” *Day-Dawn*, July 18, 1846, 3.

³[O. R. L. Crosier], “Nothing Encouraging,” *Day-Dawn*, July 18, 1846, 3.

⁴[Enoch Jacobs], “The Cause in This Place,” *Day-Star*, February 21, 1846, 55.

⁵Enoch Jacobs, “Letter from Bro. Jacobs,” *Day-Star*, May 9, 1846, 44.

influence of the Spiritualist movement.¹ J. D. Pickands continued with Jacobs in promoting the spiritual view until April 1846, when he confessed his “delusion” and “sad departures from the word of God” and returned to the fold of orthodoxy.²

O. R. L. Crosier and the Continuing Idea of an Extended Atonement

With the end of Clemons’ and the Pearsons’ support for the extended atonement concept, Crosier was left almost alone to promote the idea—albeit a few other correspondents shared his views.³

When the *Hope Within the Veil* editors abandoned the Shut-Door and Bridegroom concept, one of the articles they failed to publish was the second number of a series by Crosier entitled “Sanctuary.” Crosier’s article seems to have linked the sanctuary to the atonement. “What think you of the Atonement?” Crosier wrote to Jacobs, “I fear the brethren do not search it close enough. It is not yet finished; but we are in the Antitype of the tenth day Atonement.”⁴ In a letter to Marsh at about the same time, Crosier summarized his views on a two-apartment ministry of Jesus in the heavenly sanctuary and connected it to the New Jerusalem rather than to the church, Palestine, or earth as

¹Enoch Jacobs letter to Hervey L. Eads, *Manifesto*, November 1891, 21: 250-251. See Lawrence Foster, “Had Prophecy Failed? Contrasting Perspectives of Millerites and Shakers,” in *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1987), 174. Other sources on the Millerite relation to Shakers include Stephen J. Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers* (New Haven CT: Yale University, 1992), 209-211; Edward Deming Andrews, *The People Called Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society* (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 221-223.

²[Joseph Marsh], “Bro. Pickands,” *Voice of Truth*, April 29, 1846, 36; J. D. Pickands, “J. D. Pickands to E. Jacobs,” *Voice of Truth*, May 6, 1846, 42-44.

³E.g., Otis Nichols, “Letter from Bro. Nichols,” *Day-Star*, September 24, 1845, 34.

⁴O. R. L. Crosier, “Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier,” *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 50.

others had done. "There were two grand divisions to both the typical and anti-typical atonement," he wrote, "viz., (1st.) the daily services, and (2^d.) the yearly." In Crosier's view the daily continued from the "first advent, till the seventh month, '44." The "yearly" service or the cleansing of the "Sanctuary of the New Covenant" began at the "end of the 2300 days." This Sanctuary "was not the church nor the earth, but the New Jerusalem."¹

As has been noted, Crosier thought that Christ would come in 1847 rather than 1845. He accordingly wrote to Jacobs as the fall 1845 date was passing and sought to show how Bridegroom Adventist misunderstanding concerning typology and the sanctuary was the cause of their mistakes:

I suppose you with many others of the dear brethren and sisters are again disappointed. . . . The great cause of our mistakes has doubtless been a misconception of the legal types and their antitypes. Had we faithfully obeyed the last commandment of the Old Testament (Mal. 4:4;) we should doubtless have been saved from many errors.²

Crosier then proceeded to review the ideas Samuel Snow had presented concerning the spring and fall festivals. He reviewed how the Passover and other spring festivals were antitypically connected to Christ's first advent while the Day of Atonement and the fall festivals were antitypically linked to His second advent. He then restated more clearly the same view concerning an extended atonement that he had presented in the March 1845 *Day-Dawn*. He wrote:

The antitype of the tenth day of the seventh month is not one literal day nor year, but must be *many* years. The law was rigidly precise about the time of this yearly work; it could only be done on the tenth day of the seventh month, hence

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "The Springwater Affair," *Voice of Truth*, October 29, 1845, 505.

²O. R. L. Crosier, "Dear Bro. Jacobs," *Day-Star*, November 15, 1845, 23; see also idem, "The Springwater Affair," *Voice of Truth*, October 29, 1845, 505.

its antitype must begin on that day of some year. The antitype of this day is not identical with the thousand years' "day of the Lord," but *includes it*; the former [Day of Atonement] being on the tenth of the seventh month when our great High Priest entered the Holy of Holies, but the latter [thousand years] will not begin till the first resurrection; before which the sanctuary of the second covenant must be cleansed.¹

Thus Crosier laid the foundation and prepared the way for his most important publication, the February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* Extra. Rather than being a monumental new work that changed the course of Bridegroom Adventist thinking, it was instead a more complete explanation of concepts introduced nearly a year previous in the *Day-Dawn* and expanded on during the summer and fall of 1845. The *Day-Star* Extra was published largely through the private funding of F. B. Hahn and Hiram Edson.² Since many Bridegroom Adventists had abandoned or were in the process of abandoning the Bridegroom message, the *Day-Star* Extra, while widely read, influenced a limited group.

While many aspects of Bridegroom Adventism during 1845 and 1846 have been lightly studied, the February 7 *Day-Star* Extra has been carefully examined.³ Crosier described his publication in a later recollection thus: "Our study was put into an article of fifty foolscap pages and published in 1846 in a large extra edition of the Day Star [*sic*] published at Cincinnati, Ohio, by Enoch Jacobs, and widely distributed. The article was written at Dr. Hahn's house, he helped very materially in its preparation, and bearing a

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Dear Bro. Jacobs," *Day-Star*, November 15, 1845, 23.

²Hiram Edson and F. B. Hahn, "To the Brethren and Sisters Scattered Abroad," *Day-Star* Extra, February 7, 1846, 44.

³Haddock, "A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary," 111-129; Damsteegt, "Among Sabbatarian Adventists," 29-41; Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, 4:889-905, 1228-1234; Kurt Bangert, "A Summary and Appraisal of O. R. L. Crosier's Article in the *Day-Star* Extra" (Term paper, AU, 1974); Alberto Ronald Timm, "O. R. L. Crosier: A Biographical Introduction" (Term paper, AU, 1991), 8-17.

large share of the expense.”¹

As far as can be determined the February 7 edition was the only Extra issue published by the *Day-Star*. The issue is significant for several reasons. It is the lengthiest exposition ever published in the *Day-Star*, containing seven and a half pages of three-column tightly written text. This long article also presented a more mature exposition of the Bridegroom concept at a time when most were abandoning the idea.² For the remaining believers it served as a reference point to explain the heavenly sanctuary and a special end-time ministry of Jesus in heaven connected to the termination of the 2300-day time prophecy in October 1844. Finally, it remained an important publication because Ellen Harmon, Joseph Bates, and others endorsed it as being a correct view.

Crosier’s article in the *Day-Star* Extra was titled “The Law of Moses.” His exposition, much like his March 1845 *Day-Dawn* article, was an expansion on the typological applications made by Samuel Snow in his *True Midnight Cry* publication in the weeks previous to October 22, 1844.³ Crosier had introduced the idea of an extended atonement in the second apartment of the heavenly sanctuary through the *Day-Dawn* and subsequent articles in various Adventist papers. But in the *Day-Star* Extra he gave a more detailed and elaborate biblical exposition. An overview of this lengthy publication will now be presented.

Crosier first sought to demonstrate that the “Mosaic law” or “First Covenant” was

¹O. R. L. Crozier, “Early History of Ontario County Revealed in Story of Late Owen R. L. Crozier,” *Daily Messenger*, November 22, 1923, 22.

²O. R. L. Crozier, “The Law of Moses,” *Day-Star* Extra, February 7, 1846, 38–44.

³See pp. 31, 32 above.

a “type” or “figure” of a future “New Covenant.” He then carefully showed how the spring festivals were fulfilled in connection with the first Advent. Next he turned to one of the core ideas in the article. He linked the earthly sanctuary in Jerusalem and the heavenly sanctuary to the New Jerusalem. “We have been so long and industriously taught,” he wrote, “to look to the earth for the Sanctuary.” But he could find no “scriptural authority” to believe this. He demonstrated that the sanctuary to be cleansed was not the land of Israel or the earthly Jerusalem. After giving some fifty texts, he exclaimed: “Not one applies it [the sanctuary] to the land of Palestine, nor any land.” Crosier sought to demonstrate that the heavenly sanctuary was defiled by the action of the Papacy.

This “politico-religious” beast polluted the Sanctuary, (Rev. 13:6.) and cast it down from its place in heaven . . . when they called Rome the holy city (Rev. 21:2) and enstalled [*sic*] the Pope there with the titles, “Lord God the Pope,” “Holy Father,” “Head of the Church,” &c., and there in the counterfeit “temple of God” he professed to do what Jesus actually does in his Sanctuary; 2 Thes. 2:1-8. The Sanctuary has been trodden underfoot (Dan. 8:13,) the same as the Son of God has; Heb. 10:29.¹

Crosier then turned to the priestly ministry of Christ and again drew a typological connection between the earthly priesthood and the heavenly priesthood of Jesus. He focused on the atonement in both the typical and antitypical system and concluded that the two apartments of the earthy sanctuary were a type of the heavenly sanctuary. When Jesus ascended to heaven after His resurrection He entered the “first apartment” of the heavenly sanctuary where He carried on a work corresponding to the “daily” service of the earthly sanctuary.² Crosier connected the yearly atonement made in the second

¹O. R. L. Crosier, “The Law of Moses,” *Day-Star Extra*, February 7, 1846, 38.

²*Ibid.*, 39, 40.

apartment of the sanctuary to the Day of Atonement in 1844.¹ He believed that the final atonement began on that day and would continue until after the Second Coming and throughout the millennial “age to come.” Crosier wrote:

We think it has been shown that the atonement of the Gospel dispensation is the antitype of that made by the priests in their daily service, and that prepared for and made necessary the yearly atonement; and *cleansed* the Sanctuary of the people from all their sins. It appears like certainty, that the antitypes of the daily ministrations of the priests and the vernal types stretch through the Gospel Dispensation; as that composed but part of the atonement and antitypes, we have good reason to believe that the remaining antitype, the autumnal, and the remainder of the atonement, the yearly, will be fulfilled on the same principle as to time and occupy a period or dispensation of at least 1000 years.²

Crosier saw that the cleansing of the sanctuary had begun in 1844 and would conclude with the final removal of sin from God’s people. Yet the full removal of the blot of sin he saw as continuing through the “Dispensation of the fullness of times, the age to come” or the millennium. In his understanding, the millennium would be “literally an age of repairs, in which immortal saints will engage under the supervision of the King of kings—an age of restitution, of blotting out of sin with all its direful effects . . . the grand and final Jubilee.”³

In connection with the cleansing of the sanctuary, and in anticipation of the age to come, Crosier connected the typical action of laying the sins upon the scapegoat to Christ who laid the sins of God’s people upon Satan. The sins are then carried into the wilderness as the “thousand years imprisonment of Satan will have begun.” Thus the “antitype of the legal tenth day, the Dispensation of the fulness [*sic*] of times, must begin

¹Ibid., 41.

²Ibid., 42.

³Ibid.

long enough before the 1000 years of Rev. 20: to give time for the cleansing of the Sanctuary, and the antitype of confessing and putting the sins on the head of the scapegoat.”¹

Crosier briefly suggested that the time of trouble (without using the words) occurred during the short time between the conclusion of the cleansing of the sanctuary and the first resurrection. He wrote: “The last end of the indignation is evidently the bitter persecutions, and the severe and searching trial of God’s people after the Sanctuary is cleansed, and before the indignation is *made to cease* in the destruction of the little Horn. . . . The Sanctuary must be cleansed before the resurrection.”²

In pressing towards the conclusion of his study, Crosier linked the gospel dispensation of the entire Christian age to the “dispensation of the fullness of times,” which began in 1844. “There is a short period of overlapping or running together of the two Dispensations,” he wrote, “in which the peculiarities of both mingle like the twilight, minglings [*sic*] of light and darkness.”³ He compared this end-time blending of two dispensations with what happened during Christ’s ministry on earth when the Old Testament “legal dispensation” overlapped with the “Gospel Dispensation.” This view suggested that salvation was still available, at least for some, during the transitional period since 1844.⁴

Crosier concluded his article by referring back to the Bridegroom concept.

¹Ibid., 43.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., 44.

⁴See also Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 130-132.

Christ is the Bridegroom and New Jerusalem the Bride. The marriage then signifies their union in a special sense, and of course must take place where the bride is, in the heavens. The heavens must receive Jesus *till* the times of restitution, then the Father will *send* him *from* the heavens. He went to his Father's House in the New Jerusalem, and when he has prepared it he will come again *from* it to receive us.¹

Thus Crosier shifted the original Bridegroom concept as presented by Joseph Turner and Samuel Snow to allow a period of time for the completion of the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary. Then would come the Second Advent and the millennial age when sin is blotted out and God "comforts" his people.

John Pearson Jr. wrote against Crosier's *Day-Star* Extra article:

He is very fast traveling the same unstable road of mysticism, robbing the word of God of its simplicity and beauty, and wrapping around the gospel a species of fallacious; insidious reasoning, well calculated to lead a brother or sister into a path of bewildering confusion. . . . He believes that the 2300 years, the length of Daniel's vision, is out and the sanctuary spoken of in the same chapter, cleansed. This sanctuary is the holy of holies, and the holy of holies is the New Jerusalem. . . . On or about the 10th of the 7th month, A. D. 1844, Christ went from the *Holy Place*, where he had been for 1800 years in "heaven itself" . . . into the *Most Holy* place, and then commenced the work of "cleansing the sanctuary."²

Pearson just dismissed Crosier's whole idea as a "ridiculous mixture of absurdities" and refused to even answer the argument.

Crosier's ideas on the sanctuary and atonement were developed in print beginning with the March 1845 *Day-Dawn* and developing further during the summer of 1845 through the publication of Clemons' *Hope Within the Veil*. After the collapse of Clemons' paper, Crosier was further confirmed in his conviction that his typological application of Levitical imagery refuted the rampant spiritualizing ideas circulating among Bridegroom Adventists. He expressed these convictions in the *Day-Star* during

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "The Law of Moses," *Day-Star* Extra, February 7, 1846, 44.

²[John Pearson, Jr.], "Word of Warning," *Voice of Truth*, February 25, 1846, 66.

the autumn of 1845, where he provided the basic outline of his ideas. These were finally developed in full through the February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* Extra, which became the standard reference on the subject of the antitypical Day of Atonement and explanation for the October 1844 disappointment.

The Role of Hiram Edson

Hiram Edson (1806-1882) and F. B. Hahn endorsed Crosier's "Law of Moses" article in the February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* Extra, with the following words: "We have prayerfully examined the subject presented by Brother Crosier in the light of God's word, and are fully satisfied it is meat in due season, and if properly examined and understood will settle many difficulties in the minds of many brethren at this time."¹ The two men indicated that they were covering half of the \$30.00 expense of the publication, with an invitation for any who wished to remit their contributions to Hahn in Canandaigua, New York. Edson recollected the background of the publication many years later in a manuscript fragment:

Brother Hahn and myself, held a consultation with regard to the propriety of sending out the light on the subject of the sanctuary. We decided it was just what the scattered remnant needed; for it would explain the disappointment, and set the brethren on the right track. We agreed to share the expense between us, and said to Crosier, "Write out the subject of the sanctuary. Get out another number of the Day Dawn [*sic*], and we will try to meet the expenses." He did so and the Day Dawn [*sic*] was sent out bearing the light on the sanctuary subject.²

One aspect of this reminiscence is probably flawed, most likely due to an understandable slip of memory with the passage of time. The first issue of the *Day-Dawn*

¹Hiram Edson and F. B. Hahn, "To the Brethren and Sisters Scattered Abroad," *Day-Star* Extra, February 7, 1846, 44. For an extensive study on Hiram Edson, see James Nix, "The Life and Work of Hiram Edson" (term paper, AU, 1971).

²[Hiram Edson], manuscript fragment, autograph, n.d., AU.

had been published in March 1845, but the second issue was not published until July 18, 1846, as a response to Jacob's move to Shakerism. Edson's second reference to the *Day-Dawn* in the quote cited above very likely meant the February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* Extra, but mistakenly called it the "Day Dawn."¹ It is also possible that Crosier's article published in the *Day-Star* Extra was reprinted at some later date in the *Day-Dawn* and Edson may have confused the two.²

During the twentieth century, in Seventh-day Adventist circles, Edson came to be viewed as the first to understand and explain the October 1844 disappointment through an understanding of the heavenly sanctuary.³ The primary source for this tradition came through Hiram Edson himself. The manuscript fragment, probably written towards the end of his life, provides his account of what happened the morning after the October 1844 disappointment:

After breakfast I said to one of my brethren, "Let us go and see, and encourage some of our brethren." We started, and while passing through a large field I was stopped about midway of the field. Heaven seemed open to my view, and I saw distinctly, and clearly, that instead of our High Priest coming out of the Most Holy of the heavenly sanctuary to come to this earth on the tenth day of the seventh month, at the end of the 2300 days, that he for the first time entered on that day the second apartment of that sanctuary; and that he had a work to perform in the Most Holy before coming to this earth. That he came to the marriage at that time; in other words, to the Ancient of days, to receive a kingdom, dominion, and glory; and we must wait for his return *from the wedding*; and my mind was directed to the tenth ch[apter] of Rev[elation] where I could see the vision had spoken and did not lie; the seventh angel had began [*sic*] to sound; we had eaten the littl[e] book; it had been sweet in our mouth, and it had now become bitter in

¹C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Hiram Edson Manuscript Fragment," n.d., AU.

²James White, *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* n.p., 1847, 1; [idem], "The Sanctuary," *Review and Herald*, May 5, 1851, 80.

³Arthur Whitefield Spalding, *Captains of the Host: First Volume of a History of Seventh-day Adventists Covering the Years 1845-1900* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1949), 91-105; idem, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1961), 97-113.

our belly, embittering our whole being. That we must prophesy again, etc., and that when the seventh angel began to sound, the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament, etc.

While I was thus standing in the midst of the field, my comrade passed on almost beyond speaking distance before missing me. He enquired, "Why I was stopping so long?" I replied, "The Lord was answering our morning prayer; by giving light with regard to our disappointment." I talked these things to my brethren.¹

While the events and insights as described by Edson may have happened as described, there is no extant contemporary evidence. A few scholars have expressed doubts concerning aspects of his recollection.² Several important details need to be noted. Only twelve leaves of the manuscript are extant, with both the beginning and ending missing.³ Therefore, any clarifications that Edson may have made in other parts of the manuscript are not available to the reader. Beyond that, there are no published references to Edson's cornfield experience until after his death in 1882.⁴ While Edson is named with Hahn in publishing the February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* Extra, only Hahn is named with Crosier in the first issue of the *Day-Dawn* in March of 1845, which laid the foundation for his later work. The one extant letter from Edson during 1845 was written on May 2 and published in the *Jubilee Standard*. His letter did not make reference to sanctuary concepts, but is rather linked to Bridegroom ideas that were circulating at the

¹[Hiram Edson], manuscript fragment, autograph, n.d., AU.

²James R. Nix, "The Life and Work of Hiram Edson" (Term paper, AU, 1971), 22-41, contains the most complete discussion of the Edson manuscript and other sources. See also Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 117; Don Frank Neufeld, "Edson's October 23 Experience," *Adventist Review*, January 17, 1980, 18-19; Fernand Fisel, "The Vision in the Cornfield: History or Apologetics?" n.d., EGWE-LL;

³From A. W. Spaulding's reflections it seems that more of the manuscript was extant in 1910. See A. W. Spaulding, "Light on the Sanctuary: Adapted from the Manuscript of Hiram Edson," *Youth's Instructor*, March 8, 1910, 4-6.

⁴B. L. Whitney, "Edson," *Review and Herald*, February 21, 1882, 126; Loughborough, *Rise and Progress*, 1892, 114.

time. The primary purpose of his letter was to argue that the 1335 days would conclude in August 1845 with the Second Coming of Jesus. He wrote:

We believe we have good evidence that the 1335 days end this year, and I cannot extend them beyond August next. . . . Have we not had the midnight cry, the antitype of the Jubilee trumpet in the 49th year? . . . Also the marriage of the Lamb is come. . . . We came up to the types of the 7th month, and was not the Lord in it? Is not the cloud between us and our enemies? We came upon the types of the Passover in the first month, and was not the Lord in it? Was not the Passover the day-dawn, and is not the day-star arising? Are we not in the morning watch? . . . Have not the servants of God been sealed in their foreheads? The destroying angel has commenced hurting the earth. The four winds are being loosed, and the speedy preparations, are being made for the slaughter, and soon the Lord shall raise up a *great whirlwind* from the coasts of the earth. On rushes the time of trouble, but the Lord will be the hope of his people, and deliver them out of it.¹

The similarity of this published statement with those of his Bridegroom contemporaries does not suggest any unique sanctuary understanding. Finally, Crosier's write-up in his first *Day-Dawn* issue in March 1845 presents his ideas in a tentative way which continued to develop as evidenced by his fall 1845 letters and by the February 7, 1846, *Day-Star Extra*.² It is possible that Edson influenced Crosier's understanding, but the only evidence is a partial manuscript written by Edson decades after the events described. While Edson may have had the inspiring cornfield experience he describes, there is no contemporary evidence that his ideas were as fully developed as he described in his recollection.

It should be noted that Hiram Edson did play a vital and historically verifiable

¹Hiram Edson, "Letter from Bro. Edson," *Jubilee Standard*, May 29, 1845, 91; for others writing on the 1335 days see H. H. Gross, "Termination of the 1335 Days," *Jubilee Standard*, June 12, 1845, 109-110; idem, "Termination of the 1335 Years," *Voice of Truth*, July 2, 1845, 365, 366; idem, "Food in Due Season," *Jubilee Standard*, July 10, 1845, 142, 143; A. Penfield, "Striking Chronological Waymarks of the 45 Years," *Jubilee Standard*, July 31, 1845, 153-156; H. H. Gross, "The 1335 Days," *Voice of Truth*, September 24, 1845, 461, 462.

²See pp. 103-107; 242-250 above.

role in bringing together Crosier's sanctuary understanding and the Sabbath during the fall of 1846. A detailed examination of this will be covered in the next chapter.

Sabbatarian Advocates During the First Half of 1846

During the first half of 1846 J. B. Cook is the only one to mention the Sabbath in Enoch Jacobs' paper. As was noted earlier, Jacobs had rejected Sabbatarianism. But after his shift to the spiritual view, new advocates arose to support the Sabbath. The two published Shut-Door supporters of the Sabbath during the first half of 1846 are J. B. Cook and Joseph Bates. Both men were devoted to the literal view and became a part of the newly defined Shut-Door leadership.

J. B. Cook and the *Advent Testimony*

John B. Cook's (1804-1874) first reference in support of the Sabbath appeared in the *Day-Star*. He had met with a group from Pomfret, Connecticut, on February 16, 1846, and found "quite a number have come into the belief that the 7th day is the Sabbath of the Lord our God." "They hear," he wrote, "the voice of God saying, remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. God rested on the 7th day and 'hallowed it.'" In concurring with their views he wrote: "God's law of Eden—God's type of Paradise restored was not nailed to the cross, Was it? Lord let us see the light. Amen!"¹

Cook was born near Newark, New Jersey, December 18, 1804. He was converted and baptized in 1826. In 1830 he was ordained and began ministry in the Baptist Church. After pastoring for a time in Cincinnati, Ohio, and across the river at Covington, Kentucky, he and his wife moved in 1842 to Middletown, Connecticut. There he

¹J. B. Cook, "Letter from Bro. Cook," *Day-Star*, March 7, 1846, 3.

accepted the Adventist message and resigned his position in the Baptist Church.¹

Among his important contributions to the pre-1844 period of the Millerite movement was a sixty-two-page tract titled *A Solemn Appeal to Ministers and Churches: Especially to Those of the Baptist Denomination, Relative to the Speedy Coming of Christ*, first published in 1843.² As was noted in the last chapter, Cook joined J. D. Pickands in publishing a periodical entitled *Voice of the Fourth Angel* during December 1844.³ When Pickands and then Jacobs turned to the spiritual view, Cook found himself increasingly out of harmony with the *Day-Star*. This led him to publish his views in two issues of his own publication, the *Advent Testimony*, during March and April 1846. “Events in Providence, desire of friends, and a solemn purpose to do my duty,” he wrote, “have called forth this testimony.”⁴ The paper had a clear mission statement: “The Advent Testimony [*sic*] is issued for the purpose of presenting the scriptural evidence that the Advent Doctrine, as it has been believed and preached within a few years past has been under the direction of the Spirit of Providence of God.” The paper was published in association with T. W. Haskins of Roxbury, Massachusetts.⁵ The two extant issues were devoted to showing how the October 1844 movement had been in God’s providence and that drawing back from the movement would deny God’s leading. Cook also gave a rejoinder against spiritualizing ideas and presented his Sabbatarian views.

¹Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message*, 275, 276.

²J. B. Cook, *A Solemn Appeal to Ministers and Churches: Especially to Those of the Baptist Denomination, Relative to the Speedy Coming of Christ* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1843).

³*Defence of Elder Joshua V. Himes*, 21.

⁴[J. B. Cook], “Events in Providence . . .,” *Advent Testimony*, April 1846, 16.

⁵[J. B. Cook], “The Advent Testimony [*sic*],” *Advent Testimony*, March 1846, 1.

Like T. M. Preble, he asserted that “every enactment relative to the religious observance of the first day originated with the Pope, or potentates of Rome, and those who in this matter sympathize with them.” In contrast, he concluded that “every enactment that ever ORIGINATED IN HEAVEN, relative to the keeping of the Sabbath confines us to the SEVENTH day. The seventh day is ‘the Sabbath of the Lord our God.’”¹ Cook further wrote:

He [Jesus] thus recognizes the perpetuity of the Sabbath many years after having abolished the Jewish feasts, as really as the seasons of the year. . . . He did *not* abolish the Sabbath, which was “made for man”—for the good of man. From the dreadful wreck, occasioned by “the fall” in Eden, there have been two institutions preserved; the Sabbath and Marriage. Both were “made for man.”²

Cook’s most significant contribution to the development of Sabbatarianism in print occurred through a series of articles and an exchange with Joseph Turner through the pages of the *Bible Advocate* during December 1847 and January 1848. This Sabbath discussion will be given detailed consideration in chapter 4.

Joseph Bates and the *Opening Heavens*

Joseph Bates first accepted the Sabbath through reading Preble’s article in the *Hope of Israel* and his subsequent tract. As we will see in the next chapter, Bates significantly influenced Adventist Sabbatarianism on this topic. In August 1846 he published his formative tract on the Sabbath, *The Seventh day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*. The one-and-a-half-year period between his acceptance of the Sabbath and the publication of his tract was a time of ambivalence for him. He wrote of his own beliefs in the months after accepting the Sabbath in March 1845 with the following words:

¹[J. B. Cook], “The Sabbath,” *Advent Testimony*, April 1846, 12.

²*Ibid.*, 13.

“Contrary views did, after a little, shake my position some, but I feel now that there is no argument or sophistry that can becloud my mind again this side of the gates of the Holy City.”¹ His temporary lack of conviction is illustrated in a June 2, 1845, letter. “We have united with our New Bedford brethren,” he wrote, “and hold our meetings together on Sunday.”²

We can only speculate on Bates’ relationship to the more fanatical Sabbath-keeping Adventists during 1845. He was certainly an active participant in the Bridegroom segment of Adventism and some of those close to him expressed a commitment to the “commandments.” H. S. Gurney wrote during the fall of 1845 from Fairhaven, Massachusetts: “We meet together and Jesus meets with us: He loves us and we love to keep his commandments.”³ Gurney was at least referring to foot washing and perhaps was also including the seventh-day Sabbath when he mentioned the “commandments.”

The important point to realize concerning Bates during the fall of 1845 is that he avoided promoting Sabbatarianism. It was only in 1846 after the more fanatical Sabbath keepers passed off that scene that he began to promote the Sabbath, causing others to accept it.

Bates demonstrated his opposition to the spiritual view in his first tract, the *Opening Heavens*, published on May 8, 1846. He sought to “correct or ‘rebuke’ the spiritual views . . . in respect to the appearing of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour

¹Bates, *The Seventh day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*, 1846, 40.

²Joseph Bates, “Letter from Bro. Bates,” *Jubilee Standard*, June 12, 1845, 111.

³H. S. Gurn[e]y, “Letter from Bro. Gurney,” *Day Star*, October 11, 1845, 46.

Jesus Christ.” He wrote that “thousands” who had looked for the “personal appearing” of Jesus had been “disappointed” and “given up the only Scriptural view,” teaching instead that Jesus had “come in spirit and this is all we shall ever see of him here.”¹

Bates’ thirty-nine-page tract was dedicated to presenting an astronomical view of heaven and the New Jerusalem to demonstrate the concreteness of God’s creation. He considered the nebula of Orion to be the place where the heavens were opened. He then traced through Bible history and showed the various times and places where the heavens had been opened. His constant goal was to show that heaven was a tangible place and to refute the Shaker idea of a spiritual heaven. After showing the real aspects of heaven as revealed in Revelation, he wrote: “Is it not clear that the *City*, and the *King*, and *Saints*, are here distinctly described [Rev 21:4, 5]. Why, then, all this shouting about a figurative fulfillment.”²

In the next chapter we will examine Ellen Harmon’s November 1846 vision of the heavens, including a view of planets and their moons. This vision had the effect of convincing Bates that Harmon’s visions were supernatural. The vision also directly confirmed the tangible nature of heaven and the Second Coming. The extant letters, publications, and experiences during 1845 and 1846 all indicate that James White, Ellen Harmon, Joseph Bates, O. R. L. Crosier, J. B. Cook, and others strongly opposed the spiritual view. With the return of many Bridegroom Adventists to the Albany orthodoxy and the loss of many others to Shakerism and spiritualizing, a small group remained

¹Joseph Bates, *The Opening Heavens, or a Connected View of the Testimony of the Prophets and Apostles, Concerning the Opening Heavens, Compared with Astronomical Observations, and of the Present and Future Location of the New Jerusalem, the Paradise of God* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1846), 1.

²Ibid., 23.

which affirmed both the significance of the 1844 experience and a literal view of the Second Coming. One by one this group became Sabbatarian proponents. Bates and Cook began their promotion during the first half of 1846 and were soon joined, as we will see in the next chapter, by James White, Ellen Harmon, and others.

In the *Opening Heavens*, Bates cast his support on the side of Crosier and his sanctuary understanding. In presenting his views on the subject he wrote: "Allow me first to recommend to your particular notice, O. R. L. Crosier's article in the Day Star Extra [*sic*], for the 7th of February, 1846. . . . In my humble opinion it is superior to any thing of the kind extant."¹ Bates devoted several pages in his tract to proving that the earth could not be the sanctuary. He then argued that the heavenly sanctuary was in the New Jerusalem but stopped short of explaining its purpose. His focus was to demonstrate that it was in fact a literal place. "How will a man dare," he summarized, "(in the face of all this inspired testimony) to stand here on God's earth, and assert that the heavenly sanctuary with all that pertains to it is a FIGURE, and spiritualize it away."²

Bates expressed his Sabbatarian position by blaming "Popery" for "one of the greatest errors in the world," "the changing of God's seventh day Sabbath." In this important tract, Bates for the first time began to link the seventh-day Sabbath and the sanctuary by connecting the Sabbath in the Ten Commandments with the ark in the sanctuary.³ With the strongest language he wrote concerning the Sabbath:

Will you say then that the fourth commandment is abolished? If so, please cite us to the chapter and verse. I say it cannot be found within the lids of the

¹Ibid., 25.

²Ibid., 28.

³Ibid., 36.

bible. Will you reply by saying that the first day is the Sabbath, or that it was ever kept by Jesus or his apostles as a day set apart for religious worship: if so, where is the text? I challenge the world to produce it! If it cannot be found, why violate still this sacred command of God and reject all the light that is thrown in your pathway? God will have some to keep his commandments, if it be but "one of a city and two of a family." Jer. [3:14] Some endeavor to clear their conscience by saying there is no Sabbath to be kept. This, to me, looks like infidelity.¹

Bates' spring 1846 tract demonstrates his new role as one of the leaders of the remaining "little flock." He gave support to Crosier's ideas, opposed spiritualizing, and promoted Sabbatarianism within the context of the Midnight Cry message.

Ellen Harmon Publications and Influence

During the first four months of 1846, Ellen Harmon's visions and writings began to be published. First Enoch Jacobs published two of her letters in the *Day-Star*. Then on April 6, 1846, a broadside was issued entitled "To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad."² These two letters and the broadside describe Harmon's first four major visions. The first three—Midnight Cry, Bridegroom, and New Earth visions—have been considered in previous chapters, and the Time of Trouble vision was covered earlier in this chapter.

Harmon's first letter to Jacobs appeared in the same issue of the *Day-Star* as a letter from James White lamenting the loss of J. D. Pickands to the spiritual view. In both White's and Harmon's letters the emphasis was on the personhood of Jesus, the Second Coming, and the New Earth. Both these letters were written without any awareness of Jacobs' dramatic reversal to the spiritualizing view. Harmon's letter was

¹Ibid.

²Ellen G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," *Day-Star*, January 24, 1846, 31, 32; idem, "Letter from Sister Harmon," *Day-Star*, March 14, 1846, 7; idem, "To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad," April 6, 1846, broadside, AurU.

written from Portland, Maine, on December 20, 1845, and James White's letter, also from Portland, is dated January 8, 1846.

James White wrote frankly to Jacobs concerning those who were "denying the only Lord God and our Lord Jesus Christ." "This class," he penned, "can be no other than those who spiritualize away the existence of the Father and Son, as two distinct literal [*sic*] tangible persons, also a literal Holy city and throne of David." After referring to Pickands' loss of faith, he wrote facetiously: "We have to wallow through snow two and three feet deep, and face the bleak wintry winds of Maine, it will be hard to make us believe we are in the city [New Jerusalem] and have a right to the tree of life, and have no need of the light of the sun and moon." "God is a person," White concluded, "for he made man in his own image; so is his holy begotten son, Jesus; and this same Jesus is to set on David's throne in the literal city on the new earth, under the whole heavens.—This is THE faith once delivered to the saints and will live in spite of modern spiritualism, and for this we are to earnestly contend."¹

Harmon's first letter equally emphasized the literal aspects of Jesus, the New Jerusalem, and the New Earth, but it did not explicitly mention the spiritualizing view. Her first vision, as described in her letter, took on new meaning in light of the spiritualizing crisis. She described how she had seen the "Advent people" traveling on a path to the "City." They "kept their eyes fixed on Jesus, who was just before them, leading them to the City." With her description of her first vision she mingled her New Earth vision. The obvious purpose was to emphasize the literal aspects of the Second Coming and the New Earth. "Soon," she wrote, "our eyes were drawn to the East, for a

¹James White, "Letter from Bro. White," *Day-Star*, January 24, 1846, 25.

small black cloud had appeared about half as large as a man's hand, which we all knew was the sign of the Son of Man." Then the cloud "drew nearer, lighter, and brighter, glorious, and still more glorious, till it was a great white cloud." She described seeing ten thousand angels singing and Jesus with "crowns" on his head. His hair was "white and curly and lay on his shoulders." She provided graphic descriptions of traveling with Jesus to heaven and the New Jerusalem. The redeemed dressed in robes, the gates of the city opened by Jesus' own "glorious arm," the tree of life, the river of life, the throne of God, and actually meeting two Adventist ministers who had died—Charles Fitch and Levi Stockman all vividly confirmed the tangible nature of heaven. These were only a few of the visual pictures she described in tangible terms. She told of the holy city descending to the earth from heaven and of the earth made new. She walked through fields of "tall grass" that were "living green," saw animals dwelling peacefully together, viewed beautiful woods, and finally came to a great table with glorious food. To her great disappointment, Harmon was not allowed to eat the heavenly meal but instead was brought "gently down to this dark world." She concluded, "Sometimes I think I cannot stay here any longer, all things of earth look so dreary. I feel very lonely here, for I have seen a better land."¹ Harmon added a note to her letter: "This was not written for publication; but for the encouragement of all who may see it, and be encouraged by it." In light of the spiritualizing crisis, her words implied that those with a literal view of the Second Coming would be encouraged by her visions not to lose their faith. Jacobs noted concerning Harmon's letter, "The vision of Sister Harmon in the present number, is published at the request of many friends who had heard it read."²

¹Ellen G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," *Day-Star*, January 24, 1846, 31, 32.

²[Enoch Jacobs], "Correspondents," *Day-Star*, January 24, 1846, 32.

Harmon's second letter gave information on Jesus' ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. In it she described her visions of the Bridegroom and the Time of Trouble. In her description of these visions she continued to portray tangible people and events. The Bridegroom vision portrayed both Jesus and the Father as real persons on real thrones and the Time of Trouble was portrayed as literal with "famine, pestilence and sword" and the "whole world" in "confusion." Harmon's letter concludes with a description of a literal Second Coming. Jesus "our Great High Priest" came out of the "Holiest," the "voice of God" was heard which "shook the heavens and earth," Jesus "laid off his priestly garment and put on his kingly robe, [and He] took his place on the cloud which carried him to the east where it first appeared to the saints on earth."¹

Harmon's second published letter was written from Falmouth, Massachusetts, on February 15, 1846. She spent much of her time in Massachusetts between September 1845 and April 1846. Otis Nichols remarked in a letter to William Miller in April 1846 that Harmon had "been a resident" with his family "much of the time for about 8 months."² Nichols's role as a support to Ellen Harmon and later the newly married James and Ellen White was very important. Ellen White remembered that for "several years nearly all the means necessary to bear our expenses came from his purse."³

The broadside, printed on April 6 in Portland, Maine, contained the same information she had presented in her two letters to Enoch Jacobs. Presumably it was published for the same purpose as the letters: to counter the spiritual view. H. S. Gurney

¹Ellen G. Harmon, "Letter from Sister Harmon," *Day-Star*, March 14, 1846, 7.

²Otis Nichols to William Miller, April 20, 1846, written on the back of Ellen G. Harmon, "To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad," April 6, 1845, broadside, AurU.

³Ellen G. White, "They Sleep in Jesus," *Review and Herald*, April 21, 1868, 297.

covered half the printing cost and a total 250 copies were printed. The first printing of this three-column broadside left most of the third column empty. Gurney remembered: “The last page of the sheet was left partly blank so that those receiving this document could have a place to write out their opinion of the same whether favorable or unfavorable, and return it to the publisher.”¹ In a subsequent printing the material concerning the Bridegroom vision and Time of Trouble was added. These publications gave added visibility to Ellen Harmon’s visions and placed her in a new position of leadership.

