

The Doctrinal Heritage of the Church of God

in the Nineteenth Century

(How God works in mysterious ways)

"But you, Daniel, shut up the words and seal the book,
until the time of the end. Many shall run to and fro, and
knowledge shall increase." (Daniel 12:4)

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- *History of the Plain Truth magazine*
- *History of the World Tomorrow Broadcast*
- *History of Worldwide Church of God Ministerial Conferences*
- *History of Worldwide Church of God Foreign Works*
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- *How the Israel Identity truth entered the Church of God*
- *Notes on the Third Resurrection Doctrine in the Church of God*

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- *Biographical Encyclopedia: Chronicling the History of the Church of God Abrahamic Faith* by J. Tilson
- *Church of God & Sabbatarian Timelines* by C. White
- *Herbert W Armstrong. Man of God* by C. White (refer especially to the *Chart Summarising the Development of WCG Doctrines & Titles*)
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Authored by Craig Martin White.

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Our purpose and desire is to foster Biblical, historical and related studies that strengthen the Church of God's message & mission and provides further support to its traditional doctrinal positions.

Abstract

The Churches of God have never developed its doctrines in a vacuum. Rather, in humility, sifting through the works of others (especially specialists), it has absorbed doctrines into its core body of knowledge, based on God's Law and other foundational beliefs. That is why the Church has used so many Bible Encyclopedias or other works by authors such as Ethelbert Bullinger, Andrew Jukes, Edwin Thiele, British-Israelites and such like. We need to acknowledge these sources and the hard work others have undertaken, preparing for the Church's further clarifications and deeper understanding. Herbert W Armstrong himself was, in many ways, a sifter.

Introductory Remarks

For many years I have wished to write this article updating a previous article *Herbert W Armstrong: Man of God!* (which itself is a combination of several articles written in the 1990s) with sections dealing with the Russellites, Christadelphians and Seventh-day Adventists and these have been incorporated into this article. In fact, after many years of research I finally made a start in early 2016 but made no further progress as other projects arose, taking priority. Then in April 2019 a further attempt was made to continue to assemble this article on the subject. What you are reading is the outcome of the research, apparently unique in the Church of God. It is a summary of what could be produced, but who would read a 200-300 page book on the subject?

This writer has had a long-term interest in the history of the Church of God and Sabbatarian movement. Of particular interest has been the period around 1820-1880; the supposed 'missing link' in Sabbatarian history; how the doctrines of the Church were assembled; how they were sourced; and the mysterious ways God works to bring this about.

When I was still investigating the Truth in the mid-1970s, I did notice some similarities between the Churches of God to other groups such as the Jehovah Witnesses, Seventh-day Adventists, Second Adventists, British-Israelites etc. Further investigation proved enlightening.

As time progressed, I began to find out the doctrines and influences of men such as George Storrs and George Stetson which I found fascinating and they will be discussed in this article. Storrs, for me, stood out as one whose teachings should be further investigated.

Though not Sabbatarians, these and others were connected with or influenced by a grouping known as the Christian Connexion or Christian Church.

Amongst the teachings that arose amongst them due to investigation and research:

- Name Church of God should be used
- Born again at the resurrection rather than being a matter of conversion (refer to the **Appendix. Roots of the Born Again in the Resurrection Doctrine** for details of others which teach this doctrine]

- A fair chance for all in *the age to come* (also known as *future probation* - ie now is not the only day of salvation but everyone will have a chance to be granted eternal life)¹
- God is not a trinity (many of them were Unitarian/Adoptionist² and others were of the Arian or Semi-Arian (Binitarian³) persuasion)⁴
- Man is mortal and there is no ever-burning hell fire
- Water baptism
- In addition to other views

And so doctrinal knowledge increased and seemingly found its way through testing and filtering into the Church of God as it was re-forming in the mid-nineteenth century.

As I noted in my letter published in "Readers pay tribute to Dr. Hoeh," *The Journal*, issue 95 (Dec 2004):

"As the Scriptures indicate, knowledge shall increase in the end time (Daniel 12:4). This is often accomplished by building on the understanding, knowledge and research of predecessors. Not only is raw knowledge increased, but so is qualitative value added to doctrine with deeper and more meaningful insights. This was a part of his capacity and the heritage he has left behind."

Pioneer of the Worldwide Church of God, Herman Hoeh, himself wrote in 1959:

"This is the time of the end when prophecies hidden for ages are being revealed. TRUTH is being restored, knowledge is rapidly increasing. But knowledge brings RESPONSIBILITY; it becomes DANGEROUS if not rightly handled." (*A True History of the True Church*, p.30)

Later, Herbert W Armstrong, the human founder of the Worldwide Church of God noted in 1985:

¹ Bjorgvin Snorrason in *The Origin, Development, and History of the Norwegian Seventh-day Adventist Church from the 1840s to 1889* (2010), provides some background:

"Somewhat in common with postmillennialism, most of the believers in the —Age-to-Come- teaching held that the Second Advent would usher in a millennial kingdom **during which probation would continue** and the nations would be converted under the reign of Christ and the saints, and during which the Jews would play a leading role. By contrast the Adventists taught, following William Miller (1782-1849), that by the Second Advent, the fate of every human being would be decided, and the kingdom established at that time by Christ would include only his immortalized saints." (pp. 106-07)

"Second Advent would precede the millennium; but like postmillennialists, they believed that during the millennium, under the reign of Christ and the saints, probation would continue until all the nations would be converted." (p. 109)

"Their burden was that **man's opportunity for salvation continues on during the age to come' (that is, during the millennium)** a belief which earned them the name, 'The Age-to-Come Party.'" (p. 110, quoting Chilson, *Trial and Triumph*, p. 16.) [emphasis mine]

² Relations with the Unitarians were attempted, but differences prevented close cooperation. For instance, the Connexion held to baptism by full immersion while the Unitarians practiced sprinkling (T. Olbricht, *Christian Connexion and Unitarian Relations 1800-1844*, p. 164). The Connexion's anti-Trinitarianism began to emerge in 1808 with the publication of an article in their periodical *Herald of Gospel Liberty* (ibid).

³ By the late 20th century the term *Two Powers in Heaven* came to be used in similitude to *Binitarianism*

⁴ Nicolae Butoiu, *The Person of Christ in the Seventh-day Adventism: Doctrine—Building and E. J. Wagonner's Potential in Developing Christological Dialogue with Eastern Christianity*: With 20,000 members overall, the Christian Connexion was founded in 1810 as a coalition of three major Christian organisations led by Elias Smith, Abner Jones, and James O'Kelly. It represented the social and political climate of nineteenth-century America in a Restorationist style of "made in America" movement (p. 53). Within a few years it became anti-Trinitarian and eventually unitarian (p. 56) They were supposed to be universalists (p. 55) but it is likely that there were two streams of thought within the movement: one that was truly universalist and the other that believed that most would be saved, but not all.

"... even this Church, until after the year of 1933, had lost many of these vital truths. At least 18 basic and essential truths have been restored to the true Church since that year." (*Mystery of the Ages*, p. 251).⁵

Earlier, in "Personal from the Editor", *Good News*, August 1969, Mr Armstrong wrote:

"Many NEW truths have come to light in the past twenty years. Some has been revealed through various of God's ministers - my son Garner Ted, Mr. Roderick Meredith, Dr. Herman Hoeh, Mr. Raymond McNair, Mr. Albert Portune, Mr. Charles Hunting, Dr. Ernest Martin, Dr. Charles Dorothy, and others. And also God has continued to reveal important and basic truths through me." (p. 6)

However, the seeds of the Work raised up under Herbert W Armstrong, were sewn decades earlier by other Sabbatarians and non-Sabbatarian researchers.

The restoration of truths to fill in major gaps of understanding was crystallised by Mr Armstrong after many years of intense study and later with input by pioneer ministers and others. Herbert Armstrong was a sifter of information and built doctrine after doctrine based upon earlier doctrinal developments by Andrew Nugent Dugger and his spiritual predecessors. Dugger himself advanced the doctrines and Work of the Church of God (seventh day) to a new level, prior to the entry of Herbert Armstrong on the scene.

The Church of God's formulation of doctrine during the 19th and 20th centuries was not independent of the influence that can easily be seen or traced to others including the Christian Connexion, the Seventh-day Adventists, British-Israelites, Russellites and specialists such as Ethelbert Bullinger, Andrew Jukes, various commentators and others.

A number of ministers and members that developed salient doctrinal approaches emanated from a grouping known as the Christian Connexion. This grouping, as we will see, was highly influential for the Church of God's doctrinal development.

Looking back at the 19th century, what one notices is that It is almost as if the Church of God, as it re-formed or re-assembled, went through a sifting process during this turmoil and babylon of confusion. During this time a purification process took place with every effort made to please God and to restore truth.

Building upon their heritage (eg the Christian Connexion and Millerites) and sifting through the various materials before them and taking on board suggestions from members, the Church gradually re-built much of what was lost.

But where did that Church discover some of its doctrines outside of their own sphere? This article seeks to explore these connections.

It was certainly no shame to them to seek and find truth from various sources, to cleanse it and absorb such into their doctrinal superstructure. This took time, effort and humility. Herbert W Armstrong operated in a similar sifting fashion.

For God works in mysterious ways and all we have to do is accept the means doctrinal discovery may be facilitated via the instruments He chooses to use (I am sure we will find out more about how and why at the resurrection!).

⁵ I think what he meant was that many truths were restored to many in the Church, as most of those he listed were already extant, though not in a major way.

Finally, this research demonstrates that the Church of God's long-held position that it was only in America that the Work could go out in power due to its economic might, technology, media output and religious freedoms, has been proven correct by the means of religious freedom and thus doctrinal advancement.

Of special interest to us is that the Church of God grouping that arose in the latter half of the nineteenth century, taught anti-Trinitarianism and the mortality of man – while the Seventh-Day Baptists (in the main) from the early 1800s began to teach that God was a trinity (though not accepted by the majority and formalised until 1833) and that man possessed an immortal soul (Rev 3:2, 4). Thus, while this latter body of Sabbatarians lost vital truths, another group of Sabbatarians arose to proclaim truths that were being lost. Refer to the article "The Development of the Church of God (Seventh Day)'s Christology," *Ministerial Forum*, Feb-March 2004, pp. 26-29.

NB: as a necessity, there is some repetition within the article as we discussed individuals, church groups and doctrines. They each deserve individual attention, necessitating some repetition.

Background to the Christian Connexion

There have been many influences and sources of knowledge which the Church of God has, no doubt, doted upon and absorbed after a period of mulling over and sifting through followed by a purification process. It is important to learn more about how the Church of God began to 'grow in grace and knowledge' and the gradual re-assemblage of doctrinal truth.

One source of truth has been a grouping known as the *Christian Connexion* or *Christian Connection*. For the purpose of this article I shall utilise the title *Christian Connexion* throughout.

Looking back, it appears as though the Church went through a brick-by-brick restoration of truths that were lost or long forgotten. As the Church began to re-form and enter into a new era resulting in new life, it had its ups and downs, doctrinal errors and struggles.

Its leadership and members sincerely searched the Scriptures to find God's will so as to follow His Way and to restore that which was lost.

The value of the Christian Connexion grouping was its earnestness and interest in restoring primitive Christianity. It valued freedom of intellectual thought.

The grouping arose due to dissatisfaction with their churches and lack of answers to the questions raised by both ministry and laity.⁶

The Origin of the Christian Connexion

Historians have understood that while the American Revolution resulted in greater political freedoms, it also led to greater liberties and freer thinking within the established churches (this movement would also have been encouraged by the First Great Awakening, 1730s-40s). Unbeknown to the Sabbatarians in those days, this would result in influences that would lead to advancement in knowledge and help them to flourish in an environment that permits those that we call *Church of God* today, to arise.

⁶ Further information here https://www.ucc.org/about-us_hidden-histories-2_origins-of-the-christian

In the early nineteenth century many protestants became dissatisfied with the doctrinal issues and complex rituals of their churches. All they wanted to do was to restore primitive Christianity. This movement was known as Restorationism – the Christian Connexion should be seen within this context.

They began to explore the Bible for themselves, without the influences (in many cases) of their belief system and came together in loose groups to study the Word together.

Not only did they believe in Christian autonomy and that local congregations should be independent of any over-arching controlling body, they also believed that Christians should study the Bible for themselves and subject themselves to its teachings and lessons given that it was the inspired word of the Almighty.

Most of them eschewed the trinity and adopted forms of Arianism, Semi-Arianism (which we call Binitarianism or 'Two Powers in Heaven' nowadays) or, in some cases, Unitarianism/Adoptionist.

They published the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* (1 September 1808) which is noted by historians to be one of the first American theological journals.⁷

Also, amongst their agreed beliefs was water baptism (ie complete immersion) and that man is mortal, not immortal (ie hell was not a place of eternal torment and burning).

The Christian Connexion also found its way to other countries such as Australia.⁸ You can find an article about their Adelaide, South Australia group online at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/41034338> (*South Australian Register*, Adelaide, SA, 26 October 1865):

"Bible Christian Connexion Jubilee Services

The Jubilee services of the Bible Christian Connexion were held in Adelaide on Tuesday, October 3 ... excited great interest amongst the members of the

⁷ "This fall marks the 200th anniversary of what some claim was the first religious newspaper in the world. The *Herald of Gospel Liberty* played a formative role in the Christian Church that became part of the UCC. [ie United Church of Christ] ... Ordained by local Baptist ministers in 1792, he became an itinerant preacher in New England. In addition to preaching, he wrote a series of articles, disowning official doctrine but "hearing Christ in all things." In 1802, he [Elias Smith] gathered a small flock of people who agreed with his approach, and the next year they organized a Church of Christ in Portsmouth, N.H. They "agreed to call themselves Christian without the addition of any unscriptural name" ... Because the response to his articles was good, he began *The Christian's Magazine* in 1805. Every three months he published sermons, interpretations of scripture, and commentaries on religion and on politics — including critical reports of autocratic religion. Smith's biographer, J.F. Burnett, said, "He held a pen in one hand and a battle axe in the other." On Sept. 1, 1808, Elias Smith issued the first edition of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*. He had no clear expectation of an audience beyond the small group of like-minded New England pastors and church members. Every two weeks they received several columns of Smith's reflections, his continual advocacy for religious freedom, an occasional blistering critique of the "creed and catechism makers," and an opportunity to read about the revivals that were so popular at the time. Smith had heard of several groups in Virginia and Kentucky who also professed a simple faith, uncluttered by doctrine, and who called themselves and their churches "Christian." But until his *Herald* began circulating beyond New England, these scattered people were isolated from one another. Drawn together through the magazine, eventually they became known as the Christian Connection or the Christian Church. In 1931, this group united with the Congregational Churches and in 1957 became a part of the United Church of Christ." (Daniel Hazard, *200 years and counting: the legacy of the Herald of Gospel Liberty lives on*).

Also, it should be noted that the restoration of Israel to their land was a very prominent doctrine with the Connexion and Elias Smith (Rankin, *A Watershed Doctrine for the Age to Come Believers and the Millerites*, p. 4)

⁸ Note also that the Millerites were also extant in Adelaide: "The Millerite message entered Australia when Thomas Playford, living in Adelaide, was converted through the Canadian paper *Voice of Elijah* and spread the Millerite message in Australia, even publishing a book of his sermons: *Discourses on the Second Advent of Jesus Christ* Playford's preaching apparently resulted in a number of converts as J. N. Loughborough records ..." (Jeff Crocombe, *A Feast of Reason*, p. 27)

denomination, and there were numbers of visitors from distant parts of the colony ... The Rev. S. Keem mounted the platform, and remarked that next Sabbath week it would be 50 years since the first Church in connection with their body was formed. ... It was on the 9th of October, 1815, that the Bible Christian Society was formed. During the last 25 years over 5,000 members had died, he had every reason to believe, in the Lord. They had now 23 regular ministers, 1,000 local preachers. 730 chapels, 28,000 Church members, 8,000 Sunday-school teachers, and 40,000 scholars [in the entire international movement, apparently]. That was the result of the 50 years of toil over which they had passed, and in which they had worked to hasten the coming of the Kingdom of Christ ...

The Bible Christians were not separatists from any other denomination than the Church of England. Its founders had founded churches in places where there had been no Dissenting preaching before. They held Methodist doctrines, and had adopted the leading features of the Methodist polity with certain modifications, chiefly in the form of Church government. They had reached the jubilee a peaceful and united body, on terms of goodwill with other denominations. He alluded to the success which had attended the operations of the Society in England, America, and Australia. They had between 60 and 70 chapels in this colony, 1,400 members, and between 6,000 and 7,000 regular hearers."

Whatever became of them is unknown.

In North Carolina, the Methodist Church in particular, contained a number of senior ministers who campaigned for a congregational system of church governance and this eventually resulted in a split in late 1793 with the majority continuing with the Methodist's Episcopalian form of governance while the minority adopted localism.

This latter grouping were initially known as *Republican Methodists* and determined at a conference to simply be known as Christians with no human head of the Church, except Christ Himself. In addition, they had no set creed but the Bible itself. This group itself divided into two: the Christians whom advocated full baptismal immersion; and those advocating infant 'baptism.'⁹

Around the same time, similar leanings were found among the Baptist Church in Vermont. Many from that group also advocate local congregational autonomy and either no or a minimal statement of belief (creed). They formed their own independent group in September 1880.

Over in Tennessee and Kentucky, a number of Presbyterian preachers began to proclaim that salvation is a free gift, thereby making a break from the Calvinistic beliefs of the church. Initially they called themselves *Springfield Presbytery*, then in 1803 they chose to be known only as *Christians*. They believed in baptism by immersion is for adults alone. Pedobaptism was thereby abandoned.

⁹ "The immersionist faction later organized the Virginia Christian Conference. They then discovered the New England Christians and united with them in 1811. Slavery divided this union in 1854. After the Civil War the Guirey and O'Kelly factions of Republican Methodism reunited. In 1890, reunification with the New England Christians took place taking the name The Christian Convention in the United States. The Christian Convention then united with Congregationalism in 1931 to form the Congregational-Christian Church. In the 1950s this denomination united with the Evangelical and Reformed Church to form the United Church of Christ.