Beyond her role in countering the spiritualizing view, Harmon helped to unify the remaining Shut-Door literalists around Crosier’s interpretation of the sanctuary. For example, Harmon wrote in an April 21, 1847, letter:

I believe the Sanctuary, to be cleansed at the end of the 2300 days, is the New Jerusalem Temple, of which Christ is a minister. The Lord shew me in vision, more than one year ago, that Brother Crosier had the true light, on the cleansing of the Sanctuary, &c; and that it was his will that Brother C. should write out the view which he gave us in the Day-Star, Extra [*sic*], February 7, 1846. I feel fully authorized by the Lord, to recommend that Extra, to every saint.²

This letter demonstrates that Harmon’s visions were giving clear direction to the “little flock” to correct and unify them during the scattering time of the spring of 1846. Of course, presumably, she was traveling and lecturing as she worked with the scattered flock.

¹H. S. Gurney, “Recollections of Early Advent Experience,” *Review and Herald*, January 3, 1888, 2; idem, signed manuscript, May 15, 1891, EGWE—GC.

²Ellen G. White to Bro. Eli Curtis, April 21, 1847, in [James White], *A Word to the “Little Flock,”* 12.

Summary and Perspective

The first six months of 1846 saw the final collapse of Bridegroom Adventism as a movement. Enoch Jacobs' spiritualizing move to Shakerism drew off many of the remaining Bridegroom Adventists in the West and some from the East. Those who remained were left with distinctive characteristics and new leadership. The remaining Bridegroom adherents had a literal view. They believed in a literal Father, a literal Jesus, a literal Second Coming, a literal heaven, a literal New Jerusalem, and a literal New Earth. They held to the prophetic significance of the Midnight Cry, based on an antitypical understanding of the heavenly sanctuary, and refused to set any further dates for the Second Coming. Beyond that, they were beginning to transition toward Sabbatarianism, led first by J. B. Cook and Joseph Bates and then others. Finally, Ellen Harmon's role began to have new significance for the small and scattered "little flock."

Conclusion

The one-year period from June 1845 through May 1846 saw Bridegroom Adventism go from prominence to obscurity. While the Bridegroom "remnant" felt scattered following the Albany Conference, the summer of 1845 was a high point of activity and promotion. Three principal periodicals were published in support of the Bridegroom view—Samuel Snow with the *Jubilee Standard*, Emily Clemons and Charles H. Pearson with *Hope Within the Veil*, and Enoch Jacobs with the *Day-Star*. The editors of these papers and the diverse group of Bridegroom Adventists who continued to hold to the significance of the Midnight Cry were in general unity at the beginning of the summer. But as the summer progressed, tensions grew as Samuel Snow became increasingly strident against those who differed with him. First he repeatedly challenged

Clemons and Charles Pearson in regard to their views on the covenants and the atonement. He then challenged Jacobs concerning the foot-washing ordinance and his willingness to interact with “spiritualizers.” By the end of August the Bridegroom coalition was beginning to collapse. The first major casualty was Snow, who cut off his interaction with Clemons and Jacobs, ended publication of the *Jubilee Standard*, and began to style himself as Elijah. Quickly on the heels of this defection came the second blow. John Pearson published a final issue of the *Hope of Israel*, renouncing the Bridegroom view and Shut Door. Yet even with this, Bridegroom Adventists mostly retained their confidence and hope. They still had two papers remaining, the *Day-Star* and *Hope Within the Veil*, and the expectation that Jesus would come in October or early November 1845 at the end of the Jubilee and four watches.

October and November 1845 became the great turning point for Bridegroom Adventism. Deeply affected by John Pearson’s return to Albany orthodoxy, Charles Pearson and Emily Clemons ceased publication of *Hope Within the Veil*. By October, news of their defection was published in the *Day-Star* along with letters by them. Like John Pearson’s confession published in *Hope of Israel*, they published their confession in a special issue of *Hope Within the Veil*. J. V. Himes and Joseph Marsh joyfully embraced the Pearson brothers and Clemons and freely published their confessions. These reversals, while difficult for Bridegroom Adventists, were compounded by their disappointment when Jesus failed to return as expected. Albany orthodoxy, in contrast to Bridegroom Adventism, had rejected any dates connected to the Midnight Cry. The passing of the Jubilee year and the “Morning Watch” raised serious questions in many minds about the validity of the October 1844 experience.

During the uncertain period of November and December 1845 the Pearson brothers began to reach out to both spiritually backslidden Albany Adventists and Bridegroom Adventists. John Pearson traveled from place to place, urging Albany Adventists to spiritual revival and calling them to have compassion for their former "brethren." At the same time he sought out Bridegroom Adventists and succeeded in converting many from their Bridegroom views. It seems that Charles Pearson continued publication of *Hope Within the Veil* but with a purpose of countering the Bridegroom view. Though none of the issues are extant, his many articles were regularly copied in the *Voice of Truth*. Like his brother John, Charles sought to turn Adventists back to the main body of Adventist faith. The efforts of these two men were successful with many Bridegroom Adventists.

Furthermore, even before the October 1845 disappointment, a significant theological division had begun to develop within Bridegroom Adventism. The spiritualizing point of view, which had first been presented during the spring of 1845 in the *Voice of the Shepherd*, grew rapidly. As 1846 began, Enoch Jacobs, the only remaining Bridegroom editor, lost his equilibrium and capitulated to the spiritual view. He continued to allow literalists to correspond in his paper for the next few months, but soon his own shift toward Shakerism brought an end to his leadership among Bridegroom Adventists. Even worse for the Bridegroom movement, he was successful in drawing off hundreds of Adventists to Shaker communities. Many of the spiritualizers he had opposed during the fall of 1845 joined with him during 1846.

The apostasy of all the regular Bridegroom papers, with the consequent move by most Bridegroom Adventists to either Albany orthodoxy or Shakerism, left the

Bridegroom movement in disarray. Only a handful remained, but with almost no publishing voice. A few sporadic publications appeared, such as Ellen Harmon's broadside "To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad," J. B. Cook's two issues of the *Advent Testimony*, and Bates' *Opening Heavens*. Beyond this limited communication the few remaining faithful were left mostly isolated. This resulted in a breakdown of unity and cohesion and the collapse of Bridegroom Adventism.

The scattering of the "little flock" opened the way for new leadership and a reinterpretation of the basis for the movement. Crosier took the lead by giving a more complete explanation of the October 1844 Midnight Cry, using an antitypical interpretation of the heavenly sanctuary. From another perspective, Joseph Bates and Cook gave a new emphasis to Sabbatarian thought through their publications. Finally, with James White's help and guidance, Ellen Harmon's visions began to be published and her prophetic role established among most of the remaining "scattered flock." These developments laid the foundation for a new Sabbatarian Adventist movement which will be considered in the next chapter.

To further clarify the significance of the year from June 1845 through May 1846 it is necessary to summarize the development in understanding each of the three key aspects of this study—the sanctuary, Ellen Harmon's role, and the Sabbath.

Sanctuary Understanding

The period covered in this chapter brought significant progress in the developing heavenly sanctuary understanding among Bridegroom Adventists. It also brought increasing conflicts as those within the group held seriously differing views. As the summer began, there were two major opposing positions on the heavenly sanctuary

atonement. Samuel Snow, John Pearson, James White, and most others followed the conventional view, first promoted by Joseph Turner during 1845, that the atonement ministry of Jesus in the most holy place of the heavenly sanctuary had lasted for one day or ended on the 1844 Day of Atonement. Snow, in particular, emphasized that Jesus was no longer functioning as an interceding priest but instead had begun to reign as king. Emily Clemons, C. H. Pearson, and O. R. L. Crosier, on the other hand, were presenting through the pages of *Hope Within the Veil* the alternate idea that the heavenly sanctuary ministry of Jesus in the most holy place extended over a period of time beginning in October 1844. They further proposed that Jesus was accomplishing a special high-priestly work in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. Clemons especially connected Christ's sanctuary ministry with the promises of the new covenant that the Lord would write His "laws" on their "hearts."

It seems that the rising influence of spiritualizing began to attach itself to aspects of Clemons' new covenant presentation. Clemons and C. H. Pearson proposed that not only was the law being written on their hearts but also that Christ had actually come to them spiritually and they were experiencing the resurrection, immortality, and heaven. The *Voice of the Shepherd* continued publication through the summer of 1845, and through its variant view of the new covenant, a growing number of Bridegroom Adventists became spiritualizers.

The entire Bridegroom landscape on topics related to the sanctuary changed during the fall of 1845. With the disaffection of many from Snow and the collapse of his paper, Emily Clemons' idea of an extended new covenant atonement began to take the place of the traditional idea of a one-day atonement. This in turn led to greater

spiritualizing. Even with the collapse of *Hope Within the Veil* the spiritualizers continued to grow in numbers and influence.

Countering their theories was Crosier's typological application of the Levitical system, which argued for a literal Jerusalem that contained a literal temple where Jesus was continuing a special Most Holy Place ministry for His people. Crosier largely avoided reference to the new covenant and the writing of the law upon the heart. He presented his views quite clearly through letters published in the *Day-Star* and *Voice of Truth* during the fall of 1845. His most complete and detailed explanation was published in an article titled the "Law of Moses" in a February 6, 1846, Extra issue of the *Day-Star*. Crosier's *Day-Star* Extra article became the new standard that defined the importance of the Midnight Cry, confirmed the literal aspects of their faith, explained their present experience, and clarified future events.

Ellen G. Harmon's Influence and the Emergence of New Leadership

Ellen Harmon's struggle against fanaticism and spiritualizing began in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont during the winter and spring of 1845. When she went to Massachusetts during the late summer and fall of 1845 she faced similar challenges. Joseph Turner and John Howell followed her from Maine and charged her with being under the influence of mesmerism. This had the effect of turning many against her visions. As she came to oppose both the spiritualizing theory and the fall 1845 time expectation, opposition against her continued to grow. Yet through this difficult time, various ones began to have faith in her visions.

Her Time of Trouble vision was significant in that it kept many, including James

White, from being disappointed when Jesus did not come in the fall as expected. During the first months of 1846 her visions were published and played a role in countering Enoch Jacobs' spiritualizing influence. A new unity among those who rejected spiritualizing was further enhanced when she received a vision in April 1846 supporting Crosier's view as given in the February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* Extra. By the middle of 1846 Harmon was one of the emerging leaders in the newly defined and nascent Sabbatarian movement.

Sabbath Developments

Bridegroom Sabbatarianism went through some significant changes during the period covered in this chapter. When T. M. Preble had published his article and tract on the restoration of the seventh-day Sabbath in March of 1845 he linked it to the Ten Commandments and the creation of the world. As the summer of 1845 passed, Bridegroom Sabbatarians shifted the rationale for Sabbath observance in a new direction, linking the Sabbath to the "ordinances" or "commandments" of the Lord, which were defined variously as foot washing, the salutation kiss, communion, and baptism. While the Sabbath was not adopted as universally as foot washing, it did receive significant support during the fall of 1845, particularly in the Boston area. It has already been demonstrated that Ellen Harmon was opposed to the mixed-gender aspect of both foot washing and the salutation kiss. Neither she nor James White accepted the Sabbath during this period. One can only wonder if it was too closely linked in their minds to the improper expression of the "ordinances" of foot washing and the holy kiss, as well as spiritualizing influences. There is also some evidence that Joseph Bates either had doubts or was less enthusiastic concerning the Sabbath through the fall and winter of 1845-1846.

After the collapse of the Bridegroom movement and the spiritualizing shift towards Shakerism, the basis for Sabbatarianism returned to Preble's original focus. The new proponents were J. B. Cook and Bates. Never again would the Sabbath be linked to the "ordinances." Instead, it stood apart because of its place in the Ten Commandments and as a sign or seal of worshiping the Creator in preparation for the Second Coming. As we will see in the next chapter, Sabbatarianism steadily grew in importance until it became one of the most significant identifying marks of this new branch of Adventism. For this reason, and to make a distinction from Bridegroom Adventism, the surviving "little flock" henceforth will be referred to in this study as Sabbatarian Adventists.

In the next chapter we will see the scattered "little flock" unite on a Sabbatarian platform with a settled sanctuary understanding of the Midnight Cry experience. Additionally, the key leaders became united in their acceptance of the visions of the recently married Ellen White. Her visions and counsel became recognized as an encouraging, unifying, and correcting voice for Sabbatarian Adventism. The unity of this new group would lead to the organization of evangelistic conferences and finally the publication of a regular periodical.

CHAPTER 4

FROM THE SCATTERING TO THE GATHERING AND THE PUBLICATION OF *PRESENT TRUTH*: JUNE 1846 TO JULY 1849

Introduction

During the first months of 1846 Bridegroom or Shut-Door Adventism almost ceased to exist as most of its adherents either moved to Shakerism or returned to Albany Conference orthodoxy. Only a scattered few remained who still held to the prophetic significance of October 1844 and a literal Second Coming of Jesus. It was from this low point that Sabbatarian Adventism emerged with a new Shut-Door perspective and new leadership. Before giving an outline of the structure of this chapter, a brief overview of the developing Shut-Door perspective and Sabbath theology will demonstrate the significant changes that occurred.

Between 1846 and 1849 the definition of the term “Shut Door” took on expanded and additional meanings. Previously most Bridegroom Adventists had applied it to the door of probation, which they believed had closed for unrepentant sinners and the world in general following the Midnight Cry proclamation in the fall of 1844. After October 1844 the Shut Door also came to signify that something had happened in 1844. In addition, during the period covered in this chapter, the words “Shut Door” became connected to the heavenly sanctuary and the partition between the Holy and Most Holy Place. The Adventists came to believe that the door to the Holy Place had been shut in

October 1844 and that the door was then opened to the Most Holy Place where Jesus had begun a new work in the heavenly sanctuary. As time passed, "Shut Door" became a general term and was applied to the entire 1844 prophetic perspective including the Bridegroom view and the second apartment heavenly sanctuary ministry of Jesus. By 1849 the shut-and-open-door view even acquired an evangelistic sense in connection with the Sealing Message. While Jesus was doing His special work in the heavenly sanctuary, the Sabbath needed to be proclaimed more fully to complete the number of the 144,000. The new Sealing view, which is connected to the Shut-and-Open-Door perspective, will be examined towards the end of this chapter.

Shut-Door Adventist Sabbath theology saw remarkable development during this period of this study. The Sabbath rationale re-emerged with a creation and Ten Commandment rationale, free of spiritualizing and its link to "ordinances" such as foot washing and the salutation kiss. Most instrumental in causing this to happen were the two editions of Bates' tract on the Sabbath, published in August 1846 and January 1847. These became the new baseline for Sabbatarian Adventist thought. The January 1847 tract in particular presented a new and unique eschatological dimension to the Sabbath that greatly increased its importance and gave greater meaning to the October 1844 experience. The Sabbath thus became inseparably linked to both a creation and Ten Commandment Sabbath-keeping rationale and to the heavenly sanctuary or Shut Door. The linkage of the sanctuary and the Sabbath gained expanded theological meaning as the Sealing Message emerged during the last months of 1848 and 1849. The expanded Sabbath theology brought a broad, extensive, and compelling reason to keep and proclaim the Sabbath within Adventism and beyond.

In tracing the developments in this chapter we find that the first and most important aspect was the emergence of new leadership. Joseph Bates looms large as the key mover who led the way to a new integrated Sabbath and sanctuary perspective. Joining him were James White and his bride Ellen Harmon. These three with a few others became the principal leaders of the new Sabbatarian Advent movement that will be considered in this chapter.

The three years from the summer of 1846 to the summer of 1849 can be divided into two periods. The first, which continued from about August 1846 through May 1847, contained two phases. Phase one brought the key leaders Joseph Bates and James and Ellen White into agreement, while phase two established the eschatological basis for the Sabbath. The second period, which covered the balance of the three years, saw the Sabbath become the distinctive possession of the Shut-Door segment of Adventism. As this happened, a growing number of the scattered Bridegroom Adventists began to gather around the Sabbath banner. This was accomplished by frequent conferences, various publications, and Ellen White's visions. During the first half of 1849 an added theological perspective known as the Sealing Message gave Sabbatarian Adventism a greater urgency and evangelistic impetus. Perhaps the most important result of the sealing concept was the publication of *Present Truth* by James White in July 1849. This paper combined with the regular conferences constituted a form of organization typical of the primitive or restorationist view of the Christian Connection. It also indicated the full integration of the Sabbath and sanctuary doctrines together with Ellen White's special prophetic role.

Structurally, this chapter traces the above-described developments in two parts. The first part, covering the time period from June 1846 to June 1847, examines the initial joining of Bates and the Whites in theological harmony, the defining of the eschatological importance of the Sabbath, the Passover 1847 time expectation, and a synopsis of the progression of events from October 1844 until after the millennium by James White in *A Word to the "Little Flock."* The second part continues from June 1847 to July 1849 and traces the Sabbath discussion in the *Bible Advocate*, the abandonment of the Sabbath by non-Shut-Door Millerites, the 1848 evangelistic conferences, the emergence of the Sealing Message, and the publication of *Present Truth*. This chapter completes this study of the historical background and interconnected development of the doctrines of the sanctuary and the Sabbath and Ellen G. White's role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849.

**Integration of the Sabbath, Sanctuary,
and Ellen White's Prophetic Role:
June 1846 to June 1847**

The year from June 1846 to June 1847 was a time of new beginning as Bridegroom Adventism transitioned to Sabbatarian Adventism. Two critical developments occurred. James and Ellen White and Joseph Bates came together in thought and purpose, and the doctrinal basis of Sabbatarian Adventism was defined. We will first examine the initial linking of ideas and individuals during the first six months. Next we will examine the emergence of a new Sabbatarian eschatology. Then we will consider the role and experience of O. R. L. Crosier and the *Day-Dawn*. Finally we will carefully consider the ideas contained in *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* which served as a pastoral letter and statement of faith. By the end of May 1847 the foundational

theological and leadership issues were settled and the way was prepared to begin gathering the scattered “little flock.”

Bringing Together the Scattered Leaders

The last half of 1846 saw the formation of a variety of linkages among the new leaders of Shut-Door Adventism. In August 1846 Joseph Bates published his critically important tract on the Sabbath, *The Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*. During the same month James and Ellen White united their lives in marriage and ministry. Soon after this the newlyweds studied Bates’ tract with the Bible and began to keep the seventh-day Sabbath. During November two very important linkages occurred. Following a vision by Ellen White revealing a number of astronomical details, Bates was convinced that her visions were supernatural and of divine origin. About that same time he traveled to Port Gibson in Western New York and presented his tract on the Sabbath to several key individuals. O. R. L. Crosier (who authored the February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* Extra on sanctuary typology) and F. B. Hahn and H. Edson (both of whom collaborated with Crosier) each accepted the seventh-day Sabbath. Bates and the Whites had already accepted Crosier’s sanctuary concepts in the spring of 1846 as an explanation for the October 1844 Midnight Cry. With all of these significant linkages there was now a core group of believers who accepted both the heavenly sanctuary and Sabbath messages.

Bringing these various individuals and ideas together prepared the way for an enhanced presentation of the Sabbath in connection with end-time events. We will now examine, in greater detail, each of the above-mentioned interactions as well as the concepts that were shared among the various individuals.

Bates' Tract on the Sabbath, August 1846

It was Joseph Bates' forty-eight-page, August 1846, tract, *The Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign* that anchored the Sabbatarian Adventist movement.¹ It was the most extensive treatise on the subject of the Sabbath published by an Adventist to that time. A year and a half before this, T. M. Preble's article and tract on the Sabbath had convinced many Adventists including Bates. Preble had used a biblical creation and Ten Commandments argument to substantiate the continued importance of the Sabbath. But during the summer and fall of 1845 the Sabbath had been taken captive by Bridegroom spiritualizers and connected to "ordinances" and "commandments," such as the salutation kiss, foot washing, baptism, and so forth.² The creation and Ten Commandment authority of the Sabbath was neglected. But by the summer of 1846 the fanaticism had burned itself out. The loss of the spiritualizers had left only a few Sabbath adherents like Bates. In his tract, Bates re-established the Sabbath on a biblical creation and Ten Commandment basis. James White reflected on the effect of Bates' Sabbath tract as follows:

He [Bates] wrote and circulated gratuitously a small work upon the subject [of the Sabbath]. By reading this little pamphlet, I was established upon the Sabbath, and began to teach it. This little work reached several in Connecticut, and with Bro. Bates' personal labors, brought over to the Sabbath a number in western New York and different parts of New England.³

Like Preble's tract, Bates' work largely reflected the Seventh Day Baptist biblical rationale and theology with restorationist overtones. The Seventh Day Baptists shared

¹Bates, *Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*, 1846.

²See pp. 224-228 above.

³J. White, *Life Incidents*, 269.

the Puritan Sabbatarian mind-set, though they considered Saturday and not Sunday to be the Sabbath. The Puritan perspective is further revealed in the published debates between Joseph Turner and J. B. Cook on the Sabbath, covered later in this chapter. Both Seventh Day Baptists and Puritans acknowledged the validity and perpetuity of the Sabbath as a creation institution and connected it to the moral law, but they differed on which day they thought should be observed. Mid-nineteenth-century North American Protestants generally accepted the idea that the Bible taught the observance of a weekly rest day. Initially Sabbatarian Adventists like Preble, Bates, and Cook, as well as the Seventh Day Baptists, simply argued that the correct day was Saturday rather than Sunday. Bates followed this line of reasoning.¹

A broad overview of Bates' first Sabbath tract reveals that he was both biblical and historical in his approach. Through the first nine pages he connected the biblical history of Sabbath observance to creation and the Eden "Paradise." On this basis he argued that the Sabbath universally applied to all humans, not just the Jews.² In the next seven pages Bates presented scriptural arguments affirming that the literal seventh-day Sabbath had not been abolished or transferred to Sunday by Jesus or the apostles.³ He then dedicated ten pages to demonstrating the "perpetual" importance of the Sabbath by contrasting the moral and ceremonial law.⁴ Finally, Bates devoted the remaining pages to

¹See C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Joseph Bates and Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath Theology" in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*, ed. Kenneth A. Strand (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982), 352-363; B. W. Ball, *The English Connection: The Puritan Roots of Seventh-day Adventist Belief* (Cambridge, England: James Clarke, 1981), 120-137.

²Bates, *Seventh day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*, 1846, 3-9.

³*Ibid.*, 9-16.

⁴*Ibid.*, 16-27.

three topics: The historical change of the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday, the correct time to begin the Sabbath, and the concept that Christians were a part of true "Israel."¹ Significantly, Bates laid the blame for changing the Sabbath to Sunday on both the Papacy and the Puritans. He blamed the Papacy for establishing Sunday and removing the Sabbath and the Puritans for applying the "name *Sabbath* to the first day of the week."² Bates, of course, was addressing Adventists in his tract and not Christians generally. He wrote of Joseph Marsh and Samuel Snow who believed the Sabbath was "forever abolished" and of T. M. Preble and J. B. Cook who supported the Sabbath.³

In passing, Bates associated the concept of the Sabbath with the three angels' messages, which he identified as contained in Revelation 14:6-11. This kernel of thought would expand to a distinctive doctrinal position within a few months. Bates wrote:

He [John the revelator] saw three angels following each other in succession: first one preaching the everlasting gospel (second advent doctrine); 2d, announcing the fall of Babylon; 3d, calling God's people out of her by showing the awful destruction awaiting all such as did not obey. He sees the separation and cries out, "Here is the patients [*sic*] of the Saints, here are they that keep the *commandments* of God and the faith of Jesus."⁴

The idea of the third angel's message bringing a "separation" between classes of people based on the "*commandments*" was more fully explained in a second "revised and enlarged" edition of the tract in January 1847. As will be shown later, Bates applied Revelation 14:6-11 to the period before the October 1844 expectation and Revelation

¹Ibid., 27-47.

²Ibid., 41.

³Ibid., 40, 41, 44, 45.

⁴Ibid., 24.

14:12 to afterwards.¹ Besides providing more detail on his view of Revelation 14 Bates' second Sabbath tract added significant new concepts that gave the Sabbath an eschatological urgency.

While Bates' August 1846 tract influenced a number of Adventists, its most significant converts were James White and his new bride Ellen Harmon. Their marriage and subsequent acceptance of the Sabbath united them closely in promoting Sabbatarian Adventism. It is important to understand how these changes occurred.

James White's and Ellen Harmon's Marriage and Their Acceptance of the Sabbath

The decision by James White and Ellen Harmon to wed in August 1846 placed them in a delicate position with Adventists who knew them and respected their experience. James White had, less than a year previously, openly criticized C. H. Pearson and Emily Clemons for planning to marry as a denial of their faith in the soon coming of Jesus and hence a "wile of the Devil."² In the earliest known unpublished letter by James White, we read that he and Ellen Harmon visited and wrote to various ones to explain their planned marriage. He wrote:

I have a chance to get to Fairhaven tonight in a sail-boat, and shall take the cars tomorrow morning for Boston and the express train of cars for Portland at 4:30. Shall be in Portland to-morrow night at 9 o'clock.

I have received a letter from Ellen stating that Brother Nichols was at Portland next day after I left. She said he had a glorious time. She had a vision when he was there. Brother Nichols said he was tried when he first heard of our marriage or intended marriage, but he was now satisfied that God was in it. Sister Ellen

¹Joseph 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*, 2nd ed. (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1847), 58, 59.

²James White, "Letter from Bro. White," *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 47.

says as the way is made plain, we are published. We shall be married perhaps Monday.

Since I saw you, I have visited Holms Hale, Brother Chase, and the sisters are good. We had a Holy Ghost time together. They have no objections now to our marriage. But it tried them at first.

I have visited Brother Hall. I related the story to Charlotte and Sister Hall. It made them surprised at first, but they told me they thought it must be of God. Well, I will say no more on that point.¹

The public record shows that Charles Harding, Justice of the Peace for Cumberland County in Portland, Maine, married James S. White and Ellen G. Harmon in a private ceremony on Sunday, August 30, 1846.² James was twenty-five years old and Ellen was eighteen. Their lives remained linked until James' death on August 6, 1881, nearly thirty-five years later. Toward the end of his life, James White reflected on the reason for their marriage:

We both viewed the coming of Christ near, even at the doors, and when we first met, had no idea of marriage at any future time. But God had a work for both of us to do, and he saw that we could greatly assist each other in that work. As she should come before the public, she needed a lawful protector; and God having chosen her as a channel of light and truth to the people in a special sense, she could be of great help to me. But it was not until the matter of marriage was taken to the Lord by both, and we obtained an experience that placed the matter beyond the reach of doubt, that we took this important step. Most of our brethren who believed with us that the second advent movement was the work of God, were opposed to marriage because they believed that as time was very short, and they considered that it was a denial of our faith to get married, as such a step seemed to contemplate years of life in this world. We state the fact as it existed, without pleading the correctness or incorrectness of the position.³

After their marriage, the newlyweds lived intermittently with Ellen's parents who

¹James White to Brother Collins, August 26, 1846, EGWE—GC.

²Copy of Record of Marriage, State of Maine, Archives, Augusta, Maine; Original marriage certificate, EGWE—GC; "Marriages," [Portland, Maine] *Tribune and Bulletin*, September 11, 1846, 200.

³J. White, *Life Sketches*, 1888, 126.

purchased property on old Fort Hill Road in Gorham, Maine.¹ It is possible that they there studied the subject of the Sabbath using Bates' tract as a guide. "By reading this little pamphlet," James White recollected, they were "established upon the Sabbath, and began to teach it."² At that time there were very few Adventist Sabbath keepers. In a later recollection James White set the number at somewhere near fifty:

It was in the autumn of 1846 that we commenced to observe the Bible Sabbath, and teach and defend it. There were at that time about twenty-five in Maine who observed the Sabbath; but these were so scattered in point of location and diverse in sentiment upon other points of doctrine that their influence was very small. There were about the same number, in similar condition in other parts of New England.³

The Whites had remained indifferent to the Sabbath until they read Bates' tract. In describing her previous interaction with Bates on the Sabbath, Ellen White wrote: "My attention was first called to the Sabbath while I was on a visit to New Bedford, Massachusetts." "Elder B[ates] was keeping the Sabbath, and urged its importance. I did not feel its importance, and thought that Elder B[ates] erred in dwelling upon the fourth commandment more than upon the other nine."⁴ For his part, Bates had serious reservations about her visions. His doubts were resolved in November 1846 at a meeting held in Topsham, Maine. At the meeting Ellen White had a vision of planets and nebula that convinced Bates that she was receiving supernatural revelations rather than mere

¹J. White to Brother Howland, March 14, 1847, EGWE—GC; J. White to Sister Hastings, May 21, 1847, EGWE—GC; Cumberland County, ME, Land Records show that Robert Harmon purchased property in Gorham, ME, during September 1846; Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White: The Early Years, 1827-1862* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1985), 113, 119, 120.

²J. White, *Life Incidents*, 269.

³J. White, *Life Sketches*, 1880, 128; see also E. G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:75-77.

⁴E. G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:75, 76; idem, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:82.

religious reveries. This important meeting, White's vision, and Bates' conversion deserve a careful review.

Joseph Bates and the Opening Heavens Vision, November 1846

Ellen White's early impressions of Bates were positive. She viewed him as a "true Christian gentleman, courteous and kind." He treated her as tenderly as though she were his own child. But during the first months of 1846, Bates, like many other Adventists, did not believe in a modern manifestation of visions. According to Ellen White, after observing one of her visions, Bates exclaimed:

I am a doubting Thomas. I do not believe in visions. But if I could believe that the testimony the sister has related to-night was indeed the voice of God to us, I should be the happiest man alive. My heart is deeply moved. I believe the speaker to be sincere, but cannot explain in regard to her being shown the wonderful things she has related to us.¹

Bates explained his own thinking with these words: "Although I could see nothing in them [Harmon's visions] that militated against the word, yet I felt alarmed and tried exceedingly, and for a long time [was] unwilling to believe that it was any thing more than what was produced by a protracted debilitated state of her body."² Because of his doubts Bates decided to conduct a careful investigation:

I therefore sought opportunities in [the] presence of others, when her mind seemed freed from excitement (out of meeting) to question, and cross question her, and her friends which accompanied her, especially her elder sister, to get if possible at the truth. During the number of visits she has made to New Bedford and Fairhaven since, while at our meetings, I have seen her in vision a number of times, and also in Topsham, Me., and those who were present during some of

¹E. G. White, "Life Sketches Manuscript," 164.

²Joseph Bates, "A Vision," broadside, April 7, 1847 (reprinted in J. White, ed., *Word to the Little Flock*, 21).

these exciting scenes know well with what interest and intensity I listened to every word, and watched every move to detect deception, or mesmeric influence.¹

Though Bates was slow to accept Ellen Harmon's visions, one of his close friends and associates, Heman S. Gurney, was convinced more quickly and may have been the first to embrace both Harmon's experience and the Sabbath. Through Bates' influence Gurney had first accepted the Millerite message in 1840 and then the Sabbath in the "spring of 1845."² He first heard Harmon give an account of her visions in "Advent hall in New Bedford" sometime toward the end of 1845 or early in 1846. He was impressed by her experience and resolved to make a careful investigation:

I could see no reason to find fault with her appearance or what she said. She appeared like a humble, conscientious Christian. I learned her name and address, but was slow to advocate her course. Fanaticism was appearing in some places, and I wished to prove all things, and hold fast that which was good. I found she was creating some sensation where she met the little company to relate, as she said, what God had shown her. I thought, if this is something the remnant must meet, I must know where it came from. I therefore went to Portland, Me., and inquired for Mr. Harmon (the father of this young lady). I found the family living in a humble cottage. I introduced myself, and was made welcome after telling them I had come to make their acquaintance, especially the acquaintance of sister Ellen Harmon. I found them a humble devoted, God-fearing family. I visited a number of places where she was known, and all testified to her devoted, self-sacrificing character. I spent a number of weeks with the family and in their vicinity, and became convinced that the fountain was good, and that God had called sister Harmon to an important work.³

Convinced that her visions were from God, Gurney decided to act on his faith.

He took responsibility for raising the money to publish Harmon's April 6, 1846,

¹Ibid.

²H. S. Gurney, "Recollections of Early Advent Experiences," *Review and Herald*, January 3, 1888, 2.

³Ibid.

broadside.¹ He recollected: "I found a brother who was willing to pay one half of the expense of printing her first vision. We arranged with the printer, and I left for home."²

The slowness of James and Ellen White to accept the Sabbath and the carefulness with which Gurney and Bates investigated Harmon's visions show the independence and careful thinking of these Yankee New Englanders. They were not precipitous in their approach or impulsive in accepting each other's views. As individuals who valued integrity they made sure that what they believed or practiced was, to the best of their understanding, correct.

Bates' acceptance of Ellen White's prophetic gift was finally settled at a November 1846 meeting in the home of Robert and Mercy Curtis at Topsham, Maine.³ James White describes what happened there in *A Word to the "Little Flock"*:

At our conference in Topsham, Maine, last Nov[ember], Ellen had a vision of the handy works of God. She was guided to the planets Jupiter, Saturn, and I think one more. After she came out of vision, she could give a clear description of their Moons, etc. It is well known, that she knew nothing of astronomy, and could not answer one question in relation to the planets, before she had this vision.⁴

¹See Harmon, "To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad," broadside, April 6, 1846.

²H. S. Gurney, "Recollections of Early Advent Experiences," *Review and Herald*, January 3, 1888, 2; see also idem, signed manuscript, May 15, 1891, EGWE—GC; and idem to C. E. Gurney, April 12, 1896, in "Early Day Experience Recounted by H. S. Gurney," EGWE—GC.

³Loughborough, *Rise and Progress*, 106-107, 125-126; idem, "Recollections of the Past, No. 16," *Review and Herald*, November 30, 1886, 745; Francis D. Nichol, *Ellen G. White and Her Critics: An Answer to the Major Charges that Critics have Brought against Mrs. Ellen G. White* (Takoma Park, Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1951), 91-101; Fannie R. Curtis, "Curtis," *Review and Herald*, December 12, 1907, 31; Mary Pelham Hill, ed., *Vital Records of Topsham, Maine, to the Year 1892* (Portland, ME: Maine Historical Society, 1929), 1:47-48; idem, *Vital Records of Topsham, Maine, to the Year 1892* (Portland, ME: Maine Historical Society, 1930), 2:76, 77.

⁴J. White, *Word to the "Little Flock,"* 22.

The Opening Heavens vision convinced Bates that White's visions were supernatural and not merely the result of excitement. In 1860 Ellen White gave some further information on Bates' response:

We attended a conference in Topsham, Me. Bro. J. Bates was present. He did not then fully believe that my visions were of God. It was a meeting of much interest. But I was suddenly taken ill and fainted. The brethren prayed for me, and I was restored to consciousness. The Spirit of God rested upon us in Bro. C[urtis]'s humble dwelling, and I was wrapt [*sic*] in a vision of God's glory, and for the first time had a view of other planets. After I came out of vision I related what I had seen. Bro. Bates asked if I had studied astronomy. I told him I had no recollection of ever looking into an astronomy. Said he, "This is of the Lord." I never saw Bro. Bates so free and happy before. His countenance shown with the light of Heaven, and he exhorted the church with power.¹

It was Ellen White's sincerity, simplicity, and complete lack of guile that convinced Bates that she had seen and learned in vision something beyond her awareness or knowledge. When she said she had "no recollection of ever looking into an astronomy," he was satisfied that her visions were not contrived or caused by mere excitement.² In giving his own testimony he appealed to his readers to "reject it [her experience] not because of her childhood and diseased bodily infirmities, and lack of worldly knowledge." He believed that "God's manner has ever been to use the weak things of this world to confound the learned and the mighty."³ Bates wrote in April 1847: "I can now confidently speak for myself. I believe the work is of God, and is given to

¹E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:83.

²Some have suggested that Ellen White meant to say "an astronomy [textbook]" in her 1860 statement.

³Joseph 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 Lindsey, 1848), 97.

comfort and strengthen his 'scattered,' 'torn' and 'pealed people,' since the closing up of our work for the world in October, 1844."¹

It should be noted that James White's description of specific planets seen by Ellen White in this vision was based on Bates' observations and not Ellen White's. The fact that "she knew nothing of astronomy" would have precluded her from being aware of specific planets. Unfortunately, there is not a full description by Ellen White of this vision. J. N. Loughborough, who talked with Bates about the vision in 1857, does give some information that seems consistent with what was written earlier:

One evening, in the presence of Bro. Bates, who as yet was an unbeliever in the visions, Sr. White had a vision, in which she soon began to talk about the stars. She gave a glowing description of the rosy tinted belts which she saw across the surface of some planet, and then added, "I see four moons." "Oh," said Bro. Bates, "she is viewing *Jupiter*." Then, as though having traveled farther through space, she commenced a description of belts and rings in their ever-varying beauty, and said, "I see eight moons." Bro. Bates exclaimed, "She is describing Saturn." Next came a description of Uranus, with its four moons; then a most wonderful description of the "opening heavens," with its glory, calling it an opening into a region more enlightened. Bro. Bates said that her description far eclipsed any account of the "opening heavens" he had ever read.²

It should be remembered that Bates' first tract, published in May 1846, was entitled, *The Opening of the Heavens . . . Compared With Astronomical Observations*.³ In this tract Bates described the various astronomers who had viewed the Orion nebula or

¹E. G. White, "A Vision," broadside, April 7, 1847.

²J. N. Loughborough, "Recollections of the Past—No. 16," *Review and Herald*, November 30, 1886, 745.

³See pp. 256-260 above.

various planets and named Christian Huggens,¹ James Furguson,² William Herschel,³ and William Rosse.⁴ Bates' principal interest was in the Orion nebula because he believed that the New Jerusalem would come from heaven through the open space in that nebula.⁵ It seems that during April 1846 Bates had the "pleasure" of seeing "this wonder in the Heavens a number of evenings through J. Delano, Jr's. excellent Telescope."⁶ Upon hearing Ellen White's description Bates exclaimed: "Oh how I wish Lord John [*sic*] Rosse were here to-night!" "I wish he was here to hear that woman talk astronomy, and give that description of the '*opening heavens*.' It is ahead of any account of it I ever read."⁷

¹Christian Huggens or Christiaan Huygens (1629-1695) was a Dutch physicist and astronomer who first described the nature of Saturn's rings, discovered its moon Titan, and independently discovered the Orion Nebula between 1655 and 1659. He did this with the help of his brother Constantine by constructing better telescopes with improved focus and less chromatic aberration.

²James Ferguson (1710-1776) was an English astronomical engineer and author. His research was not as distinguished as his work in designing clocks and planispheres. He wrote a number of popular books on astronomy and related subjects. Additionally he was a biblical chronologist considered to be a key authority by Adventists before 1844.

³Sir William Herschel (1738-1822) was a German-born British astronomer. He was probably the greatest observational astronomer of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He constructed various telescopes and with them discovered the planet Uranus and several planetary satellites. He also studied nebulas, adding to the number observed and contributing new information on their constitution.