Through the working out of all these combinations protest occurred. Congregations often remained outside the union efforts. Some of these congregations later became part of the Restoration Movement. Rice Haggard moved to Kentucky and identified with the Kentucky Christian Movement led by Barton Warren Stone."
(http://www.christianchronicler.com/History2/republican_methodists.html)

So, within 10 years three separate groups emerged from mainstream Protestantism, advocating a return to primitive or original Christianity, as they understood it, yet without knowledge of each other's group.

Over time they discovered each other (not unlike the various groups that merged to form the Church of God in 1884) and this loose alliance became known as the *Christian Connexion*.

As they studied the Scriptures mostly unshackled from their previous creeds, they overwhelmingly became non-Trinitarian mainly of the Arian variety (though some were Unitarian or Socinians) because

"A doctrine, which cannot be expressed in the language of inspiration, they do not hold themselves obligated to believe." (Israel Rupp, *He Pasa Ekklesia: An Original History of the Religious Denominations at Present Existing in the United States*, p. 169)

"Hence, with very few exceptions, they are not Trinitarians, averring that they can neither find the word nor the doctrine in the Bible. They believe 'the Lord our Jehovah is *one* Lord,' and purely *one*. That 'Jesus Christ is the only begotten Son of God;' that the Holy Ghost is that divine unction with which our Saviour was anointed, (Acts x. 38,) the effusion that was poured out on the day of Pentecost; and that it is a divine emanation of God, by which he exerts an energy or influence on rational minds. While they believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, they are not Socinians or Humanitarians. [ie the belief that Christ was born a human and then granted divinity; thus Christ had no pre-existence] Their prevailing belief is that Jesus Christ existed with the Father before all worlds." (ibid)

They published the *Christian Palladium* semi-monthly as well as a weekly paper known as the *Christian Herald* and another titled *Gospel Herald*. In addition, they established colleges in New Hampshire, North Carolina and New York.

Growth of the Christian Connexion

By the 1840s it was estimated that at least 500,000 people across the nation held to similar views. As far as can be known, this included around around 1,500 preachers, 325,000 adherents and 1,500 local congregations. Much of this growth was due to the Second Great Awakening (1790s-1840s) and especially the preaching of the soon return of Christ of William Miller¹⁰ but by then they were heavily affected by the Great Disappointment.

An account of the origins of the Connexion has been captured by a number of sources:

"Within about one half century, a very considerable body of religionists have arisen in the United States, who, rejecting all names, appellations and badges of distinctive party among the followers of Christ, simply call themselves CHRISTIANS. Sometimes, in speaking of themselves as a body, they use the term *Christian Connexion*. In many parts of the United States this people have become numerous; and as their origin and progress have been marked with some rather singular coincident, this article will present a few of them in brief detail.

¹⁰ "... the Millerites [are] an extension of the Second Great Awakening and William Miller "as perhaps the most successful revivalist of the last phase" of the Awakening." G Land, "The Historians and the Millerites: An Historiographical Essay", *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, Autumn 1994, p. 245). Land is quoting G R Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World*, p. 65.

“Most of the Protestant sects owe their origin to some individual reformer, such as a Luther, a Calvin, a Fox, or a Wesley. The Christian never had any such leader, nor do they owe their origin to the labours of any one man. They rose nearly simultaneously in different sections of our country, remote from each other, without any preconcerted plan, or even knowledge of each other’s movements. After the lapse of several years, the three branches obtained some information of each other, and upon opening a correspondence, were surprised to find that all had embraced nearly the same principles, and were engaged in carrying forward the same system of reform. This singular coincidence is regarded by them as evidence that they are a people raised up by the immediate direction and overruling providence of God; and that the ground they have assumed is the one which will finally swallow up all party distinction in the gospel church.” (J.R. Beard, *Unitarianism Exhibited*, p. 54)

In 1827 Simon Clough wrote *An Account of the Christian Denomination* in response to an inquiry from the General Baptists of England, which is more of a letter than an article. In this account he explained what they were all about including their history and beliefs. You can find this article online and is well worth the read.

Just four years later (in 1831) a major portion of the Connexion merged with a group known as Reformers which included Alexander Campbell who founded the Disciples of Christ from which three groupings emerged: the Church of Christ, Christian Churches and Christian Congregation.

The Campbellites were trinitarian, so those of the Connexion which remained independent, remained Arians in the main, though some were Unitarian¹¹. James White and Joshua Himes, whom we will meet later, were members of this coalition and Arian.¹²

“A disproportionate number of Christian Connexion preachers in New England were involved in the eschatological stir fueled by speculations of William Miller. No fewer than seven of the 16 signatories to the 1840 call for an Adventist general conference were Connexion preachers. Many members left the Connexion in the mid-1840s, populating emerging denominations such as the Seventh-day Adventists and the Advent Christians.” (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_Connection)

The Sabbatarian Church has always been influenced by external forces and non-official knowledge sources, both in a positive or negative fashion. Over the past 200 or so years in particular, this may range from Biblical scholarship to archaeological, historical, linguistic, anthropological or other research.

As we shall see, the Christian Connexion, Millerites and various key individuals were influential upon the Church of God – therefore knowing a little about the cultural and religious setting is important. Refer to the graphic in the **Appendix. Church of God and Other Group Interactions** which shows how they were connected.

¹¹ And so admitted in *The Palladium* (1 May, 1834, p. 21) as reported by T. Olbricht (*Christian Connection and Unitarian Relations 1800-1844*, p. 183)

¹² Many within this grouping saw Christ as Jehovah: “... with very few exceptions, they are not Trinitarians, averring that they can neither find the word for the doctrine in the Bible. They believe “Lord our Jehovah is one Lord,” and purely one. That “Jesus Christ is the only begotten Son of God” ...

“While they believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, they are not Socians or Humanitarians. Their prevailing belief is that Jesus Christ existed with the Father before all worlds, and is therefore a Divine Saviour.” (J. Winebrenner, *History of all the Religious Denominations of the United States*, p 166). And “As Christ is the only begotten son of God, he bears the name peculiar to the Deity, as a son bears the proper name of his father: that name is (Heb. Yehovah) Jehovah); generally translated by the LXX (Kurios) Lord ... For in many passages of scripture in the Old Testament where the same Jehovah is used, it refers particularly to the Messiah, according to the interpretation of the New Testament writers ...” (p. 167)

Summary of Influencers

A number of leading figures may be identified that commanded a huge influence on the development of doctrinal positions at odds with mainstream Christendom. Some of these views were already held by many Sabbatarians while others were learned from these figures and their writings.

Below, I summarise the research and influence of these men, however, please note that there were also others (such as Nelson Barbour). However, it is these that are of major influence and it is not possible to refer to every influencer in this fascinating arena.

William Miller (1782-1849)

A great revival swept across America in the 19th century with William Miller, a Baptist preacher, forcefully proclaiming the imminent return of Christ.

His preaching also influenced the Christian Connexion.¹³

Unfortunately, Miller set dates: the first was for Christ's return to occur 21 March 1843; after that failure, he tried again, setting 21 March 1844 as the date for His return.

The subsequent "Great Disappointment" which ruined many lives and which even led to the abandonment of Christianity by some, nevertheless led to a number of groups that held to many truths, half-truths and unfortunately, errors.

William Miller did not seek membership of any of the emerging Second Adventist bodies or church organisations, but attempted to forge unity amongst them. He died in 1849 having started a great movement that proclaimed the return of Christ and His glorious reign, but divided into a number of churches. The sabbatarian Church of God is amongst those that proclaim this message, though with greater accuracy and clarity than the others.



William Miller

Of course, the Connexion, was particularly interested in the second advent message:

¹³ "The Christians generally welcomed Miller and his followers, a welcome refused by most of the older Orthodox and liberal churches.

Joshua V. Himes of the Chardon Street Christian Church in Boston was perhaps more responsible than any other one person for getting the Miller movement off the ground. He invited Mr. Miller to give his lectures in the Chardon Church in 1839, a year after Miller begun his tours. He was so influenced by Miller that in March 1840 he began on his own to publish the paper *The Signs of the Times*. His travels and publications from that point on for the Millerite cause were prodigious." (ibid, p. 184)

“Christian Connexion churches had been particularly receptive to Millerite teachings, and many Christian Connexion ministers and members had become Millerites.” (G. Wheeler, *James White: Innovator and Overcomer*, p. 31).

“After 1844, when most other denominations refused to let Sabbatarian Adventists use their facilities, Christian Connexion congregations still allowed them to meet in their buildings.” (ibid)

From Miller’s preaching arose the Second Advent Movement – he proclaimed the second coming of Christ at a time when most preachers and Christians were either post-millennialists or a-millennialists. From that time on the pre-millennial return of Christ took hold and grew in popularity and understanding.

Henry Grew (1781-1862)

Another influential figure was Henry Grew who was “heavily involved with the Christian Connexion” (B.W. Schulz, *A Separate Identity: Organizational Identity Among Readers of Zion’s Watch Tower: 1870-1887*, p. 57).

Although he was originally a member of the Congregationalist Church, his study of the Scriptures led him to understand that baptism is by immersion and for adults only. As a result, he joined the Baptist Church and was ordained pastor for the First Baptist Church of Hartford, Connecticut.

Further study led him to understand that there were no eternal fires of hell, but rather man is mortal and ends up in the grave, awaiting a resurrection – to salvation or condemnation. As result of these differing views a portion of his congregation joined with him after he left that church.

“In my researches after truth some years ago, my faith in the common doctrine of the Trinity was shaken. Deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of obtaining, so far as is revealed, a correct knowledge of ‘the only true God,’ and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent; I have humbly endeavored to ‘search the Scriptures,’ looking unto Jesus for the guidance of his holy spirit which he promised his disciples to lead them into all truth.” (Henry Grew, *An Examination of the Divine Testimony concerning the character of the Son of God*, p. 6)¹⁴

Later, he associated with the Christian Connexion.

Over time he published further tracts and small books to promote these and other views so that by the 1840s, more and more of the Christian Connexion grouping accepted these views.

Additionally, William Miller’s views on prophecy, began to resound with the grouping.¹⁵

¹⁴ “The formulation ‘one God in three Persons’ was not solidly established, certainly not fully assimilated into Christian life and its profession of faith, prior to the end of the 4th century. But it is precisely this formulation that has first claim to the title the Trinitarian dogma. Among the Apostolic Fathers, there had been nothing even remotely approaching such a mentality or perspective.” (“Trinity,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XIV, 1967: p. 299)

¹⁵ “William Miller lectured across New England where he met Joshua V. Himes, a Baptist minister and a whiz at publicity. He constructed prophetic charts outlining Miller’s Advent calculations. Himes sponsored Millerite tent meetings throughout the Northeast and edited two religious magazines—the *Midnight Cry* in New York and *Signs of the Times* in Boston. Soon ministers, lay people and entire congregations were attracted to the hope of Christ’s imminent return. By some estimates, more than 50,000 people became Adventists while as many as a million others showed interest in the second coming.” (Gary Petty, “The Great Disappointment,” *World News & Prophecy*, Dec 2002, p.10).

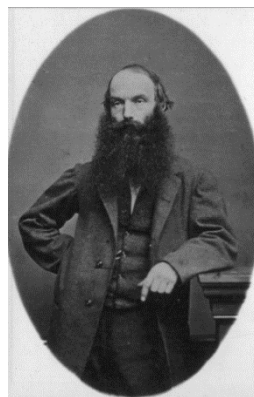
Of particular interest to Church of God people is that Grew's studies led him to understand that mankind does not have an immortal soul; that there is no eternal hell fire; God is not a trinity; and that all men will be resurrected to a future judgment.¹⁶

His views later influenced the Adventists, George Storrs, George Stetson and as a result Charles Taze Russell.

Dunbar Isidore Heath (1816-1888)

Heath was not the average preacher of Bible student – his distinguished background included being a Fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge and he became world renowned for his Egyptological expertise having translated papyri at the British Museum.

However, he fell out of favour with the religious authorities and was prosecuted for heresy⁵ for publishing a work that proclaimed a concept of salvation for the saints and another later on during the reign of the Messiah, for the rest of mankind. So, in effect Heath taught that there were two periods of restitution and salvation on earth.¹⁷



Dunbar Heath

This concept was laid out in his book *The Future Human Kingdom of Christ* (1852). Extracts from his book are found in the **Appendix. Fair Chance Quotes**.

Henry Dunn (1801-1878)

Dunn was a very religious man and devoted his life to studying the Scriptures and even published his own periodical, *The Interpreter* (1860-61). His illustrious career included his position as secretary to the British and Foreign School Society and very much involved with the history of public education in England.

During his studies, he expressed appreciation to *The Future Kingdom of Christ: Or Man's Heaven to be this Earth* by Dunbar Heath and advocated similar views (the **Appendix. Review of Henry Dunn's The Future Kingdom of Christ** provides further information). This book led him to write *Destiny of the Human Race*. George Storrs and Charles Taze Russell were appreciative for this book's influence on

¹⁶ This should not be confused with Universalism that teaches that all humanity will eventually gain salvation. However, there were Connexion-Universalist interactions which may have led Connexion scholars to begin to realise that this is not the only day of salvation. For instance, a leader of the Connexion, Elias Smith, joined the Universalists causing shockwaves (T. Olbricht, *Christian Connexion and Unitarian Relations*, p. 167).

¹⁷ "C. T. Russell and George Storrs were influenced by his writings and published four extracts from the latter volume as articles in *Zion's Watch Tower*. His *Tracts for Thoughtful Christians* (1866) addresses the themes of hell, eternal punishment, and predestination. His ideas on two types of salvation and the times of restitution were of particular interest to Russell." (G. Chryssides, *Historical Dictionary of Jehovah Witnesses*, p. 45).

their development of the doctrine of two periods of salvation -one for the few now (the saints) and another at the return of Christ during His 1,000-year reign on earth (the times of restitution).¹⁸

He wondered about the Millennium and what would occur during that period. His conclusion was that millions would be resurrected during that period and be taught God's way by the saints and thereby have their first opportunity of salvation. (refer to the **Appendix. The Millennium and Kingdom of God on Earth** which lists many of the 19th century works on the millennium) a subject more and more scholars were eager to explore.

Dunn even wrote articles for George Storrs' periodical, *The Bible Examiner*, indicating how these formative ideas were flowing between key thinkers, producing interesting outcomes that would influence the Church of God.

Charles Taze Russell (founder of the Zion's Watch Tower and Tract Society in 1881 – later known as the Bible Students and later still as Jehovah's Witnesses), also published articles by Dunn (extracts from *The Study of the Bible*) in his *Zion's Watchtower* and acknowledged the influence of Dunn and Storrs on his theological development:

“Bros. George Storrs, Henry Dunn and others were preaching and writing of ‘the times of restitution of all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all His holy Prophets’ (Acts 3:21) and that ‘In the ages to come, God would show the exceeding riches of his grace.’ (Ephesians 2:7)” (Charles Taze Russell, Supplement to *Zion's Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence*, 1 July, 1879, p. 2)

Another author who acknowledged Dunn's influence on himself was Jacob Blain (1818-1906) who authored *Hope for Our Race* (1871). Extracts from this book may be read in the **Appendix. Fair Chance Quotes**.

Blain also wrote *The Wicked Not Immortal* (185?); and *Death not life: or, the theological hell and endless misery disproved, and the doctrine of destruction established, by a collection and explanation of all passages on future punishment. Also metaphysical arguments for the immortality of the wicked exploded* (1853) in addition to other writings disproving the immortal soul doctrine. This latter publication was advertised in the Church of God's *Hope of Israel* periodical in the 1860s.¹⁹

George Stetson (1814-1879)

Stetson was a physician, school teacher and minister. He joined the Adventist Christian Church and worked closely with Jonas Wendell (whom is mentioned further along in this article).

He also became associated with Charles Taze Russell (having met him in 1872), George Storrs and Henry Grew²⁰ and it is likely that it is he who influenced Russell to adopt Arianism.

Russell mentioned him in his *Zion's Watchtower* and even delivered the sermon at Stetson's funeral.

¹⁸ He also wrote other indepth works such as *The Study of the Bible* (1871).

¹⁹ Though he was not Church of God, they promoted his works due to similarity in doctrine on this issue. He was not an Adventist per se (B. Schulz, *A Separate Identity*, p. 135, 153), but held similar views.

²⁰ “The doctrines of Stetson's church in Pittsburgh included the millennial rule of Christ, death as sleep until the resurrection, a second opportunity for those who are unavoidably ignorant of the gospel, and death as extinction for the wicked. These were not compulsory tests of faith, but it was expected that members would regard the Bible as the supreme standard of authority and that they be recognizable by their good character.” (G. Chryssides, *Historical Dictionary of Jehovah Witnesses*, p. 128).

Russell also wrote for *The Restitution* (1870-1926) which was a sort of successor periodical to Benjamin Wilson's. Replete throughout its pages over the years were terms such as Church of God, Age to Come, One Faith, Abrahamic Faith (Charles Taze Russell and The Restitution, <https://truthhistory.blogspot.com/2012/03/charles-taze-russell-and-restitution.html>).

Both he and Wendell wrote articles for *The Herald of Life and the Coming Kingdom*, published by George Storrs.

George Storrs (1796-1879)

Storrs²¹ was one of the leading lights of the Second Advent movement²² but never went along with the visions of Hiram Edson or Ellen G White. However, many of his major doctrinal positions found their way into the Bible Students movement and other Sunday Adventist groups.

It should be noted that he did not consider himself an Adventist since their emergence in 1844 (B. Schulz, *A Separate Identity*, p. 136). He was anti-clerical and did not even provide a legal name for his congregation in Philadelphia, preferring the non-official naming or categorisation of *Church of God* (B. Schulz, *A Separate Identity*, p. 125). Later, Russell's organisation unofficially also called themselves *Church of God*.²³

It not well known that he also believed in British-Israelism, but the various Second Adventists and successors, in the main, were not interested in the concept. However, if Storrs recommended a book or concept, he was so well-esteemed, people would follow up and read the book, if possible. It is very likely that he had some influence upon Church of God people, who read books on this subject as a result of his recommendation.

"Early in 1850 "a friend recently from England" gave Storrs a copy of John Wilson's *Our Israelitish Origin: Lectures on Ancient Israel, and the Israelitish Origin of the Modern Nations of Europe*, first published in 1840 and newly reissued in 1850. Storrs was impressed and introduced the matter to his readers in the March issue. Later that year he republished the book. The premise was that the Lost Tribes of Israel were the founding race of most European nations, particularly of the English. Others from the Literalist community would take up the belief. John Henry Paton, sometime associate of Russell and Barbour, would find the idea attractive, entering into a correspondence with Andrew Jukes whose brand of Universalism and restitution appealed to him. Jukes views are found in his *Second Death and the Restitution of all Things*. Jukes and others saw England as the "land of Ephraim" and America as "the land of Manasseh."" (B. Schulz, *A Separate Identity*, p. 125)²⁴

Storrs further wrote the following in an article "God's Promise and Oath to Abraham":

- "1. God has promised, and confirmed it with an oath, that in Abraham and his seed all the families of the earth shall be blessed.
2. This promise and oath is to be understood in the literal sense of the words in which it is made.
3. This promise and oath is not yet fulfilled in its fullness.

²¹ A good article on Storrs is available online at <http://watchtowerdocuments.org/george-storrs-enigmatic-and-ambivalent-polarizer-of-adventism/#comment-1940>

²² M McCook, *Aliens in the World: Sectarians, Secularism and the Second Great Awakening* (PhD thesis).

²³ He is even mentioned in the Church of God (Seventh Day) periodical: "The Three Angels Messages," *The Bible Advocate and Herald of the Coming Kingdom*, 15 July, p. 569. The article praises him in passing for being a pioneer for the unconscious state of the dead to the Sunday Adventists.

²⁴ For instance, Joseph Marsh (of the Christian Connection) published the *Advent Harbinger*. In the 29 June and 6 July 1850 editions he published an article by Storrs which contained extracts from Wilson's book.

Note also: "Thus, Millerism helped set the stage for the introduction of Anglo-Israelism into the United States. That would explain how George Storrs, a former Millerite, came to recommend *Our Israelitish Origins*. It may also be one reason why the book sold well in this country" (R. Orr, *Anglo-Israelism and The United States & Britain in Prophecy*, pp. 41-2).

4. Therefore, there is to be an age, or 'ages to come,' in which fulfillment will be perfectly accomplished." (*The Herald of Life and the Coming Kingdom*, 26 April, 1871).

Above, we met Henry Grew and his doctrine of two salvations: one for the Church in this age; and a future millennial salvation for all those not called in this life with these people being instructed in God's way by the Church. Although he was accused of being a universalist, he countered by explaining that he was not, but rather there would be universal opportunity for salvation.²⁵ He also taught that man is mortal, not immortal.

Storrs accidentally stumbled across a tract by Grew on a train in 1837 which convicted him to search the Scriptures to ascertain whether man had an immortal soul or not. And whether the grave was the hell referred therein. While Grew believed that the wicked would be resurrected to judgment, Storrs was of the view that they would not be resurrected and simply disintegrate in the grave (groups such as the Christadelphians hold that view to this day).²⁶

So convicted was he of this new understanding he had of human mortality that he commenced a periodical *The Bible Examiner* (1843-79) which was read by many Millerites and Second Adventists. Its motto was "No Immortality, or Endless Life Except through Jesus Christ Alone."

He published a book *Six Sermons on the inquiry Is there Immortality in Sin and Suffering?* in 1842 which was republished in England in 1843. It found favour among many leading theologians.

William Miller opposed Storrs on the immortality doctrine, favouring instead the mainstream Protestant and Catholic view on the immortality of the soul and eternal punishment in hell.²⁷ Though it seems he reversed his belief and came to see that man was indeed mortal²⁸ as well as leaving behind the trinity doctrine!²⁹

Because of Storrs' influence, most of the Millerite groups came to accept that man is mortal and does not burn forever in hell (this includes the Seventh-day Adventists and the various Sunday Adventist groups).³⁰

²⁵ Some distorted Storrs' view on the subject, causing friction with Second Adventists (Schulz, *A Separate Identity*, pp. 135-36).

²⁶ "He held that the doctrines of an immortal immaterial soul and the destiny of eternal hell for the wicked were unacceptable. Those who died in ignorance would be restored to life at the Second Coming, to be given a second opportunity to accept Christ's ransom sacrifice. In his later years, after 1870, Storrs concluded that there were two classes of people who died in ignorance: those who had conclusively rejected the gospel and those who had merely failed to hear it. Only the former would be resurrected. He also taught that the Lord's Evening Meal was to be celebrated on Nisan 14." (G. Chryssides, *Historical Dictionary of Jehovah Witnesses*, p. 128).

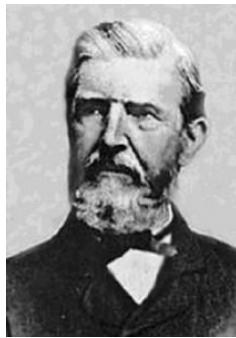
²⁷ The Seventh-day Adventists acknowledge his importance to Sabbatarian history: "George Storrs did not accept the Sabbath or the sanctuary messages; why then is he featured among the pioneers? The focus of truth is not so much on the man as on the message. The doctrine of the state of the dead and the non-immortality of the soul is a foundational doctrine of the Seventh-day Adventist message and movement. Storrs introduced this Bible truth to the Adventist pioneers." ("In this issue," *Lest We Forget*, 1991, vol 1, no 4, p. 1).

²⁸ See "William Miller", <http://www.earlysda.com/miller/views1.html>

²⁹ See "Evident suggests William Miller abandoned the Trinity", <https://maranathamedia.com/>

³⁰ "It is well known that Charles Taze Russell came to this understanding in the 1870s under the influence of George Storrs's publications and especially the sermons of Jonas Wendell, an Advent Christian (not a SDA) preacher who was a remnant of the Millerite movement. On this see Frederic Zydek, Charles Taze Russell: His Life and Times. The Man, the Millennium, and the Message (2d ed.; N.p.: Winthrop, 2010), 28-29, 33, 42) ... As early as 1842, Storrs' conditionalist ideas were accepted by Calvin French, a Baptist minister who also joined the Millerites ... This mention of Fitch, one of the top Millerites, is fitting inasmuch as he became Storrs' first ministerial convert to the doctrine of conditional immortality within the Adventist ranks, while the other movement leaders strongly rejected it." (W. Paroschi, "Death as Sleep: The (Mis)use of a Biblical Metaphor," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*, 28/1 (2017), pp 26, 28, 29).

However, in terms of the nature of God, he seemed to have held to a semi-Arian position, apparently believing that Christ was God alongside of the Father.



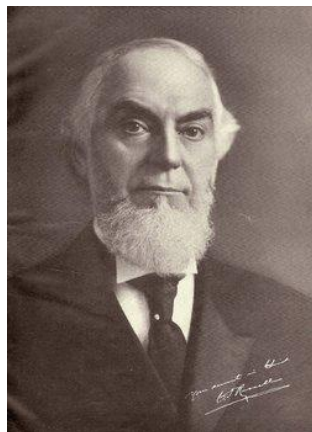
George Storrs

Charles Russell contacted him in 1871 and was heavily influenced by him.

NB: this writer has had a great interest in Storrs since first reading about him in the mid-1970s in the Port Elizabeth library. He held to a number of truths that mainstream Christianity did not accept or was unaware of during the nineteenth century.

Charles Taze Russell (1852-1916)

In certain ways Russell was a true heir of the Millerite movement, given his beliefs and doctrinal roots.³¹ Note also that the various Second Adventist leaders from the 1840s and 1850s did not form part of or get involved with the visions and consequent doctrinal views of Ellen G White (such as the Millennium being spent in heaven or that the Christ began to cleanse the heavenly sanctuary from 1844 and such like).



Charles Taze Russell

It was in 1879 that he began publishing *Zion's Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence*. Two years later he formally founded the Zion Watch Tower Society in 1881 (becoming known as the Bible Students by the early twentieth century). His followers called him "the Laodicean Messenger" to the seventh epoch of the church (*The Laodicean Messenger, being the Memoirs of the Life, Works and Character of That Faithful and Wise Servant of the Most High God*, pp. 122, 153). Many former Jehovah

In *A Search for Identity: The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Beliefs*, Knight reveals that the Sabbatarian Adventist conditional immortality doctrine derived from George Storrs and the Christian Connexion (p. 73).

³¹ However, he was not a member of the Second Adventist movement as such (*Adventism*, <https://truthhistory.blogspot.com/2012/02/>)

Witnesses and the original Russellite groups still espouse church eras in one form or another. Take for example Redeker's *The Seven Church of Revelation* (the Jehovah Witnesses formally abandoned this doctrine in 1930).

Their great "mystery" doctrine was that God raised up the Church through Christ – and it is the Church that will help to save mankind during the Millennium (*Encyclopedia of Christianity in the United States*, p. 1995)

Later, in 1917, Rutherford took over the movement and changed many of its doctrines and the faithful formed their own groups which are extant to this day. The organisation changed its name to Jehovah's Witnesses in 1931.

However, Russell and others believed in a literal 1,000 year reign of Christ on the earth. Prior to that period, he and his followers believed that Christ would return invisibly (a *parousia* or presence) at first and then visibly at the commencement of the Millennium (ie a two-part return).

The "bride" or Church must make itself ready for this event and its members would rule with Christ throughout His reign, he taught.

He held to many truths but, alas, also some rather odd ideas. Amongst the truths he held to were anti-Trinitarianism (though an Arian form); water baptism; healing; man is mortal and the unrepentant would be annihilated; born again in the resurrection; the vast majority are not now called to salvation and that there is a future resurrection of all those not called at which time they will be offered salvation. This event, he believed, would occur during the Millennium.

Some of the beliefs were:

- held to the name Church of God (unofficially, but used throughout)
- church eras
- held Passover on 14 Nisan
- baptism by immersion
- Christians are born again in the resurrection, (refer to the **Appendix. Charles Taze Russell and Born Again** for details)
- anointing for healing
- mortality of the soul (conditionalism)
- Christendom is the great Whore with many daughters
- Gospel of the future Kingdom of God³²

³² See the article by O. P. Williams, "What is the Kingdom of God?," *The Bible Advocate*, 24 Oct 1911, p. 763. This is so similar to what Herbert W Armstrong taught:

"This subject is one that every child of God should be very deeply interested about. It is to our interest to study this subject, so that we may know what we are seeking. We are commanded to seek the kingdom first of all, and the things that we need in this present life God will give them to us. Luke 12: 31.

Now let us search and see what it takes to constitute a kingdom. Daniel says that the kingdom we ought to seek will be under heaven when it comes. So if we live right the kingdom will come to us and save us of that long journey that so many of our preachers tell us we are to take at death. Daniel 7: 27. And our Lord taught us to pray for the kingdom to come.

Matt. 6: 9, 10. **The kingdom as I see it, it takes first of all a territory; 2, a king; 3, subjects; 4, rules or laws. The earth is the territory or seat of the kingdom, for it is a place where the righteous will dwell.** Matt. 5:5. I cannot see how men can afford to teach that the church or the people is the kingdom, when the Bible sets it forth so plain that they are only subjects of the kingdom. See Matt. 13: 38. They are the church and not the kingdom, for it is evident that the church was in existence when Christ was here with his disciples. Acts 1:6. Now we learn from reading the above passage that Israel had once been in possession of the kingdom, for they asked Christ if he would restore the kingdom at that time. Now it is evident that they knew that they had the king with them, and the territory, and subjects, but their ruling power had been taken from them. Jesus would not have taught us to pray for something that we were in possession of, for we have the

- second advent and 1,000 year reign of the Messiah
- all those not called by God at this time, will be resurrected during a period in the Millennium to gain their first chance of salvation.

The above is summarised in the **Appendix. Chart Demonstrating Church of God and Sabbatarian Connections to Influencers** and the **Appendix. Chart of Influencers on the Development of Church of God Doctrines in the Nineteenth Century**.

Groups impacted by the Christian Connexion and Millerites

We noted above the influence of William Miller's preaching and the consequent rise of the Adventist movement.

The original grouping known as Adventists or Second Advent Movement evolved into four major Sunday-observing churches, viz:

- Evangelical Adventist Church
- Adventist Christian Church founded by Jonas Wendell and George Stetson
- Life and Advent Union founded by George Storrs³³
- Church of God (Abrahamic Faith) founded by Benjamin Wilson

A conference to unify the Millerite Adventists was held at Albany in April 1845. William Miller and Joshua Himes were among the 61 delegates.

The major doctrinal issues that were discussed included whether the prophecies related to Israel (including the Jews) would literally come to pass prior to Christ's return or whether the prophecies were spiritual. Joseph Marsh of the Age to Come Adventist faction (and member of the Christian Connexion) were adamant that the prophecies were literal. Marsh apparently held to the British-Israel teaching:

"Marsh reprinted in the *Advent Harbinger* selections from Literalist works. **He opened his columns to Storrs, who promoted therein a book on British Israelism**, teaching the inheritance of Palestine by the supposed British descendants of the ten tribes along with a Jewish Judah.[63] But that doctrine does not appear to have been a major issue in the age-to-come controversy."

[Footnote 63 reads: Marsh, *Advent Harbinger*, n.s. 2: 12. June 29, 1850. **Extracts were printed in the Harbinger from this book (*Our Israelitish Origin*, by an Englishman, John Wilson)**, for example on p. 21, July 6, 1850."] (Julia Neuffer, *A historical review of early non-Sabbatarian Adventists' dispute over Israel in prophecy (1844-1850)*, pp. 74-76) [emphasis mine]

people, which is the church, with us, and the kingdom is something God is going to give us. See Luke 12: 32. And it must be that Christ is to set up David's throne and rule the world from this throne, is what we are promised. Now in regard to the people not being the kingdom, see James 2: 5 also 2 Peter 1:11. In regard to this world being the territory of our Lord's kingdom, see Rev. 11:15. So let us all become willing to remain on earth, and to have Christ Jesus to reign over us, for this is the blessed promise that God has promised those that overcome, and if I am permitted to remain on earth and be one of Christ's subjects in his kingdom I will be exceedingly well pleased, for it will be a noble good gift, for it is a gift that comes from God and he never gives any other kind but good gifts.

Let us all join in earnest prayer to God to let the kingdom come. Then his blessed will will be done and when his will is being done there will not be any confusion, and this will be a glorious place to live. Your humble brother looking for Christ to come and reign." [emphasis mine]

³³ The Second Advent movement was heavily influenced by George Storrs, in particular the state of the dead. However, they felt impelled to proclaim the second advent of Christ. Unfortunately, further date setting resulted in disappointments.

One of their publications was *Advent Herald and Sign of the Times Reporter* – many years later the Seventh-day Adventists published their own *Sign of the Times* which is still going strong to this day.

Another doctrine under discussion was whether the door to salvation was shut and sinners could not be converted since 1844. Some adhered to this view while others later adopted the belief that Christ was cleansing the spiritual temple prior to His return.

A contentious doctrine was whether humans were mortal or possessed an immortal soul though not debated during the conference, it grew as an issue and became a source of dissension and division.

Some went so far as to believe that Christ has indeed returned invisibly on the date Miller had postulated – 22 October 1844 and that the Millennium had actually commenced at that time! This may have influenced the Russell that Christ had returned invisibly in 1874 and would return physically to rule for 1,000 years. In 1930, the Jehovah's Witnesses began to teach that this actually occurred in 1914.

Probably the most controversial issue that was debated was whether Christians should observe the seventh day Sabbath in lieu of Sunday. Unfortunately, the conference delegates rejected the notion and passed a resolution stating that there should be

"no fellowship with Jewish fables and commandments of man, that turn from the truth." (*Proceedings of the Mutual Conference of Adventists Held in the City of Albany* by Joseph Himes)

Yet, it was in February that year that Thomas Preble published *A Tract, Showing that the Seventh Day Should Be Observed as the Sabbath, Instead of the First Day; "According to the Commandment"* which became so influential in spreading the Sabbath truth. Apparently, this was the first article to be published by a Second Adventist advocating the Sabbath (it was reprinted in tract form in March 1845).

Despite their efforts to cooperate, three main groupings had developed:

Evangelical Adventists

One early Adventist group which emerged from the Albany conference was the American Millennial Association – a portion of the group formed the Evangelical Adventist Church.

Advent Christian Church

This church was organised in 1860 under the title of Advent Christian Association (later changed to Advent Christian Conference). It began to gradually withdraw from the American Millennial Association from around 1854 over issues such as whether humans were mortal or possessed an immortal soul.

The Church practiced an annual Lord's Supper and baptism by complete immersion.

Elder Jonas Wendell and Elder Mansfield assisted by Elder King decided to hold outreach meetings in Nevada, Ohio in February 1867. This resulted in a number of conversions and these successes attracted Dr George Stetson whom we have already met.

In 1964 it merged with the Life and Advent Union.

The Church experienced a split with the Primitive Advent Christian Church emerging in West Virginia.

Life and Advent Union

This group was founded by John Walsh³⁴ and George Storrs in 1863. Many years previous, in 1842, Storrs was publishing *The Bible Examiner* which promulgated his doctrinal views.³⁵ Walsh was associate publisher at that time.

Walsh was opposed to the 'fair chance' or 'age to come' doctrine that all those who had not been called in this life (and who had never heard the Gospel message) would be given a chance for salvation during the Millennium.

101 years after the foundation of this group, it merged with the Adventist Christian Church which held to identical doctrinal positions.

In addition to the three groups referred to above, the Millerite/Adventist/Second Great Awakening generated a number of other groups:

Church of God (Abrahamic Faith)

This group came about from several groups which organised in 1888 with the original name of Church of God in Christ Jesus. A few of the original groups may be dated back to the early 1800s with the rest from the Millerite period.