⁴Lord William Parsons Rosse (1800-1867) was an astronomer who built the largest reflecting telescope (72-inch mirror) of the nineteenth century at Birr Castle in central Ireland. The telescope was finished in 1845, after which Rosse made detailed observations of the Great Nebula in Orion.

⁵Bates, *Opening Heavens*, 3-12.

⁶Ibid., 9.

⁷J. N. Loughborough, "Recollections of the Past—No. 16," *Review and Herald*, November 30, 1886, 745.

It seems that the significance of this vision was not in providing pivotal ideas but rather to convince Bates on White's visions. This conversion opened the way for a new unity between him and the younger couple. From that point on their interaction and cooperation dramatically increased.

Near the time of the Topsham meeting in November 1846, Bates made a trip to Western New York to promote his Sabbath tract. Having read Crosier's February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* Extra article on the sanctuary, he was anxious to share his Sabbath tract with Crosier and his colleagues. One of the meetings he attended was held on the farm of Hiram Edson in Port Gibson. As a result of Bates' Sabbath presentation at this meeting, O. R. L. Crosier, F. B. Hahn, H. Edson, and others became Sabbath keepers. Because the three-mentioned Western New Yorkers played such an important role in promoting the sanctuary message, a more careful review of the meeting is warranted.

Sabbath and Sanctuary Proponents Meet in Western New York

Bates' trip to Western New York is unfortunately dependent upon later recollections. The multiple recollections though do include Edson, Crosier, and James White. In 1868 White remembered that Bates' "little work [August 1846 Sabbath tract] reached several in Connecticut, and with Bro. Bates' personal labors, brought over to the Sabbath a number in western New York and different parts of New England."¹ Edson described the meeting thus:

We appointed a conference of the scattered brethren to be held at my house, and invited these our Eastern brethren to meet with us. Brother W[hite] made the

¹J. White, *Life Incidents*, 269.

effort to come; but his way was hedged up. Father Bates came on. His light was the seventh-day Sabbath.¹

In 1910 A. W. Spalding loosely described what happened at the meeting (possibly from a no-longer-extant portion of the Edson manuscript).² After Bates presented his views, Crosier arose and said: "Better go slowly, brethren, better go slowly. Let us be cautious, and not step upon new planks until we know whether they will hold us up or not." To these remarks Edson responded, "I have been studying the question of the Sabbath for a long time . . . and I know it is a plank that will hold us up." Franklin B. Hahn then exclaimed, "That's the truth," and his wife Maria said, "It is the truth."³

P. Z. Kinne provides another secondhand recollection from Edson:

When the time came for Brethren Bates and White to start for the conference, Elder White was called to attend a funeral, which prevented his going. When Elder Bates arrived at Brother Edson's, they were entire strangers, except by correspondence. Brother Edson did not know that he was a minister. But when the time came to open the meeting, out of courtesy they invited him to conduct it. Brother Edson told me that soon after he received the light on the sanctuary, he himself was impressed that the seventh day was the Sabbath, but without any conviction that it was important to keep it.

After opening services Elder Bates stood, and drew from his pocket his Sabbath tract and began to read. Brother Edson was so interested in it and delighted with it, that he could scarcely keep his seat till Elder Bates finished. As soon as the reading was finished, Brother Edson was on his feet, and said, "Brother Bates, this is light and truth! The seventh day is the Sabbath, and I am with you to keep it!"⁴

¹Edson Manuscript, 10a, AU.

²For more on Edson see pp. 250-254 above.

³A. W. Spalding [later spelled Spalding], "Light on the Sanctuary Adapted from the Manuscript of Hiram Edson," *Youth's Instructor*. March 8, 1910, 5, 6; see also Edson Manuscript; Franklin B. and Maria N. Hahn's names are verified by cemetery gravestones, 1850 census records for Canandaigua, NY, and the Membership Register of the First Congregational Church, Canandaigua, NY.

⁴W. A. Spicer, *Pioneer Days of the Advent Movement* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1941), 61, 62.

Crosier acknowledged for a time in his 1916 autobiographical account that he adopted the Sabbath. He wrote: "The Seventh Day Sabbath 'Message' came from the east about 1846."¹ Continuing, he described the Port Gibson meeting:

I met the Sabbath messenger [Bates] at one of my Port Gibson appointments, and civilly asked him to speak in my place. He did so. At the noon recess, I met him alone to ask him a few questions. Instead of answering them he showed ill temper. I did not report his coarseness, thinking the man and not his subject might be at fault. He spoke again in the afternoon. Part of the brethren received his views with favor, and wanted my opinion. I told them I had not examined the matter; it was new to us, and we better not be in a hurry. They asked if I would examine it and report at our next meeting at Rochester in two weeks. I told them I would, and reported that I did no[t] yet understand all the passages on the subject: but that the New Testament position seemed to be: 'Every day alike.' Some were grieved. I told them I would keep the Seventh day with them: I could earn my living working five days in the week; and would keep both days to preserve harmony and prevent division. We worked so a year, without controversy on the Sabbath question.²

All of these recollections seem to agree in their major and minor details. It appears that Bates' tract and presentation in Port Gibson influenced several to accept the Sabbath, particularly Edson and Hahn. Crosier at least tolerated the view and allowed its promotion without negative comment but probably believed it as well.

Thus the various linkages between the key leaders of Sabbatarian Adventism were in place. The Whites had adopted the Sabbath and Bates had accepted Ellen Harmon's visions. Both Bates and the Whites had already accepted the sanctuary view as presented by Crosier. Finally, Crosier and his two main supporters heard and/or adopted the Sabbath message.

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Early History of Ontario County Revealed in Story of Late Owen R. L. Crozier," *Daily Messenger*, November 22, 1923, 17. From an autobiography written by O. R. L. Crosier in 1903--ten years before his death.

²*Ibid.*, 23.

Bates took the significant next step and connected the Sabbath to the final work of Jesus in the heavenly sanctuary.¹ While both Bates and the Whites had read and accepted Crosier's views as presented in his February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* Extra article, it is not clear from contemporary sources just how Bates was influenced to connect the Sabbath to the heavenly sanctuary view. Within a matter of weeks, however, he was expanding and revising his Sabbath tract to suggest that the fourth commandment was not only a part of the Law of God and a creation institution, but also had new eschatological importance. In January 1847 he published this new edition. This vital development launched the fledgling Sabbatarian movement in a new direction that gave the message new relevance and urgency.

Examining the Eschatological Significance of the Sabbath

This section will trace the emergence of the Sabbath as an end-time imperative and its linkage to the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary from January through April 1847. The linkage of the various persons and ideas during the fall of 1846 was cemented during the first half of 1847 as the eschatological significance of the Sabbath message was more fully established. In his January 1847 revision of his Sabbath tract, Bates again linked the Sabbath to Revelation 14:12 and introduced the idea that the Sabbath was connected to the opening of the heavenly temple as described in Revelation 11:19. Within a few months, Ellen White received visions confirming this new idea. Her most significant was the April 1847 Sabbath Halo vision. About the same time Bates

¹Edson Manuscript, 10a, AU. Edson claimed to have already tentatively connected the Sabbath and the sanctuary: "From my understanding of the opening of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven, and the seeing of the ark of his testimony, and a few lines I had seen from the pen of T. M. Preble, I had been looking at the subject of the seventh-day."

published *Way Marks and High Heaps*, which contained an explanation of his views on a number of subjects, including the Sabbath.

First Bates and then Ellen and James White directly linked the Sabbath to the heavenly sanctuary, and then the heavenly sanctuary to the Shut Door. The closed or shut door was soon to be linked to the partition between the Holy and Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. In their view, when Jesus moved from the first to the second apartment of the sanctuary in October 1844, the Ark of the Covenant was revealed. The Ark contained the Ten Commandments, which, of course, included the fourth commandment. During 1847 one finds fewer references to the Matthew 25 bridegroom parable or the wedding door that was closed to the five foolish virgins. The Shut Door had become more a description of Jesus' High Priestly activities in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary than a description of the close of probation. The sanctuary and the Sabbath had become the dual foci that validated the October 1844 experience. These developments will be considered sequentially in the following pages. We will then examine the more comprehensive statement of faith found in *A Word to the "Little Flock."*

Joseph Bates' Revised and Enlarged Sabbath Tract

The preface to the January 1847 revised and enlarged edition of *Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign* contains some of Joseph Bates' most important statements that connect the Sabbath to the end of time. Bates gave a twofold reason for bringing out this new edition. First, "the increasing demand" for the tract from "different quarters" necessitated another printing. Second, he had "additional light" to spread on the

“important subject of present truth.”¹ By introducing the words “present truth” Bates provided a way to simply represent the linkage of the Sabbath, heavenly sanctuary, and the Shut Door. The linkage of these foundational ideas was soon to become the dominant Sabbatarian Adventist view.

Notices and letters in the extant issues of the *Day-Dawn* and *Voice of Truth* gave evidence of the influence of Bates’ tract on the Sabbath and particularly the revised edition. Crosier wrote supportively: “Bro. J. Bates has revised and enlarged his work on the Sabbath. It is faithfully written, and presents in a conclusive manner the scriptural reasons for keeping the Sabbath of the Lord our God, which is the 7th day. We have a few copies. The work can be had by addressing J. Bates, Fairhaven, Mass.”² Letters from Hahn and Edson also recommended Bates’ revised edition. “As Bro. Joseph Bates has written somewhat extensively and given the scriptural evidence on the subject,” wrote Hahn, “I do hope the brethren will procure a copy and examine the subject in the fear of God, and keep *one* Sabbath of the Lord our God, before entering upon the sabbath [*sic*] of rest which remains for the people of God.”³ Edson wrote: “I have to day been reading Bro. Bates’ 2nd edition of the sabbath [*sic*], and would recommend the careful reading of it to all such as are willing to *do* the commandments of God.”⁴ Even Joseph Marsh, editor of the *Voice of Truth*, broke his enforced silence on the subject of the Sabbath and noted: “We have had repeated calls from different parts of the country, for

¹Bates, *Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*, 1847, iii.

²[O. R. L. Crosier], “Notice,” *Day-Dawn*, March 19, 1847, 4; [idem], “Notice,” *Day-Dawn*, April 2, 1847, 6.

³F. B. Hahn, “The Time Is at Hand,” *Day-Dawn*, April 2, 1847, 6.

⁴Hiram Edson, “Letter from Bro. H. Edson,” *Day-Dawn*, April 2, 1847, 7.

our views on the Seventh Day or Jewish Sabbath.” Because of renewed interest he reprinted a two-year-old article presenting the Sabbath as part of the “law which was nailed to the cross—slain—taken out of the way, and abolished.”¹ In all of his references to the Sabbath Marsh was careful not to mention Bates’ name or give him any credit.

Bates’ second reason for publishing his revision was to present the “present truth.” His preface contains perhaps his clearest statements in the tract on the subject. He focused on Revelation 11:19 and Revelation 14:12. The first reads: “And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail.” Applying this verse to their present experience, Bates argued that just before the Second Coming there was to be a special time when the “commandments” would be “fully kept.” He explained:

God, in a particular manner, to instruct his honest, confiding children, shows them spiritually under the sounding of the seventh Angel, the ark of his testament after the temple of God was opened in heaven. [Rev] xi:19. These are the ten commandments. . . . The Temple which contained the Tabernacle, the ark of the testimony, or ten commandments was open. Now this temple without doubt is the new Jerusalem. Who cannot see that this Temple has been opened for some purpose, but not to be entered by man until the seven last plagues are fulfilled. Here is a space of time in which the commandments will be fully kept. I do not say that this view of the Ark in Rev. is positive, but I think the inference is strong. I cannot see what else it refers to.²

Bates did not explicitly show a two-apartment heavenly sanctuary in his revised tract. His linking of the temple to the New Jerusalem was similar to Crosier’s typological view of a transitional “dispensation of the fullness of times” or Day of Atonement era

¹[Joseph Marsh], “Seventh-Day Sabbath Abolished,” *Voice of Truth*, April 28, 1847, 37; see also [idem], “Thoughts for the Judaizer,” *Voice of Truth*, May 19, 1847, 61.

²Bates, *Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*, 1847, iii, iv.

which began in October 1844.¹ Bates suggested a transitional period during which the “commandments will be fully kept.”²

While the theological revisions in Bates’ enlarged Sabbath tract were largely contained in the preface, his eleven-page addition at the end of the tract added a covenant rationale for keeping the Ten Commandments and the Sabbath. It was entitled “God has Made Three Everlasting Covenants with Man.” His view on the covenants will be more fully considered when we discuss the *Seal of the Living God* later in the chapter. As the title of the section indicates, he believed there were three covenants. The first two were conditional on obedience to the third. The first was the “Covenant of Inheritance” made to the Children of Israel, and the second the “everlasting Covenant of Redemption” made to Israel and to the New Testament Church. The third “perpetual covenant” he understood to be the Ten Commandments. In this unconditional covenant Bates understood the Sabbath to be a “sign forever” and “a present truth.”³

With his exposition on the covenants, Bates further explained his thoughts on the three angels’ message of Revelation 14, which he had only alluded to in his August 1846 tract. He wrote:

Now the history of God’s people for the last seven years, or more, is described by John in Rev. xiv:6-13. An angel preaching the everlasting gospel at the hour of God’s judgment. This without any doubt represents all those who were preaching the second Advent doctrine since 1840. During this proclamation, there followed another angel, saying “Babylon is fallen, is fallen.” This angel was some of the same Advent lecturers, (for invisible angels don[’]t preach to men.) And the third angel follows them, showing the curse that befell all such as “worship the beast or

¹See pp. 247, 248 above.

²See also C. M. Maxwell, “Joseph Bates and Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath Theology,” 354-357; Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 139-143.

³Bates, *Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*, 1847, 48-60.

his image, or *receive his mark*,” that is if they go back again. The same angel or voice that is brought to view in ch[apter] 18:4, you see he follows the one that announces the fall of Babylon and cries, come out of her my people; this was a little before and during a cry at Midnight in the fall of 1844. And God’s people did respond to that call and come out, does any one ask where from? Answer, the professed churches and no where else. These churches then are Babylon! Now when this cry ended, John describes another very different company, in their patience, (or trying time,) keeping the commandments of God and the faith or testimony of Jesus; who are they? Why, the very same that came out of Babylon. . . . Now that such a people can be found on the earth as described in the 12[th] v[erse] and have been uniting in companies for the last two years, on the commandments of God and faith or testimony of Jesus, is indisputable and clear.¹

Bates thus ended the third angel’s message of Revelation 14 with verse 11 and applied it to the period ending with the October 1844 Midnight Cry. Verse 12 Bates saw as a description of “God’s people” who had come out and were “uniting into companies” during the “last two years,” since 1844. As will be demonstrated, James White took issue with Bates on some aspects of his interpretation of the third angel.²

After discussing the third angel of Revelation 14, Bates then clearly identified Sunday as a part of the “mark of the beast” and linked it to Rome:

Is it not clear that the first day of the week for the Sabbath or holy day is a mark of the beast. It surely will be admitted that the Devil was and is the father of all the wicked deeds of Imperial and papal Rome. It is clear then from this history that Sunday, or first day, is his Sabbath throughout christendom. . . . He will be very careful therefore not to make *war* on any but those who keep God’s Sabbath holy.³

In emphasizing his point on the Sabbath, Bates turned to his own restorationist Christian Connection perspective: “Now that the keeping of the seventh day Sabbath has been made void by the working of satan [*sic*], and is to be restored as one of the *all* things

¹Ibid., 58, 59.

²For similar treatment see Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 140-142.

³Bates, *Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*, 1847, 59.

spoken of by all the holy prophets since the world began. before Jesus can come, is evident.”¹

The opening of the heavenly temple or New Jerusalem, the revealing of the ark and Ten Commandments under the seventh angel, the mention of the commandment-keeping saints of Revelation 14:12, and the understanding of Sunday as the mark of the beast dramatically increased the importance and relevance of the Sabbath for Shut-Door Adventists. Bates' ideas gave the emerging movement a unique perspective and provided urgency for proclaiming the Sabbath to other Adventists. These vitally important concepts were foundational in linking Sabbatarianism to a special end-time Most Holy Place ministry of Jesus in the heavenly sanctuary.

When Bates published his revised Sabbath tract in January 1847, he moved into new theological territory by promoting the eschatological linkage of the Sabbath to the heavenly sanctuary. During March and April 1847 his views were confirmed mostly by Ellen White visions.

Sabbath Halo Vision, April 1847

Ellen White's first recorded vision on the Sabbath came some six months after she and James White had begun to keep it. On March 6, 1847, in Fairhaven, Massachusetts, and on April 3, 1847, in Topsham, Maine, Ellen White received similar visions.² More is known about the second vision because on April 7, 1847, Bates published a broadside with a letter by her describing what she had seen. The vision occurred on Sabbath in Topsham, Maine, at the home of Stockbridge Howland.

¹Ibid., 60.

²E. G. White, "A Vision," broadside, April 7, 1847, 1.

The group that had gathered in the Howland home felt an “unusual spirit of prayer.” Ellen White, who was nearly five months pregnant with her first child, was soon “wrapped in a vision of God’s glory.” An angel swiftly carried her “from the earth to the Holy City” where she “saw a temple.” After entering the temple she passed through the first and second veils into the “Holy of Holies” where she saw Jesus standing by the “ark.” She then described the heavenly sanctuary scene:

On each end of the ark was a lovely Cherub, with their wings spread out over it. Their faces were turned towards each other, and they looked downwards. Between the angels was a golden censor. Above the ark, where the angels stood, was an exceeding bright glory, that appeared like a throne where God dwelt. Jesus stood by the ark. And as the saints’ prayers came up to Jesus, the incense in the censor would smoke, and He offered up the prayers of the saints with the smoke of the incense to His Father. In the ark, was the golden pot of manna, Aaron’s rod that budded, and the tables of stone, which folded together like a book.¹

White’s account reached a high point as she continued her description:

Jesus opened them [the tables of stone], and I saw the ten commandments written on them with the finger of God. On one table was four, and on the other six. The four on the first table shown brighter than the other six. But the fourth (the Sabbath commandment), shone above them all; for the Sabbath was set apart to be kept in honor of God’s holy name. The holy Sabbath looked glorious—a halo of glory was all around it.²

“I saw,” she wrote, “that the holy Sabbath is, and will be, the separating wall between the true Israel of God and unbelievers; and that the Sabbath is the great question, to unite the hearts of God’s dear waiting saints.”³ “All we were required to do,” she wrote, to avoid persecution during the “time of trouble,” “was to give up God’s Sabbath, and keep the Pope’s [Sunday], and then we should have the mark of the Beast, and of his

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

Image.”¹ She further saw that “in the time of trouble” the “saints” “fled from the cities and villages.” They were “pursued by the wicked,” who attempted to kill them, but due to God’s protection were prevented from doing so. Then the saints were delivered by the voice of God. “And when the never ending blessing was pronounced on those who had honored God, in keeping His Sabbath holy, there was a mighty shout of victory over the Beast, and over his Image.” Finally, she described with vivid words the scenes of the Second Coming.²

This vision confirmed Bates’ emphasis on the eschatological importance of the Sabbath. Ellen White graphically depicted Jesus as standing by the ark in the Most Holy Place presenting the prayers of the saints to His Father. She also gave special attention to the ark and the Ten Commandments. Significantly, Ellen White added some important details, such as specifically identifying a temple located in the New Jerusalem and providing dramatic visual metaphors such as the halo of light surrounding the fourth commandment. This vision was republished in *A Word to the “Little Flock”* and will be considered further in connection with that tract.

After publishing his revised Sabbath tract, Bates decided to write and publish a booklet reviewing Adventist experience down to that time. Several ideas are covered in Bates’ new work that need to be examined.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

Bates' Booklet, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*

Joseph Bates published his eighty-page booklet, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps, or a Connected View of the Fulfillment of Prophecy, by God's Peculiar People from the year 1840 to 1847*, during April of 1847.¹ The purpose was to trace the seven-year history from 1840 to 1847 through ten "way marks" or progressive steps of understanding and experience in the Advent movement. These "way marks" began with Miller's preaching and continued through the spring 1844 expectation, the "fall of Babylon," the October 1844 Midnight Cry, the Bridegroom view, the opening of the heavenly sanctuary, the new view on the Ten Commandments and the seventh-day Sabbath, and finally the "perilous times" of the end just before Jesus returned.

While many of his ideas reflected previous Adventist concepts, several new concepts were proposed. The tenth way mark perhaps contained the most new content. Bates identified three groups of Adventists, "Nominal Adventist[s]," "Spiritualizers," and those who keep the "commandments of God and the faith of Jesus."² He concluded that only the last of the "three" groups would "be saved." Convinced that the final events of earth's history were unfolding, he pointed to problems in various parts of the world, such as the famine in Europe and the Irish "potato rot" blight as signs of the end.³

Bates referenced the October 1844 experience in various places throughout the

¹Joseph Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps, or a Connected View of the Fulfillment of Prophecy, by God's Peculiar People from the year 1840 to 1847* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1847), 37, 46.

²Ibid., 79.

³Ibid., 79, 80.

book.¹ This was a vitally important “way mark” for him. Though new heavenly sanctuary ideas were beginning to expand the Sabbatarian Adventist Shut-Door view. Bates continued to hold that their evangelistic work for the world was finished. He wrote: “How clear it is then that the door was shut as I have shown, on the 10th day of the 7th month, 1844, and no where else. And that here ended Daniel’s appointed time, 2,300 days.”² Bates was explicit in saying that sinners would remain unrepentant: “Paul’s open *door*, then, was the preaching the gospel with *effect* to the Gentiles. Now let this *door* be shut, and the preaching of this gospel will have no effect. This is just what we say is the fact. The gospel message ended at the appointed time with the closing of the 2,300 days; and almost every honest believer that is watching the signs of the times will admit it.”³

Bates gave what may have been his most important conclusion with minimal explanation: “Look for your final redemption at the feast of TABERNACLES. The chart has all the time that we shall ever be arraigned to. Let us be watching then for the voice of God to shake the heavens and earth, for that is the next sign. Amen.”⁴ He defined the feast of Tabernacles as “the ingathering of the harvest, the end of the world.”⁵ From these comments it can be presumed that Bates expected the Second Coming at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles in the fall of 1847 or perhaps some subsequent year. When Bates wrote of the coming of Jesus in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles he

¹Ibid., 30, 35, 37, 44, 53, 55, 59.

²Ibid., 66.

³Ibid., 67, 68.

⁴Ibid., 80.

⁵Ibid., 58.

was directly countering O. R. L. Crosier's view that Jesus would come at the Passover during April or May of 1847.¹

Until 1851, Bates continued to focus on an autumn date for the coming of Jesus.² In looking to specific times he differed from James and Ellen White. Extant sources do not give any indication that the Whites adopted any particular dates for events connected to the Second Coming of Jesus after the fall of 1845 and Ellen Harmon's "Time of Trouble" vision.³ In *The Opening Heavens and Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*, Bates makes only passing references to the time of trouble, which figures so prominently in *A Word to the "Little Flock"* published the next month in May 1847.⁴ Another significant area of disagreement was the content and timing of the third angel's message. Bates' booklet, like his earlier Sabbath tracts, placed the fulfillment of Revelation 14:9-11 during the period before the October 1844 expectation. He separated Revelation 14:12 from the third angel's message and made it another message to be proclaimed after October 1844.⁵ James White, on the other hand, believed that the entire content of Revelation 14:9-12 was the third angel's message and was to be proclaimed after the Midnight Cry of October 1844. He specifically mentioned those (Bates) who

¹Ibid., 59; see also Bates, *A Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*, 88, 89.

²Joseph Bates, *An Explanation of the Typical and Antitypical Sanctuary by the Scriptures with a Chart* (New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1850), 10, 11; [James White], "Our Present Work," *Review and Herald*, August 19, 1851, 13.

³See pp. 223-225 above.

⁴Bates, *The Opening Heavens*, 33, 37; idem, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*, 49, 52, 80.

⁵Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*, 23-25, 27.

mistakenly made them two different messages.¹ Thus while there was general unity between Bates and the Whites, there were some significant areas in which they did not see eye to eye. Over time, these areas of disagreement were largely resolved.

While Bates' publications presented new ideas to the scattered Adventists, Crosier's *Day-Dawn* provided a regular means of exchanging views, giving notices, and presenting articles. Crosier's paper played a vital unifying role for Sabbatarian Adventists up through April 1847. Joseph Bates wrote supportively of this paper in *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*: "This is now all the paper [i.e., the only paper] that endeavors to sustain the present truth."² We will now examine the extant issues of the *Day-Dawn* and Crosier's 1847 time expectation.

O. R. L. Crosier, the *Day-Dawn*, and the Passover 1847 Time Expectation

With over a year between the first two issues of the *Day-Dawn* (March 1845 and July 1846), the paper at first served as an issue-oriented publication. But beginning in August 1846 and continuing into April 1847, the paper began to appear more regularly. During its active period, more than a dozen issues were published.³ With the exception of the first two issues mentioned above, none of the remaining numbers of volume one are extant. The first three issues of volume two give an interesting spotlight view of

¹J. White, *Word to the "Little Flock,"* 11; for further discussion see Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 140-142.

²Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*, 54.

³J. Weston, "Dear Bro. Crosier," *Day-Dawn*, March 19, 1847, 1; references to the *Day-Dawn* in the *Voice of Truth* include [Joseph Marsh], "The Day-Dawn [sic]," *Voice of Truth*, August 26, 1846, 69; see also [idem], "Greatly Mistaken," *Voice of Truth*, February 24, 1847, 70; Harry Marsh, "The Voice of Truth [sic]," *Day-Dawn*, March 19, 1847, 3, 4; [Joseph Marsh], "The Voice of Truth [sic]," *Voice of Truth*, March 31, 1847, 5, 6.

O. R. L. Crosier and Shut-Door Adventism during the early spring of 1847. The purpose of this section is to give an overview of the topic that was most important to Crosier, the Passover 1847 expectation that Jesus would come.

In October 1845, while many Bridegroom Adventists were experiencing the Jubilee Year disappointment, Crosier was not greatly affected. He had set his sights on the spring of 1847. "My mind has been fixed on the Passover of '47 for several months," he wrote, "but O, what trials are between!"¹ A year and a half later, the long awaited culmination was approaching. Crosier revealed the intensity of his anticipation in his editorial comments during March 1847:

This is the first No. in Vol. 2; and we know not but it will be the last that we shall ever issue. We feel sure that our time for comforting and exhorting one another and searching the Scriptures is very short. We confidently believe that one or two short months will end our earthly pilgrimage. Our hearts are glad as we near the closing scene. We hope to be hid in the day of the Lord's anger. For the few days left, we shall labor as the Lord may direct.²

In the same issue, Crosier published a letter from Jacob Weston of New Ipswich, New Hampshire, which sought to demonstrate that the "Papal rule" ended sometime between April 18, 1802, and the end of May 1802. Weston connected the last forty-five days of the 1335 days or years of Daniel 12:12 to the ending of the "Papal rule" from spring 1802 to the spring of 1847.³ Crosier responded to this idea with the following emphatic words: "For nearly two years it has been our unwavering opinion that the 1335 days would end this spring at or about the Passover. The evidence Bro. Weston presents upon the subject seems to be entirely conclusive, and our heart has been greatly

¹O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 51.

²[O. R. L. Crosier], "Volume 2," *Day-Dawn*, March 19, 1847, 2.

³J. Weston, "Dear Bro. Crosier," *Day-Dawn*, March 19, 1847, 1, 2.

comforted by his faithful testimony on this point.”¹ The spring 1847 anticipation was frequently discussed and mentioned in the letters and articles of the three extant 1847 issues of the *Day-Dawn*.²

Besides the dominant emphasis on the Second Coming, in the *Day-Dawn* there was a collateral interest by some in the Sabbath. Crosier twice published a notice of Bates’ second revised and enlarged Sabbath tract. He also published at least two letters that actively promoted Sabbatarianism.³

But when the expected time passed, Crosier stopped publishing his paper and abandoned the Shut Door and Sabbath.⁴ Having entirely changed his views, he proceeded to set an 1877 date for the Second Coming. James White wrote of Crosier in 1848: “He has given up the Sabbath and does not expect the Lord until 1877. Poor soul, he is shut up in gross darkness.”⁵

Shut-Door Adventists keenly felt the loss of the *Day-Dawn*. Without a medium of communication, the still tenuous connection between Sabbatarian Adventists was weakened. Ironically, it was the loss of Crosier and the *Day-Dawn* that precipitated the

¹[O. R. L. Crosier], “Note,” *Day-Dawn*, March 19, 1847, 2.

²[O. R. L. Crosier], “Good Testimony on Time,” *Day-Dawn*, March 19, 1847, 3; Aaron Ellis, “Calculation of the 2300 Days,” *Day Dawn*, April 2, 1847, 5; F. B. Hahn, “The Time Is at Hand,” *Day-Dawn*, April 2, 1847, 5, 6; [O. R. L. Crosier], “The Advent This Spring,” *Day-Dawn*, April 2, 1847, 6, 7; [idem], “Circumstances of the 2nd Advent,” *Day-Dawn*, April 16, 1847, 12.

³[O. R. L. Crosier], “Notice,” *Day Dawn*, March 19, 1847, 4; [idem], “Notice,” *Day-Dawn*, April 2, 1847, 6; F. B. Hahn, “The Time Is at Hand,” *Day-Dawn*, April 2, 1847, 5, 6; Hiram Edson, “Letter from Bro. H. Edson,” *Day-Dawn*, April 2, 1847, 7, 8.

⁴J. White, *Word to the “Little Flock,”* 1; O. R. L. Crosier, “Bro. Cole,” *Bible Advocate*, November 4, 1847, 102; A. Doolittle, “Dear Brother,” *Bible Advocate*, June 17, 1847, 166; O. R. L. Crosier, “The Shut Door,” *Advent Harbinger*, September 30, 1848, 115.

⁵James White to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, August 26, 1848, EGWE-GC.

publication of James White's tract, *A Word to the "Little Flock."* In his introductory editorial White wrote: "The following articles were written for the *Day-Dawn*, which has been published in Canandaigua, New York, by O. R. L. Crosier. But as that paper is not now published, and as we do not know as it will be published again, it is thought best by some of us in Maine, to have them given in this form."¹ *A Word to the "Little Flock"* opened the way for White to take a more direct leadership role for Sabbatarian Adventism. First through his little tract, then through the evangelistic conferences beginning in 1848, and finally through the publication of *Present Truth* in 1849 and 1850, White became a leading voice and facilitator for the movement.

Publication of *A Word to the "Little Flock"*

A Word to the "Little Flock" was in essence a synopsis of Sabbatarian Adventist thought. Published by James White on May 30, 1847, it provided, through a series of articles, a framework of faith based on past and future events. Though the twenty-four-page paper contained material from James White, Ellen White, and Joseph Bates, it was James White who served as compiler and who authored the majority of the articles.

The publication was as much a pastoral epistle as it was a doctrinal presentation. The very title has a pastoral ring to it—*A Word to the "Little Flock."* Throughout the paper James White sought to compare various ideas and show how they did or did not fit with the Bible. He was clearly trying to steer the "little flock" in a particular direction.

This lengthy section will examine the three major objectives James White had in publishing *A Word to the "Little Flock."* Perhaps the first and certainly the most obvious objective of the publication was to trace events that had a bearing on the Second Coming

¹J. White, *Word to the "Little Flock,"* 1847, 1.

of Jesus. Next, the Sabbath and Shut Door messages were featured and promoted. Finally, Ellen White's visions and the prophetic gift were explained and given a prominent place in the tract. These three objectives—delineating future events, the eschatological significance of the Sabbath, and Ellen White's visions—will now be considered.

Outlining Future Events

In his editorial introduction White indicated that the main purpose for publishing *A Word to the "Little Flock"* was to "call the attention of the 'little flock'" of Advent believers "to those things which will very soon take place on this earth." In *A Word to the "Little Flock"* he laid out a progression of events beginning with the 1844 experience. These included (1) the temple of God and the Sabbath message, (2) the seven last plagues, (3) the Time of Trouble and Time of Jacob's Trouble, (4) the voice of God, (5) the first resurrection, (6) the millennium, (7) the second resurrection, (8) the judgment, and (9) the destruction of the wicked. Each of these will be considered in their order except the temple of God and Sabbath message, which because of its importance will be considered separately. White did not cover the topics in an exact chronological order but rather gave his thoughts on a subject-by-subject basis.

After the introduction, White first presented his position on the seven last plagues: "For more than one year," he wrote, "it has been my settled faith, that the seven last plagues were all in the future . . . before the first resurrection" and the "second advent."¹ These would not be poured out "until Jesus' priestly work" was "finished" in the "Holy

¹Ibid.

of Holies.”¹ White hinted that the plagues and the priestly work of Jesus would not be finished until the “marking or sealing of the saints.” The seven last plagues, like the Old Testament plagues of Egypt, were to fall only on those who had not been “sealed in their foreheads.” “The true Israel of God,” he wrote, “will be safely protected, when Christ rules the nations with a ‘rod of iron,’ and dashes them ‘in pieces like a potter’s vessel.’”² This preliminary idea of the sealing would be greatly expanded towards the end of 1848 and during early 1849.³

White moved from the plagues to the sounding of the voice of God, which, based on Revelation 16:17, he placed at the time of the seventh plague. He carefully differentiated this sounding of the voice of God from the voice of God at the first resurrection. “It seems clear,” he wrote, “that this voice which is to come ‘*out of the temple of heaven, from the throne,*’ is not the ‘voice of the Son of God,’ that raises the saints.” Instead, it would be the voice of deliverance for the saints who proclaimed the “day and hour of Jesus’ appearing.”⁴ This voice that “will shake the powers of the heavens, and cause the great earthquake,” he wrote, “constitutes the last literal sign, just before the sign of the Son of man appears in heaven.”⁵ When the voice of God speaks, the “saints” will be delivered “from every outward foe, and be filled with the Holy Ghost” and thus be prepared to “gaze on Jesus, and stand before him at his appearing.”⁶

¹Ibid., 2.

²Ibid., 3.

³See pp. 363-380 below.

⁴J. White, *Word to the “Little Flock,”* 4.

⁵Ibid., 6.

⁶Ibid., 7.

White had fixed his hope on this voice of deliverance when he wrote with longing: "O, Glory! Hallelujah!! my poor heart is set on fire for the kingdom, while I dwell on the sweet prospect, before the true believer."¹

The Time of Trouble

Perhaps the most prominent theological concept in *A Word to the "Little Flock"* was the time of trouble. All of the important events leading up to the voice of God were joined to it. To clarify James and Ellen White's view on the time of trouble it is helpful to divide it into three periods or phases. When they used the phrase "time of trouble," they might be speaking of any one of these periods of time. For the purpose of clarity I will name them, "pre-time of trouble," "Time of Trouble," and the "Time of Jacob's Trouble."

For James and Ellen White, the first, or pre-time of trouble, began in October 1844, was in the present, and applied to the time of the third angel's message and sealing when trouble on the earth was growing. This growing pre-time of trouble preceded and was preparatory for the Time of Trouble when Michael stands up as described in Daniel 12:1. The Time of Trouble was to begin when Jesus "finished his work of atonement, in the Holy of Holies" and lays off "his priestly attire."² The third phase would be the Time of Jacob's Trouble, which was to occur toward the end of the Time of Trouble, just before their deliverance by the voice of God.

The first phase (the pre-time of trouble) is particularly important because it was closely linked to the new idea of an end-time proclamation of the Sabbath and (by 1849)

¹Ibid., 8.

²Ibid., 9.

the Sealing Message. Understanding the pre-time of trouble also helps to clarify James White's view of the Shut Door. In *A Word to the "Little Flock"* he carefully explained his view on the Shut Door by linking it to Christ's heavenly sanctuary ministry. White suggested that Christ's priestly work had closed for "every sinner" in October 1844 and would close for the "house of God" at the beginning of the Time of Trouble. He wrote:

From the ascension, to the shutting of the door, Oct. 1844, Jesus stood with wide-spread arms of love, and mercy; ready to receive, and plead the cause of every sinner, who would come to God by him.

On the 10th day of the 7th month, 1844, he passed into the Holy of Holies, where he has since been a merciful "high priest over the house of God." But when his priestly work is finished there, he is to lay off his priestly attire, and put on his most kingly robes, to execute his judgment on the living wicked.¹

The second phase or the Time of Trouble began when Jesus ended his work as "high priest" in the "Holy of Holies." White wrote:

That Jesus rose up, and shut the door, and came to the Ancient of days, to receive his kingdom, at the 7th month, 1844, I fully believe. . . . But the standing up of Michael, Dan. 12:1, appears to be another event, for another purpose. His rising up in 1844, was to shut the door, and come to his Father, to receive his kingdom, and power to reign; but Michael's standing up, is to manifest his kingly power.²

Ellen White corroborated her husband's view that the Time of Trouble was still in the future in a letter to Eli Curtis published in *A Word to the "Little Flock"*: "You also think, that Michael stood up, and the time of trouble commenced, in 1844. The Lord has shown me in vision, that Jesus rose up, and shut the door, and entered the Holy of Holies, at the 7th month 1844; but Michael's standing up (Daniel 12:1) to deliver his people, is in the future."³

¹Ibid., 2.

²Ibid., 8, 9.

³E. G. White, *ibid.*, 12.

The pre-time of trouble continued from October 1844 to the standing up of Michael. During this time, troubles would grow in seriousness as Jesus was finishing his work in the Most Holy Place. Naturally, the Whites looked at different world events as signs of this rising trouble. James White wrote: "When we look abroad to other nations and see them looking to this country for food: and then look at the scarcity, and rising price of food in our own nation, we cannot doubt but that the 'time of trouble such as never was,' is fast coming upon the nations of the earth."¹ In March of 1847, White noted in a letter that the "trouble such as never was has begun in Europe" and "Jesus is ready to ride forth in indignation and thrash the heathen in anger."² Ellen White particularly wrote of the pre-time of trouble, in connection with the Sabbath: "At the commencement of the time of trouble, we were filled with the Holy Ghost as we went forth and proclaimed the Sabbath more fully."³ This proclamation "enraged the church and nominal Adventists," but "God's chosen, all saw clearly that we had the truth, and they came out and endured the persecution with us."⁴ During this preliminary or growing time of trouble, Jesus continued his work as a high priest for the "house of God" or "God's chosen." When this work was finished, Jesus would stand up, lay aside his priestly robes, and begin to reign as king. As we will see later in the chapter, the 1848 evangelistic Sabbath conferences and the 1849 Sealing Message would be directly connected to the concept of proclaiming the "Sabbath more fully."

¹J. White, *ibid.*, 1.

²James White to Stockbridge Howland, March 14, 1847, EGWE—GC.

³E. G. White, *Word to the "Little Flock,"* 19.