In 1921 the Church became more unified under a national conference at which the name of Church of God (Abrahamic Faith) was adopted.

It's doctrines are rather similar to that of the Church of God (seventh day) with the exception on observing Sunday and Unitarianism.

One of the founders of the group was Benjamin Wilson, an Englishman, who is the famed translator of the *Emphatic Diaglott*.³⁶

Although his family's religious roots are found in the Baptist church, they became Campbellites (Disciples of Christ church) approximately 1840. The founders of the Disciples of Christ were former Presbyterians and believed all Christian groups should cooperate. By the 1850s they became known as the Christian Church and later, in the early 1900s, the group split into two camps: the Christian Church and the Church of Christ.

In the Christadelphian publication, *The Herald of the Future Age*³⁷ (August 1843), Dr John Thomas (founder) made reference to him and though Wilson did not join that group, they corresponded.

In 1844 he migrated to Illinois, United States where he raised up a Campbellite church.

³⁴ Further information about Walsh is available at

<https://web.archive.org/web/20120604162926/http://www.therestorationmovement.com/walsh.htm>

³⁵ Walsh, in similitude to the Christadelphians (and some aspects of the later Russellites), believed that the wicked would not be resurrected to judgment.

³⁶ "It is an interlinear translation with the original Greek text and a word-for-word English translation in the left column, and a full English translation in the right column ... Charles Taze Russell, then president of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, approached Wilson's family via a third party and obtained the copyright, and at some later point, the plates. The Society published the Diaglott in 1902, and later had the type reset for publication on its own presses in 1927, with an additional printing in 1942." (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emphatic_Diaglott)

³⁷ The publication came under the title *The Herald of the Future Age* 1843-49 and changed to *Herald of the Kingdom and Age to Come* 1851-61.

Soon thereafter Wilson began corresponding with Joseph Marsh who was the leader of an Adventist group based in Rochester, New York. Marsh is of interest to us as he was a member of the Christian Connexion followed his working together with the Millerites. After the Great Disappointment, he associated with the Adventists (it is also of interest that Nelson Barbour, a prominent Adventist, was based in Rochester 1860s-70s).

In 1855 he commenced *The Gospel Banner* periodical which, of course, promulgated Campbellite doctrines as well as a blend of Christadelphian and Adventist views (in 1858 Dr Thomas even advertised that periodical in his *The Herald of the Future Age*).

Returning to the *Emphatic Diaglott*, Dr Thomas published a letter in his *Herald of the Kingdom and Age to Come* in September 1855 from Wilson who thanked Dr Thomas and others for helping with the translation and requested assistance in arranging to have it published. The translation was finally published in 1864. However, due to theological differences, the two gradually grew away from each other during the latter part of the 1860s.

It was also in 1864 that the local congregation of Wilson was renamed Church of God of the Abrahamic Faith which had incorporated doctrines of Wilson, Thomas and the Adventists. After the *Diaglott's* plates were transferred to Charles Taze Russell's Watchtower Society, it was published by them for several decades. The Society admits that this translation of the Scriptures was one the greatest influences on him as he researched and developed doctrine.³⁸

Further reading:

- *Biographical Encyclopedia: Chronicling the History of the Church of God Abrahamic Faith 19th & 20th Centuries* by J.T. Tilson.

John Thomas and the Christadelphians

Another man influenced by the early Adventists and Millerites (and thus indirectly by the Connexion), is Dr John Thomas.³⁹ He was originally a Campbellite (Disciples of Christ) but left them around the late 1830s⁴⁰ and became associated with the Millerites around 1843.

Yet, some of the Disciples of Christ continued to publish his articles in their *Messenger and Reformer* periodical that was published in Britain long after he migrated to America from England in 1832. It seems most likely that there were exchanges between him and the early Adventists, sharing doctrinal views and no doubt, influencing each other. In fact, the group he founded, the Christadelphians and the Church of God (Abrahamic Faith) referred to above, have come to recognise each other as having similar roots and beliefs.

³⁸ Russell is famous for his belief that Christ would first return invisibly and then visibly: But "Neither Barbour nor Russell was the first to explain the Lord's return as an invisible presence. Much earlier, Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) had written that Christ would return and reign "invisible to mortals." In 1856, Joseph Seiss, a Lutheran minister in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, had written about a two-stage second advent-an invisible pa-rou-si'a, or presence, followed by a visible manifestation. Then, in 1864, Benjamin Wilson had published his *Emphatic Diaglott* with the interlinear reading "presence," not "coming," for pa-rou-si'a, and B. W. Keith, an associate of Barbour, had drawn it to the attention of Barbour and his associates." (*Jehovah's Witnesses – Proclaimers of God's Kingdom*, p. 46, footnote). Russell himself explains how he was introduced to the *Emphatic Diaglott* in his periodical *Zion's Watch Tower*, May, 1890, p. 4.

³⁹ His group can truly be regarded as emanating from the Millerite movement (Bull, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream*, p. 422).

⁴⁰ Campbell reproved Thomas over certain doctrinal views: "Resolved, That whereas certain things believed and propagated by Dr. Thomas, in relation to the mortality of man, the resurrection of the dead and the final destiny of the wicked, having given offence to many brethren, and being likely to produce a division among us; and believing the said views to be of no practical benefit, we recommend to Brother Thomas to discontinue the discussion of them, unless in his defence when misrepresented." (*Memoirs*, vol ii. p. 448 published in *The Millennial Harbinger Abridged* (1902) by Alexander Campbell and edited by Benjamin Lyons).

Also of interest is that he had articles published in *The Bible Examiner* which was published by George Storrs, another early Adventist.

Gradually, Thomas' Christadelphian group began to emerge from around the late 1840s and into the 1860s. One of their doctrines is that of Unitarianism – meaning that although they believe that Christ is the son of God, this is only in the human sense. That is, Christ did not have pre-existence except in the mind of God.

Like most Adventists, Thomas believed in the imminent return of Christ, restoration of Israel, 1,000 rule of Christ, water baptism, literal fulfilment of prophecy, human mortality, Christians ruling on earth with Christ, non-trinitarianism and so forth.

Of further interest is that Charles Taze Russell (founder of the Bible Students Association or Jehovah Witnesses) viewed the Christadelphians as 'semi-brethren' and even published an article by Thomas in the *Zion's Watch Tower* (June 1881).

Russellites and early Jehovah Witnesses

Charles Taze Russell founded the *Zion's Watch Tower* and Tract Society in 1881 as we saw earlier.

In similarity with the other groups discussed herein, he had connections with the Millerites:

"I confess indebtedness to Adventists as well as to other denominations". In light of this, the Bible Student Movement was influenced by Adventists roots, but did not emerge from the Millerism movement." ("Sketch of Development of Present Truth," *Zion's Watch Tower*, 1 June, 1916, p. 170)

In 1870, years after falling away from his Presbyterian upbringing, Russell attended a meeting of Second Adventists (Sunday observers) in Allegheny and listened to preaching by Jonas Wendell (1815-1873). Wendell was basically following in the footsteps of Miller, even nominating 1873 as the date for the return of Christ.⁴¹ However, his preaching restored Russell's faith in the Bible.⁴²

From him arose the Jehovah Witnesses with millions of members and which publishes tens of millions of items each year.

Further reading:

- *Messenger of Millennial Hope* by C.F. Redeker.

In addition to the Sunday Adventist groups described above, Sabbatarian groups emerged, with influences from the aforementioned:

Seventh-day Adventists

One of the groups that emerged from the Millerite/Adventist movement was the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

⁴¹ Wendell's theory and date-setting is outlined in his booklet *Present Truth*, available for free download online.

⁴² Russell and the Jehovah Witnesses do not believe in the physical observance of the Sabbath etc. They see only the spiritual benefit: "The true Christ or Messiah of the inspired prophetic Scriptures had come in the year 29 C.E. and had finished his work as a man in 33 C.E. Therefore the time had come for the people under the ancient law to stop observing those shadowy practices, such as the observance of the new moon or first day of each lunar month, and the observance of the sabbaths, whether the weekly sabbath, the Atonement Day sabbath, the seventh year sabbath of the land or the fiftieth-year Jubilee sabbath of the land and its people." (*Life Everlasting in Freedom of the Sons of God*, p. 25).

The founders of this church were Joseph Bates (1792-1872) (regarded as the ‘father’ of the church), James White (1821-81) and his wife Ellen G White (1827-1915).

It began to assemble and formed a loose association in 1860 and officially organised and incorporated in 1863.

The observing of the seventh day Sabbath and the coming of Christ are two major doctrines of this group. They also practice tithing, water baptism and footwashing at Lord’s Supper services. In addition, they teach vegetarianism, though probably half of the group does not fully adhere to this belief. In addition, they maintain hundreds of schools, clinics and hospitals across the world.

Their health programs, missionary work, educational and philanthropic programmes are world renowned.

Many years after the great disappointment of 1844, the Seventh-day Adventists began to preach that Christ, as High Priest, had begun cleansing the sanctuary in heaven in 1844. That He was reviewing our lives before returning to the earth to gather His beloved. According to this doctrine – also known as the investigative judgment – he is assessing those who have died and the living to determine whether they are worthy for the first resurrection.

Prior to the formation of the Seventh-day Adventists (SDAs), the Sabbatarians were overwhelmingly Semi-Arian/Binitarian or sometimes Arian and a few Unitarian. Following the formation of the SDAs, this doctrinal position continued well into the 20th century. In essence they believed that Christ was begotten or generated from the Father (ie brought about or ‘born’ in some fashion). You can read more about this in article such as *What did the Pioneers Believe? Quotes from Early Seventh-day Adventist Pioneers* by Beachy. So, Seventh-day Adventist pioneers believed in Arianism and probably some were Unitarian.⁴³

By 1931 the church officially adopted Trinitarianism. There is a large body of information on the internet on the history of how that church transitioned to the trinity and the current debate. One such article can be found in the **Appendix. The Trinity in Seventh-day Adventist History.**

In addition, they originally believed that the new birth (or being born again) occurred in two parts:

“That the new birth comprises the entire change necessary to fit us for the kingdom of God and consists of two parts: first, a moral change, wrought by conversion and a Christian life; second, a physical change at the second coming of Christ, whereby, if dead, we are raised incorruptible, and if living, are changed to immortality in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. John 3:3, 5; Luke 20:36.”
(belief no. 5 in *A Declaration of the Fundamental Principles Taught & Practiced by The Seventh-Day Adventists*)

This is repeated in the 1889 update to the *Fundamental Principles*. This shows that this group once held to a number of views and has since moved further away from the Truth.

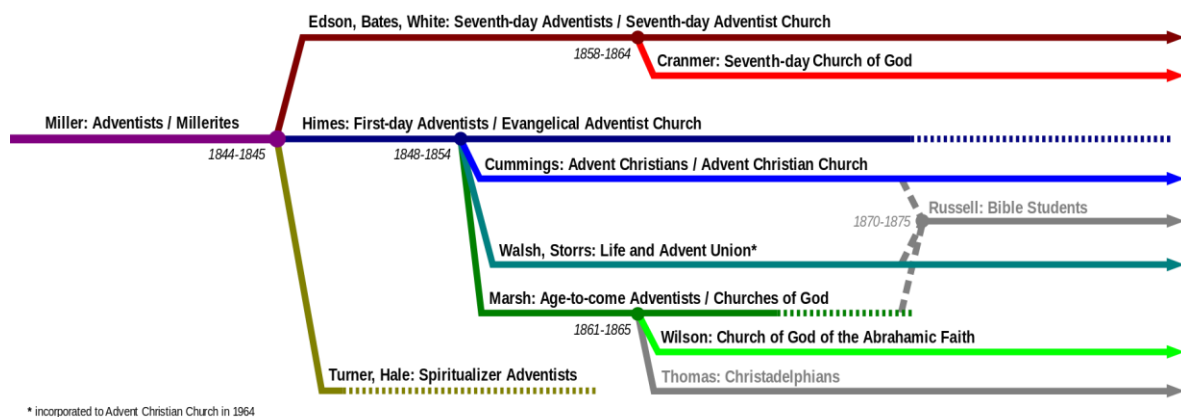
⁴³ “Although Christian Connexion believers were a relatively small group in the advent movement, in the years between 1845 and 1850, when the group was formed, among three of the founding members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church - James White and Joseph Bates – were earlier active workers of Christian Connexion. Bates chose that group instead of the Congregationalist Church, to which his parents belonged, because he agreed with the Connexionists with respect to the baptism of adults through immersion and because he was also opposed to the doctrine of the Trinity. However, Ellen Harmon, later White, was a Methodist and, like other Methodists, believed in the Trinity.” (Bernard Kozirog, “The Doctrinal Peculiarity of Seventh-day Adventism: Teaching about the Trinity,” p. 38)

Whether to observe the Feast Days listed in Lev 23 or not has continually been debated within that Church. Much has been written about this and it is becoming more and more topical and acceptable within the Church, though only a tiny minority observe these days. One such article worthwhile reading on the topic is *Exposing the Skeleton in the S.D.A. Closet of 1888* by Norman Bradley.

Further reading:

- *Historical Dictionary of Seventh-day Adventists* by G. Land
- *A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* by M.E. Olsen
- *A Feast of Reason: The Roots of William Miller's Biblical Interpretation and its influence on the Seventh-day Adventist Church* by J. Crocombe
- *Foundations of the Seventh-day Message and Mission* by P. G. Damsteegt

The chart below graphically portrays the connections and 'family tree' of these groups (source: Wikipedia)



Church of God (seventh day)

It is now obvious, that as knowledge was increasing over time, and especially in the 19th and 20th centuries, that was the period God used the various influences to inform the doctrines of the fledgling new Work that was being raised up. In other words, the aforementioned key men and groups informed the Church of God via the circuitous and mysterious ways God works to bring about His Will.

The seeds were being sewn and took time to germinate among the group of people we call today the Church of God. Indeed, they were well aware of the religious turmoil and the insights developed by others all around them. For example, an article appeared in their *The Hope of Israel* periodical, "The Birth of the Spirit" by H. E. Carver wherein he discusses various issues and groups such as the Seventh-day Adventists, First-day Adventists, Age-to-Come, Christadelphians and such like – the Church of God did not operate in a vacuum.

Of note, Carver wrote:

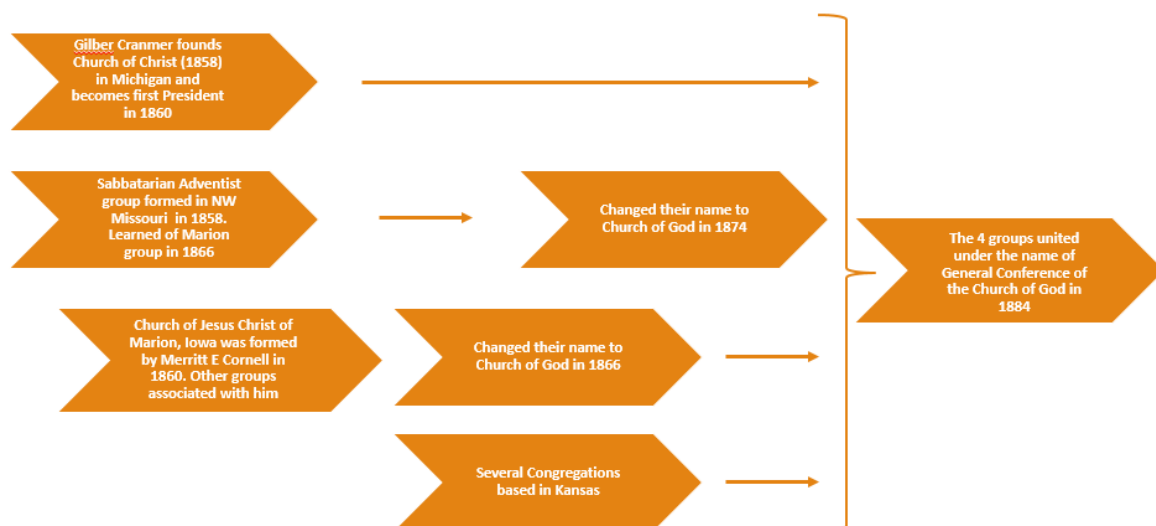
"We do not ignore the value and importance of church fellowship; but when church fellowship fails to aid us as individuals to develop a true bible character, it becomes a hindrance instead of a help, a curse instead of a blessing. The constituent elements of the true church of God now lie scattered over the earth, many of them under its surface, sleeping in Jesus, **but when the time comes for that church to be organized, those elements prepared by a master mind will come together with as great precision and as much harmony characterized the erection of Solomon's temple.**" (p.166) [emphasis mine]

It is these people that preferred to not go along with the formation of the Seventh-day Adventists, differing over the name which they felt should be *Church of God*; and they also rejected the visions of Ellen G White. They were known as *The Messenger Party* or *Cranmerites*, named after their periodical (*Messenger of Truth*) and Gilbert Cranmer (the founder of the initial anti-Ellen G White grouping⁴⁴).

Others pulled out of the fledgling Seventh-day Adventist grouping in 1863 and 1866 and became part of the Church of God family.

Cranmer founded the Church of Christ in Michigan in 1858 and became its first President in 1860; the Sabbatarian Adventist group formed in NW Missouri in 1858 by two men who were formerly associated with Ellen G White and the Sabbatarian Adventists who were unorganised at that time; and the Church of Jesus Christ, Iowa formed in 1860 by Merritt E Cornell. He had observed the Sabbath since 1852 having been convinced of its sanctity by Joseph Bates. Cornell also worked with James White as an evangelist for a while. These three groups learned of each other and together with congregations in Kansas, merged.

The above is arranged in the graphic below to assist in understanding this important step in Church of God history:



The Church of Jesus Christ, Iowa, changed its name to Church of God in 1866 and the congregations in northwestern Missouri followed suit in 1874. A General Conference to unite these various groups (including Cranmer's Church of Christ) was organised in Michigan in 1884 with headquarters in Marion, Iowa. Other groups were based in Kansas.