⁴*Ibid.*

James White wrote of the third and final phase (Time of Jacob's Trouble): "In the last closing strife with the Image Beast, when a decree goes forth that as many as will not worship the image of the beast shall 'be killed', [sic] the saints will cry day and night, and be delivered by the voice of God." White countered Cook's and Pickands' "Harvest message" view and others like it by specifying that a "spirit of prayer" would not be "poured upon them" until during the Time of Jacob's Trouble.¹ This short phase began at the very end of the Time of Trouble when a decree was given to kill the saints and ended with deliverance at the voice of God, which has already been discussed.

In summary we see that the "time of trouble" encompassed the entire period from October 1844 to the voice of God and the deliverance of the saints. The initial pre-time of trouble began in 1844 and would end when Jesus finished his priestly ministry and stood up as Michael. Then the formal Time of Trouble would begin when the plagues were poured out and the wicked sought to destroy the saints. Towards the end of the Time of Trouble the saints receive a spirit of prayer known as the Time of Jacob's Trouble. In answer to this prayer the saints are delivered by the voice of God.

From the Second Coming to the end of sin

In *A Word to the "Little Flock"* both James and Ellen White carefully laid out the events following the voice of God. In her letter to Curtis, Ellen White presented her understanding of the two resurrections and the millennium. "I fully agree with you," she wrote, "that there will be two literal resurrections, 1000 years apart."² The first

¹J. White, *ibid.*, 10; see also pp. 93-95 above.

²E. G. White, *ibid.*, 11.

resurrection was for the saints and the second resurrection for the wicked. She next described events at the end of the millennium:

I also agree with you, that the new heavens, and the new earth . . . will not appear, till after the wicked dead are raised, and destroyed, at the end of the 1000 years. I saw that Satan was "loosed out of his prison," at the end of the 1000 years, just at the time the wicked dead were raised; and that Satan deceived them by making them believe they could take the Holy City from the saints. The wicked all marched up around the "camp of the saints," with Satan at their head; and when they were ready to make an effort to take the City, the Almighty breathed from his high throne, on the City, a breath of devouring fire, which came down on them, and burnt them up, "root and branch."¹

James White concluded *A Word to the "Little Flock"* on the subject of the final "Judgment" and expanded some on what his wife had written. In his view the day of judgment would "be 1000 years long." "The event which will introduce the Judgment day," wrote White, "will be the coming of the Son of Man, to raise the sleeping saints, and to change those that are alive at that time." "The wicked," he continued, "are to remain silent in the dust all through the 1000 years." Concluding the tract, he wrote:

How can the judgment be executed on the wicked before they are raised? It is certainly impossible. John saw the wicked, all raised and gathered up around "the camp of the saints," at the end of the 1000 years. He also saw fire come down "from God, out of heaven," which devoured them. This will be the execution of the final judgment on all the wicked. . . . Then God will have a clear Universe: for the Devil, and his angels, and all the wicked, will be burnt up "root and branch."²

The broad overview of events as given in *A Word to the "Little Flock"* provided a framework to understand "present truth." Central to it was an end-time perspective that linked the Sabbath to the work of Jesus in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary.

¹Ibid., 11, 12.

²J. White, *ibid.*, 24.

Vitally connected to this view was an extensive three-phase understanding of the time of trouble.

Eschatological Importance of the Sabbath

James White presented the eschatological importance of the Sabbath in *A Word to the "Little Flock"* in two sections of his tract—one on the three angels of Revelation 14 and the other on the opening of the temple in Revelation 11:19.

Like Bates, White applied the first two angels to the proclamation of the Advent to the "church and world" during the early 1840s and the call out of "Babylon" in connection with the "Midnight Cry" of October 1844.¹ The third angel White saw as a "warning" angel, calling for the "saints to 'hold fast,' and not go back" to their former positions. "As the patient waiting time has been since the 7th month 1844," wrote White, "and as the class that keep the sabbath, etc. have appeared since that time: it is plain that we live in the time of the third angel's message."² As noted earlier in this chapter, White differed from Bates in that White applied the entire third angel's message (Rev 14:9-12) to the post-1844 period and went out of his way to challenge Bates for making Revelation 14:9-12 two proclamations. White's view was soon adopted by Bates and became the established position of Sabbatarian Adventism.

James White actually saw Revelation 14 as containing five "distinct messages" to be given "prior to the advent." Though he failed to define the meaning of the last two, he described them as "messages of prayer" that would be better understood at the "time of

¹Ibid., 10, 11.

²Ibid.

their fulfil[ment].” probably at the time of Time of Jacob’s Trouble.¹

While he differed from Bates in interpreting Revelation 14, White joined Bates in linking Revelation 11:19 to the Shut Door and the Sabbath, though, like his wife, White emphasized that the New Jerusalem was not the temple but rather contained the temple.

He wrote:

“And the temple of God was opened in heaven and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament.” Rev. 11:19. . . . I must believe that the heaven *in* which is the Temple of God, is the New Jerusalem. Old Jerusalem, and its Temple are types of the New Jerusalem, and God’s Temple which is in it. The ark containing the tables of stone, on which God wrote the ten commandments with his own finger, were put into the Holiest. When John had a view of the opening of the New Jerusalem Temple, he saw the ark in the same place in the antitype, that it was in the type.

Therefore it is clear that Old Jerusalem, its Temple, and the furniture of that Temple, have distinct antitypes in Paradise.²

Ellen White’s letter to Bates, which he had published in the broadside *A Vision*, was republished in *A Word to the “Little Flock.”* As has been noted, Ellen White specifically supported the eschatological importance of the Sabbath by linking the Sabbath to the Ark of the Covenant in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary, or as she called it, the “New Jerusalem Temple.”³ While Ellen White’s letter did not explicitly mention Revelation 11:19, her account of the vision did confirm the Sabbath and heavenly sanctuary concepts presented previously by Bates on the text. In the broadside Ellen White clearly presented the Sabbath and its proclamation as a testing issue for God’s people. She wrote:

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., 23.

³See pp. 299-301 above.

I saw that the holy Sabbath is, and will be, the separating wall between the true Israel of God and unbelievers; and that the Sabbath is the great question to unite the hearts of God's dear waiting saints. And if one believed, and kept the Sabbath, and received the blessing attending it, and then gave it up, and broke the holy commandment, they would shut the gates of the Holy City against themselves, as sure as there was a God that rules in heaven above. I saw that God had children, who do not see and keep the Sabbath. They had not rejected the light on it. And at the commencement of the time of trouble, we were filled with the Holy Ghost as we went forth and proclaimed the Sabbath more fully. This enraged the church and nominal Adventists, as they could not refute the Sabbath truth. And at this time, God's chosen, all saw clearly that we had the truth, and they came out and endured persecution with us.¹

Thus the eschatological proclamation of the Sabbath had at least three motivating influences for Bates and the Whites. These included Revelation 14:12 (which was included in the third angel's message by James White), the opening of the temple and revealing of the Ark of the Covenant in Revelation 11:19, and Ellen White's halo vision of the proclamation of the Sabbath more fully. Revelation 14 and Revelation 11 together with Ellen White's visions integrally linked the end-time work of Jesus in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary to the Sabbath and the Second Advent. As we will see later in this chapter, the Sealing Message and the subsequent visions of Ellen White were inseparably linked to a revised heavenly sanctuary understanding of the Shut Door. There was a Shut Door of the Holy Place which led to an open door into the Most Holy Place where the law of God and the Sabbath were revealed in the Ark of the Covenant. This would become the Present Truth to be quickly shared as a uniting message for God's people before the Second Coming.

While Bates pioneered the view that the Sabbath was linked to the Shut Door and the Third Angel's Message, Ellen White played an important confirming and guiding role on the Sabbath and other subjects. The significance of her role is illustrated by the fact

¹E. G. White, *Word to the "Little Flock,"* 19.

that James White included correspondence and accounts of her visions in *A Word to the "Little Flock."* He also gave a careful explanation of the relationship of her visions to the Bible and Advent doctrine. Her visions reinforced the new eschatological view of the Sabbath and intensified the importance of proclaiming it as a final uniting message in preparation for the Second Coming.

Ellen White and Her Visions

Ellen White's visions and prophetic role figured prominently in *A Word to the "Little Flock."* A letter and reprints of two broadsides by her filled over eight of the twenty-four pages in the tract.¹ A little over three more pages were devoted to explaining her prophetic gift.² James White sought to demonstrate three things: (1) Visions needed to agree with the Bible, (2) their modern manifestation was predicted in the Bible, and (3) Ellen White's visions were supernatural and not merely religious excitement.

James White was determined that his wife's visions be subject to biblical authority. To show the harmony between her visions and the Bible he added eighty-four biblical and seven apocryphal references to her two articles.³ Bates also wanted to emphasize that Ellen White's gift was not a replacement, substitute, or addition to the Bible. In his comments originally published in the broadside "A Vision," he wrote: "I do not publish the above vision thinking to add or diminish from the 'sure word of prophecy.' That will stand the test of men and the wreck of worlds! 'It is written that

¹Ibid., 11, 12, 14-20.

²J. White, *ibid.*, 13, 14, 22; Bates, *ibid.*, 21.

³E. G. White, *ibid.*, 14-20.

man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God.' Amen."¹ James White wrote explicitly on the relationship of the Bible to Ellen White's visions:

The bible is a perfect, and complete revelation. It is our only rule of faith and practice. But this is no reason, why God may not show the past, present, and future fulfil[ment] of his word, in these *last days*, by dreams and visions; according to Peter's testimony. True visions are given to lead us to God, and his written word; but those that are given for a new rule of faith and practice, separate from the bible, cannot be from God, and should be rejected.²

He then gave Acts 2:17-20 as a reason for believing in dreams and visions during the last days. "Dreams and Visions are among the signs that precede the great and notable days of the Lord," he wrote. "And as the signs of that day have been, and still are fulfilling, it must be clear to every unprejudiced mind, that the time has fully come, when the children of God may expect dreams and visions from the Lord." White knew this was a "very unpopular position to hold on this subject . . . among Adventists." Nevertheless, he wrote, "I choose to believe the word of the Lord on this point, rather than the teachings of men."³

Having addressed the relationship of modern visions to the Bible and their legitimacy in modern times, White next turned to the matter of whether Ellen White's visions were supernatural or merely intense emotional experiences. To openly consider this issue he quoted an anonymous critic who described the visions as "only religious reveries, in which her imagination runs without control upon themes in which she is most deeply interested."⁴ The critic concluded that visions were not true because "the

¹Bates, *ibid.*, 21.

²J. White, *ibid.*, 13.

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Ibid.*, 22.

sentiments, in the main, are obtained from previous teaching, or study.” He further believed that while she was misguided in believing she had visions, her experience was “religious” and not “sinful.”¹

White responded to the critic’s conclusion that his wife’s visions were mere “reveries” with three concrete examples of how what she saw went beyond what she had previously known. He wrote as follows:

However true this extract [from the critic] may be in relation to reveries, it is *not* true in regard to the visions: for the author *does not* “obtain the sentiments” of her visions “from previous teachings or study.” When she received her first vision, Dec. 1844, she and all the band in Portland, Maine, (where her parents then resided) had given up the midnight-cry, and shut door, as being in the past. It was then that the Lord shew her in vision, the error into which she and the band in Portland had fallen. She then related her vision to the band, and about sixty confessed their error, and acknowledged their 7th month experience to be the work of God.

It is well known that many were expecting the Lord to come at the 7th month, 1845. That Christ would then come we firmly believed. A few days before the time passed, I was at Fairhaven, and Darmouth, Mass., with a message on this point of time. At this time, Ellen was with the band at Carver, Mass., where she saw in vision, that we should be disappointed, and that the saints must pass through the “time of Jacob’s trouble,” which was future. Her view of Jacob’s trouble was entirely new to us, as well as herself. At our conference in Topsham, Maine, last Nov., Ellen had a vision of the handy works of God. She was guided to the planets Jupiter, Saturn, and I think one more. After she came out of vision, she could give a clear description of their Moons, etc. It was well known, that she knew nothing of astronomy, and could not answer one question in relation to the planets, before she had this vision.²

Bates confessed that for a time he had believed that Ellen White experienced emotional outbursts or “reveries” rather than visions. “Although I could see nothing in them that militated against the word,” he wrote, “yet I felt alarmed and tried exceedingly, and for a long time unwilling to believe that it was any thing more than what was

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

produced by a protracted debilitated state of her body.” He “therefore sought opportunities . . . out of meeting” and “in the presence of others, when her mind seemed freed from excitement . . . to question, and cross question her, and her friends which accompanied her . . . to get if possible at the truth.”¹ Bates told of seeing her in vision a number of times and how during “these exciting scenes” he “listened to every word, and watched every move to detect deception, or mesmeric influence” with “interest and intensity.” Bates finally accepted her gift as genuine: “I can now confidently speak for myself. I believe the work is of God, and is given to comfort and strengthen his ‘scattered,’ ‘torn,’ and ‘pealed people.’” He acknowledged that he had “received light and instruction on many passages” that he “could not before clearly distinguish.”²

Through these remarks both James White and Joseph Bates give a considered presentation on the relationship of Ellen White’s visions to the Bible, a scriptural rationale for modern prophetic manifestation, and a reasoned response to the questions that many had concerning Ellen White’s experience. *A Word to the “Little Flock”* had the effect of increasing awareness and acceptance of her visions among Adventists. As a result, her prophetic authority was acknowledged, which increased her influence among Sabbatarian Adventists. This allowed her to give support to particular ideas or expand on them and give inspired advice on a wide variety of issues.

In summary, *A Word to the “Little Flock”* gave an overview of James and Ellen White’s views on events from October 1844 to the end of sin after the millennium. Joseph Bates was also represented in that James White republished the contents of “A

¹Bates, *ibid.*, 21.

²*Ibid.*

Vision” that contained Bates’ comments on an important Ellen White vision. *A Word to the “Little Flock”* supported the Midnight Cry as a true fulfillment of Bible prophecy and particularly dwelt on the immediate events leading to the Second Coming of Jesus. The tract taught that Jesus had moved from the Holy Place to the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. This had resulted in a new revelation of the Sabbath as seen in the law of God contained in the Ark of the Covenant. As trouble was building in the world, the Sabbath would be proclaimed more fully until Michael stood up and probation was closed. Then Jesus would end His role of priest and begin to reign as king. The result for the world would be the seven last plagues and the Time of Trouble. Towards the end of the Time of Trouble, a final Time of Jacob’s Trouble would lead to the proclamation of the voice of God and the deliverance of His people. This tract established a baseline perspective on the issues most important to Sabbatarian Adventists and prepared the way for additional ideas and the events that would occur during 1848 to 1850.

Summary and Perspective

The one-year period from June 1846 to June 1847 saw the initial formation of Sabbatarian Adventism through the clarifying of the basic message and the unifying of the principal leaders—James and Ellen White and Joseph Bates. Bates played the most important role in introducing the seminal ideas. He promoted the Sabbath through his August 1846 tract and then in January 1847 emphasized the idea that the Sabbath had eschatological significance through its linkage to the heavenly sanctuary. It was his Sabbath tract that convinced James and Ellen White to accept the Sabbath. It was Bates who traveled to Western New York and convinced Edson, Hahn, and Crosier to accept

the Sabbath. This linked Crosier and his *Day-Dawn* to Sabbatarianism. Though short-lived, the periodical served as an important medium of communication and study.

During the fall of 1846 and the early spring of 1847 Ellen White's visions contributed to the new unity of thought and action of the key leaders. When Bates accepted her prophetic gift in November 1846, the visions provided a powerful impetus for him to link his energies with James and Ellen White. The visions gave Bates support in his new views, and by his own admission he had "received light and instruction on many passages" he had not "before clearly distinguished."¹ The visions provided a necessary compass to correct and affirm the new doctrinal perspectives.

James White served as a pastoral voice in the midst of the confusing ideas on end-time events held by various Shut-Door Adventists. By synthesizing various perspectives into an overall view, he brought balance and proper perspective. He also sifted through problematic ideas and gave clear reasons why they should not be adopted. This pastoral role was evidenced in his style and approach in *A Word to the "Little Flock."* As we will see in the next section, his influence grew until he became the key representative of the movement through the publication of the *Present Truth*.

With the establishment of leadership and a clear doctrinal foundation, the fledgling Sabbatarian movement was ready to grow. The scattering time was over, and the gathering time was about to begin. The relative obscurity of the Shut Door and the Sabbath was about to be replaced by a new prominence among Millerite Adventists.

¹Ibid.

**Gathering the “Little Flock” Around
the Sabbath and Shut Door:
June 1847 to July 1849**

The publication of *A Word to the “Little Flock”* was the turning point for the Sabbatarian Adventist movement. It linked the key leaders of the movement and outlined the theological foundation for their evangelistic outreach to other Adventists.

Circumstances, though, determined that events would take an unexpected turn. Bates’ publications and *A Word to the “Little Flock”* had increased the interest of some Millerite Adventists in the Sabbath. While the two major papers, the *Advent Herald* and *Voice of Truth*, had refused to open their pages for discussion on the topic, a new paper, the *Bible Advocate*, took a more open stance. Consequently, through the last half of 1847, letters began to appear in this paper on the topic. The regular articles in the paper on various topics by J. B. Cook further enhanced interest in the Sabbath. As a non-Shut-Door Sabbatarian, Cook exerted a quiet but powerful influence in favor of the Sabbath among the broader Adventist community. The continuing discussion on the Sabbath in the *Bible Advocate* culminated in a series of exchanges between Cook and Joseph Turner from December 1847 to February 1848.

Bates and the Whites and those associated with them found that their Shut-Door perspective made them outcasts from the broader Adventist community. At the very time when Shut-Door Adventists had leadership and a clear message, they found themselves excluded from the *Bible Advocate* and the very Sabbath discussion that they had helped produce. The inability to express their views came to an end in 1848. Bates, ever an aggressive advocate of his faith, published *A Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath* in January 1848 as a way of participating in the *Bible Advocate* Sabbath discussion. In addition, Bates and the Whites continued to initiate interaction with other Adventists in

April 1848 by embarking on an evangelistic tour to promote the Sabbath and Shut Door. Ironically, by 1848 the principal non-Shut-Door advocates of the Sabbath, such as Crosier, Preble, and Cook, had either abandoned the Sabbath, or were in the process of abandoning it. As a result, many non-Shut-Door Adventists who had embraced the Sabbath through their efforts, gave up the Sabbath with them. Thus by the fall of 1848 the numbers of Adventist Sabbatarians were reduced and Shut-Door Adventists remained as the sole defenders of the Sabbath.

During the last months of 1848 and first months of 1849 the Sealing Message added an important dimension to Shut-Door Sabbatarian Adventism. It gave a new energy to the already strong theological motivation for presenting the Sabbath. This message led to the publication of a new periodical called the *Present Truth*.

The second part of this chapter will trace the progression and development of the Sabbatarian movement from June 1847 to July 1849. The events of this period as described above will be traced chronologically and topically. First the Sabbath discussions in the *Bible Advocate* and issues relating to it will be examined. Next we will trace what is known of the Sabbatarian evangelistic conferences of 1848. Then the 1849 Sealing Message and its impact on Sabbatarian Adventism will be considered. Finally, we will evaluate the circumstances surrounding the publication of *Present Truth* and its organizational importance. The focus of the second part of this chapter is limited to major developments and is not intended to be comprehensive.

**Sabbatarian Adventism and the *Bible Advocate*:
July 1847 to February 1848**

The *Bible Advocate* became the medium for the final serious discussion on the Sabbath in a non-Shut-Door Millerite publication. Between July 1847 and February 1848

letters and articles supporting or opposing the Sabbath regularly appeared in the periodical. These finally culminated in a series of articles by J. B. Cook and Joseph Turner on the subject. Except for Turner's articles, the letters opposing the Sabbath tended to be weak or scandalous and actually seem to have increased the number of Sabbath keepers. Shut-Door Sabbatarians such as Bates and James White were excluded from the *Bible Advocate*, but their publications and influence were ever present on the margins.

The Shut Door was the dividing issue for participation in the *Bible Advocate*. Shut-Door advocates during 1847 argued for the continued prophetic relevance of the October 1844 Midnight Cry and tended to believe that faith in it was essential for salvation. Those who accepted the Sabbath were apt to view it in the same terms. Since Shut-Door Sabbatarians such as Bates and the Whites had linked the Sabbath to the heavenly sanctuary and Jesus' new work in the Most Holy Place and were suggesting this was an end-time testing truth, their entire perspective was dismissed as extreme and heretical by the general readership of the *Bible Advocate*. In contrast, non-Shut-Door Sabbatarians like Cook were widely respected by readers of the paper. When the *Day-Dawn* ceased publication during the spring of 1847, Shut-Door readers were more inclined to read the *Bible Advocate* than the *Advent Herald* and *Voice of Truth* because it was more willing to explore controversial ideas. The editorial committee therefore believed it was necessary to open the paper for a discussion of the topic of the Sabbath.

This section first gives some background on the *Bible Advocate*, then traces the series of letters for and against the Sabbath that appeared between July and October 1847. Next follows an analysis of Cook's series of articles on the Sabbath and Turner's

response. Then consideration is given to the loss of Preble, Crosier, and Cook to the Sabbatarian view. Finally Bates' published response in *A Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath* is examined.

Background on the *Bible Advocate*

The *Bible Advocate* began publication in Hartford, Connecticut, on July 11, 1846, and was alternately edited by Timothy Cole and David Crary under the direction of an editorial committee.¹ The paper was intended to be a medium for the promotion of the "immediate coming and kingdom of our Lord" and "a channel for a free expression of views and feelings of the children of God relating to the all-important themes we contemplate."² Naturally the editors of *Advent Herald* and *Voice of Truth* were concerned that it would reduce the circulation of their own papers.³ The principal focus of the *Bible Advocate* was the non-immortality of the soul and determining the date for the Second Coming.⁴ Initially the time expectation centered on the fall of 1846.⁵ After this time passed, the editor took a more cautious approach but continued to publish H. H. Gross' expositions. Gross, like Crosier, had long held that Jesus would come at Passover

¹Timothy Cole, "Dear Brethren," *Bible Advocate*, October 17, 1846, 118; [idem], "Dear Brethren and Friends Scattered Abroad," *Bible Advocate*, May 13, 1847, 124.

²David Crary, "It Seems Necessary," *Bible Advocate*, August 22, 1846, 52.

³[Joseph Marsh], "Bible Advocate [sic]," *Voice of Truth*, July 22, 1846, 28, 29; [J. V. Himes], "Bible Advocate [sic]," *Advent Herald*, July 22, 1846, 192.

⁴See p. 209 above.

⁵David Crary, "The Consummation of Our Hope," *Bible Advocate*, October 10, 1846, 108; Lewis Hersey, "Dear Bro. Gross," *Bible Advocate*, August 22, 1846, 51; M. L. Curtis, "Br. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, August 22, 1846, 54; H. Holkins, "The Appointed Time," *Bible Advocate*, September 26, 1846, 92, 93; E. R. Pinney, "My Present Position," *Bible Advocate*, September 26, 1846, 94, 95; P. Alling, "A Few Thoughts as to Time," *Bible Advocate*, September 26, 1846, 96; J. Turner, "Dear Brother Crary," *Bible Advocate*, October 24, 1846, 123, 127.

in April 1847.¹ By March 1847 the editor had warmed to Gross' arguments, though not to a specific date: "Bro. Gross' argument on the ending of the 1260 days, has not been refuted as we have seen by anyone—neither do we see how it can be."² By June Gross revised his view to a later and less specific date.³ Many correspondents, though, continued to look to either spring or fall dates during 1848.⁴

During 1846 and 1847, J. B. Cook became the most frequent contributor to the *Bible Advocate* and was widely respected by the readership.⁵ His series of articles on the

¹H. H. Gross, "The 69 Weeks," *Bible Advocate*, August 1, 1846, 29, 30; J. Weston, "Dear Br. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, August 1, 1846, 32; J. Hazelton, "Time Again," *Bible Advocate*, September 19, 1846, 85, 86; H. H. Gross, "And Now Will I Show Thee the Truth, Number I," *Bible Advocate*, January 9, 1847; idem, "And Now Will I Show Thee the Truth, Number II," *Bible Advocate*, January 16, 1847, 201-203; idem, "And Now Will I Show Thee the Truth, Number III," *Bible Advocate*, January 23, 1847, 1-3, 7; idem, "And Now Will I Show Thee the Truth, Number IV," *Bible Advocate*, January 30, 1847, 10, 11; [David Crary], "Time," *Bible Advocate*, February 6, 1847, 20; H. H. Gross, "And Now Will I Show Thee the Truth, Number VII [sic]," *Bible Advocate*, March 13, 1847, 57, 58.

²[David Crary], "The Time of the Second Advent," *Bible Advocate*, March 13, 1847, 60, 61.

³H. H. Gross, "The True Year 1847," *Bible Advocate*, July 1, 1847, 182, 183; idem, "Watchman, What of the Night?," *Bible Advocate*, September 2, 1847, 33.

⁴N. A. Hitchcock, "Dear Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, July 22, 1847, 195; Abel Carpenter, "Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, July 29, 1847, 105; Ira Fancher, "Dear Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, August 5, 1847, 7; Wm. Jackson, "Dear Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, August 5, 1847, 7; Samuel Marsh, "Dear Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, August 19, 1847, 18, 19; C. R. Broadbent, "Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, August 19, 1847, 19; E. S. Blakeslee, "Time of the Advent," *Bible Advocate*, August 26, 1847, 25, 26; P. Miller, Jr., "'Time of the Advent' Again," *Bible Advocate*, September 9, 1847, 45; W. Barber, "Dear Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, September 16, 1847, 49; [Timothy Cole], "It Hasteth [sic] Greatly," *Bible Advocate*, September 16, 1847, 52; Nathaniel Chase, "Dear Brother Cole," *Bible Advocate*, September 23, 1847, 61; D. T. Taylor, Jr., "Dear Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, October 7, 1847, 80.

⁵J. B. Cook, "Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, October 3, 1846, 97; idem, "Death and the Dead or Holy Scriptures against Antiquity," *Bible Advocate*, October 10, 1846, 106, 107, 110; idem, "Dear Brother," *Bible Advocate*, October 24, 1846, 121-123; idem, "Dear Bro. Whiting," *Bible Advocate*, November 21, 1846, 149, 150; idem, "Dear Bro. Crary," *Bible Advocate*, December 5, 1846, 153-155; idem, "Letter from Bro. J. B. Cook," *Bible Advocate*, January 2, 1847, 190, 191; idem, "Who Then Can Be Saved," *Bible Advocate*, January 9, 1847, 197, 198; idem, "Letter from Bro. J. B. Cook," *Bible Advocate*, February 6, 1847, 18, 19; idem, "Ann Lee," *Bible Advocate*, February 6, 1847, 23; idem, "Josephus Rather than Jesus—And Plato Preferred

immortality of the soul made such an impact on the readers that the editorial committee of the *Bible Advocate* recommended that he publish them in book form.¹ Joseph Turner was also widely respected though he did not write as extensively as Cook.²

Letters and Articles on the Sabbath

The discussion of Sabbatarianism was first begun in the *Bible Advocate* through

to Paul." *Bible Advocate*, February 20, 1847, 34, 35; idem. "Paradise Not the Bright Side of the Grave, or the Mysterious Hades." *Bible Advocate*, March 20, 1847, 66, 67; idem. "The Time, Indicated by Facts." *Bible Advocate*, March 27, 1847, 73, 74; idem. "The Question of the Jew's Return." *Bible Advocate*, April 3, 1847, 83, 84; idem. "The Covenants." *Bible Advocate*, June 3, 1847, 147-149; idem. "The Immortality of the Soul, Number I." *Bible Advocate*, June 10, 1847, 158; idem. "The Immortality of the Soul, Number II." *Bible Advocate*, June 17, 1847, 161, 162; idem. "Explanation Extra, 'Kolasis [sic]'" *Bible Advocate*, June 17, 1847, 162, 163; idem. "The Immortality of the Soul, Number III." *Bible Advocate*, June 24, 1847, 169, 170; idem. "The Immortality of the Soul, Number IV." *Bible Advocate*, July 1, 1847, 177-179; idem. "The Immortality of the Soul, Number V." *Bible Advocate*, July 15, 1847, 185, 186; idem. "The Extra." *Bible Advocate*, July 15, 1847, 190, 191 (see also Elihu S. Bakeslee, *Advocate Extra*, June 24, 1847, and E. S. Blakeslee, "Review of Bro. Cook's Reply to the Extra." *Bible Advocate*, August 5, 1847, 2, 3); J. B. Cook, "The Immortality of the Soul, Number V[VI]." *Bible Advocate*, July 22, 1847, 193, 194; idem. "The Advent Herald, [sic] Kolasis [sic]." *Bible Advocate*, July 22, 1847, 197-199; idem. "Explanation Final." *Bible Advocate*, July 22, 1847, 200; idem. "The Immortality of the Soul, Number VII." *Bible Advocate*, July 27, 1847, 201-203; idem. "The Immortality of the Soul, Number VIII." *Bible Advocate*, August 5, 1847, 1, 2; idem. "The Advent Herald [sic]." *Bible Advocate*, August 12, 1847, 14; idem. "The Extra." *Bible Advocate*, August 12, 1847, 16; idem. "In Reply." *Bible Advocate*, August 19, 1847, 23; idem. "The Immortality of the Soul." *Bible Advocate*, September 9, 1847, 47; idem. "Evil Communications Corrupt Good Manners." *Bible Advocate*, September 23, 1847, 58; idem. "The First Great Falsehood." *Bible Advocate*, September 23, 1847, 58, 59; idem. "To the Advent Herald [sic]." *Bible Advocate*, October 21, 1847, 84, 85.

¹D. Crary, S. S. Rogers, and J. B. Terry, "Bro. Cook—Immortality of the Soul," *Bible Advocate*, August 12, 1847, 13; J. B. Cook, *The True Source of Immortality: or A Brief Inquiry into the Origin of the Doctrine, that the Soul of Man Is a Distinctive Immortal—an Embryo Angel Dwelling in his Body—that Death Is a Separation of this Spiritual Being from the Body; and that it Passes to Its Reward When this Separation Takes Place* (Hartford, CT: William H. Burleigh, 1847).

²J. Turner, "Dear Brother Crary," *Bible Advocate*, October 24, 1846, 123, 127; idem. "Dear Brother," *Bible Advocate*, May 13, 1847, 126, 127; idem. "Dear Brother." *Bible Advocate*, June 3, 1847, 150; idem. "Dear Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, September 16, 1847, 50, 51; idem. "The Fifth Vial," *Bible Advocate*, October 7, 1847, 75, 76.

two letters published on June 17, 1847.¹ Both letters upheld the perpetuity of the law, but one supported Saturday as the seventh-day Sabbath while the other argued that Sunday was the seventh-day Sabbath. These letters began a nearly nine-month period of Sabbath discussion and debate in the periodical.

Joseph Bates probably influenced Harvey Childs, who authored the first letter in support of Saturday being the seventh-day Sabbath. Childs wrote: "We are now in the time of the patience of the saints. Rev. 14:12. Let us keep in mind, that here, in this time, are they that keep the commandments that they may have right to the tree of life."² On the other side of the question Ira T. Neal tried to prove that Sunday was actually the seventh-day Sabbath. This position would appear again and be expanded upon by Joseph Turner later that fall. Neal wrote:

It is universally admitted that Christ was crucified on Friday. See Matt. 12:40. "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Now count from Friday to Saturday is one day; from Saturday to Sunday is two days; from Sunday to Monday is three days. . . . I believe you will be satisfied beyond a doubt, that Monday was reckoned by the Jews as the first day, consequently Sunday must be the seventh; and let us go on in love, for he that is to come will come, and will not tarry.³

Though Neal was arguing for the sacredness of Sunday, it is important to note that he believed the Sabbath commandment to be still binding. For him the seventh-day Sabbath was actually Sunday. This conclusion was not lost on Timothy Cole. He rejected both positions in an editorial and called the Sabbath a "relict" [*sic*] of the "old

¹Harvey Childs, "Dear Brother," *Bible Advocate*, June 17, 1847, 166; Ira T. Neal, "Dear Brother," *Bible Advocate*, June 17, 1847, 166, 167.

²Harvey Childs, "Dear Brother," *Bible Advocate*, June 17, 1847, 166; see Bates, *Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*, 1847, 58, 59.

³Ira T. Neal, "Dear Brother," *Bible Advocate*, June 17, 1847, 166, 167.

law” and a “shadow of things to come” based on Colossians 2:14-19.¹ Surprisingly, a few months later Cole temporarily changed his position and accepted the view presented by Neal after reading Turner’s similar but more extensive arguments.²

Childs’ and Neal’s letters elicited enough responses from the readership that Cole decided to publish two more letters on the Sabbath. Abel Carpenter expressed incredulity at Neal’s idea that Sunday was really the seventh day. He wondered in his letter if “Bro. Cook” or someone else could “write and show us the truth upon the subject.”³ H. C. Robbins, a publishing agent at Westford, Connecticut, for the *Bible Advocate*,⁴ made specific reference to the *Day-Dawn*, Bates, and the Whites in his opposition to the Sabbath:

I see that the brethren in the “Day-Dawn” make the keeping of the seventh day, indispensable to full salvation. And Bro. J. Bates, in a pamphlet sent out some time since, argued the subject at full length, and I see he thinks his arguments unanswerable. And in a pamphlet recently published by J. W. he has taken the visions of a sister down east to help support the argument.⁵

Robbins had obviously read the material by Bates and the Whites. He wrote further: “If that good sister down east, has had a vision in which she saw that the keeping of the seventh day is, and will be the dividing wall between the true Israel of God and unbelievers; so be it. But Jesus don’t say so.” Robbins then argued that the Sabbath, like

¹Paul [Timothy Cole], “Note,” *Bible Advocate*, July 29, 1847, 205.

²[Timothy Cole], “We Deviate,” *Bible Advocate*, December 30, 1847, 156.

³Abel Carpenter, “Bro. Cole,” *Bible Advocate*, July 29, 1847, 205.

⁴[Timothy Cole], “The Following Named Brethren. . . .” *Bible Advocate*, June 10, 1847, 160.

⁵H. C. R[obbins], “Bro. Cole,” *Bible Advocate*, July 29, 1847, 206.

circumcision, was a part of the Old Testament “ceremonial observances.” He concluded that the Sabbath was a “type of a rest that was to be found in Jesus.”¹

These two sets of letters only increased the interest and brought more letters to Cole’s office. On August 26, 1847, Cole wrote that he had “received several articles, of late, on the Sabbath, for and against, keeping the seventh day for the Sabbath.” He was reluctant to continue the discussion, preferring to “let it rest, for the settlement of the great day.” Nevertheless, he decided to publish another set of letters. The first was by Nathaniel Jones of Northfield, Vermont, and the second by C. Stowe of Washington, New Hampshire.² Both of these letters were remarkably significant.

Jones’ letter followed the same argument as Robbins and called the Sabbath a “relic of the old law.” He also believed the “resurrection of Christ on the first day of the week” as a “much more important a work, than the creation” and that it therefore “superseded the seventh day.”³ His accusations against Sabbatarian Adventists were more significant than his biblical arguments. Jones said that those who supported the Sabbath did so not on biblical arguments but because of Ellen White’s visions, though he was uninformed to the point of believing they were the “visions of James White.” After establishing his false premise, he then answered it: “For it [the Sabbath] cannot be established on the authority of ‘visions,’ or new revelations, which some suppose *they* have, and seem to place great confidence in *their dreams, or ‘visions.’*”⁴

¹Ibid., 206, 207.

²On Sabbatarianism in Washington, New Hampshire, see pp. 53-55 above.

³Nath’l Jones, “Bro. Cole,” *Bible Advocate*, August 26, 1847, 30.

⁴Ibid.

Cole touted the article by Stowe as covering the “whole ground, in favor of the seventh day.”¹ This statement would later cause Cole problems when Bates revealed that he had omitted the first part of Stowe’s article.² Cole was quite anxious that “some of our brethren, who have thoroughly investigated the whole subject,” write an article answering Stowe.³ The weak arguments of Neal, Robbins, and Jones had done nothing to strengthen the anti-sabbatarian cause. Bates even suggested that if these types of arguments “continued long enough” they would result in the “utter confusion and dismay” of the “Sabbath breakers.”⁴

Two predisposing factors may have influenced Cole to choose Stowe as the Sabbath advocate. First, she had been a contributor to the *Voice of Truth* as well as the *Bible Advocate*.⁵ Second, her presentation stayed with the Seventh Day Baptist theological perspective and did not include any Shut-Door ideas. Stowe gave an impassioned defense of the Sabbath with four main points: (1) “Christ did not *annul*, or break,” the Sabbath “command” but rather “exposed” “inconsistency” in its practice; (2) “the Sabbath” had “not been abolished”; (3) “it cannot be a matter of indifference”; (4) the “law of the Sabbath was not *amended*, either by Christ, the Apostles, or the Primitive

¹[Timothy Cole], “The Sabbath,” *Bible Advocate*, August 26, 1847, 28.

²Joseph 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 Lindsey, 1848), 8, 47, 48.

³[Timothy Cole], “The Sabbath,” *Bible Advocate*, August 26, 1847, 28.

⁴Bates, *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*, 3.

⁵C. Stowe, “Sister C. Stowe,” *Voice of Truth*, August 12, 1846, 56; idem, “Faint Not,” *Voice of Truth*, November 18, 1846, 57, 58.

Christians” to make Sunday the Sabbath.¹ Cole could not wait for “some of the brethren” who had “investigated the whole subject” to write on the topic. So he provided a three-column response of his own.² He argued that the Sabbath was a part of the “added” law or covenant given at Mt. Sinai and was only “in force” until “Christ should come.” Thus he restricted the relevance of the Sabbath to the Old Testament period.³ Besides his own limited but clear response, a full rebuttal of Stowe’s article never was published.

On September 16, 1847, Cole published a fourth set of letters on the Sabbath.⁴ The letter of opposition was written using the pseudonym “Barnabas.” This and other letters by Barnabas resulted in another problem for Cole when Bates guessed that Barnabas was in fact J. Weston of New Ipswich, New Hampshire. Bates revealed that Weston had attempted to defraud Stowe of money and then sought to undermine her character. This intriguing vignette will be considered in more detail when we examine Bates’ tract *A Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*.

Weston argued that the command to keep the Sabbath was so extensive that it was impossible to keep. He wrote: “Sister S[towe,] Bro. Bates, and all the rest, must stand condemned at the dread tribunal of God, for they all *break* that commandment as much as we, who do not *pretend* to keep it.”⁵ In this and subsequent articles he subtly sought to taint Stowe by associating her with Bates. He hinted at dark secrets among the

¹C. Stowe, “Remember the Sabbath Day to Keep It Holy,” *Bible Advocate*, September 2, 1847, 35.