On 3 October 1884 it was recorded:

"We hail with joy ... uniting on the name **Church of God**, thus making us one people, and uniting us together in one common cause ..."

This was the first time all the congregations united under one name "General Conference of the Church of God" perhaps partially fulfilling the prophecy

⁴⁴ "In early 1858 he [Cranmer] began evangelizing without affiliation. However, he soon established a new community of Sabbathkeeping Adventist believers. Cranmer organized his congregations as the Church of Christ, which is the forerunner of the Church of God (Seventh Day)." (Coulter, *The Journey*, p. 74).

"I know what you've been doing. Look! I have put in front of you an open door that no one can shut. You have only a little strength [ie are weak], but you have obeyed my word **and have not denied my name.**" (Rev 3:8)

Various doctrines began to enter which either became officially sanctioned or gained some prominence. For example, Brother Ellsworth **promoted British-Israelism** in the Church of God, but came under attack from Brinkerhoff at this time.

In the 23 April 1867 edition of *The Hope of Israel*, Samuel Crouce wrote that the early Church observed Passover on 14 Abib and that the Church should also do so, with observance commencing at the beginning of 14 Abib ("The Proper Time for Celebrating the Lord's Supper, And Communion," *The Hope of Israel*, 23 April 1867, p. 179).⁴⁵

Also, an article appeared in the *Advocate* by Brinkerhoff **promoting annual Passover** observance. Most of the brethren were observing a Lord's Supper during that period. The date for **Passover was announced as 14 Abib** (Coulter, *The Journey*, p. 183) but was not incorporated into the *Articles of Faith* for many years. Refer to **Appendix. The 1888 Articles of Faith.**⁴⁶

The General Conference of the Church of God appointed Stanberry, Missouri as headquarters in 1888 and remained there until the move to Denver, Colorado in 1950.

Of interest is that Gilbert Cranmer taught that the new birth culminates in the resurrection and was outlined in his article "The Birth of the Spirit," *Hope of Israel*, 1863, 14 Sept, p. 3. Refer to **Appendix. The Birth of the Spirit by Gilbert Cranmer.**

During the 1890s there was further doctrinal interest such as born again: William C. Long in April 1893, wrote in the *Advocate*: "We are begotten of God; we are born of the Spirit. These two events do not occur at the same time. We are begotten at conversion; **we are born at the resurrection**" which was taught by the church for many years thereafter (Nickels, *Bible Doctrine*, p. 11.13).

⁴⁵ The Wednesday crucifixion – Saturday resurrection doctrine also began to enter the Church of God at this time. In the September 1864 issue of *The Hope of Israel* an article was published advocating a Wednesday crucifixion and Saturday resurrection. (Tiffany, "Christ's Resurrection on the 7th day," *The Hope of Israel*, vol 1, no 19, pp. 2-3) In 1893 the doctrine was formally recognised. Many Seventh Day Baptists and various scholars such as Bullinger advocated this view during the nineteenth century (Dellinger, *History of the Saturday Resurrection Doctrine*, pp. 11-20). As did Church of God elder Andrew Ferguson Dugger around 1879 (ibid, p. 15). Refer to the **Appendix. A History of the Saturday Resurrection Doctrine Among Sabbath-Keepers.**

⁴⁶ It should be noted that most of the Church of God did not observe the Passover at that time. Only a few did as did some Seventh Day Baptists. In the "What's in an Ordinance," Sept-Oct 2018 *Bible Advocate*, pp. 8-9, Robert Coulter wrote: "After the Church of Christ in Michigan (former name of the Church of God [Seventh Day]) was organized in 1858, and her congregations grew, she began holding quarterly weekend meetings that rotated among her churches. They began on Friday evening with an opening preaching service, followed by a full day of preaching on Sabbath, and concluded with observing the Lord's Supper and foot washing on Sunday afternoon before dismissal." (p.8)

According to Calvin Burrell, what happened was as follows:

"Those early 48-hour meetings in Michigan began on Friday evening and continued through Sunday afternoon, not because they attached any sacredness to the Sunday piece of it, but because their commitment to Sabbath was firm and Sunday was merely an extension of the time the church could be together.

The observance of Lord's Supper and foot washing on Sunday was not based on any biblical significance like "breaking bread on the first day of the week" (Acts 20:7), etc. Instead communion was their idea of the most solemn and inspiring way they could say farewell until the next quarterly meeting, with the time entirely secondary. Early CoG7 pioneers, in fact, never gave much thought, if any, to the idea of an annual Lord's Supper at the time of Hebrew passover. For them, it was mostly like Paul said in I Cor. 12: "As often as you do it, you show the Lord's death until He comes."" (e-mail dated 5 Oct 2019).

In 1896 the German Brethren of the Church of God organized near Eureka, South Dakota, in the northern part of the state, not knowing anything of the General Conference of the Church of God, nor that there was a work going on in the southern part of the state. It was until about 1923 that the group learned of the Church of God with headquarters at Stanberry, Missouri.

In 1899 the Church of God group officially incorporated as the *General Conference of the Church of God*, in Gentry County, Missouri.

Christian Connection and the Sabbath

Concerning the influential Christian Connexion group mentioned previously (also known as Christian Connection and Christian Church) – it is of interest that some of them converted to the seventh day Sabbath (Haloviak, *Some Great Connexions: Our Seventh-day Adventist Heritage*, p. 15). What became of this group is unknown: did they join the Seventh Day Baptists, stay independent or die out?⁴⁷

In *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream*, the authors noted that some Millerites practiced footwashing and then the Sabbath began to be of some interest:

“Indeed they soon focused on another test, the Jewish Sabbath, which some Adventists had started to observe as early as 1844 as a result of the activities of a Seventh Day Baptist, Rachel Oakes. She converted a Millerite [Methodist] preacher, Frederick Wheeler, and one of his congregations at a church of the Christian Connection in Washington, New Hampshire ...” (p. 48)⁴⁸

Also, a former Christian Connexion minister, Joseph Bates, issued a pamphlet in 1846 *The Seventh-day Sabbath, A Perpetual Sign* which was highly influential in Millerite circles.⁴⁹

The famous James White was himself also originally of the Christian Connexion (Wheeler, *James White: Innovator and Overcomer*, pp. 30-31). As was Joseph Bates, whom along with James and Ellen G White, is regarded as a founder of the Seventh-day Adventist movement.

“The Christian Connexion took Scripture seriously and felt that it must be continuously explored. If they should interpret some biblical teaching incorrectly, further study would surely correct it ... Believers must study the Bible and recover the Primitive Christianity of the New Testament. They must restore the teaching and practice of the pure church that Jesus had founded.” (Gerald Wheeler, *James White: Innovator and Overcomer*, p. 30)

⁴⁷ An article exploring how the Seventh Day Baptists influenced the Millerites and early Second Adventists alerting 1,000s to the Sabbath and resulting in many conversions to its observance, have a read of Bodioga’s *Seventh Day Baptist Influences upon Millerites*.

⁴⁸ “The church where all this took place was a Christian Connection church. It was built by the members of the Christian Connection faith in the early 1840s.

In 1843, Millerite minister Joshua Goodwin convinced the members of the soon return of Christ. Some evidence points to Christian Connection/Millerite minister Joseph Bates having a role in that church becoming Adventist.

That made the Washington, NH, Christian church one of hundreds of New England Christian Connection churches that looked upward for the soon return of Jesus” (B. Haloviak, *A Heritage of Freedom: The Christian Connection Roots to Seventh-day Adventism*, p. 3).

⁴⁹ The first edition is available at <http://www.loyalbooks.com/download/text/Seventh-Day-Sabbath-a-Perpetual-Sign-from-Th.txt> and you can find the second edition of this work online at [http://centrowhite.org.br/files/ebooks/apl/all/Bates/The%20Seventh%20Day%20Sabbath,%20A%20Perpetual%20Sign%20\(Sabbath%20Controversy%202\).pdf](http://centrowhite.org.br/files/ebooks/apl/all/Bates/The%20Seventh%20Day%20Sabbath,%20A%20Perpetual%20Sign%20(Sabbath%20Controversy%202).pdf)

Gilbert Cranmer, recognised as the Church of God's founding father, was baptised into the Christian Connexion Church in 1829.

So, as we can see the 'dots' between the Sabbatarians and the Christian Connexion group 'add up.'

Further reading:

- *A Heritage of Freedom: The Christian Connection Roots to Seventh-day Adventism* by B. Haloviak.

Similarities of Titles of Periodicals and Doctrines with the Church of God

In this section we will delve deeper into the similarities between the Sabbatarian Church of God and the other groups referred to above.

Titles of Periodicals

To iterate, several groups emerged directly or indirectly from the Millerite movement: Seventh-day Adventists (1863), Church of God (1858-66), and three Sunday-observing Adventist groups: Church of God of the Abrahamic Faith (1888) (though this group also had roots in the Literalism movement), Advent Christian Church (1860) and the Life and Advent Union (1862) (the latter two merged in 1964 as we saw). Except for the Sabbath, the Sunday-observing Adventists groups have some major similarities to the sabbatarian Churches of God, including the future Kingdom of God on earth, conditionalism, anti-trinitarianism and water baptism. It is in this context that we may now discuss the Jehovah's Witnesses (JWs) doctrines and periodicals.

The original Watchtower group formed as a result of their founder, Russell, meeting with a mixed group of traditionalist Age to Come believers and Second Adventists in 1871 (Hoekema, *The Four Major Cults*, p. 224). His paper, which commenced in 1874, was titled *Zion's Watchtower and Herald of Christ's Presence*. This is similar in title to the name of the Church of God paper *Sabbath Advocate and Herald of the Advent* which has since been renamed the *Bible Advocate*. Similarly, *Herald of the Kingdom* was also a Christadelphian periodical and another was *The Apostolic Advocate* – these name similarities are an indication of these groups having knowledge of each other and sharing each other's literature and ideas.

It should be noted that the term *Watchtower* is not unique to the JW's and there are other groups that derive from the Adventist movement which believe that they are God's watchman. Recall that decades later Herbert W Armstrong taught that the Church of God should be a Watchman to the House of Israel (Ezekiel 33:6). As we shall see, a man who heavily influenced Russell, George Storrs had a book published with a similar title: *The Watch Tower: Or, Man in Death; and the Hope for a Future Life* in the 1850s.

In the 1920s the JWs published a newsletter titled *The Bulletin*; an identical title was adopted by that great sifter of information and doctrine, Herbert W Armstrong, for a newsletter in the 1930s and later for a periodical for the Worldwide Church of God pastors, *Pastor-General's Bulletin*. The initial *The Bulletin of the Churches of God* in Oregon (commenced 1933) and later the *Good News Letter* (1943) were forerunners to the Worldwide Church of God's *Good News* magazine.

Russell also wrote a series of articles which were published in 1886 which were given the title of *Millennial Dawn*. This title may have been partially borrowed from the Millerite paper of Edson, *The Day Dawn* (1845) though it was a rather common phrase from the mid-eighteenth century.

The JW's were also possibly a source of inspiration for the various sacred name Churches of God and Assemblies that emerged in the 1930s. Clarence Dodd, who co-authored the *True History of the True Religion* together with Andrew Dugger, adopted this belief. From 1931 onwards the JW's began to emphasise the importance of the name YHWH and this found its way into some of the branches of the Churches of God. In 1972 the JW's published *The Bible in Living English* (a translation by Steven Byrington who worked on it for 40 years) which emphasised the divine name.

Charles Taze Russell's Similarities to the Church of God

As we have seen The Watchtower has a fascinating history with roots in Millerism/Adventism. But there is more to his beliefs.

The becoming divine gods concept is seen scattered throughout Russell's articles. For instance, in "The Blessed Dying" article Russell wrote of Rev 14:13:

"Uniformly throughout the Bible, except in this one instance death is represented as a dreadful disaster, a terrible enemy, a devouring monster, and the grave a prison, permitted of our loving Heavenly Father ... The human must be entirely sacrificed **before the divine is perfected.**" (*Zion's Watch Tower*, December 1881, pp. 3-4) [emphasis mine]

He taught that Psalms 82:6

"is claiming that we are divine beings--hence all such are Gods. Thus we have a family of Gods, Jehovah being our father, and all his sons being brethren and joint-heirs: Jesus being the chief, or first-born ... in the resurrection we will rise in our true character as Gods." ("Ye are Gods", *Zion's Watch Tower*, December 1881, pp. 2-3)

Russell also believed that this was indeed "the day of salvation" for Christians (forming the little flock and the Bride of Christ). Yet a further day of salvation awaited all of those that were not cognisant of God's way. This "day" would be during the Millennium when "the times of restitution of all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began."

According to Russell, all of mankind would be enlightened to God's way during this period and only after that would they be placed on trial and appear before the judgement. Mankind would be raised to life in a general resurrection during the Millennium and be given a chance of salvation – after all, they must be judged according to knowledge, not according to ignorance or conscience as some falsely teach.

It is likely that Russell learned of this 'fair chance' for humanity doctrine from George Storrs (sometimes termed 'Age to Come' which is not to be confused with the belief that the Millennium is also taught as 'the Age to Come') and there are hints of this belief sometimes in Sabbatarian history.

In *A Separate Identity: Organizational Identity Among Readers of Zion's Watch Tower: 1870-1887* (Vol 1), B.W. Schulz demonstrates how some distorted Storrs' 'fair chance' doctrine.⁵⁰ Storrs

⁵⁰ It is interesting the extent of belief and discussion on the Fair Chance doctrine during the latter half of the nineteenth century. An example of the debate at that time is "Future Probation" by Gail Hamilton, *The North American Review*, Feb 1887, pp. 129-140. SDA pioneer, Joseph Harvey Waggoner condemned a literal 1,000 year Millennium on earth and also future probation in his book *Refutation of the Doctrine Called The Age to Come*. Discussion still continues, though at a lower level, for example *Grace Beyond the Grave. Is Salvation Possible in the Afterlife?* by Stephen Jonathan.

"... had been for decades an Age to-Come advocate. He called himself a "firm believer in an age to come, of probation to some of our race" after Christ's return, dating that belief to March 1844 ...

Storrs ... rejected probationism [preferring future probation], the teaching that one's life is a period of testing and one's only chance to find God's approval. Influence by Henry Dunn and secondarily by Dunbar Isidore Heath, he saw probationism as unscriptural. He wasn't alone in questioning probation doctrine. It was debated in the theological press, many pointing out that "probation" wasn't a scriptural term and certainly not a Bible doctrine."

"Stated fairly, opponents had a much more difficult time refuting Storrs and others advocating a full and fair chance to hear the gospel in the resurrection ..." (p. 135)

"Jacob Blain, a Baptist clergyman, circulated back numbers of *Bible Examiner*, some *Bible Examiner* tracts, and his own *New Light: A New Theory as to the Destiny of our Race*, as held by Henry Dunn and many in England." (p. 135)

"The Russells [ie the Russellites] and their associates relied heavily on Storrs ... Russell saw Storrs as a spiritual mentor and a man of faith." (p. 136)

There is also a hint of this belief in Gilbert Cranmer's address delivered to the sabbatarian Church conference 13 June 1863 and published as "Synopsis of a Discourse," *The Hope of Israel*, 10 August 1863, p.3:

"The gospel is simply good news of the appearing and kingdom of Jesus. This has to be preached to "every nation, kindred, tongue and people." (Rev. 14: 6) ...

"Miller however proclaimed one untruth. He taught that the judgment would sit in 1844. That the day of judgment was one day of 24 hour, and that the righteous and wicked were to be judged together. And there are those still who claim that the judgment upon the righteous commenced on the 10th day of the 7th month 1844. They claim two days of judgement. This is not true, as **there is but one day of judgement spoken of in the Bible. That day of judgment will continue one thousand years.** "And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received *his* mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. Rev. 20:4. "When the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" ...

"The saints are to sit in judgment upon wicked men and angels. But father Miller did not understand this. The judgement did not sit in 1844." [emphasis mine]

Also, about this time, some Sabbatarian Adventists (many whom became Seventh-day Adventists and others became Church of God) taught the fair chance ("age to come" or "future probation") doctrine:

"J.M. Stephenson and D.P. Hall were two of the first converts of J.H. Waggoner in Wisconsin [apparently this was in the 1850s]. For some years they were prominent ministers, though they never abandoned but sometimes hid their belief in that doctrine of probation for sinners after the

Second Coming called the “age-to-come,” which was held by some Adventists, then quite a party.” (AW Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, p. 229)

Concerning the 100 years referred to in Is. 65:20, Russell’s belief was outlined in his work *Divine Plan of the Ages*:

“Dimensions of the Incense Altar = 100

The only piece of furniture not used in that calculation, is the incense altar. Taking the incense altar by itself, we find that the top and the bottom, add up to 4 cubits. Any two verticals add up to 4 cubits. **4 x 25 = 100 cubits or the 100 years of Isaiah 65:20.**

The 4 verticals are 2 cubits apiece.

The top is 4 cubits as is the bottom.

Two verticals of one face = 4 cu.

4 sides of top = 4 cu

4 sides of bottom = 4 cu

4 x 25 = 100 years

This is the 100 years of **Isaiah 65:20** ...

“The Brazen Altar = 1000

If we take the top and the bottom of the brazen altar, the dimensions add up to 40 cubits, **40 x 25 = 1000 yrs.**

Looking at these numbers, we can see that the eventual restitution of all mankind, is being shown in the dimensions of the tabernacle furniture, when its looked at together, Acts 3:19

We find represented in the tabernacle furniture, the 2500 Jubilee cycle, pointing to the restitution of all things, the 1000 year day in which mankind will be restored, and the fact that all will have at least 100 yrs to hear and to accept the kingdom.” [emphasis mine]

They teach that this 100 year period is taken from Isaiah 65:20, which they believe is a “Kingdom Picture”.

Today the JW’s teach that all those that did not have their eyes opened to the truth or who died in ignorance and are not resurrected to eternal life at Christ’s coming - will be resurrected to mortal life. They teach these billions who were alive since Adam and Eve will receive their first chance of salvation.

The *Amplified Bible* reads this way:

“There shall no more be in it an infant who lives but a few days, or an old man who dies prematurely; for the child shall die a hundred years old, and the sinner who dies when only a hundred years old shall be thought only a child, cut off because he is accursed.”

To them this shows the possibility that people will be given 100 years to truly change their ways and conform to God’s arrangement; if they do not, they will be cut off – this would occur during the Millennium, rather than after it.

Russellites believe that everyone who ever lived will be resurrected to life and be given the opportunity to learn about God and his plan of salvation. Of further interest is their belief that the resurrection work is a process that may take hundreds of years during the 1,000 years of Christ. A time

of opportunity for both the good and evil to be instructed in God's ways (ie those not called in this life) – a rehabilitative work. This, is of course, different from the views of Universalism, which claim all will be reconciled to God regardless, including Satan. But what the Russelites believe is that all will be given the opportunity, but the scriptures are clear, some will fail and fall away.

They further believe that Jesus Christ's stated words in John 6:44-45 as well as the scriptures in Isaiah 2:3 and 11:9 prove that all of mankind has yet to be offered salvation.

The "exception", in their belief system, will be those who were begotten by God's Holy Spirit because Jesus stated that there is no forgiveness for those who sin against the Holy Spirit. That is not to say any sin, because we are all creatures of habit, but most likely refers to those who eventually deny that Jesus is the Christ, the same Spirit that revealed it to them and enlightened them to this regard – this is their strongly held belief and similar to Church of God belief.

It should also be noted that this idea (or similar) was also finding its way among the Church of God people. Notice the following:

"Church of God (Seventh-day). Adventist group that traces its origin back to the original sabbatarian Adventist movement. After H.S. Case and C.P. Russell came into conflict with Ellen G. White in Jackson, Michigan, in 1853, they began publishing the *Messenger of Truth* and two years later formed an alliance with J.M. Stephenson and D.P. Hall in Wisconsin **who were advocating the belief that during the millennium individuals would have a second chance to accept Christ**" (*Historical Dictionary of Seventh-Day Adventists: Historical Dictionaries of Religions, Philosophies, and Movements*, p. 63). [emphasis mine] [by "second chance" they should have stated "first chance"]⁵¹

So, the belief that mankind is not lost but most will yet be given a chance of salvation, was being explored by the Church of God folk even in those days.

Once again, George Storrs had many insights. He wrote:

"It is indeed true that ruling also is included in Christ's judging the world, yet it will be perfected by reward and punishment." (*Bible Examiner*, December, 1855)

"The penalty of the divine law is literal *death*, or cessation of conscious being ... if the impenitent and unbelieving are raised to life at all, it must be a *mortal* and not an *immortal* life. ... Numerous divine testimonies ... teach a universal judgment both of a *judicial* and *executive* character: passages which declare facts relative to the judgment of the wicked, which necessarily imply life and its functions, ... many who will be made alive by 'a resurrection [to] condemnation,' will be still *mortal* and liable to a *second death*. ... The sacred

⁵¹ According to Lawrence Onsager writing in the *Adventist Heritage* (vol 11, no 1): "Unfortunately, Mellberg became involved with the age-to-come controversy advocated by J. M. Stephenson and D. P. Hall, two Adventist ministers in Wisconsin, and did not follow through with his work among the Norwegians. The believers of **the age-to-come were a minority group of defectors from Seventh-day Adventism who held that probation would continue after the Second Advent and sinners would receive a second chance**. In 1855 Stephenson and Hall joined the *Messenger* party, another group of dissidents led by H. S. Case and C. P. Russell and named for their paper, the *Messenger of Truth* ... J. M. Stephenson and D. P., Hall, mentioned previously, held meetings in the neighborhood and visited the church members at their homes advocating their age-to-come theories." (p. 35) [emphasis mine]
"However, age-to-come Adventists did remain a factor in Jefferson County. In 1890 they had a group of thirty-six meeting in a rented hall. At that time, the Oakland church was the only Seventh-day Adventist church in the county and had a membership of thirty-eight." (p. 36)

Scriptures distinctly teach that some will be made alive by a resurrection, in a 'mortal' state." (*Bible Examiner*, February, 1856)

As we have noted, Henry Dunn published a work in 1872 also advocating a fair chance under the title *The Destiny of the Human Race. A Scriptural Inquiry*. Other early works advocating a fair chance in one form or another (without being universalist) were *The Future Kingdom of Christ* by Dunbar Heath (1852) and *The Intermediate State between Death and Judgment* by Herbert Luckock (1896).

Of further interest, Second Advent scholars including Isaac Wellcome and Clarkson Goud, were well aware of a plan that God had in mind for the human race. In their 1867 book *The Plan of Redemption* they attempted to expound upon this. Again, it was Storrs that widened this view of salvation being offered to all of mankind (yet without adopting the universalist teaching). To him, God would reasonably provide for mankind's redemption a 'fair chance' for everyone.

Storrs decided to revive his *The Bible Examiner* periodical in 1871 (which was discontinued in 1863). In it he taught that God's plan extended to the entire human race and not just those that have been offered salvation in the Christian era. To him, the Abrahamic promise would be offered to all mankind during the Kingdom of God on earth period.

Connected to this belief, it is not clear as to what Mr Armstrong taught when he was initially observing the Holy Days – it may have been that he taught that the 100 year period was during the Millennium – a period during which all that ever lived would be given their first chance of salvation; or that it was the final 100 years of the Millennium; or that people would live for 100 years. Further investigation is needed to clarify this but I did read this about him many years ago.

However, here is one titbit of historic information:

"The Conns and Bobbie Fisher cite a 1940s incident that they vividly recall. Mr. Armstrong had at first thought that all of the dead would be resurrected during the Millennium. A woman named Belle Rogers set Armstrong straight when she pointed out the scripture in Revelation 20 about the resurrection after the Millennium." (Richard C Nickels, 'Appendix C. Herbert W. Armstrong: 1892-1986' in *Early Writings of Herbert W. Armstrong*, Giving & Sharing, 1996, p. 237)

Also, it should be considered that the Watchtower's belief in a strong centralised governmental system may have influenced the governmental system which arose in the Worldwide Church of God (WCG) in the 1950s. It may also be of interest that some in the WCG used the JW book *Equipped for Every Good Work* to establish dates of Bible events.

To this day the JW's use terms such as 'God's Government', 'true Gospel', 'The Work.'

They also hold to a stance against blood transfusions. Although Herbert W Armstrong himself did not wish to have blood transfusions (presumably because of health or conscience reasons), he never made this a doctrine of the Church.

While they believed they were the *Church of God*, it was only in 1931 that they adopted the name Jehovah's Witnesses. The JW's have changed some of the truths that Russell held to, since his death, which has led to numerous spin-offs, accusing the parent group of being Laodicean. In fact, he was viewed as the "Laodicean Messenger" and the "faithful and wise servant" of Matt 24:45. The headstone at his grave reads "the Laodicean Messenger." Similarly, while the SDA Church views itself as the Laodicean Era, some who have left their ranks considered themselves to be Philadelphians!

There is talk among these offshoot Russellite groups to co-operate and to adopt the name Church of God. They are quite aware of their distant relationship to the Church of God (Seventh-Day) (see for example a letter to the editor in *New World Journal*, July 1994, p. 15). Note the following comment from researcher Jerry Bergman:

“When he did die [31 October 1916], the organisation was thrown into a turmoil which resulted in the formation of a number of large splinter groups ... The changes made in policy and doctrine after he died were so drastic that many scholars now consider the Jehovah’s Witnesses to be an offshoot of the original movement which Russell started. Today a number of movements claim to be the “faithful” followers of Russell’s teachings.” (*Jehovah’s Witnesses and Kindred Groups*, p. xvii)

Ruth Tucker, author of *Another Gospel*, writes the following:

“... through clever manoeuvring, Rutherford managed to seize control and maintain his position despite the intense opposition from individuals and factions ... Rutherford prevailed and brought a new style to the movement. As a result, many of Russell’s Bible Students deserted the organization ... ‘Thus,’ writes Rogerson, ‘modern-day Jehovah’s Witnesses are not necessarily direct successors of Pastor Russell ... the evil within the organization [is traceable] to Rutherford, not to Russell, who at times is depicted as a virtual saint in comparison to his successor’ ... in 1931 [Rutherford] began referring to the movement as Jehovah’s Witnesses” (pp. 125-28).

That sounds rather reminiscent of what went on in the WCG in the 1990s— a rather strange parallel. Even the events of the 1970s seem to show an interesting parallel between events in the WCG and the JWs: the growing belief that the JW’s discipline was too severe and out of order in a modern age; the end of the world did not occur in 1975 which resulted in loss of faith of some of their members which even included the successor to their church’s leader.

Raymond Franz was frontrunner to be the successor to his ailing uncle, Frederick Franz. But Raymond had doubts about some of the JW teachings which led to conflicts within the leadership. Frederick was 88 at that time (similarly HWA was 86 at the time of the WCG’s crisis). Raymond took a leave of absence for a while and then was disfellowshipped. Similarly, the successor to HWA went through the same procedures. You can read more about Franz’s experiences in *Crisis of Conscience*. In that book he also lists some of the similarities between the Churches of God and the early JWs (p. 343). Refer also the publication *Our Friends: The Jehovah’s Witnesses* by Price, an SDA member.

Note a further strange parallel:

“Canons governing divorce, for example, have been changed twice since 1972. Witnesses who divorced under the old set of rules now find they must return to their former mates or face excommunication” (*Newsweek*, 20 July 1982).

How similar to the WCG having changed its own divorce rules twice in the 1970s, but in the opposite direction to the JWs.

I was also fascinated to find that the title *The World Tomorrow* was used for a booklet by at least one JW group (Bergman, *Jehovah’s Witnesses and Kindred Groups*, p. 257). Those familiar with the WCG

would recognise the title *World Tomorrow* as that for its famous TV programme and *The Wonderful World Tomorrow* as the title for its booklet on the coming millennial reign of the Messiah. *The World Tomorrow: A Journal Looking toward a Christian World* was also the title of an anti-war publication dating from 1918-1934 which was published by a Christian Socialist group (Fellowship of Reconciliation).

And the motto for the world renowned 1939 New York's World Fair was *World of Tomorrow*, which Mr Armstrong would have been aware of.

In fact, his radio program was called *Radio Church of God* until 1942 when it was changed to *The World Tomorrow*.

But essentially, it is a modern English variation on the old English *world to come* found in Heb 6:5; Matt 12:32; Mark 10:30; Luke 18:30; Eph 1:21. It is the time that the Messiah rules the earth; Israel is revived; and the restoration of all things (Acts 1:6; 3:21; Matt 2:6; 10:23; 19:28; John 1:41).

The Christadelphian Similarities to the Church of God

Notice the following peculiarities and similarities with the Christadelphians: as we have seen, in the late 1840s, during the height of the Great Advent movement, Dr Thomas founded the Christadelphians and published a book *Elpis Israel* (ie *The Hope of Israel*). This was also used as the title of the paper published by the Church of God in 1863. It is also similar in name to the paper *Banner of Israel* founded in the 1870s by E Hines, who founded the British Israel World Federation. Another similar title was the paper *The Torch of Israel* founded c1910 by Elder Ziegler, an associate of Greenberry G Rupert, an independent Church of God leader in the early 20th century. Rupert's own paper was *The Remnant of Israel*.

There are other certain similarities between the Christadelphians and Churches of God:

- mortality of the soul; evil to be annihilated
- righteous to reign of earth, not in heaven, for 1,000 years
- water baptism
- the Catholic Church is "Babylon"
- have a particular strength in typology which the Sabbatarian churches also have a great interest in
- belief in the Great Tribulation similar to the Churches of God
- church eras

Some few Christadelphians nowadays hold to the belief that Germany is Assyria in prophecy, the new birth occurs at the resurrection and that one should utilise the sacred names (see for example the book *Yahweh-Elohim. A devotional Study of the Memorial Name* by EJ Lasius, daughter of Dr Thomas).

In similitude to a minority thinking within the Churches of God, they do not believe in the resurrection of the wicked. Their belief is that they will remain dead, never to rise again.

Of particular interest to us would be the move away from a belief that Russia is the end-time evil power - to a United Europe under Germany by some within their movement. Readers may be interested to know that Herbert W Armstrong did not originally believe that Germany was Assyria in prophecy. Instead, he originally thought that the Germans descended from Gomer (see "What is going to happen?" *Plain Truth*, June-July 1934, p. 6).

They do not hold to any sabbath day; however they meet on Sunday out of convenience. Further, their view of Christology is known by scholars under the title of Unitarianism or Socinianism and is quite different to the various types of Binitarian and Arian beliefs of the Churches of God. Throughout their history the Sabbath-observing groups have not been trinitarian, but chiefly Binitarian or Arian. Although a few sabbatarians have been Unitarians as well as some of the Sunday Adventists. This belief, in short, holds to the view that Christ was not in existence prior to his human birth; but that he was in the mind of God Who placed His thoughts and words into the mind of Christ at conception or birth (see discussion of this in Alfs' *Concepts of Father, Son and Holy Spirit*, pp. 58-61).

Why the similarities? The following may give the answer:

“there seems to be some fraternal relationship between them [the Church of God] and Dr John Thomas, founder of the Christadelphians” (*General Council of the Churches of God (7th Day). A bit of history*, p. 6).

Also, in an article by a Christadelphian group given me in 1976, they trace their spiritual roots through such groups as the Waldenses, Albigenses and Huguenots (as do the JW's). In the same article, they mention that they have a lot in common with a certain large group in the United States called the Church of God. Which Church of God exactly, they do not specify, but this is likely to be the Church of God (Abrahamic Faith). One Christadelphian publication on *Dr Thomas: His Life and Work*, stated:

“On his return to America in 1863 Dr. Thomas resumed his usual activities, proclaiming the gospel of the Kingdom, writing occasional letters and articles that appeared in the pages of *The Ambassador* ... All kinds of “isms” seem to have been added to the teaching concerning the Kingdom and the Name: **Sabbatarianism**, Millerism, Antisaltism, Teetotalism, Anti-porkism, Anti-tobaccoism ... all these Dr Thomas found were being tacked on to the main principles for which he stood, or to some of them. He was disappointed ...” (p. 223) [emphasis mine].

The above demonstrates that he was aware of those advocating seventh-day Sabbath observations.

One further similarity: we are all familiar with Herbert W Armstrong founding Ambassador College with its *Ambassador* publication. Dr Thomas' assistant, Robert Roberts, commenced a periodical in Britain with the title of *The Ambassador*.

Finally, the writer was surprised to stumble across a Christadelphian internet webpage on 4 November 1997 which actually stated thus concerning their history:

“The early nineteenth century was a time of great religious ferment in the United States, especially on the expanding frontier. America was being settled by a new kind of men and women, who were independent, and untraditional. The last part of the eighteenth century had seen a revival of interest and enthusiasm in the churches known as the Great Awakening. The Methodist movement of John Wesley had swept across the country at the turn of the century. Then came the Campbellites, preaching a reform of the paganism of the churches of the day, to be followed soon by the Millerites (also known as the Adventists) preaching the end of the world. Each of these movement questioned some part of the traditional Christianity of the time.

It was a stirred-up time and place and Dr. Thomas moved in it, editing several magazines, preaching and debating to anyone who would listen. After a few years he came to understand some things that caused some disagreements with the Campbellites. After several meetings with Campbell himself, he found his differences with the Campbellites to be unreconcilable and Dr. Thomas had to leave and push

on with his search. Some of the Campbellite congregations left with him, and began to look to him as their leader.

At this time the Millerite or Adventist movement was growing and Dr. Thomas began to associate with this movement. He admired their enthusiasm, their desire for the return of Christ, and their questioning spirit. He influenced the movement and was influenced by it. To this day, some Adventist groups have similar doctrines to the Christadelphians, especially the Church of God of the Abrahamic Faith.

The group of congregations and individuals who looked to Dr. Thomas grew in the decades that followed. In 1848 the movement became international when Dr. Thomas went to Britain for a speaking tour. In Britain he was very well received and to this day Great Britain has always had the largest number of Christadelphians. Great Britain became another center for the growing Christadelphian community.”
[emphasis mine]

We should respect the intellectual honesty of such aforementioned statements.

Historical Links and Similarities between Seventh-day Adventists and Church of God

Both Adventists and Churches of God are familiar with their roots and beginnings. With the formation of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, some individuals and fellowships either never joined and remained outside of the SDA Church, withdrew in 1863 or withdrew in 1866 (see Linden, *1844 and the Shut Door Problem*, pp. 80-81; and Bjorling, *The Churches of God, Seventh Day. A Bibliography*, pp. 10-14). Of course the Seventh Day Baptists remained a separate entity.⁵²

Membership and new elders to the Church of God were added from the Seventh-day Adventist Church from time-to-time. One such elder was Greenberry G Rupert, whose writings later proved impressionable on Andrew N Dugger and possibly Herbert W Armstrong, founder of the Worldwide Church of God (initially known as the Radio Church of God).

Rupert brought with him the belief that the annual sabbaths, in addition to the weekly sabbath, are important for Christians to understand and to observe which impacted upon sections of the Church of God, a few who were already observing these days. During his time with the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the late nineteenth century, he performed missionary work in parts of South America. Later, in the 1960s, Worldwide Church of God ministers stumbled across many of these scattered remnants of Rupert’s missionary work. They had never associated with any other sabbatarian group, but continued to faithfully observe the sabbath and in many cases, the annual sabbaths.

So, the Churches of God today have a Seventh-day Adventist elder to thank for having a major role in bringing the annual sabbaths into their theological framework. To this day, many Adventists privately observe these days. Rupert died in 1922, still a Church of God elder and, leader of the Church of God (Remnant of Israel), having been aligned with the split-off groups from the Church of God in 1905. It split again in 1933 with re-amalgamation in 1950, although some did not rejoin the General Conference. Further attempts to unify with the latter group failed in a vote, but now appears to be occurring by default with individual congregations joining the larger group.