²[Timothy Cole], “The Sabbath,” *Bible Advocate*, September 2, 1847, 36, 37.

³*Ibid.*

⁴J. Croffut, “Dear Bro. Cole,” *Bible Advocate*, September 16, 1847, 49, 50; Barnabas, “Dear Bro. Cole,” *Bible Advocate*, September 16, 1847, 52.

⁵Barnabas, “Dear Bro. Cole,” *Bible Advocate*, September 16, 1847, 52.

Sabbatarians: "First, shut door; next 7th day Sabbath, or the bondage of the law; next, oh, it would be a shame to speak of those things which are done of them in secret."¹

The innuendo about things "done of them in secret" went too far. Several must have written to the editor supporting Stowe's character. Cole found it necessary to publish a clarification a few weeks later where he weakly defended both himself and "Barnabas":

The two articles published in the *Advocate* [*sic*] signed Barnabas, we now see, is calculated to cast some reflections on the character and course of Sister C. Stowe. This we did not see at the time of their publication. . . . That Barnabas intended that his articles should be so construed, we cannot think: but whether he did or not, we assure our Brethren, one and all, that Sister Stowe's Christian character is unexceptionable, so far as we can learn, and that her course is consistent with the holy faith she professes. This we learn from Brn. in whose testimony we have confidence.²

While Cole retracted the statements made against Stowe, he refused to back down regarding "Bates, and all the rest." Bates, though, got the last word when he revealed a few weeks later that it was actually Barnabas, and not Stowe or himself, who was guilty of secret shameful deeds.³

On September 23, 1847, Cole published two more letters, one from Joseph Turner and the other from John Gibson, both in opposition to Saturday being the Sabbath.⁴ Turner's letter proved to be important, not because of its content, but rather from what followed after. Turner's position was similar to that of Ira Neal mentioned above. He

¹Barnabas, "Dear Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, December 2, 1847, 127, 128.

²[Timothy Cole], "Barnabas and C. Stowe," *Bible Advocate*, December 30, 1847, 160.

³See pp. 350, 351 below.

⁴J. Turner, "Dear Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, September 23, 1847, 62; John Gibson, "Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, September 23, 1847, 63.

argued that Sunday was actually the seventh day and therefore the Sabbath. Two things made Turner's article significant. First, Turner had greater stature and influence than the other correspondents. His close association with Cole would, within a few months, result in his appointment as editor of the *Bible Advocate*. Second, it finally convinced J. B. Cook to enter the discussion through a lengthy series of articles. To Cole's dismay, the Sabbath discussions were almost turning into debates and his attempt to dismiss the Sabbath as a "relic" or "shadow" of the "old law" seemed to be failing. Interest in the Sabbath was increasing.

Inadvertently, it may have been Stowe who positioned Turner to seriously advocate the Sunday-as-the-seventh-day view. "If more light can be elicited on this point, it is important, that we should have it," she wrote concerning Turner's September 23, 1847, article. "The 7th day is the Sabbath of the Lord. If that be on Sunday, Amen! Only let us have the evidence."¹ Cole may have seen Stowe's statement as an opportunity to turn the tide against Saturday and back towards Sunday. He must have been getting desperate by this point, and hoped that Turner could rescue the situation.

Gibson's letter and a subsequent letter by Stowe revealed that the Sabbath message was gaining ground. "It [the Sabbath] has been written upon at length," wrote Gibson, "by Preble and Bates, printed in pamphlets to the brethren through the length and breadth of the land, although there has but little been written upon the other side of the question."² Stowe reported that the "friends of the Sabbath" had "recently held a conference near Middletown, at which, some 40 or 50 were present." "Nearly all" had

¹C. Stowe, "The Sabbath," *Bible Advocate*, November 11, 1847, 108.

²John Gibson, "Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, September 23, 1847, 63.

“embraced the belief of the 7th day Sabbath since last January [1847].” She concluded:

“Truly the Lord is in the work.”¹

Articles by J. B. Cook on the Sabbath and Joseph Turner’s Response

Finally after nearly five months Cook broke his silence on the Sabbath. In explaining his reasons he wrote:

Several have written—and requested me to speak on this subject. Hitherto, my attention has been, Providentially, called to other great and important doctrines; and some of my friends may conclude that I have shrunk from the responsibility of noticing the Sabbatic Law. Events in Providence have also seemed to hinder me; so that I have yielded to a kind of necessity, and remained silent. In these circumstances, it was my pleasure to listen to the brethren, intending to come in and gather the gleanings, and thus share the blessed privilege of testifying to every part of revealed truth to the best of my ability. My apology for these remarks is found in the necessity which exists, to explain to the brethren, my otherwise unaccountable silence.²

Cook proposed three brief articles in response to Turner’s idea that Sunday was the seventh-day Sabbath. To show that Saturday and not Sunday was the seventh day he used the Gospel accounts of the death and resurrection of Jesus. He concluded: “The historic statement makes the crucifixion ‘the day *before* the Sabbath,’ and the resurrection the ‘day *after*—the *first* day of the week.’ I can conceive of nothing more definite.”³ He observed that the women who brought spices rested “according to the commandment” (Luke 23:56). “The commandment reads, ‘the *seventh* day,’” he continued, “then it follows, that they rested on the 7th day; and *not on some other* day of

¹C. Stowe, “Bro. Cole,” *Bible Advocate*, November 4, 1847, 99.

²J. B. Cook, “The Sabbath,” *Bible Advocate*, December 2, 1847, 125.

³*Ibid.*, 122.

the week. To suppose that they did not rest on the true 7th day, is to suppose 1st, that the ancient people of God had lost their reckoning; and 2nd, that the record is *untrue*.”¹

Cook’s third article was more general in nature. In it he argued for the perpetuity of the Sabbath. Like Stowe, he traced the origin of the Sabbath to Eden. “The Sabbath was made for man” and “it is an elemental principle of God’s plan for blessing, and governing the world.” Cook further linked the Sabbath to marriage and finally to the Second Coming:

As God rested, kept Sabbath, at the end of his mighty achievement—the creation: so “the bride, the Lamb’s wife,” will rest (sabbatize) with her heavenly Bridegroom, at the termination of this world’s great week. The toil of the six days—the 6000 years, will be followed by a Sabbatism, a rest after the great example of the Great Creator.²

With these arguments Cook rested his case. Cook had written his articles as a unit, without the intention of entering into dialogue. Yet the discussion was far from finished. Turner determined to respond to Cook’s articles with three of his own. His first response appeared after Cook’s second article.

Turner argued that Saturday, the day after the crucifixion, was a ceremonial Passover Sabbath and not the seventh-day Sabbath. In summarizing his position he wrote: “On our Friday, Christ was crucified; the next day, answering to our Saturday, was the Sabbath commencing the Passover; a high day. The second day [Sunday] was the Sabbath of the Lord our God; and the third day answering to our Monday: early in the morning the resurrection occurred, after three nights, and on the third day. Amen.”³

¹J. B. Cook, “The Sabbath,” *Bible Advocate*, December 9, 1847, 129.

²J. B. Cook, “The Sabbath—Its Perpetuity, Number III,” *Bible Advocate*, December 23, 1847, 145.

³J. Turner, “The Sabbath,” *Bible Advocate*, December 16, 1847, 138.

In his second article Turner buttressed his previous argument by saying that the Bible required Jesus to be "three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."¹ It is important to realize that Turner agreed with Cook on the perpetuity of the Sabbath. He wrote: "Bro. Cook's illustration is very appropriate, for it recognizes the Sabbath from the creation, and not from the command in the law, and by consequence the fact, that 'the Sabbath, was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.'"² While it may not have been immediately obvious to Turner, he had put himself in a very delicate position. Having abandoned the argument that the Sabbath had come from old law and having acknowledged its creation origin, his entire argument rested on the accuracy of his premise that Sunday was the seventh day Sabbath. All that was necessary to overthrow his argument was to show that Saturday rather than Sunday was in fact the seventh day. In the short term his position influenced many readers of the *Bible Advocate* to accept Sunday as the seventh-day Sabbath but since it acknowledged the perpetuity and creation origin of the seventh-day Sabbath it ultimately worked against those who supported Sunday.

In his third article Turner wrote as if his position was unassailable. He reflected that "by God's blessing" he had "settled many minds" with the "facts" he had presented. His comments on Cook's presentation included phrases like "no such evidence exists," "nothing new," "much disappointed," and "premises are not sound." In his supposedly final article, Turner made a distinction between creation and the Ten Commandments as a reason for keeping the Sabbath. As before, he acknowledged the Edenic origin of the

¹J. Turner, "The Sabbath, Number II," *Bible Advocate*, December 30, 1847, 155.

²Ibid.

Sabbath—which he understood to be Sunday. But the “Decalogue” he relegated to the ceremonial law. “The law is dead; is nailed to the cross; is blotted out,” he wrote. “We are not safe in following the decalogue any more than any other portion of the law given by Moses, only as it is explained by Christ. . . . Hence the seventh day can receive no additional sanctity from the law, or decalogue.”¹

The more formal articles by Cook and Turner were followed by a series of follow-up exchanges on the same topic.² To Cole’s satisfaction, Turner’s articles seem to have turned the tide in favor of Sunday. Following Turner’s second article Cole abandoned his former position and embraced the idea that Sunday was the seventh-day Sabbath. He wrote: “We think that Bro. T’s argument [is] irrefutable, and that we are now observing the Sabbath of the Lord our God, not the Jewish nor a Pagan Sabbath.”³ Subsequent letters and comments from readers confirmed that Turner’s arguments had had an effect.⁴ Bates even acknowledged that Turner’s argument had been effective in Fairhaven, New Bedford, and many other places. He even had heard of some from the Northwestern Great Lakes region. “I was told by one the other day,” he wrote, “that it was the best argument he had yet seen.”⁵

¹J. Turner, “The Sabbath—Not Changed,” *Bible Advocate*, January 13, 1848, 170, 171.

²J. B. Cook, “On Time,” *Bible Advocate*, January 20, 1848, 178; idem, “Explanation,” *Bible Advocate*, February 10, 1848, 204, 205; J. Turner, “The Time Settled by the Uner[r]ing Word,” *Bible Advocate*, January 27, 1848, 188, 189; idem, “Dear Bro. Cole,” *Bible Advocate*, February 24, 1848, 15.

³[Timothy Cole], “We Deviate,” *Bible Advocate*, December 30, 1847, 156.

⁴E. Collins, “Dear Bro. Coles,” *Bible Advocate*, January 13, 1848, 175; D. B. Wyatt, “Denying the Power—No. V,” *Bible Advocate*, January 27, 1848, 184, 185.

⁵Bates, *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*, 10.

Turner's influence further increased when on March 16, 1848, he was made editor of the *Bible Advocate*.¹ Thereafter, letters and articles by J. B. Cook, who had been a prolific contributor to the paper, almost disappear. With Turner as the editor a turning point had arrived. The Sabbath discussions in the *Bible Advocate* closed, never to be reopened. Meanwhile, Turner quietly abandoned his view that Sunday was the true seventh-day Sabbath.² James White observed: "I suppose you have seen J. Turner's present position as to the Sabbath. . . . You are aware that Turner agreed with us last winter only he held that Sunday was the Seventh day instead of Saturday. Now he has changed his position."³ Turner's changed position made the law a "yoke of bondage" that was "abolished" by "Gospel faith."⁴ As 1848 closed the *Bible Advocate* merged with Joseph Marsh's *Voice of Truth*. During the summer of 1847, the *Voice of Truth* changed its name to the *Advent Harbinger*, but with the merger became known as the *Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate*.⁵

By the fall of 1848 both Cook and Crosier had joined Preble and Turner in abandoning the Sabbath. The Sabbath, within Millerite Adventism, suddenly became the exclusive domain of the Shut-Door Sabbatarians.

¹[Timothy Cole], "New Editor," *Bible Advocate*, March 16, 1848, 37.

²[J. Turner], "Judaism," *Bible Advocate*, May 4, 1848, 85.

³James White to My Dear Brother, July 2, 1848, EGWE—GC.

⁴[J. Turner], "Judaism," *Bible Advocate*, May 4, 1848, 85.

⁵[Joseph Marsh], "Harbinger and Advocate [*sic*]," *Advent Harbinger*, December 9, 1848, 197.

**Losing Sabbath Adherents: T. M. Preble,
O. R. L. Crosier, and J. B. Cook**

In May of 1848 Turner wrote of those who still kept the Sabbath as being “a few wandering stars.”¹ Cook and Crosier had fallen silent on the subject and Preble had already abandoned his Sabbatarian views. These men who had supported the Sabbath became its bitterest enemies. To round out the story it is helpful to trace the transition.

Preble was the most important early post-disappointment promoter of the Sabbath. He had written his significant tract in March of 1845. Though he soon lost faith in his October 1844 experience, he continued to promote the Sabbath until the summer of 1847.² In 1852 he wrote of his experience: “From the summer of 1844 to that of 1847, I conscientiously observed the seventh day—or Saturday—for the Sabbath.”³ He subsequently published an extensive work in opposition to the Sabbath.⁴

In reorganizing his perspective after April 1847 Crosier abandoned both the Sabbath and the Shut Door. On March 4, 1848, he wrote to Marsh that he was moving away from matters of “doubtful and minor import.”⁵ Six months later he published his full confession regarding the Shut Door:

I see nothing to justify, but much to condemn, the sentiment I tenaciously held above three years, viz: that there could be no genuine conversions since the fall

¹[J. Turner], “Judaism,” *Bible Advocate*, May 4, 1848, 85.

²T. M. Preble, “To the Saints Scattered Abroad,” *Voice of Truth*, August 12, 1846, 55; idem, “Questions and Answers,” *Voice of Truth*, June 23, 1847, 101.

³T. M. Preble, “Letter from T. M. Preble,” *Advent Herald*, July 3, 1852, 214; see also idem, “From Bro T. M. Preble,” *Harbinger and Advocate*, October 6, 1849, 127.

⁴T. M. Preble, *The First-Day Sabbath: Clearly Proved by Showing that the Old Covenant, or Ten Commandments, Have Been Changed, or Made Complete, in the Christian Dispensation in Two Parts* (Buchanan, MI: W. A. C. P. Association, 1867).

⁵O. R. L. Crosier, “From Bro. O. R. L. Crosier,” *Advent Harbinger*, March 18, 1848, 103.

of 1844. I am now satisfied that that sentiment had for its foundation nothing better than an unwarrantable inference: yet I firmly believed it, and acted accordingly, not having preached to a congregation of unbelievers until about eight months ago; but since then I have done so frequently, and with as clear a conviction of having done my duty as ever I enjoyed. . . . I am now free—my duty in this matter is done. Amen.¹

Crosier was perhaps overstating his previous Shut-Door position in that he allowed that the “gospel dispensation” and the “dispensation of the fullness of times” were mingled just before Jesus returned.² Nevertheless, he, like Preble, became an opponent to his former colleagues. By 1851 he was publishing his opposition to Sabbatarian views.³

Cook was the last prominent non-Shut-Door Sabbatarian to abandon the Sabbath. In 1846 he made it clear that he was not a Shut-Door advocate. Marsh reported: “It has generally been supposed that Bro. Cook was a full believer in the doctrine of the shut door: but this, according to his own declaration in our office, he has never believed or advocated.”⁴ During September and October 1848 Cook published a three-part series in the *Advent Harbinger* repudiating his Sabbatarian views. Essentially he made the Sabbath a matter of optional observance and concluded that there was “practical freedom” to either keep or not keep the Sabbath. He rhetorically asked whether “every man [should] keep the Sabbath day . . . or be accounted a sinner against God.” His answer was: “No, no, no—there is nothing like that in any part of the gospel.” He

¹O. R. L. Crosier, “The Shut Door,” *Advent Harbinger*, September 30, 1848, 115; see also [Joseph Marsh], “Bro. O. R. L. Crosier,” *Advent Harbinger*, September 30, 1848, 118.

²See p. 248 above.

³J. N. Andrews, *Review of the Remarks of O. R. L. Crozier on the Institution, Design and Abolition of the Sabbath* (Rochester, NY: James White, 1853), 2; [O. R. L. Crozier], “Reports of Conferences, &c.,” *Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate*, December 6, 1851, 197-199.

⁴[Joseph Marsh], “The Cause,” *Voice of Truth*, October 14, 1846, 20; see also J. B. Cook, “Letter from Bro. J. B. Cook,” *Voice of Truth*, October 21, 1846, 30.

concluded: “While the Sabbath law is thus *relaxed*, every other precept of the Decalogue is *enforced* and embodied in the law of Christ!!” Cook acknowledged that this approach to the Sabbath at first filled him “with apprehension,” though he was learning “to submit to the divine will.”¹ He believed that the “*full freedom* of the New Testament on the subject” of the Sabbath forbade any “*legal exclusiveness*.”² As a practical matter, Cook stopped keeping the Sabbath and was soon observing Sunday as a rest day. During his travels he was “unwilling to journey on ‘Lord’s day’—the resurrection day, when there was any way to avoid it.”³

On November 17, 1848, Ellen White had a vision that specifically focused on Cook and his reasons for abandoning the Sabbath. We learn about the vision and its content through a transcription of her comments by Bates who was present. Some of her comments while in vision included: “O thou foolish man!” “O, thou wilt wish that those words [in the *Advent Harbinger* articles] had never passed thy lips.” When she came out of vision she said: “I saw that he rolled, and turned on his bed, to see how he could get round this law of God. . . . I saw he did things on the Sabbath, and wished to justify himself.”⁴

The abandonment of the Sabbath by these three men severed the final link that Sabbatarian Adventism held with “nominal” or “non-Shut-Door” Adventism. From 1848

¹J. B. C., “The Sabbath, No. II,” *Advent Harbinger*, September 30, 1848, 113.

²J. B. Cook, “The Sabbath, No. III,” *Advent Harbinger*, October 21, 1848, 138.

³J. B. Cook, “From Bro. J. B. Cook,” *Advent Harbinger*, December 2, 1848, 190.

⁴Ellen G. White quoted in 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: Benjamin Lindsey, 1849), 32.

onward, Adventist seventh-day Sabbath advocacy was the unique possession of those who joined with James and Ellen White and Joseph Bates.

For his part, Bates was deeply exercised at being excluded from the discussion in the *Bible Advocate*. As a way to publicly state his position, he wrote a book entitled *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*.

**Joseph Bates' Answer to the *Bible Advocate*:
A Vindication of the Seventh-day
Sabbath—January 1848**

Throughout the discussion on the Sabbath in the *Bible Advocate*, Joseph Bates, James White, and others who held to a Shut-Door position were excluded. The antagonists pointed to them as an example of what happened to those who adopted the Sabbath. Turner, Cole, and others were deeply offended by those who made the Sabbath an imperative of Christian practice.¹ As editor of the *Bible Advocate*, Cole gave his strong opinion concerning Shut-Door Sabbatarians:

We supposed, and still do suppose, that Barnabas had reference to a class, well known to the Adventists in Connecticut and Massachusetts, who went into the shut door, and staid [*sic*] in, and almost every other door, but the true one, into the sheep fold, and many of which, became great sticklers for the seventh day, &c., yet our honest, humble, and devout Brethren, who take that view of the Sabbath, should not be classed with them, and we would not by any means, publish a word that would so class them.²

Of course, being sidelined from the discussion was quite frustrating to Bates. What made matters worse was the fact that Turner and other writers specifically named

¹J. Turner, "The Sabbath—Not Changed," *Bible Advocate*, January 13, 1848, 171; [Timothy Cole], "Barnabas and C. Stowe," *Bible Advocate*, December 30, 1847, 160; Barnabas, "Dear Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, December 2, 1847, 128.

²[Timothy Cole], "Barnabas and C. Stowe," *Bible Advocate*, December 30, 1847, 160.

him and his views. In his third article responding to Cook, Turner even named Bates as one of the “most valiant champions for the Saturday Sabbath.”¹

Determined to have a voice in the discussion, Bates published *A Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath* in January 1848. To at least Bates and James White, the circumstances of its publication seemed providential. When Bates began to write, he only had “money enough to buy two pounds of flour.”² James White and others later filled in the details of the story: “In the autumn of 1847, Bro. Bates sat down to write a work of more than one hundred pages, with only a York shilling at his command.”³ Being a determined personality, Bates was not going to let a shortage of funds dissuade him. Although he had retired as a prosperous sea captain and ship owner some years previous, he had spent all of his money and property on his reform activities and in promoting the Advent message. It seems Bates had kept information on his financial affairs even from his wife, Prudence. As he sat down to write with only the York shilling in his pocket, his wife informed him of her need for flour and some other sundries. As J. N. Loughborough tells the story many years later, Bates spent his last shilling buying exactly what Prudence needed. When she realized that her husband had departed from his usual pattern of providing abundantly she asked him for an explanation. Bates then confessed that he had spent his last money on the items she requested. At this she burst into tears and exclaimed, “What are we going to do?” Bates rose with dignity and told her he was going to write a book on the Sabbath. Prudence, who had not yet accepted the

¹J. Turner, “The Sabbath—Not Changed,” *Bible Advocate*, January 13, 1848, 171.

²James White to My Dear Brother, July 2, 1848, EGWE—GC.

³J. White, *Life Incidents*, 269.

Sabbath, left the room in tears. Finding it difficult to concentrate, Bates went to the post office where he found a letter that contained a donation of \$10.00. Accordingly, he went to the store and purchased all the supplies his wife might need and then went to New Bedford to arrange for the printing of the book with his printer, Benjamin Lindsey. When he returned home, his wife was quite impressed at what had happened.¹ In the end, H. Gurney anonymously covered the balance due on the book.²

Ostensibly *A Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath* was a continuation of Bates' previous booklet, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*. The earlier volume had given an overview of the Advent movement up to April 1847. In reality though, the new book was mostly a response to the *Bible Advocate* Sabbath discussion. Bates dedicated the first sixty-one pages to answering the Joseph Turner, Barnabas, and Timothy Cole articles in the *Bible Advocate* and then to Joseph Marsh's arguments in the *Advent Harbinger*. His approach was both blunt and frank. Critics later used words like "slander" and "dark insinuation" when describing Bates' book.³

The remaining fifty-one pages of the book dealt with other matters. Bates wrote fourteen pages in an attempt to reclaim William Miller to his early 1845 Shut-Door position.⁴ About six more pages were devoted to Sabbath observance "under the gospel" and the time for its beginning.⁵ Next, Bates emphasized the October 1844 date as being

¹J. N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1909), 251-254.

²Ibid., 254.

³[Timothy Cole], "We Spent Sabbath. . . .," *Bible Advocate*, March 2, 1848, 23.

⁴Bates, *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*, 62-76.

⁵Ibid., 76-82.

the true conclusion of the 2300 days and showed that the fall of 1847 was the “LAST EXPERIMENT” or the most “extreme point of time” for the “fulfillment of 2300 days.”¹ Finally, the last twenty pages of the book were an exposition on the 144,000 of Revelation 7 and the advent doctrine as portrayed in Revelation 14.² He presented the idea of the 144,000 being a special group of people just before the second coming. This chapter laid the groundwork for his ideas on the Sealing Message later in 1848.

In addition to a brief overview of the content of the book, it is necessary to give more particular attention to Bates’ response to the Sabbath debates and the issues surrounding the *Bible Advocate*. “The very object in sending forth this work,” wrote Bates, “has been to expose these deceivers, who for the last five months more especially, have been bearing down upon this remnant in a paper war, with all the power they could wield.”³

Bates was not satisfied to just rebut Turner’s arguments; he went further and questioned his integrity. He recounted Turner’s involvement “with some of the dear sisters” through the use of mesmerism, and laid on his shoulders responsibility for the negative “state of things” “among many in Maine.”⁴ Turner was so stung by these comments that he wrote to Bates giving him three weeks to withdraw what he had “stated in his pamphlet or he should bring him to proper justice.”⁵ Cole was also deeply offended by Bates’ remarks and wrote:

¹Ibid., 82-91.

²Ibid., 92-112.

³Ibid., 106.

⁴Ibid., 16, 17.

⁵James White to My Dear Brother, July 2, 1848, EGWE—GC.

We have recently received a pamphlet published by Bates, which is a perfect illustration of the importance of trying the spirits, and furnishes indubitable evidence that if men are governed by the law, they must necessarily breathe the spirit of the law, and that, too, without God's Spirit. . . . In regard to the slander, and dark insinuations published against Bro. Turner, we will just say for the good of those that are liable to be deceived by them, that they have no foundation in truth, and we have seen, and can give indubitable evidence in the case, when such evidence is necessary.¹

Cole was likely ignorant of Turner's past involvement with mesmerism, which was examined in a previous chapter.² James White in contemporary correspondence made reference to Turner's mesmeric activities: "At Bristol Conference I told them what I knew of Turner. I also read a testimony from Mother [Eunice] Harmon and Sarah [Harmon] of what they knew of him. Some of his friends were present, they told him what I had said. Well, says Turner, I have concluded to leave them all with the Lord."³ Ironically, just over a year later, Turner ended up in a trial for "slander and falsehood against Elder J. V. Himes."⁴

After refuting Turner's arguments and discrediting him, Bates next challenged Barnabas. He devoted twelve pages to refuting the writer's arguments and exposing him. He wrote: "I am very strongly inclined to believe that you[r] real name is Jacob Weston of New Ipswich, N. H."⁵ Bates charged Weston with deceptively trying to get money from C. Stowe through forgery and dissimulation and of other shady financial activities.⁶

¹[Timothy Cole], "We Spent Sabbath. . . .," *Bible Advocate*, March 2, 1848, 22, 23.

²See pp. 140-146 above.

³James White to My Dear Brother, July 2, 1848, EGWE—GC.

⁴*Defence of Elder Joshua V. Himes*, 35, 36.

⁵Bates, *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*, 28.

⁶*Ibid.*, 29-31.

James White reported that Weston was “tried by his nominal brethren on the charges brought against him by Brother Bates. He has confessed his forgery and says he is sorry and wants them to drop it but they say no.”¹ In private correspondence Bates wrote of his interactions with both Stowe and Weston. It appears that Weston had written to the Hastings that “Stowe was one of the greatest liars he knew of,” while at the same time writing “her [Stowe] such a loving letter.”² Bates exclaimed in his characteristic manner, “I am glad the arrow hit him on the head. I knew of no one to aim it at but him.”³ Weston’s attempts to “impeach” his “Christian Character” were of no concern to Bates. “To do this,” he wrote, “he [Weston] will have to go where I am not known. . . . My moral character where my home has been for the last 55 years, is beyond the reach of my neighbors: therefore I have nothing to fear from strangers.”⁴

After dispatching Turner and Barnabas, Bates next charged Cole with a cover-up. “Show if you can,” wrote Bates, “the chapter and verse where the Bible allows any man to advocate God’s word, that ever withheld his real name and where those that stood in high places were trying to screen them.”⁵ Besides the Barnabas matter, he charged Cole with suppressing one of Stowe’s articles while claiming to allow her to cover the “whole ground, in favor of the seventh day.”⁶

¹James White to My Dear Brother, July 2, 1848, EGWE—GC.

²Joseph Bates to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, April 7, 1848, EGWE—GC.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Bates, *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*, 48.

⁶Ibid., 47, 48; [Timothy Cole], “The Sabbath,” *Bible Advocate*, August 26, 1847, 28.

With this publication and the abandonment of the Sabbath by non-Shut-Door Adventists the schism between the main body of Adventists and the Shut-Door Adventists was complete. All that remained for the Sabbatarian Adventists was to gather as many of the scattered flock as possible. This they determined to do through a series of evangelistic conferences.

The Evangelistic Sabbath Conferences:
April to November 1848

Though the Sabbath discussions in the *Bible Advocate* had ended, interest in the Sabbath among some Adventists remained high. This provided an opportunity for the Whites and Bates to embark on an aggressive promotion of the Sabbath through conferences and meetings in various places. During 1848 they participated in at least six general meetings and many more local meetings. The meetings, which were evangelistic in nature, occurred in Connecticut, New York, Massachusetts, and Maine. The meetings can be divided into two categories—general and local. Since there was no paper available, general meetings were announced through correspondence and word of mouth and involved people from various locations, whereas local meetings were more spontaneous and included the people who happened to be present. By the fall of 1848 the meetings began to include the added dimension of doctrinal examination and planning.

For James White two “general” meetings stood out in importance—the April 1848 Rocky Hill, Connecticut, and the August 1848 Volney, New York, conferences. They were significant for him because of the “numbers” who attended and the “influence” the meetings had on the Sabbatarian movement.¹ The result of these

¹J. White, *Life Incidents*, 270, 271, 274.

conferences, along with the others, was the rapid dissemination of the Sabbath message. White observed concerning the first conference: "The brethren were much encouraged, and Bro. Bates began to labor more extensively." As a result of these conferences "the subject of the Sabbath began to attract considerable notice from Advent believers."¹

Historians have variously titled these meetings.² The evidence is clear that at least during 1848 the meetings were evangelistic in nature.³ They were meant to unite Adventists around the Sabbath and Shut Door. The proclaiming of the "Sabbath more fully" as predicted in Ellen White's Sabbath Halo vision seemed to take place during the conferences. Jesus had opened the door to the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary, and the ark which contained the law of God and thus the Sabbath had been revealed as Present Truth.

The important "general" conferences of 1848 occurred in distinct geographical venues. They began in the East, moved to the West, and returned again to the East. A transition occurred as the Sealing Message began to unfold after the Western meetings. In this section we will trace what can be known of the various general conferences and give reference to some of the local conferences. Unfortunately, the extant primary sources on the 1848 conferences are limited. The most significant source is the group of letters written by the Whites and Bates to Leonard and Elvira Hastings. This correspondence provides the best *in situ* information about what was happening during

¹Ibid., 271, 275.

²See Timm, "The Sanctuary and the Three Angels' Messages," 89; good overviews of historians' perspectives on the Conferences are found in: Timm, "The Sanctuary and the Three Angels' Messages," 89-92; Martinborough, "The Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath," 122-146.

³See Martinborough, "The Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath," 122-146.

that time. Bates' publications along with later recollections add further details. The absence of a regular paper seriously limits the range of information on interactions and ideas among Sabbatarian Adventists in 1848. Nevertheless, enough primary source material is available to understand the focus and impact of the 1848 conferences.

Beginning in the East

The "first conference of believers," as James White later called it, was held in an unfinished portion of Albert Belden's home in Rocky Hill, Connecticut, on the Connecticut River between Hartford and Middletown. Organized by Ezra Chamberlain of Middletown, the conference was held from Thursday evening to Monday morning, April 20 to 24, 1848. This was not the first conference on the Sabbath held in the region. As was noted earlier, the "friends of the Sabbath" had held a conference near Middletown during September 1847 with some forty or fifty recent Sabbath converts present.¹ The April 1848 Rocky Hill Conference was able to build on this previous interest. Additionally, the fact that the *Bible Advocate*, which had so prominently featured the Sabbath, was published only a few miles to the north in Hartford, made Rocky Hill an ideal location.

James and Ellen White and Joseph Bates all traveled to attend the April meeting. On Thursday evening, "April 20th, Bro. Belden sent his two-horse wagon to Middletown," wrote James White, "for us and the scattered children in that city. We arrived at this place about four P. M. In a few minutes in came Bro. Bates and Gurney. We had a meeting that evening of about fifteen in all."²

¹C. Stowe, "Bro. Cole," *Bible Advocate*, November 4, 1847, 99.

²James White to Stockbridge Howland, quoted in E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:93.

On Friday the group swelled to about fifty and included some who were undecided on the Sabbath. Others, like B. Matthias, were present to argue the opposing view. In keeping with the evangelistic nature of the conference, Bates spoke and “presented the commandments in a clear light.” James White wrote: “Their importance was urged home by powerful testimonies. The word had effect to establish those already in the truth, and to awaken those who were not fully decided.”¹ Bates did not simply present the evidence for keeping the Sabbath, he pressed that “keeping the commandments” was the “only entrance to ‘life’” “and to break them was sure ‘death’ (eternal).”² For Bates the Sabbath was not just an optional idea, it was a testing truth.

On Sabbath, Matthias was allowed to present a rebuttal to Bates. This was not the first exchange between Bates and Matthias. A few weeks previously they had argued on the Sabbath question.³ Matthias followed similar arguments as had appeared in the *Bible Advocate* and *Voice of Truth*. Presumably though he did not share Turner’s idea that Sunday was the seventh-day Sabbath. James White reported:

He [Matthias] labored to show that the Sabbath was abolished,—that we were under the bondage of Moses’ Law—had fallen from grace etc. etc. All his arguments were fully met but still he would not bow to truth. He left the meeting before it was closed after trying to show that we did not keep the Sabbath, for we were not as strict as God required the Jews to be. All this turned to God’s glory, for some who were undecided took a stand on the Sabbath.⁴

Before Matthias left Ellen White spoke “with considerable power” concerning what “God shew her in vision concerning the Sabbath.” Matthias “professed to believe in

¹Ibid.

²James White to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, April 27, 1848, EGWE—GC.

³Joseph Bates to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, April 7, 1848, EGWE—GC.

⁴James White to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, April 27, 1848, EGWE—GC.

the vision, but disbelieved the Sabbath."¹ His arguments, like those who had written against the Sabbath in the *Bible Advocate*, were deemed inadequate. James White in summarizing the meeting wrote: "Our Conference which closed Monday morning was deeply interesting. I never attended a better meeting. God gave His servants the truth in a clear light, and they spoke it with solemn power."²

The Whites, with their eight-month-old son Henry, remained in Connecticut for the next several months and traveled to various places for local conferences. Correspondence mentions nearby conferences in Bristol and Berlin³ and a trip by James White to New York during May.⁴ The Whites as well as Bates had considerable uncertainty about where and when to hold the next general conference. Various plans were made and spontaneous meetings were held. James White wrote of the possibility of having a general conference in Maine during the summer⁵ and Ellen White wondered whether they should go to New York.⁶ Bates thought they should travel to western New York and even mentioned Indiana.⁷

Finally, in July, Hiram Edson set an August date for a "general" conference in Volney, New York, and asked the Whites and Bates to attend.⁸ James and Ellen White,

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³James White to My Dear Brother, July 2, 1848, EGWE—GC.

⁴Ellen G. White to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, May 29, 1848, EGWE—GC.

⁵James White to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, April 27, 1848, EGWE—GC.

⁶Ellen G. White to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, May 29, 1848, EGWE—GC.

⁷Joseph Bates to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, August 7, 1848, EGWE—GC.

⁸James White to My Dear Brother, July 2, 1848, EGWE—GC.

Bates, and Chamberlain met in Brooklyn, New York, on August 14 and traveled on together to Oswego, New York, where they met Heman Gurney. From there they continued to Volney where the meeting was to be held.¹

The Western Conferences

The extant correspondence describes three conferences held in Western New York—Volney, Hannibal, and Port Gibson. The principal meeting was held at Volney in David Arnold's barn and continued over the weekend of August 18-20, 1848. The Volney conference followed a similar pattern to the one held in Rocky Hill. James White wrote: "Friday P. M. the brethren came in to our meeting in Volney. There were 30 or 40 who met with us. Brother Bates preached the Sabbath to them with strong argument, much boldness and power. My principal message was on Matt. 25:1-11."² This meeting was without question an evangelistic meeting. The purpose was to preach the "Sabbath and Shut-Door" message. As had been presented in the various tracts by the Whites and Bates, this meant that the new work of Jesus in the heavenly sanctuary made the Sabbath a testing present truth. At first there was confusion and debate. White recollected:

A spirit of discussion and contention for points not important prevailed, so that we who had come so far could hardly have a chance to give our message, and the meeting would have proved a failure, and the good brethren would have separated in confusion and trial, had not the Lord worked in a special manner. His Spirit rested upon Mrs. W[hite], and she was taken off in vision. The entire congregation believed that it was the work of God and were deeply affected.³

¹Joseph Bates to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, August 7, 1848, EGWE—GC; James White to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, August 26, 1848, EGWE—GC.

²James White to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, August 26, 1848, EGWE—GC.

³J. White, *Life Incidents*, 274; see also E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:97-99.

In 1860 Ellen White gave a similar recollection and showed their evangelistic purpose: “There were hardly two agreed. Each was strenuous for his views, declaring that they were according to the Bible. All were anxious for an opportunity to advance their sentiments, or to preach to us. They were told that we had not come so great a distance to hear them, but had come to teach them the truth.”¹ The strong preaching of Bates and James White together with Ellen White’s compelling prophetic testimony brought unity. James White could triumphantly report: “The brethren are strong on the Sabbath and Shut door.”²

The success of the Volney meeting resulted in an invitation to hold a second general meeting on Hiram Edson’s farm in Port Gibson. On the way they stopped in the village of Hannibal at the home of “Brother Snow.” The traveling group included the Whites, Bates, Edson and his wife, and a person named Simmons. There were some “8 or 10 precious souls” in the place. This unplanned meeting demonstrates the significance of the local conferences held in various places during 1848 and 1849. James White described it thus:

In the morning Ellen was taken off in vision and while she was in vision, all the brethren came in. It was a powerful time. One of the number was not on [*sic*] the Sabbath but was humble and good. Ellen rose up in vision took the large Bible, held it up before the Lord, talked from it, then carried it to this humble brother who was not on the Sabbath and put it in his arms. He took it while tears were rolling down his bosom. Then Ellen came and sat down by me. She was in vision 1 ½ hours in which time she did not breathe at all. It was an affecting time. All wept much for joy. We left Brother Bates with them and came to this place with Brother Edson.³

¹E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:97, 98.

²James White to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, August 26, 1848, EGWE—GC.

³*Ibid.*

The Port Gibson meeting was held over Sunday and Monday, August 27 and 28, 1848, in Edson's barn. Less is known of this meeting due to a lack of extant correspondence. Ellen White recollected in 1860:

There were those present who loved the truth, and those who were listening to and cherishing error, and were opposed to the truth. But the Lord wrought for us in power before the close of that meeting. I was again shown in vision the importance of brethren in Western New York laying their differences aside, and uniting upon Bible truth.¹

Soon after the Port Gibson conference Bates and the Whites returned to Connecticut, holding local meetings in several places along the way. In summarizing the results of the Western tour James White wrote: "Our visit to New York was attended all the way by the goodness and power of God. . . . We found the cause in New York two-fold better than we expected and that three times as much was accomplished in our visit as we expected. Praise the Lord. We came home with light hearts."²

The correspondence and recollections suggest that the conferences in Connecticut and New York did not bring to light new ideas. By June of 1847 Bates and the Whites were already united on the central issues of the "Sabbath and the Shut door." But during the late summer and fall of 1848 a new idea emerged that would have a profound impact on Sabbatarian Adventism. As the Whites, Bates, and the others returned from New York their view was expanding to include the Sealing Message.

Continuing Conferences in the East

During the last months of 1848 at least three more "general" conferences were held in the East—in Rocky Hill, Connecticut; in Topsham, Maine; and in Dorchester,

¹E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:99.

²James White to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, October 2, 1848, EGWE—GC.

Massachusetts. These conferences had an evangelistic purpose but they also provided an opportunity to further study Present Truth and plan for its promotion. Little is known of what was discussed or presented at the September 1848 Rocky Hill Conference. James White gave notice of the meeting in a personal letter. “We have a Conference at Rocky Hill, Conn. to hold [on] Sept. 8 and 9,” he wrote. “This will be on our way to Maine.”¹

The Topsham, Maine, Conference was held in the home of Stockbridge Howland from Friday, October 20, through Sunday, October 22, 1848. James White invited the Hastings to attend with the following words:

Bros. Bates, Gurney and Nichols are expected from Mass. The principal points on which we dwell as present truth are the 7th day Sabbath and Shut Door. In this we wish to honor God’s most holy institution and also acknowledge the work of God in our Second Advent experience.

We do not wish to shut out any new truth, or countenance any of the errors of this dark age. Our object is to do good. We wish to hold up truth and expose error. We would be happy to see any who are seeking for truth in sincerity and humility. . . . We hope our contemplated Conference will give new courage to the poor tried children in Maine.²

White’s reference to “any new truth” may have been an allusion to the idea of the Sabbath as the seal of God. This concept, which developed through the fall of 1848 and the first months of 1849, significantly expanded the eschatological importance of the Sabbath for the fledgling Sabbatarian Adventist movement. The Sealing Message became the dominant theme of several succeeding conferences. This very important doctrinal development became the dominant point of discussion at the Dorchester Conference and succeeding conferences and during 1849 was the focus of several publications.

¹James White to “Dear Brother and Sister,” August 26, 1848. EGWE—GC.

²James White to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, October 2, 1848. EGWE—GC.

The Dorchester Conference was held in Otis Nichols' home on November 17 and 18, 1848. It was significant for at least two reasons. First, it provided a further opportunity to discuss the concept of the Sabbath as the seal of God. Second, it facilitated the discussion of a more extensive publishing ministry. These two important topics were actually joined together with the second flowing out of the first. Bates wrote of the meeting thus:

A small company of brethren and sisters were assembled in meeting in Dorchester, near Boston, Mass. Before the meeting commenced, some of us were examining some of the points in the sealing message; some difference of opinion existed about the correctness of the view of the word ascending, &c., and whereas we had made the publishing of the message a subject of prayer at the Topsham Conference (Me.) a little previous, and the way to publish appeared not sufficiently clear, we therefore resolved unitedly to refer it all to God.¹

The two uncertainties mentioned by Bates, the meaning of the shining forth of the "sealing angel" and how best to publish the message were both soon resolved through a vision given to Ellen White while they were in Dorchester. Bates had thought that the text in Revelation 7:2, which spoke of the sealing angel "ascending from the rising of the sun," referred to the spread of the message geographically to the West and North. But Ellen White's vision gave a different view and Bates accepted it as "clear light." Once again, the visions provided Bates and the fledgling Sabbatarian movement with "light and instruction" that they had "not before clearly distinguished."² She saw the "ascending" as linked to the increased understanding and promotion of the Sabbath and not geography. In *Seal of the Living God*, Bates quoted from his verbatim notes of what she said while in vision: "The time of trouble has commenced, it is begun. The reason why the four winds

¹Bates, *Seal of the Living God*, 24.

²Bates, "A Vision," broadside, April 7, 1847.

have not let go is because the saints are not all sealed. It's on the increase, and will increase more and more." Ellen White was not speaking here about the worldwide Time of Trouble that would occur "when Michael stands up." Rather she was referring to the pre-time of trouble that began at the end of the 2300 days in October 1844.¹ Bates' transcription continued: "When Michael stands up this trouble will be all over the earth." The point of her vision was that the great Time of Trouble was being held in "check" for the sealing of the "saints." To speed the work they should publish the Sabbath Message. Referring to the ascending angel and the increase of understanding, she said:

Yea, publish the things thou hast seen and heard, and the blessing of God will attend. Look ye! that rising is in strength, and grows brighter and brighter. That truth is the seal, that's why it comes last. The shut door we have had. God has taught and taught, but that experience is not the seal, and that commandment that has been trodden under foot will be exalted. And when ye get that you will go through the time of trouble.²

Ellen White later recollected that after coming out of vision she turned to her husband and said: "I have a message for you. You must begin to print a little paper and send it out to the people. Let it be small at first; but as the people read, they will send you means with which to print, and it will be a success from the first." She then gave the following commentary: "From this small beginning it was shown me to be like streams of light that went clear round the world."³

Though Bates gave some specific details on Ellen White's November 18, 1848, vision, we learn more concerning her views on the sealing from a broadside she

¹Bates, *Seal of the Living God*, 25; see pp. 311-314 above.

²Ibid., 26.

³E. G. White, *Life Sketches*, 1915, 125.

published on January 31, 1849, in Topsham, Maine. But before we consider this sheet we need to examine the Sealing Message and Bates' important booklet on the subject.

The Sealing Message

The Sabbath as the seal of God was the most important theological concept to emerge for Sabbatarian Adventism since the spring 1847 publications. James White first hinted at the sealing concept during 1847 in *A Word to the "Little Flock."*¹ Bates first discussed the sealing in connection with the 144,000 in his January 1848 *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath.*² In neither of these publications was the sealing explicitly linked to the Sabbath. The first extant source that makes the connection is a letter by Bates in August 1848. He wrote to the Hastings:

What is the *seal* of the living God? *The Sabbath*, God says it is a covenant—it is a sign between me and the children of Israel forever. . . . Thus the saints will be sealed under this covenant and sign, the Holy Sabbath. They cannot be sealed until united on this point—I conceive that our work for saving, securing or sealing the little flock is now closing up forever, because we cannot offer the united prayer to God in this time of trouble that's now winging its way like a mighty whirlwind [*sic*] unless we are agreed in at least one point of our faith.³

Thus Bates believed that the Sabbath as the seal of God was a message intended for the "little flock" of Advent believers. The evangelistic conferences were a part of the work of "uniting" the "little flock" in preparation for the Time of Jacob's Trouble. For him, unity on the Sabbath would make it possible for them to have a "united prayer for

¹J. White, *Word to the "Little Flock,"* 3.

²Bates, *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*, 92-99.

³Joseph Bates to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, August 7, 1848, EGWE—GC.

deliverance.” Then God would roar “out of Zion” and utter His “Voice from Jerusalem.”¹

It is not clear how much of Bates’ thinking was adopted by the Whites or others during the Western conferences. In extant literature the first indication of unity on the subject was at the Dorchester Conference, held in Otis Nichols’ home on November 17 and 18, 1848. In examining the Sealing Message we will first consider Bates’ vital tract, *A Seal of the Living God: A Hundred Forty-four Thousand, of the Servants of God Being Sealed in 1849*, and then Ellen White’s published articles on the subject.

Joseph Bates and the *Seal of the Living God*

In January 1849 Joseph Bates published a seventy-two-page booklet entitled *A Seal of the Living God*. This work was devoted to presenting the Sabbath as the seal of God. For Bates the Sealing Message was not an abstract concept but rather an active final proclamation just before the Time of Trouble. The tract greatly expanded on and corrected what Bates had presented a year previous in *A Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*.² The linkage of the Sealing Message to the 144,000 and a broader proclamation of the Sabbath greatly influenced Sabbatarian Adventists. Bates concluded that the number of sealed Sabbath keepers was to be larger than they had perhaps previously envisioned. This broader mission for the “little flock” led them to think more directly how they could publish and proclaim the message in preparation for the Time of Trouble.

After giving a brief summary of *A Seal of the Living God*, special focus will be given to this and other significant ideas developed in the book. These include Bates’

¹Ibid.

²Bates, *Seal of the Living God*, 12, 13.

view on the makeup of the 144,000, the meaning of the covenants, and the lifestyle issues that would characterize those who were sealed.¹

Through the first forty-five pages Bates gave a commentary on the meaning of symbolic words and phrases in Revelation 7—a Bible chapter devoted to the sealing concept. He did this by presenting biblical and reasoned arguments for the Sabbath as the seal of God. Within these forty-five pages Bates took an eight-page excursus to discuss Ellen White's recent visions that supported the Sealing Message and argued for the legitimacy of her experience as a true manifestation of the prophetic gift.²

In his commentary, Bates reviewed the theological undergirding for the Sealing Message. Foundational to the sealing was the movement of Jesus from the Holy to the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary in October 1844. The sealing could occur only because the Sabbath was revealed in the "ark" of the "testament" contained in the innermost room of the heavenly sanctuary as shown in Revelation 11:19.³ The Shut Door of 1844 had led to a new open door in heaven. Jesus as High Priest and King now stood "beside the mercy seat, which is the cover to the ten commandments, waiting to blot out the sins of all the Israel of God when they are sealed with the seal of the living God," wrote Bates.⁴ This new work of Jesus led the "house of God" to see the "commandments of God, and especially the clear light on the fourth, his holy Sabbath." Jesus at the mercy seat presents the "whole Israel of God on his 'breast plate of judgment,' for [the]

¹Ibid., 54-69.

²Ibid., 24-32.

³Ibid., 19.

⁴Ibid., 20.

remission, or blotting out of all their sins.” This though cannot be accomplished “until he has tried them, and humbled them, to prove them, to know what is in their hearts, whether they will keep his commandments or no.”¹

With emphatic words Bates wrote: “This is and has been the present truth for God’s Israel ever since the veil [*sic*] of the inner temple has been raised, or [the] door open, i.e. since October 1844. And it is to be understood in a few simple words, viz: the Sabbath of the Lord our God, and [the] shut door.”²

As the Sabbath was presented and people accepted it, they were sealed in preparation for the Time of Trouble. This work continues for a short time until the number sealed is complete and then “Michael [Jesus] stands up to reign” and the Time of Trouble begins.³ In several places Bates pointed to world events (particularly in Europe) to demonstrate the rising time of trouble.⁴ He saw these events as indicators that the sealing time had begun. “The final sealing message,” he wrote, is “just preceding or going before the time of trouble.”⁵ He identified Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States as the four angels or messengers that were “holding the four winds of the earth” described in Revelation 7:2.⁶ When these nations became “disorganized” then the Time of Trouble would begin. Regarding January 1849 he wrote: “Now Daniel’s time of

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., 21.

⁴Ibid., 14-16, 18, 25, 26, 45-49.

⁵Ibid., 4. Bates like the Whites used the term “time of trouble” to refer to both the pre-time of trouble and the Time of Trouble when Michael stands up. In this instance he was referring to the latter.

⁶Ibid., 4-6, 45.

trouble cannot be, or begin to come while the nations are standing in their organized state.” When all the nations (both major and minor) became disorganized, then the “whole earth will be in a complete state of revolution, devastation, and destruction.”¹

Bates felt a great urgency to proclaim the Sealing Message since trouble had already begun in Europe and could soon spread to the United States. He seemed to believe that the ability to proclaim the message would progressively close as the trouble grew. “We learn,” he wrote, “how impossible it would be to give the sealing message or any other, after the time of trouble had begun where the messengers were. They could not go from place to place. Therefore now is the time for the ascending messengers to go with their message.”² For Bates and the Whites, publishing and holding conferences became the method of hastening the proclamation.

After his forty-five-page commentary, Bates summarized that the distinguishing characteristics of God’s people in the sealing that made them “signs” and “wonders” were the Shut Door and the Sabbath.³ He wrote:

The little company that are now presenting and receiving the sealing message in this last work which God has given them before their deliverance, have got their watch word also, viz: “The commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.” “The Sabbath of the Lord our God.” This will develop the residue of the 144,000 and bring them out from mount Ephraim.⁴

The “residue of the 144,000” were those who were yet to be sealed at least in part through the labor of the “little flock.” Bates boldly gave his view on the composition of

¹Ibid., 45.

²Ibid., 49.

³Ibid., 45-59.

⁴Ibid., 54.

the 144,000 saints in Revelation 7. First, he said the 144,000 was a literal number¹ that included sincere and obedient people who did not yet understand the Advent message but would accept it and the Sabbath during the sealing time. Bates explicitly described two classes of people who comprised the 144,000 “living saints”:²

Now all advent believers that have, and do, participate in the advent messages as given in Rev. XIV:6-13, will love and keep this covenant with God, and especially his Holy Sabbath, in this covenant: this is a part of the 144,000 now to be sealed.

The other part are those who do not yet, so well understand the advent doctrine; but are endeavoring to serve God with their whole hearts, and are willing, and will receive this covenant and Sabbath as soon as they hear it explained. These will constitute the 144,000, now to be sealed.³

With these words Bates argued for an expanded presentation of the Sealing Message beyond “advent believers.” He believed that the Sealing Message needed to go to the whole world, in a manner similar to the Millerite message of 1843 and 1844. He wrote:

Our judgment hour cry message was, to preach to every nation. I ask how this was done? why [*sic*] by sending publications to every missionary station. We proved that [the publications] was preaching it to foreign nations, except England and perhaps a few other nations in Europe [that had actual preachers]. Now as this was the way that we have given the *character* of the message to every nation in '43 and '44, so we believe it may be here in the [Rev] vii: chapter [the Sealing Message].⁴

Bates seemed to go even further and had suggested the previous year that some who had not heard the advent message could be a part of the 144,000. He believed that

¹Bates, *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*, 66.

²Bates, *Seal of the Living God*, 39, 65.

³*Ibid.*, 61, 62.

⁴*Ibid.*, 34.

there were slaves in the Southern States who were already “living present truth.”¹ They were living up to the light they had received and were also God’s children.

Bates applied the same Shut-Door view to the Sealing Message as had been presented in the 1845 *Advent Mirror*, but he expanded its meaning and added some new ideas. The *Advent Mirror* view had excluded from salvation those “sinners” who had rejected the truth, but did not close probation for the honest, sincere, and obedient who were ignorant of Adventist doctrine.² Bates expanded the meaning of “sinners” to include “advent believers who despise, and reject” the Ten Commandments. They would “certainly be burned and destroyed with the ungodly wicked.”³ He further added that the sealing required a proclamation of the Sabbath comparable to the 1843 and 1844 experience to sincere and honest people who were ignorant of the Second Advent doctrine.

Bates believed that he and other Shut-Door Adventists were remaining true to the original Second Advent message as presented by William Miller. Bates argued that Shut-Door Adventists were merely continuing on the path that had begun in 1840. Two of his books, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps* (1847) and *A Vindication of the Seventh-Day Sabbath* (1848), presented a connected chronology from 1840 through 1848. Bates even appealed in the second book for Miller to abandon his confusing and inconsistent views and return to a “sound exposition of God’s word.” Referring to Himes and others, he wrote to Miller, “Those with whom you were associated sounded the

¹Bates, *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*, 93.

²See pp. 79-81 above.

³Bates, *Seal of the Living God*, 62.

retreat, and all that did not follow in their train have been subject to your unsparing epithets.”¹ For Bates the connected progression of theological understanding that had emerged from 1845 to 1849 confirmed the fulfillment of prophecy in October 1844 and clarified the Shut Door. The meaning of the term “Shut Door” had progressed from a simple definition that prophecy had been fulfilled in 1844, through a Matthew 25 Bridegroom explanation, and finally to a comprehensive connected Sabbath and sanctuary Sealing Message.

The central point of *A Seal of the Living God* was that the sealing was not a past event but Present Truth and that the Sabbath was the seal of the “everlasting covenant” (the Ten Commandments) that must be proclaimed and kept. “Now let us look at the seal of this covenant!” wrote Bates. “What is it? God says his Sabbath is a sign, and shall be kept for a *perpetual covenant*.”²

Bates presented a carefully crafted view on the covenants in the section titled “God’s Four Everlasting Covenants with Man.”³ Though this title referred to four covenants, he actually named six. The four he intended were as follows. First and most important was the “everlasting covenant,” which he described as being the Ten Commandments.⁴ Second, he defined God’s three “conditional” promises of “inheritance,” “redemption,” and “peace” as three “eternal covenants.” These could be “inherited” only by “keeping” the “everlasting covenant” (the Ten Commandments).⁵

¹Bates, *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*, 63, 62-76.

²Bates, *Seal of the Living God*, 38, 39, 62.

³*Ibid.*, 59-65.

⁴*Ibid.*, 60.

⁵*Ibid.*

The last two additional covenants, that brought the number to six, he named as the “first covenant” and the “second covenant.” These he applied to the “Mosaic and Gospel dispensations.” The “first covenant” applied to Moses, the ceremonial system, and the earthly sanctuary. It, like all the others, was based on the “everlasting covenant” or the Ten Commandments.¹ The “second covenant,” also called the “new covenant,” he “connected with the gospel” that had Jesus as Mediator. Bates wrote that the law, “put into the mind, and written on the heart” of the saints, needed to be “developed.” When this was done then “they will be God’s people.”² In presenting his view on the covenants, Bates seems to make obedience to the Ten Commandments a prerequisite to salvation and the way of salvation. Bates summarized: “It was for breaking this everlasting covenant under the Mosaic and Gospel dispensations; even God’s holy law of commandments, for which the earth is now to be destroyed.”³ “Did you not know that Jesus founded the whole *law* of God, and the prophets on this covenant of ten commandments? . . . Did you not know that Jesus taught eternal life through this same covenant[?]. . . . Did you not know that in his sermon on the Mount that he made the keeping of their covenant a test of everlasting life?”⁴ A year previous in his *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*, Bates made similar statements. “Now if the keeping of the commandments will secure us eternal life, and the violation of them render us of no esteem in the reign of heaven, how can those enter there who do not keep them.”⁵ In

¹Ibid., 61.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., 64.

⁵Bates, *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*, 5.

another place Bates wrote of “Jesus’ promise of eternal life by our keeping the law.”¹

Finally in referring to the Sabbath, he wrote: “The keeping of GOD’S SABBATH HOLY SANCTIFIES AND SAVES THE SOUL!”²

While James White agreed with “Brother Bates” “in the main,”³ he fundamentally differed with the idea that “eternal life” came through “keeping the Law.” White said that the gospel was based on “long-suffering and tender mercy” that made possible repentance and forgiveness. He wrote in August 1849:

During the ministration of the law of God by Moses, the wilful [*sic*] transgressor was immediately stoned to death: but under the ministration of God’s law by Jesus Christ, it is long-suffering and tender mercy. In this better dispensation, God for Jesus’ sake spares the life of the transgressor that he may turn and keep the law of God, and find pardon through Jesus Christ, and live. During the time of the first covenant, which was faulty, stern justice cut the transgressor down; but since Jesus has been our only sacrifice and Priest, MERCY, the excellency and glory of the better covenant, has interposed, and given the transgressor of the holy law of God a chance to repent of his sins, and find a full and free pardon of all his sins, through the precious blood of Jesus.⁴

Finally, as important as the sealing was, Bates was not content with its being a mere theological message. He ended his tract with a very practical and intrusive appeal to Sabbatarian Adventists on the subject of lifestyle and personal sacrifice. First, he condemned the use of “tobacco and snuff boxes, and pipes.”⁵ Bates wrote: “God has shown several times by visions that he disapprobates it [tobacco in any form] in every way; and some that have continued in the practice after one admonition, God has shown

¹Ibid., 27.

²Bates, *Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*, 1847, 55.

³James White to Elvira Hastings, August 22, 1847, EGWE—GC.

⁴[James White], “The Sabbath,” *Present Truth*, August 1849, 16.

⁵Bates, *Seal of the Living God*, 67;

that his frown is upon them.”¹ Ellen White had received a vision or visions in autumn of 1848 on “the injurious effects of tobacco, tea, and coffee.”² From tobacco and snuff Bates next assailed the use of “alcoholic drinks, from brandy to cider, and beer.” He questioned how one could be a part of the 144,000 and use these substances.³ Finally, Bates urged Adventists to dispose of their property. He urged them not to wait until the value had increased or to keep their homes as protection from “mob law” “when that time [of trouble] comes.”⁴

As in his other publications, Bates’ style is direct and forceful. He gave little attention to pastoral concerns or personal nurture. While sharing Bates’ theological perspective on the sealing, Ellen White tempered his style and some of his ideas. Her broadside, published during the same month as Bates’ *Seal of the Living God*, emphasized a variety of pastoral concerns in connection with the sealing.

Ellen White’s Broadside on the Seal of God and Her March 24, 1849, Vision

Ellen White published two significant items during the first months of 1849 that dealt with the Sealing Message. The first was a broadside published in Topsham, Maine, on January 31, 1849, entitled “To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God.” The second was her March 24, 1849, vision on the open door that was later published in *Present Truth*. Both of these publications deserve attention. The first might be

¹Ibid.

²See James White, “Western Tour: Kansas Camp Meeting,” *Review and Herald*, November 8, 1870, 165.

³Ibid., 68.

⁴Ibid., 68, 69.

considered the first “testimony” for the “Little Flock,” while the second directly linked the Sabbath and the Shut Door.

“To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God” confirmed the Sealing Message and reiterated the progression of events during the pre-time of trouble leading up to the Time of Trouble and the Second Coming. But perhaps the most significant aspect of the broadside was the pastoral concern and counsel that it contained. Comfort, rebuke, warning, and specific advice were all present in this little sheet. White saw the “tender love that God has for his people.” When they “wept through discouragement, or were in danger, the angel that ever attended them would fly quickly upward to carry the tidings.” “Then Jesus would commission another angel to descend to encourage, watch over and try to keep them from going out of the narrow path.” In another portrayal she saw Jesus “clothed with Priestly garments. He gazed in pity on the remnant, then raised his hands upward, and with a voice of deep pity cried—‘MY BLOOD, FATHER, MY BLOOD, MY BLOOD, MY BLOOD.’” Jesus’ purpose in this appeal was to delay the release of the “four winds” of trouble until “the servants of God were sealed with the seal of the living God.”¹

Practical counsel included a warning to those who “held on to their property, and did not inquire duty of the Lord,” to those who were “disregarding the visions,” and to those who trusted in earthly physicians rather than the “God of Israel.” Ellen White saw that it was “the will of God that the saints should cut loose from every encumbrance—dispose of their houses and lands before the time of trouble.” In this she was in agreement with Bates’ recommendation in his recent tract on the sealing. But her counsel

¹Ellen G. White, “To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God,” broadside, January 31, 1849.

contained some moderating statements. She saw that “God had not required all of his people to dispose of their property at the same time, but in a time of need he would teach them, if they desired to be taught, when to sell and how much to sell.” She further “saw that some had been required to dispose of their property in past time to sustain the advent cause, while he permitted others to keep theirs until a time of need.” Concerning those who rejected her visions she wrote: “I saw the state of some who stood on present truth, but disregarded the visions,—the way God had chosen to teach in some cases, those who erred from Bible truth. I saw that in striking against the visions they did not strike against the worm—feeble instrument that God spake through; but against the Holy Ghost.” Finally, she warned those who were sick, not to “dishonor God by applying to earthly physicians, but apply to the God of Israel.” If they did this “the sick” would “be healed.”¹ She herself had been guided by this counsel when her son Henry was ill.² Though not called a “testimony for the church,” this broadside was in fact the first in what would be a long line of “testimonies” that would be published throughout the remainder of her life. This broadside demonstrated that her prophetic role had been established within Sabbatarian Adventism.

The text of this broadside was reprinted in the third number of the *Present Truth* with an additional section based on a March 24, 1849, vision. This vision occurred on Sabbath, during a Topsham, Maine, conference. It clearly and directly confirmed the theological basis for the linkage of the Sabbath to the heavenly sanctuary.³ She wrote:

¹Ibid.

²E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, 1860, 2:104-106.

³Ellen G. White to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, March 24-30, 1849, EGWE—GC.

I was taken off in the Spirit to the City of the living God. There I was shown that the commandments of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ, relating to the shut door, could not be separated, and that the time for the commandments of God to shine out, with all their importance, and for God's people to be tried on the Sabbath truth, was when the door was opened in the Most Holy Place of the Heavenly Sanctuary where the Ark is, containing the ten commandments. This door was not opened, until the mediation of Jesus was finished in the Holy Place of the Sanctuary in 1844. Then Jesus rose up, and shut the door in the Holy Place, and passed within the second vail [sic], where he now stands by the Ark; and where the faith of Israel now reaches.¹

In this description, Ellen White made explicit the concept that the Shut Door applied to the partition between the Holy and Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. She further emphasized that since October 1844 the Sabbath had become a salvation issue for those who understood it. "I saw," she wrote, "that the present test on the Sabbath could not come, until the mediation of Jesus in the Holy Place was finished." The "enemies of the present truth" were "trying to open the door of the Holy Place" again and "close the door of the Most Holy Place" because it contained the "Ark" and the "ten commandments."²

Ellen White understood that revivals among those who had consciously rejected the Advent message and the Sabbath were counterfeit. She wrote: "He [Satan] was at work through ministers, who have rejected the truth. . . . While they were preaching, or praying some would fall prostrate and helpless; not by the power of the Holy Ghost, no, no; but by the power of Satan breathed upon these agents and through them to the people." "I saw," she continued, "that the mysterious signs and wonders, and false

¹Ellen G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," *Present Truth*, August 1849, 21.

²Ibid.

reformations would increase, and spread.” These “reformations” “professed a change of heart” but only had a “religious garb” to cover up the “iniquity of a wicked heart.”¹

Then White wrote perhaps her strongest statement on the close of probation for these ones who had “rejected the truth”: “My accompanying angel bade me look for the travail of soul for sinners as used to be. I looked, but could not see it; for the time of their salvation is past.”² White’s account of false conversion or reformation was not new. In fact her *Bridegroom Vision* of February 1845 had given a similar message. In it she saw God’s people follow the Father and Jesus into the “Holy of Holies” while “Satan appeared to be by the throne” in the Holy Place “trying to carry on the work of God.” When those who refused to go with Jesus into the second apartment prayed, “Satan would breathe upon them an unholy influence.” “In it,” White wrote, “there was light and much power, but no sweet love, joy and peace. Satan’s objective was to keep them deceived, and to draw back and deceive God’s children.”³

In first writing out her March 24, 1849, vision to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, White concluded with the following words: “I have now written the vision God gave me. I am tired [from] sitting so long. Our position looks very clear. We know we have the truth, the midnight cry is behind us, the door was shut in 1844 and Jesus is soon to step out from between God and man. The sealing will then be accomplished—finished up.”⁴

Ellen White was not equating the Shut Door with the general or universal close of

¹Ibid., 22.

²Ibid.

³E. G. White, “To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad,” broadside, April 6, 1846.

⁴Ellen G. White to Leonard and Elvira Hastings, March 24-30, 1849, EGWE—GC.

probation because she provides differentiation in her statement. Thus, although the “door was shut in 1844,” Jesus had not yet stepped “out from between God and man.” She was giving a richer meaning of the Shut Door than just the close of probation. In light of her sealing understanding, her words “the door was shut in 1844” almost certainly refer to the door of the Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. For her, the sealing was the final process that settled the number of those who were to be saved. Jesus’ change from the Holy Place to the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary made the Advent message and the Sabbath a testing truth for those who were convicted of its truth. The door to the Holy Place had been closed and the way into the Most Holy Place was open.

Having said this, it should be noted that throughout the remainder of her life, Ellen White continued to believe in a shut door as a close of probation for those who had rejected the 1844 Advent proclamation. She wrote in 1883:

I was shown in vision, and I still believe that there was a shut door in 1844. All who saw the light of the first and second angel’s messages and rejected that light, were left in darkness. And those who accepted it and received the Holy Spirit which attended the proclamation of the message from heaven, and who afterward renounced their faith and pronounced their experience a delusion, thereby rejected the Spirit of God, and it no longer pleaded with them.¹

She wrote of other times in history when there had been similar shut doors:

There was a shut door in Noah’s day. There was at that time a withdrawal of the Spirit of God from the sinful race that perished in the waters of the flood. God, Himself, gave the shut door message to Noah. . . .

There was a shut door in the days of Abraham. Mercy ceased to plead with the inhabitants of Sodom, and all but Lot with his wife and two daughters, were consumed by the fire sent down from heaven.

There was a shut door in Christ’s day. The Son of God declared to the unbelieving Jews of that generation, “Your house is left unto you desolate. . . .”²

¹Ellen G. White, “Suppression and the Shut Door,” Ms. 4, 1883, EGWE—GC.

²Ibid.

In a similar vein, she wrote concerning the Sabbath message. Those who had “clearly seen and fully accepted the truth upon the fourth commandment” and had “received the blessing attending obedience, but have since renounced their faith . . . will find[,] if they persist in this path of disobedience, the gates of the city of God closed against them.”¹

In looking back at her 1849 view on the sealing, Ellen White acknowledged that her early statements had contained a strong time urgency that she tempered in later years. But she explained her position: “The angels of God in their messages to men represent time as very short. Thus it has always been presented to me. It is true that time has continued longer than we expected in the early days of this message. Our Saviour did not appear as soon as we hoped.” Ellen White then pointed to the New Testament church and apostles as having had a similar experience.²

The 1849 Sealing Message accomplished several important things for Sabbatarian Adventism:

1. It increased the urgency of proclaiming the Sabbath by making it the final test that sealed people into the 144,000.
2. It began to broaden the scope of the proclamation beyond the limited confines of Millerite Adventism.
3. Perhaps most important, it became a message of hope that Jesus was holding back the Time of Trouble and the close of probation until the 144,000 had seen the light and been sealed.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

The proclamation of this urgent Present Truth became the all-encompassing work for Sabbatarian Adventists.

As we now turn to the final section of this chapter we will examine the significance of the periodical titled *Present Truth* and the role it played in organizing Sabbatarian Adventism into a distinct religious entity.

Publishing the *Present Truth*

This section does not attempt to evaluate the theological content of the *Present Truth* or the historical developments that occurred during the sixteen months it was published. Instead, we will consider its overall role in establishing Sabbatarian Adventism as a religious body. In keeping with their Christian Connection background and shunning Babylonian institutions, James White and Joseph Bates organized Sabbatarian Adventism through regular conferences and publications. In the individualistic style of primitive or restorationist organizations, a regular periodical was essential. *Present Truth* fulfilled that need and became the final step in the integration of the Sabbath and Shut-Door (or sanctuary) beliefs.

When the first issue of *Present Truth* was published in July 1849, James White had not yet conceived the idea of a regular paper. He instead planned to stitch together a series of issues into “pamphlet form.” It was the urgency of time that impressed him to use the periodical format. “I would publish in pamphlet form,” wrote White, “but it would be a number of weeks before I could get out a pamphlet containing all I wish to write.”¹ The *Present Truth* series contained eleven issues in eighty-eight pages and was completed in November 1850. White reported that he would publish two thousand copies

¹James White, “Dear Brethren and Sister,” *Present Truth*, July 1849, 6.

of each issue, half of which were to be sent without subscription as a periodical and the other half were to be kept and bound as a pamphlet.¹

The response to the paper was enthusiastic as it changed into something more than a pamphlet series.² In the third issue White began to include notices of conferences and by the fourth issue he could not resist publishing an encouraging letter. The letter, written from Jackson, Michigan, by J. C. Bowles urged White to enlarge the paper “sufficient to insert extracts of the letters” to facilitate communication among the “little flock.”³ In the next issue, White decided to accept Bowles’ advice. It contained articles and letters from Otis Nichols, Hiram Edson, John N. Andrews, Harvey Childs, and J. C. Bowles. White even began to function in an editorial capacity by commenting on Edson’s letter.⁴

Unexpectedly, James White and the *Present Truth* had become the voice of Sabbatarian Adventism. When he published a hymnbook in 1849, White further enhanced his role as a leader.⁵ The continuing general and local conferences and the distribution of *Present Truth* resulted in “quite a number” accepting the Sabbath in Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, and Maine. White wrote

¹Ibid.

²[James White], “The Paper,” *Present Truth*, December 1849, 47.

³J. C. Bowles, “Dear Brother White,” *Present Truth*, September 1849, 32.

⁴Otis Nichols, “Remarks on 2 Cor. iii, 6-18,” *Present Truth*, December 1849, 33, 34; Hiram Edson, “Beloved Brethren, Scattered Abroad,” *Present Truth*, December 1849, 34-36; John N. Andrews, “Dear Brethren and Sisters,” *Present Truth*, December 1849, 39; Harvey Childs, “Dear Bro. White,” *Present Truth*, 39; J. C. Bowles, “Dear Bro. White,” *Present Truth*, 40.

⁵James White, *Hymns for God’s Peculiar People that Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus* (Oswego: New York: Richard Oliphant, 1849); [idem], “Hymns for God’s Peculiar People. . .,” *Present Truth*, December 1849, 47.

enthusiastically on October 17, 1849: “The cause is moving onward, and gathering strength as it moves.”¹ A few weeks later in a follow-up letter his exuberance was still evident: “In western N. Y. the number of Sabbath keepers is increasing fast. There are more than twice the number now than six months ago. So it is more or less in Maine, Mass., N. H., Vermont, and Conn.”² He summarized what the conferences and periodical had accomplished with the following words: “The scattering time we have had: it is in the past, and now the time for the saints to be gathered into the unity of the faith, and be sealed by one holy, uniting truth has come. Yes, Brother, it has come.” The “Sabbath truth is yet to ring through the land” with a strength “which will far exceed the power of the Midnight Cry.”³

Sabbatarian Adventism had come into its own and would continue steadily to grow in both numbers and influence until it became the largest and most significant Adventist denomination.

Summary and Perspective

The period from June 1847 to July 1849 brought rapid change to Sabbatarian Adventism. The Whites and Bates had united on the Sabbath and Shut Door (with a new sanctuary-based meaning) and their various publications on the subject were circulating among Adventists. During 1847 and part of 1848 the Sabbath was not the exclusive domain of Shut-Door Adventists. Prominent voices like J. B. Cook still held the Sabbath torch. Having rejected the Shut Door, he and others like him occasionally gave public

¹James White to J. C. Bowles, October 17, 1849, EGWE—GC.

²James White to J. C. Bowles, November 8, 1849, EGWE—GC.

³Ibid.

support to Sabbatarian sentiment. The publications by Bates and the Whites had the effect of stirring up interest in the Sabbath. This interest found a voice in the *Bible Advocate*—a newer and more controversial Adventist paper than the *Advent Herald* or *Voice of Truth*. The Sabbath discussion in the paper grew in intensity through the summer and fall of 1847. Finally, Cook stepped forward and published three articles in support of the Sabbath, or, more accurately, against the view of Turner and others who said that Sunday was actually the seventh-day Sabbath. Turner responded with three articles of his own and succeeded in bringing many Adventists to his untenable position. Soon after, in the spring of 1848, he himself abandoned his view. By the fall of 1848 Preble, Cook, and Crosier had all published their abandonment of Sabbath. That left the Sabbath field within Adventism to Shut-Door Sabbatarians.

The year 1848 also saw an increase in activity by Shut-Door Sabbatarians. First Bates engaged the *Bible Advocate* through his hard-hitting *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*. Then by April the Whites and Bates began to hold general and local conferences in various parts of New England and western New York to promote the Sabbath and Shut Door. These evangelistic meetings proved successful. Of particular note were the April 1848 Rocky Hill, Connecticut, conference and the August 1848 Volney, New York, conference. These and the other meetings brought some order to the otherwise divided and confused Shut-Door proponents.

By the fall of 1848 the new and powerful Sealing Message added another dimension of study and planning to the evangelistic conferences. Ellen White's visions beginning in November 1848 at Dorchester, Massachusetts, predicted that the Sealing Message, as an evangelistic proclamation of the Sabbath, would increase like the rising

sun until the 144,000 were sealed and ready for the Time of Trouble. Bates, who had initiated the Sealing Message, published a booklet on the subject during January 1849. His publication together with Ellen White's visions and broadside gave the Sealing Message a strong impetus. The result was an intensification of the Sabbath proclamation. The Sealing Message opened the door to the idea that even those beyond the ranks of Millerite Adventism might become part of the 144,000. Finally, it directly led to the publication of the periodical *Present Truth*.

Present Truth, in turn, together with the continuing conferences, provided a progressively clearer definition to Sabbatarian Adventism. It formalized the integration of the Sabbath and Shut Door into a new framework of faith. As the Sealing Message went forward through word and pen, the scattered flock was gathered into a new unity of thought and action.

Conclusion

The three-year period from 1846 to 1849 brought a nearly complete reorientation to the scattered remnant of Bridegroom Adventists. During the spring of 1846 Crosier's article, "The Law of Moses" in the *Day Star Extra*, had brought unity of thought on the heavenly sanctuary message to the few remaining non-spiritualizing Bridegroom Adventists. This provided the basis for further developments as the sanctuary view was integrated with the Sabbath and Ellen White's prophetic role was established.

Freed from Shaker spiritualizing, Shut-Door Adventists could begin to establish a new identity. Joseph Bates provided the new focus when he published his August 1846 *Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*. Sabbatarian Adventism rose from prostration

and steadily increased in importance until by the middle of 1849 it had become a new and distinct religious movement.

To review the broad developments of Sabbatarian Adventism, the three-year period can be chronologically divided into five distinct stages or phases.

1. August 1846 through December 1846 brought unity to the new leadership under the banner of the Sabbath and Shut Door. This occurred as the Whites, Crosier, Hahn, and Edson accepted the Sabbath, and Bates accepted Ellen White's visions. The sanctuary perspective presented by Crosier in February 1847 had already been read and accepted by Bates and the Whites. Thus the three key elements of this study had been initially brought together.

2. January 1847 to June 1847 saw the Sabbath gain eschatological importance as it was linked to the Ark of the Covenant in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly temple. This view was published by Bates in two tracts and a broadside and by James White in *A Word to the "Little Flock."* The Shut Door concept was increasingly linked to the heavenly sanctuary ministry of Jesus.

3. During July 1847 through February 1848 the Sabbath discussions in the *Bible Advocate* became the central focus. Various letters and articles revived an interest in the Sabbath among the broader Millerite Adventist community and prepared the way for its more extensive promotion by Shut-Door Adventists.

4. April 1848 to November 1848 saw Adventist Sabbatarianism become the exclusive domain of Shut-Door proponents. The defining events were the Sabbath and Shut-Door evangelistic conferences and the abandonment of the Sabbath by J. B. Cook and others.

5. During August 1848 through July 1849 the Sealing Message unfolded. Jesus had closed the door to the Holy Place and opened a new door into the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. This increased the urgency of the Sabbath proclamation and brought about the publication of *Present Truth* in July 1849.

Each of these developments was integrally linked to the three subjects of this study—the Sabbath, the sanctuary, and Ellen White's role. Up through August 1846 these subjects were interrelated but separate in their development. The three years covered in this chapter brought the integration of these three aspects into a new Sabbatarian Adventist movement.