⁵² “When the [Sunday] Adventists subsequently concluded that like Seventh Day Baptists they should observe Saturday as the day of rest, they justified this conclusion by reference to the eternal validity of the Decalogue. However, they set the doctrine of Saturday in a markedly prophetic and eschatological framework. A consequence of this was the view that observing Sunday is an attack on Divine truth conducted by the papacy in an effort to abolish Saturday observance throughout the world and replace it with Sunday” (Jetelina, “Seventh-day Adventists, Human Rights and Social Work,” *Caritas et veritas*, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 23).

In 1931 the Church of God in Poland was formed as a result of a split from the SDA Church. Coincidentally the Church of God in Portugal also started that year, as an SDA Church splinter group and the Adventist Church of Promise in 1932 in Brazil which is now a member of the Church of God (Seventh Day) General Conference. Also in the 1930s an SDA minister in Australia, pastor AH Britten, established the Remnant Church of God (although it was not registered until 1939). A small group continuing that church was still functioning in Perth, Western Australia, until the first years of the 21st century.

There can be no doubt about it: the Adventists and Churches of God are related, have a common history and are more closely related than we might sometimes admit. By the way, not all of the Churches of God in East Europe which were underground during the oppressive years under Communist rule were offshoots of the Adventists. One particular group in the Ukraine came about due to a revelation in 1946 and others trace their history back to the Middle Ages.

Conclusion

To clarify: this article does not attempt to show that all the Church of God's doctrines emanated from the Christian Connexion, Millerites, Second Adventists or Russellites.

However, it must be acknowledged that the groups mentioned herein and men such as George Storrs have been instrumental in certain areas of doctrine due to their research and insights.

It seems rather obvious that as Christ began to re-assemble the Church in the 19th century and sow the seeds for a new era, He utilised the resources on offer. It would appear that He filtered or sifted through the zealous folk that wanted to restore primitive or original Christianity and gently inspired the absorption of forgotten truths into the Church.

These truths (such as Wednesday crucifixion, born again in the resurrection and a fair chance of salvation for all) were revived as part of the restoration of truths and assembled together with other doctrines into a gorgeous mosaic to be trumpeted to a world in desperation for a message suited to these last days.

It should be explained here that Herbert W Armstrong certainly restored truth to the Church. By carefully sifting through the research of others, he could see what was true and absorbed truths into the overall body of knowledge he inherited from the Church of God (seventh day). He read Jehovah's Witness, Seventh-day Adventist, British-Israelite literature as well as writings from others (eg probably Greenberry Rupert).

From the Church of God (seventh day) he learned doctrines such as Sabbath, Passover, tithing, clean & unclean meats, Millennium on earth, baptism, holy spirit is a force, Wed Crucifixion-Sat Resurrection, man does not have an immortal soul, annihilation of the wicked, the Christian reward is not heaven, healing, laying on of hands etc. During the 1920s and 1930s the church also generally thought that the new birth culminated in the resurrection, that there were 7 resurrections of the Roman Empire etc. The Church of God had previously been influenced by the Christian Connexion, George Storrs and probably indirectly by Dunbar Heath and Henry Dunn etc.

To this was added greater clarity to the above such as holy day observance, God Family, fair chance of salvation in the Great White Throne Judgment, 'lost' tribes of Israel etc. These ideas were more-or-less floating around and he obviously read the literature available, but he was inspired to forcefully proclaim them. He also updated and clarified them, taking them to a new level.

Herbert Armstrong was a researcher or sifter - he researched a lot, inspired by the spirit. A lot more was added by others after the founding of Ambassador College. As he himself wrote:

"Many NEW truths have come to light in the past twenty years. Some have been revealed through various of God's ministers - my son Garner Ted, Mr. Roderick Meredith, Dr. Herman Hoeh, Mr. Raymond McNair, Mr. Albert Portune, Mr. Charles Hunting, Dr. Ernest Martin, Dr. Charles Dorothy, and others. And also God has continued to reveal important and basic truths through me." (What About GOD - revealed knowledge? By Herbert W Armstrong ("Personal from the Editor", *The Good News*, August 1969, pp. 3-6)

This re-assemblage and wonderful mosaic reached a peak under Herbert W Armstrong. May we continue that heritage, strengthen the doctrinal positions with further research and delve ever deeper into His Word, thereby honouring our spiritual predecessors.

Appendix. Chart of Church of God and Sabbatarian Connections to Influencers

By C M White
Version 1.3

Doctrine	Initial Organisation or person →	Organisation or person influenced →	Subsequent person or organisation influenced →	Herbert W Armstrong
Born again in the resurrection	George Storrs George Stetson Wellcome & Gould	Charles T Russell	Many or most in the Church of God inc. Gilbert Cranmer	Yes
British-Israelism	George Storrs Joseph Marsh	Some in the Church of God	A few within the Church of God	Yes
Fair Chance	Christian Connexion Henry Grew Dunbar Heath Joseph Marsh	Henry Dunn George Storrs George Stetson Charles T Russell	Gilbert Cranmer and some within the Church of God	Yes
Mortality of man	Christian Connexion Henry Grew George Storrs Joseph Marsh	Charles T Russell James White	Church of Christ etc that combined as Church of God in 1884	Yes
Name of Church (Church of God)	Christian Connexion George Storrs	Charles T Russell	Church of Christ etc that combined as Church of God in 1884	Yes
Non-trinitarianism	Christian Connexion Henry Grew Joseph Marsh	George Storrs George Stetson	Charles T Russell James White Church of God	Yes
Passover 14 Abib	George Storrs Some Seventh Day Baptists	Charles T Russell	Church of God	Yes

NB: From the Church of God (seventh day) and associated groups, Herbert W Armstrong learned fundamental doctrines such as 7th day Sabbath and basic Christian living principles (repentance, faith, fruits of the spirit, beatitudes etc). Also the following were also learned from that Church (the list below is what I can garner from Mr Armstrong's statements and beliefs):

- Annihilation of the wicked
- Basic Christian living
- Church eras
- Clean & unclean meats
- Divorce & Remarriage
- Gospel of the Kingdom of God
- Healing
- Holy spirit is a force, not a personage
- Law of God and Ten Commandments
- Laying on of hands
- Man does not have an immortal soul
- Millennium on earth

- New birth culminates in the resurrection (during the 1920s and 1930s the Church of God generally taught this)
- Passover on 14 Abib
- Seven resurrections of the Roman Empire
- The Christian reward is not heaven
- Tithing
- Water baptism
- Wed Crucifixion-Sat Resurrection

NB: the Church of God (Seventh Day) does not necessarily hold to all of the above today. Or they may have made amendments to them.

In 1978-80 Mr Armstrong wrote a series on the history and growth of the early WCG, which I collected and combined into a single file in the 1990s (available at www.friendsofsabbath.org) because it contained a number of tidbits not in his *Autobiography*. Amongst these tidbits are these 2 quotes proving his reliance on certain materials that helped form his doctrinal base:

“In this study I obtained every book I could find that upheld Sunday observance and condemned Saturday Sabbath-keeping. But I also obtained a Seventh-day Adventist book explaining their doctrines, **and also a book called Bible Home Instructor (or something like that) published by the Church of God, Stanberry, Missouri**. It was one of their members, neighbor to my parents' home in Salem, Oregon, who had convinced my wife she ought to keep the Sabbath, Friday sunset to Saturday sunset.” (“What Every Reader Needs to Know About the Foundation, History, Authority and Doctrine of the Worldwide Church of God” by Herbert W. Armstrong, *Plain Truth*, February 1978, p. 41) [emphasis mine]

“The Runcorns - our "spiritual parents" - were members of the Church of God, Seventh Day, with headquarters at Stanberry, Mo. **I had studied completely their Bible Home Instructor**, and I began submitting some of my articles for publication in their church weekly, The Bible Advocate. My articles began to appear, beginning on the front cover.” (“The History of the Beginning and Growth of the Worldwide Church of God” by Herbert W. Armstrong, *Good News* May 1980, pp. 2-3) [emphasis mine]

But he and the team under him (Hoeh, McNair, Neff, Meredith, Herrmann etc) expanded and clarified the above greatly. In addition to poring through the works of others and various groups - taking the truth and leaving aside the errors. Mr Armstrong was a sifter and through him, God restored so much to the Church of God - truths that were scattered among other groups and organisations were collected, calibrated, and added to our body of knowledge.

Appendix. Chart of Influencers on the Development of Church of God Doctrines in the Nineteenth Century

Craig White
Version 1.2

NB: Having commenced this chart in August 2014, I didn't get very far due to other projects arising. Now, after finalising the article, I thought that assembling this chart would assist in viewing the major influencers in this format would be helpful. These men either had direct influence on the Sabbathian Church of God; or indirect; or held to similar beliefs given they promulgated certain doctrinal positions or were themselves influenced by others.

Influencer/Doctrine	Christology	Born Again at resurrection	Fair Chance	Man's Mortality ¹	Wed Crucifixion	Passover on 14 Abib	Name Church of God	Millennium	British-Israelism	Restoration of Israel to their land	Warning Message
Charles T Russell	Arian	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No ⁵	Yes	Yes
Christian Connexion	Arian, Semi-Arian, Unitarian	?	?	Yes	No	Unlikely	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	?
Dunbar Heath	?	?	Yes	Yes	No	Unlikely	No	Yes	No	Likely	?
George Stetson	Arian	Yes	?	Yes	No	Unlikely	?	Yes	No	Likely	?
George Storrs	Semi-Arian	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Henry Dunn	?	No	Yes	?	No	Unlikely	No	Yes	No	Likely	No
Henry Grew	Non-trinitarian	?	Yes	Yes	No	Unlikely	No	Yes	No	Likely	No
Second Adventists	Arian and Unitarian	?	No	Yes	No	Unlikely	No	Yes ²	No	Yes	Yes
Seventh Day Baptists	Trinitarian and non-Trinitarian ³	No	No	Immortality and mortality ⁴	Yes, many believed this	A few held to this view	No	Yes	No	Likely	No
William Miller	Trinitarian	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Influencer/Doctrine	Christology	Born Again at resurrection	Fair Chance	Man's Mortality ¹	Wed Crucifixion	Passover on 14 Abib	Name Church of God	Millennium	British- Israelism	Restoration of Israel to their land	Warning Message

1. This includes the concept of the annihilation of the wicked in fire and no eternal hell fire
2. The SDAs believe that the Millennium will be in heaven while the earth will be a complete wasteland with no physical life
3. Although the SDBs became more and more trinitarian, many still did not hold to this belief
4. Similarly, with the immortality of the soul – many did not subscribe to it
5. However, Russell was influenced to accept Pyramidology that was taught by many British-Israelites including Charles Piazza Smyth

[illegible]

(adapted from the internet)

Appendix. Review of Henry Dunn's *The Kingdom of God; or, What is the Gospel?* The Spectator, 9 January, 1869

"Everlasting Punishment.—*The Kingdom of God; or, What is the Gospel.* By Henry Dunn. (Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.) *The Word! or, Universal Redemption and Salvation.* By George Mann de la Voyo. (Whittaker, Trilbner.) *Can it be True? An Inquiry as to the Endlessness of Future Punishment.* By William Miall. (Elliot Stock.)

—We have classed these three works together, as treating with something like an agreement of feeling, though with very different methods, a subject of immense difficulty, the spiritual destinies of the human race and of individual men. Mr. Miall, in grappling with his subject, shows a simplicity of purpose and a courage which are worthy of all praise. His pamphlet divides itself into two parts, the general argument, and the argument from Scripture. In the first, he presses the adherents of the popular doctrine very hard. A man who believes that nine-tenths of mankind will go into endless torments must be a madman if he begets children, and inconceivably hard of heart if he can enjoy a single hour of peace. The argument from Scripture seems to us less forcible. Mr. Miall fails, we think, to apprehend the meaning which is to be assigned to the word *aion*. It is a quite insufficient handling of the difficulty to say that it signifies incessancy or continuance, without regard to the time of continuance. It is better to remove the idea of time altogether, to interpret it by what is surely the cardinal passage on the subject ...; so that "eternal life" signifies, to quote Mr. Miall's own words, "the highest style of life possible to be predicated of even God Himself." If this be so, it is quite needless for him to concede that "to understand literally is impossible." Mr. Miall begins by quoting certain passages from orthodox divines; horrible as they are, it is satisfactory to see that there is an advance from President Edwards, who states the physical torment most uncompromisingly, to Dr. Pusey, who dwells wholly on the moral aspects of suffering.

We doubt whether any modern divine preaching to educated persons dare say that hell means actual fire, burning its victims for ever. We have no wish to speak unkindly of Mr.,—or perhaps we should say Professor,—Do la Voyo's book. We shall simply acknowledge ourselves as probably unworthy, and certainly unable to comprehend it. Such questions as "Why was not Satan punished with instant annihilation?" "Why was a fratricide the firstborn child of Eve?" "Why should not incarnated angels and metempsychosed spirits have been our forefathers?" "Wherefore three Almighty Gods?" are a few of the questions which the author asks and answers with apparent confidence. A mere mortal critic can only look on with respectful astonishment.

Mr. Dunn's book contains a theory of redemption ably conceived and carefully studied. He distinguishes between what he calls "the Gospel of the Church" and "the Gospel of the Kingdom," the latter being in his view the larger and nobler. He takes the kingdom to be the reign of the Saints with Christ. The Saints are the Elect, but the elect he takes to be not those saved from the ruin to which the multitude is doomed, but those chosen to a higher destiny and more perfect life for the ultimate benefit of the multitude. He seems disposed to admit in a modified sense the theory of destruction as opposed to torment, in which the popular theology is showing a tendency to seek a refuge from its own intolerable hardness. This destruction is supposed to come on to those who are obstinately impenitent; thus the difficulty presented by the fact of a free will which even infinite love cannot control is supposed to be met. Mr. Dunn's book is certainly worth study."

Appendix. Fair Chance Quotes

For centuries Christianity has struggled with the concept of a fair chance for those who never heard the Gospel. Many adopted universalism (in its many forms) while others believed such would be judged according to their conscience and how they acted accordingly. While others believed in a future probation known also as the 'age to come' doctrine. Some of these are listed below.

Wikipedia, "Future Probation" (25 Dec 2018):

"Future probation is a point of view within Christian teaching dealing with the fate of the dead in the afterlife. It might also be described as the belief concerning individual eschatology. The general scope of the subject encompasses many variants that range from the Catholic doctrine of invincible ignorance through Mormon practices of postmortem baptism.

It is unique to Christian and Jewish belief and can be viewed as a way of extending salvation to all people without being dogmatically universalist.

The subject attained great prominence in the second half of the 19th century and has continued into recent times. Prior to 1800, the teaching is difficult to distinguish from universalism as many of the questions involved were framed by different cultural, prophetic and ecclesiastical issues."

George Storrs:

"The next age of Messiah's personal reign of one thousand years, will open with a resurrection of all the sleeping saints who have suffered with or for Christ in this or the previous ages: such 'shall reign with him.' ... These having suffered with Christ, and overcome the seductions to abandon His cause, will 'together be made perfect' in body and mind ... That there will be more than two classes of men on the earth at the opening of the next age, or at the second advent of Christ, to me is clear ... there is yet a ... class of men at the second advent of Christ, who 'have not heard God's fame, neither have seen his glory,' etc. ... This class constitutes by far the largest part of the inhabitants of the earth ... will be the subjects of trial under Messiah's personal reign." (*The Bible Examiner*, January, 1877)

"The penalty of the divine law is literal *death*, or cessation of conscious being ... if the impenitent and unbelieving are raised to life at all, it must be a *mortal* and not an *immortal* life. ... Numerous divine testimonies ... teach a universal judgment both of a *judicial* and *executive* character: passages which declare facts relative to the judgment of the wicked, which necessarily imply life and its functions, ... many who will be made alive by 'a resurrection [to] condemnation,' will be still *mortal* and liable to a *second death*. ... The sacred Scriptures distinctly teach that some will be made alive by a resurrection, in a 'mortal' state." (*Bible Examiner*, February, 1856)

"However, in 1871, Storrs made another change in his position in this regard. While still believing that the incorrigibly wicked dead would never be resurrected, but would remain dead forever, his position was that the vast majority of mankind would all receive a resurrection (during the "ages to come" after the 1,000 year reign of Christ ended). Here they would have a full and fair opportunity to know and accept God's "Plan of the Ages." He doubted not that the vast majority of them would do so." (<http://watchtowerdocuments.org/george-storrs-enigmatic-and-ambivalent-polarizer-of-adventism/>)

Dunbar Isidore Heath:

"Countless will be the multitudes of the saved in the restitution of all things. Glorious will be the renewed earth. Its untempted inhabitants will not be miserable. The will of God will be done on earth as it is in heaven. But countless also will be the conditions of the individuals who will go up in those days to keep the feast of tabernacles, -- as they are now. Untempted, saved from the Devil, but much differing, everyone's repentance will have been taken at exactly what it weighed. True repentance will, through Christ's merits, have saved the greatest sinner from the eternal companionship of the Devil, he will receive his penny for his one hour -- his salvation; he will not be in hell, but (Isaiah 60:14) as one of those who erst afflicted Christ's true holy Church shall he come bending unto her, and as one who erst despised her shall he bow himself down at the sole of her feet, and shall call her the city of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel." (*The Future Kingdom of Christ*, chapter 2)

Henry Dunn:

"It is impossible to conceive that, dealing with them thus the Lord could regard them as eternally lost, hour by hour, dropping at once into the grave and into the bottomless pit. Yet this must be the conclusion if we are to accept the popular interpretation of such texts as 'He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.' For these people, although in a certain sense familiar with Christ, were yet not believers on Him.