Up to the summer of 1846, Shut-Door advocates tended to show greater interest in the Sabbath than did other Millerite Adventists. But these two ideas—the Sabbath and Shut Door—remained separate and distinct. One of the most important developments for this study was their integration during the first months of 1847. When Bates cautiously proposed in January 1847 that the Sabbath had come to light because the Temple of God had been opened in October 1844, he established a whole new theological rationale for Sabbath keeping. The linking of the Sabbath to the movement of Jesus from the Holy to the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary gave it new meaning and purpose. In this way the Sabbath and sanctuary views were inseparably linked. Then when the Sabbath was identified as the seal of God, a whole new field of endeavor was opened for Sabbatarian Adventism. The 144,000 needed to be gathered and this could happen only through a powerful proclamation of the Sabbath in connection with Jesus' new heavenly sanctuary ministry. This evangelistic outreach was particularly urgent because it had to be completed before probation closed and the Time of Trouble began. The concept of the

Shut Door had moved from a simple declaration that probation had closed for “sinners” in October 1844 to a general term that argued for the continued prophetic relevance of the 1844 experience, and finally to represent the entire heavenly sanctuary work of Jesus in the Most Holy Place in proclaiming the Sabbath during the sealing. The Shut Door of the Holy Place had led to the Open Door of the Most Holy Place. In a practical sense the terms “Shut Door” and “Open Door” began to acquire an evangelistic aspect in the proclamation of the Sealing Message to Adventists and even to those who had not heard the Advent message.

While Bates and the Whites were in unity on the essential details of the Sabbath, sanctuary, and Ellen White’s role, they had points of disagreement. Three notable examples could be mentioned: (1) Bates at first believed that the third angel’s message of Revelation 14 included only verses 9 to 11 and applied to the period before October 1844, while James White believed that the third angel’s message consisted of Revelation 14:9-12 and that it applied to the period after October 1844; (2) Bates continued to engage in time speculation, which the Whites rejected; and (3) perhaps most difficult, Bates writes in a seemingly legalistic way of the Ten Commandments with little reference to God’s mercy and forgiveness. James and Ellen White were able to either balance or correct Bates’ problematic ideas. The disagreement on the third angel’s message was soon resolved in favor of James White’s view. And by late 1851 Bates had given up time speculation. It is not clear whether Bates ever changed his view of the Ten Commandments as the everlasting covenant but in later years he did acknowledge the importance of forgiveness of sins in his own past life. He wrote: “I thank God who

teaches us to forgive and love our enemies that through his rich mercy, in Jesus Christ. I have since found forgiveness of my sins.”¹

Ellen White’s visions played an integral role in each new theological development. They not only confirmed the linkage of the Sabbath and Shut Door, but also enriched and extended the theological and evangelistic insights of others. Bates credited Ellen White’s Sabbath Halo vision as giving him “light and instruction.” Her visions on the Sealing clarified that the Sabbath message would go like the “ascending” sunrise or as “streams of light.” It was her visions that taught the idea that Jesus was pleading with His Father for a delay so that all who could might hear the message and be sealed before the Time of Trouble began. In fact, her visions were one of the factors that shifted the definition of the Shut Door from a simple close of probation to the beginning of a new era. She said that Jesus as High Priest had opened a new door and begun a new purpose—to prepare his people for the close of probation by sealing them into Present Truth. Christ’s movement from the Holy to the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary in October 1844 characterized this.

In July 1849 *Present Truth* became the obvious title for the new periodical that, combined with the continuing conferences, gave Sabbatarian Adventists the status of a religious entity. As the final issue of *Present Truth* was published in November 1850, a

¹Joseph Bates, *The Autobiography of Elder Joseph Bates: Embracing a Long Life on Shipboard, with Sketches of Voyages on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Baltic and Mediterranean Seas; Also Impressment and Service on Board British War Ships, Long Confinement in Dartmoor Prison, Early Experience in Reformatory Movements; Travels in Various Parts of the World; and a Brief Account of the Great Advent Movement of 1840-44* (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing, 1868), 43.

new periodical was conceived entitled the *Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*.¹ It would become the general paper for the Sabbatarian Adventism and as of 2002 be the longest continuously published religious periodical in American history. The seemingly insignificant Shut-Door Sabbatarians would eventually form the Seventh-day Adventist Church and become the largest and most dynamic Adventist denomination.

¹Joseph Bates, S. W. Rhodes, J. N. Andrews, and James White, Publishing Committee, *Second Advent Review, and Sabbath Herald*, November 1850, 1-8.

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The first few years after 1844 brought great changes to Millerite Adventism. During the first half of 1845 the movement split apart as the largest group, led by J. V. Himes and William Miller, abandoned faith in the significance of 1844 and looked for a new date. A much smaller group, the Bridegroom Adventists and later the Sabbatarian Adventists, continued to cherish the prophetic basis of the 1844 Midnight Cry. This second branch of Millerite Adventism has been the focus of this study. More particularly, this study has examined the development and integration of the doctrines of the Sabbath and the sanctuary together with Ellen White's role from October 22, 1844, to July 1849.

This chapter first provides a brief summary of the material presented. Then some conclusions are provided that demonstrate the theological development or progression of each of the three elements of this study together with their integration. Finally some suggestions are given for future study.

Summary

This section presents an overview of the content of the first four chapters of this study. Focus is given to the high points in the chronological progression of ideas and interactions between various individuals and groups.

Chapter 1 provides information on the pre-October 1844 background within Millerite Adventism of the Sabbath, sanctuary, and ecstatic experiences. The Methodist and Christian Connection milieu of ecstatic experience was active within the Millerite movement as demonstrated by the publicly recognized visionary manifestations of such individuals as John Starkweather, William Foy, and R. C. Gorgas. While Ellen Harmon did not have her first vision until December of 1844, her Methodist background and Christian experience included demonstrative religious expression. Millerite typological applications related to the sanctuary along with pre-advent judgment and Shut-Door concepts laid the foundation for the post-1844 Bridegroom and heavenly sanctuary views presented in this study. Finally, the Seventh Day Baptists with a fair degree of success introduced the Sabbath to Millerites. Millerite Sabbath interest would continue and grow in the months and years following October 1844.

Chapter 2 examines the seven-month period from October 22, 1844, through May 1845. During this period a great deal of confusion existed within Millerite Adventism as various ones tried to understand why Jesus had not come. Beginning with George Storrs and J. V. Himes, many of the key leaders forsook their faith in the October 1844 Midnight Cry. Some looked for a new date, while others abandoned time setting entirely. By the end of January 1845 a crisis was developing. While Himes was preparing to resume his evangelistic work, William Miller continued to believe that the world had been warned and probation was closed. When William Miller supported Apollos Hale's and Joseph Turner's Shut-Door views as published in the *Advent Mirror* it further intensified his theological division with Himes. The *Advent Mirror* played the most important role in establishing Bridegroom Adventism. Using the parable of the ten

virgins in Matthew 25 as a metaphor. Hale and Turner argued that Jesus as Bridegroom had entered and shut the door of the heavenly wedding chamber. The wise virgins had spiritually gone in with Him and were waiting for the Second Coming after the marriage. Many Adventists, including Miller, connected the Bridegroom view with their earlier understanding. Due to fanatical extremes Miller abruptly abandoned the Bridegroom view and joined Himes in early March 1845.

Within Bridegroom Adventism a diversity of periodicals and ideas circulated. Two established papers, the *Hope of Israel* under John Pearson Jr. in the East and the *Day-Star* under Enoch Jacobs in the West, were joined by the *Jubilee Standard* under the leadership of Samuel Snow in New York City. Two other new and very significant papers in Western New York also began publication. The *Day-Dawn* edited by O. R. L. Crosier linked the Bridegroom concept to the idea that Jesus as High Priest had begun a final extended heavenly sanctuary atonement ministry. This view would become increasingly important as will be demonstrated when we examine the highlights of chapter 3. A very different and ominous approach was presented in the *Voice of the Shepherd*. This paper said that all the events Adventists anticipated had already occurred spiritually including the resurrection, the Second Coming, and the new earth. They even spiritualized the personhood of Jesus.

Thus it was that during the spring of 1845 Bridegroom Adventism began to bifurcate in two directions—the heavenly sanctuary advocates and the spiritualizers. As 1845 progressed the spiritualizing increased and ultimately led with other elements to the collapse of the Bridegroom movement. Himes and those associated with him naturally

pointed to the extremes of the spiritualizers as evidence that the entire Bridegroom concept was flawed.

The split in Millerite Adventism was formalized at the beginning of May 1845 at the Albany, New York, conference. The Bridegroom view was explicitly rejected and those who believed it were excluded from the fellowship of faith. Himes, S. Bliss, Miller, and many others comprised the main group of Millerite Albany Adventists while the already divided Bridegroom Adventists encompassed a scattered minority.

During the seven months following the October 1844 disappointment Ellen White remained relatively obscure within Albany and Bridegroom Adventism. After receiving her first vision in December of 1844 she traveled mostly in Maine and interacted with various Bridegroom-oriented companies. She had three major visions and a number of minor visions during this time. The winter and spring of 1845 was a challenging time as she interacted with various radical ideas and established her own independence. During this time she opposed Joseph Turner who sought to control her and others through mesmerism. She also became acquainted with James White whom she later married.

Chapter 3 examines Bridegroom Adventism from June 1845 through May 1846 in three phases. The summer of 1845 was the high point of Bridegroom expansion. This was followed by contraction caused by radicalism, spiritualizing, apostasy to Albany Orthodoxy, and the passing of the fall 1845 time expectation. Finally, during the winter and early spring of 1846, Bridegroom Adventism as a movement collapsed as Jacobs and the *Day-Star* took many into Shakerism.

The late spring and summer of 1845 saw the establishment of a new Bridegroom Adventist periodical published by C. H. Pearson and edited by Emily C. Clemons entitled

Hope Within the Veil. Building on Pickands' fourth angel Harvest Message, Clemons used a heavenly sanctuary rationale to promote complete sanctification. She argued that Jesus' extended atonement in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary would bring the promises of the New Covenant to final fulfillment in the lives of God's people. Her paper unleashed a firestorm of opposition, particularly from Samuel Snow and the *Jubilee Standard* which rejected the idea of an extended atonement. By contrast, Crosier and Jacobs, though not entirely agreeing with her views, gave her support. Thus Bridegroom Adventism, already divided on spiritualizing, now faced more conflict over the heavenly sanctuary.

Bridegroom Adventism began to unravel during the late summer and fall of 1845. First Snow abandoned his former views and styled himself as the latter day Elijah. Almost at the same time John Pearson, editor of the *Hope of Israel*, turned to Albany Conference orthodoxy. Abruptly Emily Clemons and C. H. Pearson and *Hope Within the Veil* joined John Pearson in the retreat. As Bridegroom Adventists were reeling from these losses they were again disappointed when Jesus did not come at the end of the Jubilee year in October or November 1845. In the midst of this disappointment, the Pearson brothers successfully influenced many to join them in giving up the Bridegroom view. All of these factors, but particularly the time disappointment, greatly increased the influence of Bridegroom spiritualizers, which further weakened the Bridegroom movement. The final blow came when Jacobs suddenly adopted the spiritual view and moved toward Shakerism. Bridegroom Adventism as a movement had self-destructed.

Despite so many reversals, a small and scattered remnant of people continued during 1846 to cling to the prophetic significance of the October 1844 experience, while

they solidly opposed the spiritualizing view. Ironically, as Jacobs was announcing his reversal, Crosier published his matured view on typology and the heavenly sanctuary in a February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* Extra. The remaining “little flock” looked with favor on Crosier’s sanctuary exposition and waited through the summer of 1846 to see what new light would unfold. It was from this dispersed “little flock” that fresh leadership with a new Sabbatarian perspective emerged during the last half of 1846.

Ellen White’s role expanded during the period covered in chapter 3. She traveled to Massachusetts several times with a widening base of support. At the same time she continued to battle with Turner, who attributed her visions to mesmerism. James White and Otis Nichols became her two strongest supporters. They stood with her in opposing the spiritualizers. White’s most notable prophetic revelation during this time was her October 1845 Time of Trouble vision, which protected her supporters from being devastated by the fall 1845 disappointment. During the first months of 1846 Ellen Harmon’s first articles and a broadside were published as her influence increased.

Chapter 4 covers the period from the summer of 1846 to the summer of 1849 and the emergence of Sabbatarian Adventism from the ruins of the Bridegroom Adventist movement. The establishment of Sabbatarian Adventism came in two steps: first, the integration of the key elements of this study and the significant people who supported them; and, second, the gathering of the “little flock” around the new Sabbath and sanctuary perspective.

Joseph Bates played the most important role in initiating the Sabbatarian Adventist movement. In August 1846 his pivotal *Seventh-day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign* initiated the chain reaction that led to the new religious entity. During the fall of 1846 the

key leaders who had already accepted Crosier's sanctuary view, gathered around the Sabbath message. These included Bates, James and Ellen White, and a few others like Hiram Edson.

Ellen White's influence expanded as the legitimacy of her prophetic gift was more widely accepted among Sabbatarian Adventists. Perhaps most important was Joseph Bates' embracing of her visions as a result of her fall 1846 vision of the heavens. Throughout the remainder of the period covered in chapter 4 her visions confirmed, enriched, and interacted with developing views. Her visions particularly played an important unifying and guiding role during the evangelistic conferences beginning in 1848.

Between January and May 1847, with the leaders united, the Sabbath was linked to the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary and Jesus' high priestly work. This gave the Sabbath new eschatological importance. Bates and the Whites promoted these new ideas through various publications. Bates revised his Sabbath tract, published a broadside containing a vision by Ellen G. White, and wrote his small book, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*. In May 1847, James White published the first synopsis of faith for emerging Sabbatarian Adventism, titled *A Word to the "Little Flock."*

With the theological foundation of Sabbatarian Adventism largely in place, the next step was to begin gathering the scattered remnant. The *Bible Advocate* Sabbath discussions from the summer of 1847 until early 1848, the subsequent evangelistic conferences, the Sealing Message, and the publication of *Present Truth* facilitated this.

The *Bible Advocate* articles and exchanges heightened interest in the Sabbath among Millerite Adventists. This led to a series of successful evangelistic conferences held by James and Ellen White and Joseph Bates during the early spring of 1848. During this same time the Sabbath within Millerite Adventism became the sole possession of Shut-Door Sabbatarians as Crosier, T. M. Preble, and J. B. Cook each successively abandoned the seventh-day Sabbath. Toward the end of 1848 a significant new theological development defined the Sabbath as the seal of God. This Sealing Message further enhanced the eschatological importance of the Sabbath and engendered even greater evangelistic urgency. The final step in the progression towards religious distinctiveness occurred when James White began to publish the periodical *Present Truth*. This paper became not only a way of disseminating “present truth” but also a means of communication and interaction among Sabbatarian Adventists. Thus the scattered “little flock” was gathered into a new religious movement that would eventually organize itself as the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1863.

Conclusions

This section presents the significant contributions of this study and outline the developmental progression of the stages of the three topics—Sabbath, sanctuary, and Ellen White’s role. Finally, an overview is provided of the integration of these elements and the theological perspectives understood in 1849 that enabled them to reach out with evangelistic fervor.

The principal contribution of this study has been to show the connected progression and apparent stages of chronological and theological development for the Sabbath, sanctuary, and Ellen White’s role from October 1844 to the formation of the

new religious entity in 1849. Previous to this study, scholars have primarily treated individual aspects of the theological development without situating them within the broader progression. The lack of a connected history has resulted in the tendency of researchers to leap chronologically from the fall 1844 disappointment to the *Day-Star Extra*, to *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* then to the 1848 evangelistic conferences, and finally to the publication of *Present Truth*. While individual theological concepts have been anticipated and received attention, the definite sequence of how things progressed and came together in a seemingly logical progression has never been adequately developed. For example P. G. Damsteegt has given helpful treatment to the theology of Bridegroom Adventism, the Shut Door, and the sanctuary¹ and C. M. Maxwell has provided helpful perspective on the Sealing Message theology;² but it was not the purpose of these scholars to situate these ideas within the context of the entire period. As one examines the limited body of literature on the period, certain vitally important developments have not been treated. For example, the prominent and significant role of Emily Clemons and the Pearson brothers has been scarcely mentioned. Again, while the story has been told of the remarkable events surrounding the writing of Bates' *Vindication of the Seventh-day Sabbath*³ and certain aspects of the 1848 evangelistic conferences have been considered,⁴ their vital connection to the Sabbath discussions in the *Bible Advocate* has been largely overlooked. Yet again, while T. M. Preble's tract on

¹E.g., Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 103-135.

²E.g., C. M. Maxwell, "Joseph Bates and Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath Theology," 352-363.

³E.g., Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists*, 110-114; Maxwell, *Tell It to the World*, 74-84.

⁴E.g., Martinborough, "The Beginning of a Theology of the Sabbath," 122-146.

the Sabbath has been carefully studied,¹ the fairly extensive Sabbath promotion by spiritualizing Bridegroom Adventists has been neglected. These represent a few of the instances of selective examination that demonstrate the need for a detailed chronological and theological progression.

Another significant contribution of this study has been the gathering and categorizing of the various Bridegroom-related periodicals of the period. An understanding of the theological developments during the period of this study was enhanced by the discovery of the March 1845 issue of O. R. L. Crosier's *Day-Dawn* and the compilation of previously scattered issues of the *Voice of Truth* and various other obscure papers. The rich periodical resources for this period were essential for reconstructing the progression and interaction of people and ideas.

To adequately represent the significance and progression of the connected development of the Sabbath, the sanctuary, and Ellen G. White's role, a brief outline of the theological and chronological stages of each is here presented.

Sabbath

As demonstrated in the first chapter, Seventh Day Baptists introduced the Sabbath to Millerite Adventists a few years before 1844. Many accepted the Sabbath, and that interest continued following the disappointment. Between October 1844 and July 1849 the Sabbath went through several distinct theological phases within Bridegroom and Sabbatarian Adventism.

1. During February and March 1845 T. M. Preble presented the importance of the seventh-day Sabbath through an article in the *Hope of Israel* that he subsequently

¹E.g., Damsteegt, *Foundations*, 137, 138.

published as a tract. Following the Seventh Day Baptist rationale, Preble argued for the perpetuity of the Sabbath based on its creation/Edenic and Ten Commandment origin. He also believed that the Sabbath would be restored to its proper place among God's people before the Second Advent.

2. From the late spring until the end of 1845 the spiritualizing and more extreme advocates of Bridegroom Adventism captured the Sabbath and gave a new basis for its observance. Instead of looking to Creation or even to the Ten Commandments, they linked the Sabbath to particular "ordinances" or "commandments" such as footwashing, the salutation kiss, and baptism. During this time the future leaders of Sabbatarian Adventism were not particularly interested in the Sabbath. Even Bates, who had accepted the Sabbath through Preble, had become uncertain and inactive in promoting the Sabbath. The spiritualizers' extremes probably also influenced James White and Ellen Harmon in their indifference to or neglect of the Sabbath during 1845.

3. After the collapse of Bridegroom Adventism, Bates again focused on the Sabbath and in August 1846 published the *Seventh-day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*. He entirely discarded the spiritualizers' basis for Sabbath observance and re-established Preble's Seventh Day Baptist creation-and-Ten-Commandment line of reasoning. After reading this tract James and Ellen White finally adopted sabbatarianism.

4. In January of 1847 Bates gave the Sabbath new eschatological significance by linking it to the Ark of the Covenant in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. This seminal view would continue to grow in importance and scope during 1848 and 1849.

5. Through the last half of 1847 and the first months of 1848 the Sabbath

received extensive consideration in the *Bible Advocate*. This was unique in several ways. It was the first time that the Sabbath had been discussed openly from both sides outside of Bridegroom Adventism. Additionally, the Sabbath proponents in the *Bible Advocate* were generally opposed to the Shut Door. Shut Door advocates like Bates and the Whites were frequently discussed but never allowed to participate in the discussion through the *Bible Advocate*. The two principal contributors, J. B. Cook and Joseph Turner, both argued for the perpetuity of the seventh-day Sabbath but disagreed on whether it was Saturday or Sunday. In the end, both abandoned the Sabbath and left the field to the Shut-Door Sabbatarians.

6. As the *Bible Advocate* Sabbath discussions concluded, the Whites and Bates decided to begin holding conferences for the purpose of promoting the linkage of the Sabbath and the heavenly sanctuary. These evangelistic conferences, which began in April 1848, greatly strengthened Sabbatarian Adventism.

7. The most significant concept to emerge from the evangelistic conferences was the Sealing Message. During the fall of 1848 and first months of 1849, the Sabbath came to be seen as the seal of God. By keeping it, believers were sealed into the 144,000 and prepared to stand during the Time of Trouble and at the Second Coming of Jesus. This defining development gave the Sabbath enormous significance by further enhancing its linkage to Jesus' Most Holy Place work in the heavenly sanctuary and by providing new evangelistic fervor to gather the scattered remnant. It was the Sealing Message that finally propelled Sabbatarian Adventism from obscurity to prominence through the publication of the new periodical *Present Truth*.

Sanctuary

The development of heavenly sanctuary understanding between 1844 and 1849 is chronologically divided into two parts—first the period from October 1844 to the summer of 1846 and then the period from the summer of 1846 to summer 1849. During the first period the Bridegroom view was presented through the *Advent Mirror*. From this initial presentation, three seemingly independent strains of heavenly sanctuary thought emerged and with modification were integrated in O. R. L. Crosier's February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* Extra article. The second period saw a clear delineation between the Holy and Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. This was largely due to the linkage of the sanctuary and the Sabbath in the context of the Midnight Cry of October 1844. These developments provided an expanded theological and practical relevance.

1. During January 1845 Apollos Hale and Joseph Turner published the *Advent Mirror*. While not specifically promoting the heavenly sanctuary, it provided a foundation that supported the heavenly sanctuary views of Ellen Harmon, Emily Clemons, and O. R. L. Crosier, which are described under the next three numbers.

2. During February 1845 Ellen Harmon's Bridegroom vision in Exeter, Maine, represented God the Father and then Jesus as changing locations in heaven. In this new place Jesus served as the great High Priest. Those who refused to follow Jesus were shut out. Though close to the descriptions of the wedding as given in the *Advent Mirror*, Ellen Harmon gave the heavenly movement a sanctuary overtone by placing Jesus in a high priestly capacity. This perspective would eventually merge with Crosier's view and would become particularly relevant during 1847 when the Sabbath was linked to the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary.

3. About the same time as Ellen Harmon's Bridegroom vision, the Harvest Message of the Fourth Angel presented by J. D. Pickands influenced Emily Clemons to focus on the heavenly sanctuary from an experiential perspective. The Harvest Message said that, through prayer, believers could be sanctified and thus hasten the Second Coming. From this idea Clemons began to write about humans, who were the house of God, being cleansed from sin. She soon linked personal sanctification to the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary and defined it in terms of the New Covenant. Clemons promoted this view during the late spring and summer of 1845 through her new Portland, Maine, paper—*Hope Within the Veil*.

4. During March 1845 O. R. L. Crosier published his expansion of the Bridegroom concept presented in the *Advent Mirror* in a new paper titled the *Day-Dawn*. He suggested that a special extended atonement ministry of Jesus in the heavenly sanctuary could explain the delay in the Second Coming. This single issue published in Western New York also circulated in the East, and by the summer of 1845 Crosier was associating with Clemons by providing articles for *Hope Within the Veil*. It is from his pen that we gain the most detailed account of how Clemons abandoned her views. During the fall of 1845 Crosier continued to expand his ideas as he wrote on sanctuary typology and the extended atonement. The most mature expression of his views was published on February 7, 1846, in an Extra issue of the *Day-Star*. Crosier said that Jesus had begun a special work in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary in October 1844 in preparation for the Second Coming.

5. Joseph Bates, James White, and Ellen Harmon accepted Crosier's sanctuary explanation during the spring of 1846. By early 1847 Bates began to link the Sabbath

message to the Most Holy Place ministry of Jesus in the heavenly sanctuary. By using Revelation 11:19 and Revelation 14:12 he argued that because the Most Holy Place had been opened in heaven, the Ark of the Covenant with the Ten Commandments and the Sabbath had been brought to light. This vital integration, in its apocalyptic context, gave the Sabbath an urgent eschatological importance. The Whites joined Bates in promoting this new view.

6. Finally, during 1848 and 1849 the *Sealing Message* fully integrated the Most Holy Place ministry of Jesus as High Priest in the heavenly sanctuary with an urgent proclamation of the Sabbath as the seal of God. The Shut Door was linked to the partition between the Holy and Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. Though the door to the Holy Place had been closed, a new door had been opened into the Most Holy Place. The sealing of the 144,000 would occur as a result of the Sabbath message in the context of the Most Holy Place ministry of Jesus. This unique joining of the sanctuary and the Sabbath in the context of the Second Coming became the foundational theological perspective for Sabbatarian Adventism.

Ellen White's Role

Vital elements in the progression from disappointment and confusion in October 1844 to confidence and theological unity in July 1849 were Ellen White's visions and prophetic influence. Her influence did not play as major a role during the Bridegroom phase of 1845 and early 1846 as during the Sabbatarian Adventist phase from the fall of 1846 and onward.

1. Ellen White's first visions confirmed the prophetic importance of the October 1844 experience and presented the idea that Jesus as the Bridegroom and High Priest had

changed His location and work in heaven. She thus influenced the development of the heavenly sanctuary perspective and confirmed the prophetic significance of the Midnight Cry.

2. During 1845 White's main role was to counter various extreme views within Bridegroom Adventism. She confronted mesmerism in the person of Joseph Turner and battled with those who claimed complete sanctification to justify inappropriate mixed-gender activities. She further confronted extreme literalizers who crawled on the ground to demonstrate their humility and spiritualizers who denied the personhood of Jesus. These struggles gave her an independence that transcended her young age and emotional insecurity. Constrained to follow her visions and revelations, she found herself in solid opposition to influential people and confusing ideas that were shaking Bridegroom Adventism.

3. Through the year and a half following October 1844 White's visions became widely known among Adventists but her influence seems to have remained local and intermittent. During early 1846 she described her major visions in letters to the *Day-Star* and in a broadside. As the Bridegroom Adventist movement collapsed, she was firmly settled in the literalist view of end-time events and the Second Coming. Her visions also supported Crosier's sanctuary views as published in the February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* Extra.

4. Her position of relative obscurity quickly transitioned to prominence among Sabbatarian Adventists beginning in the fall of 1846. Soon after she and James White embraced the Sabbath, Bates acknowledged the legitimacy of Ellen White's prophetic gift. From then on Ellen White played an integral role in the Sabbatarian Adventist

movement by interacting with and enriching new theological developments. By 1848 and 1849 her visions were playing a guiding role in applying theology to pastoral and lifestyle issues.

Integration

The preceding pages have shown the progressive development and integration of the Sabbath, the sanctuary, and Ellen White's role. By 1849 these elements had joined to give Sabbatarian Adventism a unique and viable theological foundation. After all of the confused and shifting views held by Bridegroom Adventists, there finally emerged a clear and defensible view that remained true to the original October 1844 Midnight Cry message.

One of the significant results of the new integrated Sabbath and sanctuary view was a clearer understanding of the Shut Door. From the October 1844 disappointment onward it had been problematic and divisive for Millerite Adventists. During the years from 1844 to 1849 the meaning of the Shut Door went through a progressive transformation of meaning. It is important to trace this historical progression through its three major stages. While the views presented here are somewhat simplistic and do not represent every Shut-Door view held by Millerite Adventists, they do represent the major progression of thought between October 1844 and the summer of 1849.

It must first be understood that the Shut-Door view was entirely dependent on the Millerite prophetic chronology concluding in October 1844. The two ideas were inseparable. At first William Miller and many Millerite Adventists believed that probation was closed for the world on or about the tenth day of the seventh month. During the short remaining time they were determined to wait for the Second Coming.

The second stage began as 1844 ended. Those who continued to believe that something important had happened in the Midnight Cry movement settled on a Bridegroom explanation for the delay. The *Advent Mirror* presented the view that Jesus had gone into the wedding and that the door was shut. They understood this to mean that no more sinners would be converted, though they did allow that sincere individuals who had not rejected the truth could still find salvation. The *Advent Mirror* provided the baseline Shut-Door view through 1846.

The third stage emerged between 1847 and 1849. The definition of the Shut Door took on expanded and additional meanings. This was due to the new integrated view of the Sabbath and sanctuary. Rather than linking the Shut Door to just the Matthew 25 Bridegroom idea, the focus turned to the heavenly sanctuary and its two apartments—the Holy and Most Holy Place. Since Jesus had moved from the Holy to the Most Holy, the Shut Door came to refer to the partition between these two apartments. Though the door to the Holy Place had been shut in October 1844, Jesus had opened the door to the second apartment of the heavenly sanctuary and begun a new work. For them the open door of the Most Holy Place had brought to light the Sealing Message. The Sabbath needed to be proclaimed in order for the 144,000 to be sealed. As they looked around and saw the scattered “little flock” they realized that a great work still needed to be done. Thus due to the Sealing Message, the term “Shut Door” began to acquire an evangelistic sense. By 1849 it had become a general term that embodied the new theological understanding that integrated the Sabbath and the sanctuary and explained the entire 1844 experience.

To summarize, the definition of the Shut Door progressed through three stages during the period of this study. It first affirmed that prophecy had in fact been fulfilled

on October 22 or 23, 1844, and that the door of probation for the world had closed. Next it was linked to the Bridegroom view and the idea that the sincere could still be saved but sinners could no longer be converted. Then the meaning was dramatically revised as the Shut Door was applied to the partition between the Holy and Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. The open door of the Most Holy Place had brought to light the Sabbath as the seal of God and the need for the 144,000 throughout the earth to hear the Sabbath message.

A fourth and final stage that completed the Shut-Door understanding for Sabbatarian Adventists occurred after the time period of this study. It was finally settled that while Jesus was in the Most Holy Place and the Sealing Message progressed, sinners could in fact be converted.

While it is helpful to understand that the definition of the Shut Door was progressively changing during the five years following October 1844, it is also necessary to realize that even as late as 1849 some ambiguity and confusion remained as Sabbatarian Adventists struggled to clarify the implications of their new theological understanding. Their use of the term Shut Door remained fluid and might be applied variously to any of the described perspectives. Even as late as 1849 the new theological imperative of the Sealing Message remained somewhat disconnected from their experience. This is perhaps one of the main reasons why historians have struggled to understand the various Shut-Door statements during the time period from 1844 to 1849. It took time for Bates and the Whites to change their language and sort out the theological implications of their new understanding.

For them, the underlying motivation was to be faithful to the original Millerite message on the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation. They firmly believed that the tenth day of the seventh month in 1844 had brought the fulfillment of the prophetic periods. By the late 1840s the general term “Shut Door” represented their faith in 1844 and explained why the Second Coming had been delayed.

Future Study

Perhaps the most troubling aspect of this study has been the lack of certain key primary sources. These include key periodicals and correspondence. Non-extant periodicals include all but one of the issues of the *Hope of Israel* during 1844 and 1845, the *Hope Within the Veil* during the summer of 1845, some missing issues of the *Jubilee Standard*, an unknown number of issues from the *Girdle of Truth*, and the *Day-Dawn* issues published between August 1846 and March 1847. If these papers were available, undoubtedly our understanding of this period would be expanded and enriched and perhaps changed. Fortunately, there are enough extant publications to give reasonable certainty to the development and conclusions presented here. Another vital primary source is correspondence. It is fortunate that we have available the letters sent to Leonard and Elvira Hastings in New Ipswich, New Hampshire. These letters give much valuable information on the activities and perspectives of James and Ellen White and Joseph Bates. The main weakness is that the Hastings correspondence to and from others is no longer extant.

Future discoveries of primary sources would provide a valuable opportunity to expand and perhaps modify the research presented here. There are still uncertainties surrounding some of Ellen Harmon’s interactions, particularly during 1845. Information

also remains sketchy on Emily Clemons and John and Charles Pearson and their views during 1845. In addition, the lack of a regular Sabbatarian Adventist periodical and extant correspondence leaves many questions regarding the various general and local evangelistic conferences during 1848 and 1849, and the role of Hiram Edson in the sanctuary development remains somewhat perplexing. The manuscript written by him late in his life is incomplete and seems to contain discrepancies with other primary sources from the late 1840s. New materials will probably have to be discovered to further explain his role.

There are several areas of study that still need scholarly attention. It would be very helpful to investigate other doctrinal perspectives held by non-Sabbatarian Adventists during the post-1844 disappointment period. More careful research is needed to expand our understanding of what was believed regarding the non-immortality of the soul, the millennium, and the many differing time-setting schemes.

Of course, Sabbatarian Adventist history did not end in 1849. It would be helpful to continue beyond 1849 in studying the Sabbath, the sanctuary, Ellen White's role and the implications of the new Shut-Door perspective. Additionally, the 1850s led to the development of a theology of spiritual gifts. A better understanding of these and other related topics would further round out what has been presented here.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Materials

Essay on Archives and Manuscript Collections

This essay describes the principal archives, collections, and unpublished sources used in this study. Published materials will be treated in the final section of the Bibliography.

American Antiquarian Society Worcester, Massachusetts

The American Antiquarian Society contains many rare, one of a kind, publications related to nineteenth-century American Adventism. These include Joseph Bates' *Way Marks and High Heaps* (1847), Millerite broadsides, and four circa 1850 tracts by Joseph Turner. Their periodical holdings are particularly rich. Besides having the most extensive collection of the *Voice of Truth*, they have the "Second Advent Collection" donated by noted Adventist author and historian Daniel T. Taylor in 1860. There are about seventy titles of Adventist-related papers in his periodical collection, including a number of papers that are extremely significant to this study. Among them are unique issues of the *Bible Examiner*, *Day-Dawn*, *Girdle of Truth and Advent Review*, *Gospel Standard*, *Hope of Israel*, *Jubilee Standard*, Joseph Bates' broadside "A Vision," and a *Bible Advocate* Extra issue.

**Archives and Special Collections,
Loma Linda University,
Loma Linda, California**

The department of Archives and Special Collections and the Ellen G. White Estate Branch office are physically and administratively integrated at Loma Linda University. Like other Branch offices, many of the Ellen White-related resources located at the main office in Silver Spring, Maryland, are available in copy form at Loma Linda. The C. Burton Clark Heritage Room and the archive contain an extensive collection of Adventist-related monographs, serials, dissertations, theses, document files, photographs, artifacts, ephemera, correspondence, and manuscript collections.

**Atlanta Bible College,
Morrow, Georgia**

The Atlanta Bible College provides pastoral training for the Church of God—Abrahamic Faith. The college is located at denominational headquarters. For this study the primary resources include a photograph of Joseph Marsh and a few issues of the *Voice of Truth* and *Bible Examiner* found nowhere else.

**Aurora University, Jenks
Memorial Library,
Aurora, Illinois**

Aurora University used to operate a seminary for the Advent Christian Church. Their library still holds the Jenks Memorial collection of Millerite and post-Millerite materials. They have the most extensive original collection of Millerite-related published and unpublished resources. Their periodical resource is particularly rich. The majority of the periodicals used in this study are held at the Jenks Memorial Library. Most of the collection has been published in the Millerite and early Adventist University Microfilms

series based on the bibliographic essay in Edwin Gaustad's *The Rise of Adventism*.

Besides the periodical collection, the most important holdings pertinent to this study are the incoming William Miller correspondence from 1837 to 1847. Sylvester Bliss used this collection, which originally was housed in Miller's personal storage trunk, in preparing his 1853 *Memoirs of William Miller*. One particularly valuable manuscript is the Otis Nichols autograph letter to William Miller written on the back of Ellen White's first broadside.

**Canandaigua Historical Society,
Canandaigua, New York**

The historical society in Canandaigua contains background information on the history of the town together with publications, periodicals, and genealogical information. It was in the microfilm collection of the *Ontario Messenger* that Crosier's earliest article on the sanctuary was found. The first issue of the *Day-Dawn* was discovered published on the back page of the March 22, 1845, issue. Additional background information was found on O. R. L. Crosier and Dr. Franklin B. Hahn in newspapers, various publications, and papers in the document files.

**Chestnut Street Methodist Episcopal Church,
Portland, Maine**

The Chestnut Street Church holds the original minutes and records of the congregation. Of particular interest for this study are the Member Ledger and Church History, "The Rise of Methodism in Portland," 1827-1885; the "Alphabetical List of Members of the Chestnut Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Portland, Maine," circa 1851; and the "Record of Leader's Meetings," 1836-1845. These records all mention the

Robert Harmon family. The “Record of Leaders Meetings” in particular makes repeated reference to Robert Harmon and his various labors and contributions to the Chestnut Street Church. Another manuscript volume of the quarterly meeting records is no longer locatable at the Church, though a copy of the removal from membership of the Harmon family was copied some years ago and is in the possession of this author.

**Center for Adventist Research, James White
Library, Andrews University,
Berrien Springs, Michigan**

The Adventist Heritage Center and Ellen G. White Estate Branch office are located together but administrated separately in the James White Library. The Adventist Heritage Center has a vast array of Adventist-related materials, including an extensive collection of monographs, serials, photographs, artifacts, dissertations, theses, research papers, correspondence, and numerous manuscript collections. The principal manuscript resource used in this study was the Hiram Edson autograph written by him later in life that recollects his experiences during the period of this study. The White Estate Branch Office has an extensive document file and duplicate and original material from the Ellen G. White Estate main office in Silver Spring, Maryland.

**Cincinnati Historical Society Library
Cincinnati, Ohio**

This archive is located in the basement of the imposing Cincinnati train station. It is nicely situated and has modern amenities. The newspaper resources contain some extensive articles on Millerite Adventism in the Cincinnati area and the rest of Ohio. They also have a volume of the *Western Midnight Cry!* and the *Day-Star*, though all of their issues are also found in other archives.

**Connecticut State Library,
Hartford, Connecticut**

The State Library at Hartford contains church records for the First Congregational Church, Granby, Connecticut, which gives genealogical information on the Clemons family and some background on the individuals named in the *Bible Advocate*. Additionally, the State Library contains city directories and information on Connecticut geography and towns.

**Ellen G. White Estate, Main Office,
General Conference of Seventh-day
Adventists, Silver Spring, Maryland**

The Ellen G. White Estate is one of the most important archives for this study. In addition to Ellen G. White's unpublished letter and manuscript file, the incoming correspondence to Ellen White and her office proved helpful. The White Estate also has a collection of James White letters; in autograph, record book, and typed form. The correspondence to Leonard and Elvira Hastings is included in this collection. These important letters are augmented by original correspondence from Joseph Bates and recollections by other early Adventists. Another valuable resource is the "Life Sketches" manuscript of Ellen G. White prepared for her autobiographical publications. The White Estate also has an extensive document file that includes unpublished manuscripts and research papers. Finally, it should be noted that this archive also contains Adventist-related monographs and periodicals.

**First Congregational Church,
Canandaigua, New York**

The one item of importance to this study from the church records was

membership information on Franklin and Maria Hahn and their family.

**Lincoln Christian College, Enos E.
Dowling Rare Book Room,
Lincoln, Illinois**

This library and archive contains extensive resources on the Christian Church. Enos E. Dowling, for whom the rare book room is named, compiled into twenty-six volumes the collected works of Elias Smith. These are “home bound” and photocopied but still are the best assembling of materials by Smith. He made several other compilations as well. The college has a good set of the *Christian Palladium* from 1832 to 1860 and other primary works by restorationist Christian groups. The emphasis of the collection is on the Kentucky branch and Barton W. Stone.

**Maine Historical Society,
Portland, Maine**

This major archive is located behind the William Wadsworth Longfellow home and contains a comprehensive collection of Maine-related census records, manuscripts, scrapbooks, pictures, maps, and publications. Of particular value to this study are the extensive Maine newspaper resources that document public reaction to Millerites during 1844-1849. The Persis Sibley Andrews diaries and papers for the years 1829-1862 are a particularly valuable resource that describes Paris Hill, Maine, Millerite families such as the Andrews and Stevens.

**Massachusetts Historical Society,
Boston, Massachusetts**

The most important Millerite Adventist resource held at this historical society is the J. V. Himes collection, which contains correspondence by J. V. Himes, letters to him,

and letters by others (particularly S. Bliss who worked with Himes in the *Advent Herald* office). The period from 1844-1847 is particularly rich, with the quantity tapering off during 1850 to 1857. Much of the Himes correspondence is written to William Miller. This correspondence was at one time combined with Miller's incoming correspondence at Aurora University.

The Society also has two journals of J. V. Himes. These are mostly cutout copies of his travel notations in his various periodicals. Volume 1 covers the period from 1852-1859. Volume 2 continues from 1860-1864. There are various scraps of paper, leaves, and handwritten diary entries in these volumes.

**Private Collection of James R. Nix
Laurel, Maryland**

Certain items that were helpful to this study were found in the personal collection of James R. Nix. These include a broadside published by R. C. Gorgas and copies of rare newspapers and tracts related to the period covered in this study.

**Rochester Historical Society,
Rochester, New York**

The Rochester Historical Society contains information on the Rochester Collegiate Institute where Emily Clemons taught during 1843. This information was contained in the pamphlet file.

**Salmon Brook Historical Society,
Granby, Connecticut**

The Historical Society in Granby, Connecticut, has a number of records that clarify the family background of Emily C. Clemons. These include the record book of

the Social Literary Society, Granby, Connecticut (July 23, 1812, to about 1820).

**Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society,
General Conference, Janesville,
Wisconsin**

The Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society, located at the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, is the official depository for Seventh Day Baptist local church records as well as the most extensive collection of monographs and serials related to the Seventh Day Baptist denomination. One particularly significant local church record is the minutes of the Verona, New York, Seventh Day Baptist Church, 1811-1860. These minutes contain a number of references to Rachael Oaks who successfully promoted the Sabbath among Millerite Adventists in Washington, New Hampshire, and nearby towns.

**Western Reserve Historical Society,
Cleveland, Ohio**

The Western Reserve has a Shaker collection that contains materials that help clarify the relationship between Ohio Shaker communities and Adventists. They also have perhaps the best collection of Ohio papers edited by Enoch Jacobs, including the *Western Midnight Cry!* and the *Day-Star*. Other resources include materials by or about Charles Fitch, a Millerite preacher.

Theses, Dissertations, and Papers

Arthur, David T. "‘Come out of Babylon’: A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism, 1840-1865." Ph.D. diss, University of Rochester, 1970.

_____. "Joshua V. Himes and the Cause of Adventism: 1839-1845." M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1961.

Bangert, Kurt. "A Summary and Appraisal of O. R. L. Crosier's Article in the *Day-Star* Extra." Term paper, Andrews University, 1974.

- Burt, Merlin D. "Ellen G. Harmon's Three Step Conversion Between 1836 and 1843 and the Harmon Family Methodist Experience." Term paper, Andrews University, 1998.
- _____. "Ellen G. White and Religious Enthusiasm in Early Adventist Experience." Unpublished paper presented at Historical/Theological Consultation, June 17-19, 1998. Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD.
- _____. "Emily C. Clemons and the Developing Sanctuary Doctrine During 1845." Term paper, Andrews University, 1997.
- Dean, David A. "Echoes of the Midnight Cry: The Millerite Heritage in the Apologetics of the Advent Christian Denomination, 1860-1960." Th.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1977.
- Dick, Everett Newfon. "The Adventist Crisis of 1843-1844." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1930.
- Doan, Ruth A. "The Miller Heresy, Millennialism and American Culture." Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1984.
- Fisel, Fernand. "The Vision in the Cornfield: History or Apologetics?" N.d. Ellen G. White Estate Branch Office, Loma Linda, CA.
- Haddock, Robert. "A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Advent Movement: 1800-1915." B.D. thesis, Andrews University, June 1970.
- Haloviak, Bert. "From Millerism through the Scattering, to the Third Angel: Ellen White and Light from the Most Holy Place, 1844-1851." Paper presented at the meeting of the Andrews Society for Religious Studies in San Francisco, December 16-18, 1981. Ellen G. White Estate Branch Office, Loma Linda, CA.
- Loughborough, J. N., "Some Individual Experience: A Companion to the Book, *The Great Advent Movement*." October 27, 1918. Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD.
- Martinborough, Gordon O. "The Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath among American Sabbatarian Adventists." M.A. thesis, Loma Linda University, June 1976.
- Maxwell, C. Mervyn. "Hiram Edson Manuscript Fragment." Unpublished paper, n.d.
- _____, ed. "Source Book for the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Theology." Rev. ed. Berrien Springs, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1986.
- Nix, James R. "The Life and Work of Hiram Edson." Term paper, Andrew University, 1971.

- Nixon, Hilary Arthur. "Typology of the Mosaic Tabernacle and Its Articles as Interpreted by Authors of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 1984.
- Olson, Robert W. "The 'Shut Door' Documents: Statements Relating to the 'Shut Door,' the Door of Mercy, and the Salvation of Souls by Ellen G. White and Other Early Adventists." 1982. Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD.
- Poehler, Rolf J. "'... And the Door was Shut:' Seventh-day Adventists and the Shut-Door Doctrine in the Decade after the Great Disappointment." Term paper, Andrew University, 1978.
- Ringer, Wesley. "The Shut Door and the Sanctuary: Historical and Theological Problems for [the] Southern California Conference of Seventh-day Adventists." Research paper, San Gabriel Academy, CA, 1982.
- Rowe, David L. "Northern Millerites and Virginia Millennialists, 1838-1847." M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1972.
- _____. "Thunder and Trumpets: The Millerite Movement and Apocalyptic Thought in Upstate New York, 1800-1845." Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1974.
- Steiner, Stanley J. "William Miller: His Travels, Disappointments and Faith." M.A. thesis, Texas Christian University, 1970.
- Timm, Alberto Roland. "O. R. L. Crosier: A Biographical Introduction." Term paper, Andrews University, 1991.
- _____. "The Sanctuary and the Three Angels' Messages, 1844-1863: Integrating Factors in the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Doctrines." 2 vols. Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1995.
- White, Arthur L. "Ellen G. White and the Shut Door Question: A Review of 'The Experiences of the Early Seventh-day Adventists Believers in Its [*sic*] Historical Context.'" Rev. ed. Ellen G. White Estate shelf document, 1982.
- Winslow, Guy Herbert. "Ellen Gould White and Seventh-day Adventism." Ph.D. diss., Clark University, 1932.

Published Materials

Primary Serials

Advent Harbinger, 1847-1848.

Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate, 1848-1854.

Advent Herald and Signs of the Times Reporter, 1846-1855.

Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion, 1844.

Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, 1850-1907.

Advent Mirror, 1845.

Advent Shield and Review, 1844-1845.

Advent Testimony, 1846.

Bangor Courier, 1845.

Bangor Whig and Courier, 1845.

Bible Advocate, 1846-1847.

Bible Examiner, 1843-1853.

Christian Palladium, 1840-1841.

Cincinnati Morning Herald, 1844-1845.

Constitution, 1848.

Daily Eastern Argus, 1845-1846.

Daily Messenger, 1923.

Day-Dawn, 1845-1847.

Day-Star, 1845-1847.

Eastern Argus, 1845-1846.

Girdle of Truth and Advent Review, 1847-1848.

Gospel Standard, 1844-1845.

Health Reformer, 1877.

Hope of Israel, 1845.

Jubilee Standard, 1845.

Maine History, 2000.

Maine Wesleyan Journal, 1840-1841.

Manifesto, 1891.

Midnight Cry!, 1842-1844.

Morning Star, 1848.

Morning Watch, 1845.

New York Observer, 1845.

Oberlin Evangelist, 1843-1845.

Ontario Messenger, 1844-1845.

Ontario Repository, 1845.

Christian Palladium, 1832-1845

Piscataquis Farmer, 1844-1845.

Portland Advertiser, 1844-1845.

Portland Tribune, 1844-1845.

Present Truth, 1849-1850.

Sharp Sword with Two Edges!—Truth from Heaven!, 1851.

Sure Word of Prophecy, 1844-1845.

Seventh Day Baptist Recorder, 1841-1850.

Seventh Day Baptist Register, 1841.

Signs of the Times, 1876.

Signs of the Times and Expositor of Prophecy, 1840-1844.

Sentinel and Witness, 1848.

Southern Watchman, 1905.

Tribune and Bulletin, 1846.

True Day-Star, 1845.

True Midnight Cry, 1844.

Trump of Jubilee, 1846.

Voice of the Shepherd, 1845.

Voice of Truth and Glad Tidings, 1844-1846.

The Watchman, 1905.

Western Christian Advocate, 1844-1846.

Western General Advertiser, 1844.

Western Midnight Cry!!!, 1843-1845.

World's Crisis, 1874-1875.

Primary Books and Pamphlets

The Advent Harp: Designed for Believers in the Speedy Coming of Christ. Boston: J. V. Himes, 1849.

Allan, Stephen, and W. H. Pilsbury. *History of Methodism in Maine, 1793-1886*. Augusta, ME: Charles E. Nash, 1887.

An Apology for Introducing the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment to the Consideration of the Christian Public. Sabbath Tracts, vol. 1, no. 1. New York: Sabbath Tract Society, James B. Swain, August 1842.

Andrews, J. N. *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: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing, 1862.

_____. *A Review of the Remarks of O. R. L. Crosier on the Institution, Design and Abolition of the Sabbath*. N.p., [1852].

_____. *Thoughts on the Sabbath and Perpetuity of the Law of God*. Paris, ME: James White, 1851.

Bailey, James. *History of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference: From its Origin, September 1802, to its Fifty-third Session, September 1865*. Toledo, OH: S. Bailey and Company, 1866.

Bates, Joseph. *The Autobiography of Elder Joseph Bates; Embracing a Long Life on Shipboard, with Sketches of Voyages on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Baltic and Mediterranean Seas; Also Impressment and Service on Board British War Ships, Long Confinement in Dartmoor Prison, Early Experience in Reformatory Movements; Travels in Various Parts of the World; and a Brief Account of the Great Advent Movement of 1840-44*. Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist, 1868.

_____. *An Explanation of the Typical and Antitypical Sanctuary by the Scriptures with a Chart*. New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1850.

_____. *The Opening Heavens, or a Connected View of the Testimony of the Prophets and Apostles, Concerning the Opening Heavens, Compared with Astronomical Observations, and of the Present and Future Location of the New Jerusalem, the Paradise of God*. New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1846.

_____. *A Seal of the Living God: A Hundred Forty-four Thousand, of the Servants of God Being Sealed in 1849*. New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1849.

_____. *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps, or a Connected View of the Fulfillment of Prophecy by God's Peculiar People, from the year 1840 to 1847*. New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1847.

_____. *The Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign, from the Beginning, to the Entering into the Gates of the Holy City, According to the Commandment*. New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1846.

_____. *The Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign, from the Beginning, to the Entering into the Gates of the Holy City, According to the Commandment*. 2d ed., rev. and enl. New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1847.

_____. *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 Lindsey, 1848.

Beckett, S. B. *The Portland Reference Book, and City Directory for 1846*. Portland, ME: Thurston, Fenley & Co., 1846.

_____. *The Portland Reference Book, and City Directory for 1847-8*. Portland, ME: Thurston & Co., 1847.

Begg, James A. *An Examination of the Authority for a Change of the Weekly Sabbath at the Resurrection of Christ; Proving that the Practice of the Church in Substituting*

the First Day of the Week, for the Appointed Seventh Day, Is Unsanctioned by the New Testament Scriptures. Glasgow: Published by the Author, 1850.

Bliss, Sylvester. *Memoirs of William Miller, Generally Known as a Lecturer on the Prophecies and the Second Coming of Christ.* Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1853.

Burbeck, William. "The Weekly Sabbath: Authority of the Change of the Day." In *The Sabbath Day: Remember to Keep it Holy*. Sabbath Tracts, no. 1, vol. 3. New York: Sabbath Tract Society, November 1842.

Cook, J. B. *A Solemn Appeal to Ministers and Churches: Especially to those of the Baptist Denomination, Relative to the Speedy Coming of Christ.* Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1843.

_____. *The True Source of Immortality: Or a Brief Inquiry Into the Origin of the Doctrine, that the Soul of Man is a Distinctive Immortal—an Embryo Angel Dwelling in His Body—that Death is a Separation of this Spiritual Being from the Body; and that it Passes to Its Reward When this Separation Takes Place.* Hartford, CT: William H. Burleigh, 1847.

Curtis, Eli., comp. *The Millennial Messenger.* New York: N.p., 1861.

Defense of Elder Joshua V. Himes: Being a History of the Fanaticism, Puerilities and Secret Workings of Those Who, under the Garb of Friendship, Have Proved the Most Deadly Enemies of the Advent Cause. Boston: N.p., 1851.

Dickinson, S. N. *The Boston Almanac for the Year 1844.* Boston: Thomas Groom & Co., n.d.

_____. *The Boston Almanac for the Year 1845.* Boston: Thomas Groom & Co., n.d.

The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford, 1842.

Dupee, James A. 1843: *Gill's Nashua and Nashville Directory.* Nashville, NH: Charles T. Gill, 1843.

Elwood, James L., and Dellen M. Dewey. *A Directory and Gazetteer of the City of Rochester for 1844 Containing an Alphabetical List of All the Heads of Families, Businessmen, and Mechanics, with their Several Places of Residence; Also, Brief Notices of Most of the Religious, Literary and Benevolent Associations of the City, Military and Fire Departments, etc., etc., etc.* Rochester, NY: Canfield and Warren, 1844.

Fitch, Charles. *Come Out of Her My People: A Sermon.* Rochester, NY: J. V. Himes, 1843.

_____. *The Glory of God in the Earth.* Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842.

- Foy, William. *The Christian Experience of William E. Foy Together with the Two Visions He Received in the Months of Jan. and Feb. 1842*. Portland, ME: J. and C. H. Pearson, 1845.
- Gorgas, C. R. "In Honor of the King of Kings." Broadside. Printed about October 16, 1844.
- Hale, Apollos. *Herald of the Bridegroom! In Which the Plagues that Await the Enemies of the King Eternal Are Considered; and the Appearing of Our Lord to Gather His Saints. . . .* Boston: Joshua V. Himes, December 1, 1843.
- _____. *Second Advent Manual: In Which the Objections to Calculating the Prophetic Times Are Considered; the Difficulties Connected with the Calculation Explained; and the Facts and Arguments on Which Mr. Miller's Calculations Rest, Are Briefly Stated and Sustained*. Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1843.
- Harmon, Ellen G. "To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad." Broadside. Portland, ME: James White, April 6, 1846.
- Harris, Harlowe. *The Portland Directory for the Year 1841*. Portland, ME: Arthur Shirley & Son, 1840.
- _____. *The Portland Directory for the Year 1844*. Portland, ME: Thurston, Hisley & Co., 1844.
- Himes, J. V. *Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology: Selected from the Manuscripts of William Miller, with a Memoir of His Life*. Boston: Moses A. Dow, 1841.
- Jones, A. D. *Memoir of Elder Abner Jones*. Boston: William Crosby, 1842.
- Labagh, Isaac P. "The Weekly Sabbath: A History of Its Observance Since the Apostles." In *The Sabbath Day: Remember to Keep it Holy*. Sabbath Tracts, no. 4, vol. 1. New York: Sabbath Tract Society, April 1843.
- Lapham, William B., and Silas P. Maxim. *History of Paris Maine: From Its Settlement to 1880 with a History of the Grants of 1736 & 1771 together with Personal Sketches, a Copious Genealogical Register and an Appendix*. Paris, ME: Printed for the Author, 1884.
- Litch, Josiah. *An Address to the Public, and Especially the Clergy, on the Near Approach of the Glorious Everlasting Kingdom of God on Earth, As Indicated by the Word of God, the History of the World, and Signs of the Present Times*. Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842.
- _____. *The Probability of the Second Coming of Christ about A. D. 1843: Shown by a Comparison of Prophecy with History, up to the Present Time, and an*

Explanation of those Prophecies Which Are Yet to be Fulfilled. Boston: David H. Ela, 1838.

_____. *Prophetic Expositions; or a Connected View of the Testimony of the Prophets Concerning the Kingdom of God and the Time of its Establishment.* 2 vols. Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842.

Manual of the Seventh Day Baptists; Containing an Historical Sketch of the Denomination and Reasons for Emphasizing the Day of the Sabbath. New York: George B. Utter, 1858.

Marshall, John. *Brookes's Universal Gazetteer, Re-modelled and Brought Down to the Present Time.* Philadelphia: E. H. Butler, 1843.

Miller, William. *Apology and Defence.* Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1845.

_____. *Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ, about the Year 1843: Exhibited in a Course of Lectures.* Troy, NY: Kemble & Hooper, 1836.

_____. *Lecture on the Typical Sabbaths and Great Jubilee.* Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842.

_____. *Letter to Joshua V. Himes, on the Cleansing of the Sanctuary.* Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842.

Minutes of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, Missionary and Tract Societies together with the Proceedings of the Evangelical Board, for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews. De Ruyter, NY: James Bailey's Press, 1841.

The New Bedford Directory: Containing the City Register, a General Directory of the Citizens, and a Special Directory of Trades, Professions, &c. New Bedford, MA: Benjamin Lindsey, 1849.

Pearson, Charles H. *The Cabin on the Prairie.* Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1873.

_____. *On the Frontier: Or Scenes in the West.* Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1864.

_____. *The Wiltons of Grand Prairie.* New York: J. S. Tait & Sons, 1896.

_____. *The Young Pioneers of the Northwest.* Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1871.

Pearson, Emily C. *Cousin Franck's Household; or, Scenes in the Old Dominion, by Pocahontas [pseud.].* Boston: Upham, Ford and Olmstead, 1853.

_____. *Echo-bank: A Temperance Tale, by Ervie [pseud.].* New York: National Temperance Society, 1868.

_____. *From Cottage to Castle: The Boyhood, Youth, Manhood, Private and Public Career of Gutenberg and the Story of His Invention, the Art of Printing.* New York: Hurst and Company, 1887.

_____. *Gutenberg and the Art of Printing.* Boston: Noyes, Holmes and Company, 1871.

_____. *Lydia: A Cantata for Sunday School Exhibitions.* Boston: J. M. Russell, 1879.

_____. *Madonna Hall: The Story of Our Country's Peril.* Boston: J. H. Earle, 1890.

_____. *Prince Paul: The Freedman Soldier.* Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1867.

_____. *The Poor White: Or, the Rebel Conscript.* Boston: Graves and Young, 1864.

_____. *Ruth's Sacrifice: Or Life on the Rappahannock.* Boston: C. H. Pearson, 1863.

Preble, T. M. *The First-Day Sabbath: Clearly Proved by Showing that the Old Covenant, or Ten Commandments, Have Been Changed, or Made Complete, in the Christian Dispensation in Two Parts.* Buchanan, MI: W. A. C. P. Association, 1867.

_____. *Tract, Showing that the Seventh Day Should be Observed as the Sabbath, Instead of the First Day; "According to the Commandment."* Nashua, NH: Murray and Kimball, 1845.

_____, comp. *The Voice of God: Or An Account of the Unparalleled Fires, Hurricanes, Floods, and Earthquakes, Commencing with 1845; Also some Account of Pestilence, Famine, and Increase of Crime.* Albany, NY: Joel Munsell, 1847.

Proceedings of the Mutual Conference of Adventists, Held in the City of Albany, the 29th and 30th of April, and the 1st of May, 1845. New York: Joshua V. Himes, 1845.

"The Sabbath and Lord's Day: A History of Their Observance in the Christian Church." In *The Sabbath Day: Remember to Keep It Holy.* Sabbath Tracts, no. 1, vol. 4. New York: Sabbath Tract Society, 1844.

Smith, Elias. *The Life, Conversion, Preaching, Travels, and Sufferings of Elias Smith.* Portsmouth, NH: Beck and Foster, 1816.

Smith, Uriah. *The Visions of Mrs. E. G. White: A Manifestation of Spiritual Gifts According to the Scriptures.* Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist, 1868.

Snook, B. F., and William H. Brinkerhoff. *The Visions of E. G. White. Not of God.* Cedar Rapids, OH: Cedar Valley Times Book and Job Print, 1866.

Spalding, J. A., comp. *Illustrated Popular Biography of Connecticut.* Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood, and Brainard Co., 1891.

A Summary View of the Millennial Church, or United Society of Believers, Commonly Called Shakers: Comprising the Rise, Progress, and Practical Order of the Society together with the General Principles of Their Faith and Testimony. 2d ed. Albany, NY: O. Van Benthuysen, 1848.

Swain, James B. "An Apology for Introducing the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment to the Consideration of the Christian Public." In *The Sabbath Day: Remember to Keep It Holy.* Sabbath Tracts, no. 1, vol. 1. New York: Printed for the Sabbath Tract Society, August 1842.

Vital Records of Roxbury, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849. Vol. 1. Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1925.

Vital Records of Topsham, Maine, to the Year 1892. 2 vols. Maine Historical Society, Portland, ME, 1929, 1930.

Walling, H. E. *Map of the City of New Bedford and the Village of Fairhaven.* New Bedford, MA: C. & A. Taber, 1850.

_____. *Map of the City of New Bedford and the Village of Fairhaven.* New Bedford, MA: C. & A. Taber, 1851.

_____. *Map of the Town of Fairhaven, Bristol County, Massachusetts.* Surveyed by Order of the Town, 1855.

Walworth, Reuben H. *Hyde Genealogy or the Descendants, in the Female as well as the Male Lines, from William Hyde of Norwich, with their Places of Residence, and Dates of Births, Marriages, etc., and other Particulars of them and their Families and Ancestry.* Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1864.

Welcome, Isaac C. *History of the Second Advent Message and Mission, Doctrine and People.* Yarmouth, ME: I. C. Welcome, 1874.

White, Ellen G. "A Vision." Broadside. Topsham, ME: Joseph Bates, April 7, 1846.

_____. *Early Writings.* Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1945.

_____. *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White: Being a Narrative of Her Experience to 1881 as Written by Herself; with a Sketch of Her Subsequent Labors and of Her Last Sickness Compiled from Original Sources.* Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1915.

_____. *A Sketch of the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White*. Saratoga Springs, NY: James White, 1851.

_____. *Spiritual Gifts: My Christian Experience, Views and Labors in Connection with the Rise and Progress of the Third Angel's Message*. Vol. 2. Battle Creek, MI: James White, 1860.

_____. *Testimonies for the Church with a Biographical Sketch of the Author*. Vol. 1. Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1885.

_____. "To Those Who are Receiving the Seal of the Living God." Broadside. January 31, 1849.

White, James. *Hymns for God's Peculiar People Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus*. Oswego, NY: Richard Oliphant, 1849.

_____. *Life Incidents, in Connection with the Great Advent Movement, As Illustrated by the Three Angels of Revelation XIV*. Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing, 1868.

_____. *The Parable: Matthew XXV, 1-12*. N.p., [1850?].

_____. *The Sanctuary, the 2300 Days and Shut Door*. Oswego, NY: N.p., 1850.

_____. *The Seventh-day Sabbath Not Abolished: The Article by Elder Joseph Marsh, Editor of the "Advent Harbinger & Bible Advocate," Entitled "Seventh-day Sabbath Abolished," Reviewed*. Oswego: Richard Oliphant, 1850.

_____. *Sketches of the Christian Life and Public Labors of William Miller, Gathered from His Memoir by the Late Sylvester Bliss, and from other Sources*. Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing, 1875.

_____. *The Third Angel's Message*. N.p., [1850?].

_____, ed. *A Word to the "Little Flock"*. N.p., 1847.

White, James, and Ellen G. White. *Life Sketches: Ancestry, Early Life, Christian Experience and Extensive Labors of Elder James White and His Wife, Mrs. Ellen G. White*. Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing, 1880.

_____. *Life Sketches: Ancestry, Early Life, Christian Experience and Extensive Labors of Elder James White and His Wife, Mrs. Ellen G. White*. Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing, 1888.

Willey, Chloe. *A Short Account of the Life and Remarkable View of Mrs. Chloe Willey of Goshen, N. H.* New York: John & Totten, 1810.

Secondary Serials

- Adventist Currents*, 1988.
- Adventist Heritage*, 1974-1995.
- Adventist Review*, 1980.
- Encounter*, 1968.
- Eretz Magazine*, 1993.
- General Conference Bulletin*, 1909.
- Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*, 1993.
- Spectrum*, 1987.
- Youth's Instructor*, 1910.

Secondary Books and Pamphlets

- Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972.
- Aldrich, Lewis Cass, comp. *History of Ontario County, New York, with Illustrations and Family Sketches of Some of the Prominent Men and Families*. Edited by George S. Conover. Syracuse, NY: D. Mason & Co., 1893.
- Anderson, Godfrey T. *Outrider of the Apocalypse: Life and Times of Joseph Bates*. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1972.
- Andrews, Edward Deming. *The People Called Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society*. New York: Dover Publications, 1963.
- Andross, Matilda E. *Story of the Advent Message*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1926.
- Baker, Delbert W. *The Unknown Prophet*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1987.
- Ball, B. W. *The English Connection: The Puritan Roots of Seventh-day Adventist Belief*. Cambridge, England: James Clarke, 1981.
- Barkun, Michael. *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned over District of New York in the 1840s*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986.

- Bennett, Mary E., ed. *Poland: Past and Present, 1795-1970*. Poland, ME: Poland Anniversary Committee, 1970.
- Bourne, Russell. *Floating America West: The Erie and Other American Canals*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1992.
- Brewer, Priscilla J. *Shaker Communities, Shaker Lives*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1986.
- A Brief History of William Miller, the Great Pioneer in Adventual Faith*. 2d ed. Boston: Advent Christian Publication Society, 1910.
- Burnham, John C. "Franz Anton Mesmer." In *International Encyclopedia of Psychiatry, Psychology, Psychoanalysis, and Neurology* ed., Benjamin B. Wolman. New York: Aesculapius Publishers, 1977. v. 7.
- Canright, D. M. *Life of Mrs. E. G. White, Seventh-day Adventist Prophet: Her False Claims Refuted*. Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1919.
- Chandler, Charles Henry. *The History of New Ipswich, New Hampshire, 1735-1914, with Genealogical Records of the Principal Families*. Fitchburg, MA: Sentinel Printing Company, 1914.
- Coon, Roger W. *The Great Visions of Ellen G. White*. Vol. 1. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1992.
- Cottrell, Raymond F. "The Sabbath in the New World." In *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*, ed. Kenneth A. Strand, 244-63. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982.
- Cross, Whitney R. *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.
- Damsteegt, P. Gerard, "Among Sabbatarian Adventists: 1845-1850." In *Doctrine of the Sanctuary: A Historical Survey, 1845-1863*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, 17-55. Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989.
- _____. *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1977. Reprint, Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1995.
- _____. "Historical Background: Early Nineteenth Century." In *Doctrine of the Sanctuary: A Historical Survey, 1845-1863*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, 1-16. Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989.
- Dick, Everett N. *Founders of the Message*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1938.

- _____. *William Miller and the Advent Crisis, 1831-1844*. Edited by Gary Land. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1994.
- Dieter, Melvin Easterday. *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*. 2d ed. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996.
- Doan, Ruth A. *The Miller Heresy, Millennialism, and American Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987.
- Douglass, Herbert E. *Messenger of the Lord: The Prophetic Ministry of Ellen G. White*. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 1998.
- Drake, Francis S. *The Town of Roxbury: Its Memorable Persons and Places, Its History and Antiquities, with Numerous Illustrations of Its Old Landmarks and Noted Personages*. Roxbury, MA: By the author, 1878.
- Egbert, Elain. *Till Morning Breaks: A Story of the Millerite Movement and the Great Disappointment*. Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993.
- Ellis, Leonard Bolles. *History of New Bedford and Its Vicinity, 1602-1892*. Syracuse, NY: D. Mason & Co., 1892.
- Ferris, George T., ed. *Our Native Land: or, Glances at American Scenery and Places with Sketches of Life and Character*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1889.
- First Century of National Existence: The United States As They Were and Are. . . .* Hartford, CT: L. Stebbins, 1872.
- Foster, Lawrence. "Had Prophecy Failed? Contrasting Perspectives of Millerites and Shakers." In *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century* ed., Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan Butler. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1987.
- Froom, LeRoy Edwin. *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation*. Vol. 4. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1954.
- Gale, Robert. *The Urgent Voice: The Story of William Miller*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1975.
- Gaustad, Edwin S., ed. *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.
- Gillingham, James L., Cyrus D. Hunt, Lewis S. Judd, Jr., and George H. Tripp. *A Brief History of the Town of Fairhaven, Massachusetts, Prepared in Connection with the Celebration of Old Home Week, July 26-31, 1903*. N.p., n.d.

- Gordon, Paul A. *Herald of the Midnight Cry: William Miller & the 1844 Movement*. Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1990.
- _____. *The Sanctuary, 1844, and the Pioneers*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1983.
- Graham, Roy E. *Ellen G. White: Co-Founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church*. New York: Peter Lang, 1985.
- Harmon, Artemas C. *The Harmon Genealogy, Comprising All Branches in New England*. Washington, DC: Gibson Bros., 1920.
- Harris, Charles A. *Old-Time Fairhaven*. 3 vols. New Bedford, MA: Reynolds Printing, 1947-1954.
- Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Hewitt, Clyde E. *Midnight and Morning: An Account of the Adventist Awakening and the Founding of the Advent Christian Denomination*. Charlotte, NC: Venture Books, 1983.
- History of Middlesex County, Connecticut, with Biographical Sketches of Its Prominent Men*. New York: J. B. Beers & Co., 1884.
- History of Ontario Co., New York, with Illustrations: Descriptive of Its Scenery, Palatial Residences, Public Buildings, Line Blocks, and Important Manufactories, from Original Sketches by Artists of the Highest Ability*. Philadelphia: Everts, Ensign & Everts, 1876.
- History of Washington, New Hampshire, from the First Settlement to the Present Time, 1768-1886*. Compiled by a Committee Chosen by the Town. Claremont, NH: Claremont Manufacturing Co., 1886.
- Holbrook, Frank B., ed. *Doctrine of the Sanctuary: A Historical Survey, 1845-1863*. Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989.
- Hudson, Winthrop S., and John Corrigan. *Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life*. 5th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992.
- Hughes, Richard T., ed. *American Origins of Churches of Christ: Three Essays on Restoration History*. Abilene, TX: ACU Press, 2000.
- Hughes, Richard T., and C. Leonard Allen. *Illusions of Innocence: Protestant Primitivism in America, 1630-1875*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

- Humez, Jean M., ed. *Mother's First-Born Daughters: Early Shaker Writings on Women and Religion*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993.
- Hurd, D. Hamilton, comp. *History of Bristol County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men*. Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1883.
- Irwin, Bernadine. *Ellen White We Never Knew You: An In Depth Look at the Young Ellen*. Colorado Springs, CO: Millennia Graphics, 1999.
- Johnson, Albert C. *Advent Christian History: A Concise Narrative of the Origin and Progress, Doctrine and Work of This Body of Believers*. Mendota, IL: Western Advent Christian Publication Society, 1918.
- Kenny, Michael G. *The Perfect Law of Liberty: Elias Smith and the Providential History of America*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1994.
- Kirsch, Irving, Steven Jay Lynn, and Judith W. Rhue. "Introduction to Clinical Hypnosis." In *Handbook of Clinical Hypnosis*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1993.
- Knight, George R. *Ellen White's World: A Fascinating Look at the Times in which She Lived*. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1998.
- _____. *Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism*. Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993.
- _____. *A Search for Identity: The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Beliefs*. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000.
- _____, comp. and ed. *1844 and the Rise of Sabbatarian Adventism*. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1994.
- Kreiger, Barbara, with Shalom Goldman. *Divine Expectations: An American Woman in 19th-Century Palestine*. Athens, OH: Ohio University, 1999.
- Land, Gary, ed. *The World of Ellen G. White*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1987.
- _____, ed. *Adventism in America: A History*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1986.
- Lindén, Ingemar. *1844 and the Shut Door Problem*. Uppsala: Distributed by Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1982.
- _____. *The Last Trump: An Historico-Genetical Study of Some Important Chapters in the Making and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church*. Studies in

the Intercultural History of Christianity, vol. 17. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1978.

Loughborough, J. N. *The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1909.

_____. *Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists with Tokens of God's Hand in the Movement and a Brief Sketch of the Advent Cause from 1831 to 1844*. Battle Creek, MI: General Conference Association of the Seventh-day Adventists, 1892.

Maxwell, C. Mervyn, "Joseph Bates and Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath Theology." In *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* ed., Kenneth A. Strand, 352-63. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982.

_____. *Magnificent Disappointment: What Really Happened in 1844 . . . and Its Meaning for Today*. Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1994.

_____. "Sanctuary and Atonement in SDA Theology: An Historical Survey." In *Doctrine of the Sanctuary: A Historical Survey, 1845-1863* ed., Frank B. Holbrook, 17-55. Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989.

_____. *Tell It to the World: The Story of Seventh-day Adventists*. 2d rev. ed. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1982.

Milliken, Charles F. *A History of Ontario County, New York, and Its People*. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1911.

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

Neufeld, Don F., ed. *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*. 2d rev. ed. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1996.

Nichol, Francis D. *Ellen G. White and Her Critics: An Answer to the Major Charges that Critics Have Brought against Mrs. Ellen G. White*. Takoma Park, Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1951.

_____. *The Midnight Cry: A Defense of the Character and Conduct of William Miller and the Millerites, Who Mistakenly Believed that the Second Coming of Christ Would Take Place in the Year 1844*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1944.

Numbers, Ronald L. *Prophetess of Health: Ellen G. White and the Origins of Seventh-day Adventist Health Reform*. Rev. and enl. ed. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1992.

_____. *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White*. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.

Numbers, Ronald L., and Jonathan M. Butler, eds. *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1987.

Olsen, M. Ellsworth. *A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists*. Takoma Park, Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1925.

Orcutt, William Dana. *Good Old Dorchester: A Narrative History of the Town, 1630-1893*. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, University Press, 1893.

Patterson, Daniel W. *The Shaker Spiritual*. 2d ed. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2000.

Pelton, J. M. *Genealogy of the Pelton Family in America: Being a Record of the Descendants of John Pelton Who Settled in Boston, Mass., about 1630-1632, and Died in Dorchester, Mass., January 23d, 1681*. Albany, NY: Joel Munsell's Sons, Publishers, 1892.

Poole, H. A., and G. W. Poole. *History of Poland: Illustrated, Embracing a Period of over a Century*. Mechanic Falls, ME: Poole Brothers, Publishers, 1890.

The Portland Directory: Containing Names of Inhabitants; Their Occupations, Places of Business, and Dwelling House, and the City Register, with Lists of Streets, Courts and Wharves, the City Officers, Public Offices, Banks, &c. Portland, ME: A. Shirley, Printer, 1837.

Randall, D. B. *A Statistical History of the Maine Conference of the M. E. Church from 1793-1893*. Portland, ME: Lakeside Press, 1893.

Reynolds, L. F. *Manual of the Advent Christian Church, Fairhaven, Massachusetts*. New Bedford: N.p. 1899.

Robinson, Virgil. *James White*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1976.

Rowe, David L. *Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850*. American Academy of Religion Studies in Religion, no. 38. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985.

Sandeen, Ernest R. *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Sanford, Don A. *A Choosing People: The History of Seventh Day Baptists*. Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1992.

- Schwarz, Richard W., and Floyd Greenleaf. *Light Bearers: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church*. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2000.
- Seventh Day Baptist General Conference. *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America*. 2 vols. Plainfield, NJ: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1910.
- Skinner, Henry Alan. *The Origin of Medical Terms*. Baltimore, MD: Williams & Wilkins, 1949.
- Spalding, Arthur Whitefield. *Captains of the Host: First Volume of a History of Seventh-day Adventists Covering the Years 1845-1900*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1949.
- _____. *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*. Vol. 1. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1961.
- Spicer, William A. *Pioneer Days of the Advent Movement*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1941.
- Stein, Stephen J. *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers*. New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1992.
- Strand, Kenneth A., ed. *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982.
- Tarling, Lowell. *The Edges of Seventh-day Adventism: A Study of Separatist Groups Emerging from the Seventh-day Adventist Church (1844-1980)*. Barragga Bay, Bermagui South, NSW, Australia: Galilee, 1981.
- Taves, Ann. *Fits, Trances, & Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Thomsen, Russel J. *Seventh-day Baptists—Their Legacy to Adventists*. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1971.
- Toomey, John J., and Edward P. B. Rankin. *History of South Boston, Its Past and Present and Prospects for the Future, with Sketches of Prominent Men*. Boston: By the authors, 1901.
- Vital Records of New Bedford, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850*. 2 vols. Boston, MA: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1932.
- Vital Records of Roxbury, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849*. 2 vols. Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1926.

Wallenkampf, Arnold V., and W. Richard Leshner, eds. *The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical, and Theological Studies*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981.

Walworth, Reuben H. *Hyde Genealogy or the Descendants, in the Female as Well as the Male Lines, from William Hyde, of Norwich, with Their Places of Residence, and Dates of Births, Marriages, &c., and Other Particulars of Them and Their Families and Ancestry*. Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1864.

White, Arthur L. *Ellen G. White. Vol. 1, The Early Years, 1827-1862*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1985.

_____. *Ellen G. White: Messenger to the Remnant*. Washington, DC: Ellen G. White Publications, 1954.

Wilcox, Francis M. *The Testimony of Jesus: A Review of the Work and Teachings of Mrs. Ellen Gould White*. Takoma Park, Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1944.

Wilcox, Francis M., and Arthur G. Daniells. *The Faith of the Pioneers: Relating to the Shut Door and the Close of Probation*. Takoma Park, Washington, DC: Review and Herald, n.d.