The explanation is to be found, and found only, in the declaration that they were not weeds to be destroyed, but a harvest to be reaped (Matt. ix. 37); that they did not perceive, and could not comprehend the nature of the kingdom, because they had not been born again; that they were not included in those "first-fruits" of which James speaks; that they belonged to that later ingathering which is one day to complete the Redeemer's triumph." (*The Kingdom of God. Or, What is the Gospel?* p. 33)

Jacob Blain:

"What thoughtful person, acquainted with the history of our world, can avoid feeling sorrowful when he knows that more than two-thirds of mankind have never heard the glad tidings of a Saviour, that "the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty?" We should also consider the fact that a large majority in Christendom come into the world with minds so weak and thoughtless, with passions so strong, and are surrounded with temptations so numerous and powerful, that the Gospel has little or no effect on them ; and that more than one-half, in almost every age, live and die under erroneous teaching as to the way of salvation." (*Hope for Our Race*, p. 6)

"At Christ's coming, and after the first resurrection, all who have died impenitent will be raised, and in due time Christ will be made known to them by the elect Church. Light being given, the mass, it is hoped, will repent and accept Christ, and so be saved; but with the lesser salvation they will not reign with Christ, or be of the bride, but be the "nations outside of the new Jerusalem" (Rev. xxi. 22-26). The chief difference between this view and some others is, that all the risen impenitent dead will share in the blessing, as well as those living when it begins." (ibid, p. 10)

"The reader should keep in mind that the first great point is to prove that the mass of our race will finally be saved ..." (p. 15)

"When will Christians learn that Old Testament prophecies are worth something to us?" (ibid, p. 38)

"They (the Restorationists), on the contrary, without denying that the eternal punishment of the irreclaimably wicked may involve their utter destruction, think they see in Scripture intimations of a world-wide restitution, embracing all who have not deliberately rejected the offers of the Gospel. They hold a special salvation for those who are here by the grace of God united to Christ,-for these,

they say, are the elect of God, appointed to REIGN on “the new earth, in which shall dwell righteousness;” but they maintain in connection therewith, a deliverance after death from the “captivity” of Satan, for myriads, who, in the better world, are to be under the Redeemer, governed and taught by the chosen “kings and priests.”” (ibid, p. 51)

Explanation by Charles Ryba:

“As a background to this pointed millennial proposal there was also a higher-level theological discussion which widely debated the virtues of future probation. *The Rainbow, a Journal of Prophecy* published by William Leask in England, began entertaining this view during the 1870s. Evangelical theologians Hermann Cremer, Isaac Dorner, along with F. W. Farrar, Edward White, C. A. Row, G. G. Stokes, and L. C. Baker were a few prominent people who promoted this view. The *Homiletic Review* published a debate on the topic in book form titled *Future Probation* published by Nisbett. Professors at Andover stirred up controversy among American churches with their essays published as *The New Orthodoxy*. The 2004 Ph.D. dissertation of Sharon Taylor, *That Obnoxious Dogma: Future Probation and the Struggle to Construct an American Congregationalist Identity*, provides a valuable historical background. Of the few people outside the immediate controversy, she highlighted the prominence of C. T. Russell on the American Adventist scene (see pages 72-74).” (“The Midnight Cry,” *The Herald of Christ’s Kingdom*, p. 14)

Arlen F Rankin:

“There was a hermeneutical and therefore theological watershed which became apparent and separative in the thirty years between 1850 and 1880 within the Millerite movement. Doctrinal forces were stirring both within and around the Millerite camp. The early thinkers and writers of the Church of God were at the core of the discussions in those years. The advancement of the age-to-come doctrine as well as the earlier literalist teachings promoted the millennial restoration of the literal nation of Israel and with it the concept of a probation of living mortals and the progression of “the times of restitution of all things spoken by the mouth of all the holy prophets since the world began” (Acts 3:21).

Julia Neuffer writes about the “Age-to-Come Controversy”:

Where did the age-to-come doctrine of the 1850s come from? Possibly it stemmed chiefly from the British Literalist publications that had been circulated among the Millerites. However, the name seems to have come from the title of the 1850 editorials and the 1851 book by Joseph Marsh. Certainly, his paper *The Advent Harbinger* (Rochester, NY), became the sounding board for the doctrine, although other individuals had taught it before him. (2)” [footnote 2: Julia Neuffer, “The Gathering of Israel: A Historical Study of Early Writings.” The entire text of her study can be viewed at <http://www.whiteestate.org/issues/gather.html>]

(*A Watershed Doctrine for the Age to Come Believers and the Millerites*, pp. 1-2)

The followers of C.T. Russell see a resurrection to mortality of all those “who have never heard” to an “opportunity” or “fair chance” for hearing, acceptance and reconciliation, and some among them believe in an ultimate and universal salvation for all. The Church of God generally believes that those who have never heard will remain among “the rest of the dead” to be raised in the final judgment to receive an *appropriate* judgment at the hands of a *righteous* God.” (ibid, p. 3)

Charles Grandison Finney:

“The main difference between the premillennial and the postmillennial positions was the question of whether the return of Christ would be spiritual or physical. Even so, according to both theories, there would be a probationary period for sinners after Christ's return, regardless of whether the Second Advent was spiritual or literal. For example, the great evangelist Charles Grandison Finney, a

postmillennialist, believed that God was too benevolent to destroy all sinners without a continuing probationary period during which the greater part of mankind would ultimately be saved. In debate with the Millerite preacher, Charles Fitch, at Oberlin College in September of 1843, Finney argued that God would never have created the earth in the first place if more evil than good should result in the majority of the human race being lost. The benevolence of God, he stated, proved by His actions in the past, was entirely against the ending of the probationary existence of the world in 1843 or 1844.(8)”

[the footnote 8 reads “*Report of a Discussion on the Second Advent Near by Rev. Chas. Fitch, Rev. Henry Cowles, Rev. Asa Mahan, &c. Lately Held at Oberlin (Cleveland, 1843), 11-12.*”] (N. Gordon Thomas, “The Millerite Movement in Ohio,” *Ohio History Journal*, vol 81, Spring 1972, no. 2, pp. 97-98)

Allen Hudson:

“Parallel with the early stages of this movement in point of time were the Restorationists, who separated from the Universalists in 1830 on the issue of retribution in the Messianic Age.^{23,24} They saw and held, as did C. T. Russell, that since “what a man soweth, that shall he reap,” the period of probation which is the purpose of the coming Millennial Age must include, not only the full opportunity for repentance and reformation unhindered by Satanic influence which will then be the rule, but also natural and equitable retribution for the deeds of evil done in this life. Because character is formed by deeds, the transforming of bad or partially bad character in that day must involve stress and hardship, and men who are truly repentant will realize the inevitability as well as the justice of what in one place the Scripture calls “stripes” as an element in their progress towards sinless perfection.²⁴ This group continued at least until the early years of the present century, but does not seem to have produced any outstanding figure whose name has survived.” (*Future Probation in Christian Belief*, p. 43)

He lists a number of theologians who believed in a fair chance and though most did not believe it would occur during the Messianic Age, at least they were aware of a future chance of salvation of mankind. Their idea of a fair chance was in some sort of intermediate state between death and resurrection. In fact, Hudson shows how this doctrine may be traced down the centuries in one form or another.

Suggested Reading:

Barbour, NH (1877)	<i>Three Worlds and the Harvest of this World.</i> Rochester, NY.
Blain, J (1871)	<i>Hope for Our Race of God’s Government Vindicated.</i> Paternoster Row, London.
Dunn, H (1868)	<i>The Kingdom of God; Or, What is the Gospel?</i> Simpkin, Marshall & Co, London.
Dunn, H (1871)	<i>The Study of the Bible.</i> G.P. Putman & Sons, New York.
Dunn, H (1872)	<i>The Destiny of the Human Race.</i> Simpkin, Marshall & Co, London.
Dunn, H (1875)	<i>The Limitations of Christian Responsibility.</i> Simpkin, Marshall & Co, London.
Heath, ID (1852)	<i>Future Kingdom of Christ: Or Man’s Heaven to be this Earth.</i> J.W. Parker, London.
Luckock, HM (1896)	<i>The Intermediate State Between Death and Judgment.</i> Longmans, Green & Co, London.
Wellcome, IC (1867)	<i>The Plan of Redemption by our Lord Jesus Christ Carefully Examined and Argued.</i> A.C.P. Society, Boston, MA.
Goud, C	

Appendix. Charles Taze Russell and Born Again

Below are is an assembly of some of what Russell taught on born again.

The following is extracted from *Harvest Gleanings* (vol 3. Being extracts of Russell's writings) Chicago Bible Students Book Republishing Committee, pp. 200-01).

"WHAT IT IS TO BE BORN OF THE SPIRIT

John 3:6-8

Despite the inclement weather, those who have attended C. T. Russell's "chart-talks," at Allegheny Carnegie hall, for the last four weeks, were eager to be present yesterday, at the fifth lecture, upon the subject, "Born of the Spirit." Next Sunday's talk will conclude these special meetings, after which the congregation will return to its usual place of worship, at the Bible House chapel, on Arch street, near Ohio, where Mr. Russell preaches regularly. The subject for the closing meeting, Carnegie hall, next Sunday, will be: "The Great Consummation." The text for yesterday's talk was found in John 3:6-8: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth. So is everyone that is born of the spirit." In the Lord's conversation with Nicodemus, in which these words were uttered, the declaration is made that only those born of the spirit could enter the kingdom of God; hence the importance of knowledge on the subject, in order to make sure of attaining that position. Much confusion, the speaker intimated, was to be noted in the treatment of this subject. Many people do not know what the experience is, and many others apply the expression "born of the spirit" to something entirely different to that which the Scriptures suggest.

THE NATURAL AND SPIRIT BIRTHS

Since the Lord contrasts the natural birth with the spirit birth it is evident that there is some relationship and so the speaker found in the former a picture or pattern of the latter. As no child is ever born of the flesh without having first been begotten, so no person is ever born of the spirit without first a begetting. A begetting of the flesh results in a birth, and a begetting of the spirit results in a birth. The speaker drew attention to the Greek word usually rendered "born" in the New Testament, *genao*, and remarked that the same word is translated both "begotten" and "born," and the proper significance of a passage containing this word can only be determined by the context. Where the context uses the word "into" the significance of *genao* is begotten; and where the word is "out of" the proper translation of *genao* is "born." The latter form is used in the text quoted as the basis of the discourse. This is conformable to the natural law, where the father begets, but the mother brings to birth. So with the begetting of the spirit the individual must be begotten of the Father, God, else he will not in due time be born, or delivered. Many people misunderstanding this Scriptural manner of treating this subject speak of themselves as having been born of the spirit, when they do not realize what the expression means, and really intend to say that they have been begotten.

OUR CONDITION AT PRESENT

We are not, said the speaker, yet born of the spirit. We are only begotten when the Holy Spirit has commenced His work in us, as new creatures in Christ, and we shall be born again when the Holy Spirit shall have fully developed in us the conditions required by God, and we are given a place in the first resurrection. There are three stages in the natural birth begetting, quickening, birth; and so there are three stages

belonging to the spiritual birth. We are begotten of the spirit by receiving it from the Father into our hearts, and if we continue in harmony with Him, in due time we shall be quickened, and then if we continue faithful subsequently to that, in due time we shall be born in the resurrection. The begetting and quickening belong to the present life; and the birth appertains to the future the resurrection life. In harmony with this the Scriptural declaration is made, that Jesus Christ was "the first born from the dead." Again, "He is the firstborn among many brethren." The brethren are the members of His body, the members of the church, and all of this class are to follow Jesus Christ in His experiences and to attain the same birth in their resurrection."

[NB: The term Church of God is mentioned 13 times in that document]

Another of Russell's works is *Studies in the Scriptures. Series 1. The Plan of the Ages*:

"... after being dead three days, he [Christ] was raised to life - to the perfection of spirit being ... born of the Spirit - "the firstborn from the dead." "That which is *born* of the Spirit is *spirit*." Jesus, therefore, at and after his resurrection, was a spirit - a spirit being, and no longer a human being in any sense" (p. 230-31).

"The Greek word *gennao* and its derivatives, sometimes translated *begotten* and sometimes *born*, really contains both ideas, and should be translated by either one of these two English words, according to the sense of the passage in which it occurs. The two ideas, begetting and birth, are always in the word, so that if the one is stated, the other is always implied, as birth is the natural consequence of begetting, and begetting the natural antecedent to birth. When the active agent with which *gennao* is associated is a male, it should be translated *begotten*; when a female, *born*. Thus in 1John 2:29; 3:9; 4:7; 5:1,18, *gennao* should be *begotten*, because God (masculine) is the active agent)" (p. 278).

"... you will be *begotten* of the Father to anew life and the divine nature, which, if it develop and become quickened, will insure your being *born* a new creature, a spirit being, in the first resurrection; and as such you shall not only see but share the kingdom" (pp. 279-80).

The entire book is vitally important in our studying Adventist-Millerite heritage, but I will not belabour the point by quoting any more from it.

Appendix. Roots of the Born Again in the Resurrection Doctrine

We have seen what Charles Taze Russell taught on the subject. Others taught similarly such as Wellcome and Gould in *The Plan of Redemption by our Lord Jesus Christ Carefully Examined and Argued* who spend a large amount of space arguing that the new birth culminates in the resurrection (chapter 10).

They refer to *Key to the Apostolic Writings* by D.T. Taylor (this is a prefix to his book *A Paraphrase with Notes on the Epistles to the Romans* published in 1745) and Dr Macnight for understanding the connections of terms such as begotten of him, elect, saints, royal priesthood, a holy nation etc and how these applied to Israel as a type of the Church (pp. 160-61). From there they go on to explain

“... the terms begotten, generate , born, children , are understood in nature. Let us define the terms used in this subject.

Beget. To procreate, as a father, a sire, to generate, as to beget a son.

Generate. To beget, to procreate, to produce a being similar to the parent, to cause to be, to bring into life.

Born. Brought forth as an animal. To be born is to be produced, or brought into life. — Webster.

Before there can be a birth, there must, of necessity be a begetting; and even then a birth is not certain, as thousands of cases in nature fully attest. These facts in nature should be well considered, as our subject is closely allied to them. "A master in Israel" seemed not to have understood them, or rather knew not that these principles in nature were applied by Christ to the work of grace to illustrate God's method of reproducing from the old stock, or fallen, sinful race of dying mortals, a new, obedient, and immortal family of children. Man begets children in his own likeness, of his own blood and own nature, corruptible, mortal, and dying; but, as we have argued in other chapters of this work, God reproduces, regenerates man by his own chosen agencies, in his own image, and his own undying nature, to enjoy eternal life. Let us study the record of it." (pp. 162-63)

"We wished also to place these scriptures in array before the minds of those who, on account of the strong language used in our common version of 1 John 3 : 9 —does not commit sin , cannot sin—have been much perplexed about applying it to believers in this life, and have applied it beyond the resurrection, in the perfect world, especially because the term born of God, as rendered in our version, gives some sanction to such an application." (p. 165)

"The resurrection of Christ is elsewhere shown to be a birth, and as it certainly was not his first, it must be his second birth, a pattern for his followers. Let us read. "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness and hath translated us into [changed us for—Em. Diaglott] the kingdom of his dear Son, in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sin. . . . And he is the head of the body, the church, who is the beginning, the first born from the dead; that in all things he might have the preeminence." Col. 1:13, 14, 18. All this testimony, and this class of scriptures, shed light on the doctrine of the new birth , and aid us in understanding the meaning of Christ's saying to Nicodemus, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see [enter into] the kingdom of God;" because the kingdom is an immortal one, and belongs to the heirs of God through Christ and the resurrection from the dead, as we have clearly shown elsewhere." (pp. 170-71)

Let us examine what some others have taught since the 19th century. The Church of God published an article on this subject in *The Hope of Israel* (1865, vol. 2 no. 10, pp. 1-2) "Being Born Again" (no author given) (not to be confused with the Adventist publication with the title *Hope of Israel* based in Portland, Maine). The entire article discusses the new birth occurring in the resurrection. This is the earliest sabbatarian source which I have been able to uncover on this particular doctrine. Note the statement of beliefs of the Seventh-day Adventists in 1872:

"The new birth comprises the entire change necessary to fit us for the kingdom of God, and consists of two parts: first, a moral change, wrought by conversion and a Christian life; **second, a physical change at the second coming of Christ**, whereby, if dead, we are raised incorruptible, and if living, are changed to immortality in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye." [emphasis mine]

In the booklet *Membership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church*, 1894, only the first aspect is referred to and the other dealing with the resurrection has no mention at all. This may reflect an oversight or the gradual change in doctrine. However, the original position was re-stated by one of the prominent Seventh-day pioneers, Uriah Smith, in the chapter on "Fundamental Principles of Seventh-day Adventists" in the *1912 Yearbook*. It may also be found in the 1914 Statement. But it is omitted from the 1931 and 1980 Statements.

Of great interest to Church of God historians is that David Nield, Church of God pastor residing in Auckland, New Zealand in the early twentieth century, wrote a 15 page booklet on the subject with the title *Begotten Again, or Born Again, Which?* (1902). The entire booklet powerfully proclaims that the new birth occurs at the resurrection. On the final page he notes:

"It is therefore untrue that the new birth takes place at conversion. If so, it is false, and those who teach it are teaching falsehood, and that must be displeasing to the God of truth. We cannot be born anew unless we are begotten, and we cannot be begotten unless we receive with meekness the implanted word, the ten words of God" (p. 16).⁵³

Historian Richard Nickels adds further insight to the historical background of this teaching in the Church of God (Seventh Day):

"William C. Long in April 1893, wrote in the *Advocate*: "We are begotten of God; we are born of the Spirit. These two events do not occur at the same time. We are begotten at conversion; **we are born at the resurrection**" ... this ... was defended by the church for many years. In 1955, the Denver Group Ministerial Council identified the new birth and conversion as synonymous terms. The 1974 doctrinal statement finally adopted the position: "Conversion, also called the new birth, is the process by which one

⁵³ Nield also promoted a Wednesday crucifixion and annual Passover observance. Here is some further information about him from a SDA perspective: "I find in our files that there was a critical minister, a David Nield said to be the pastor of the Church of God at Devonport, Holloway, London North, England, Auckland and Wellington, New Zealand, author of the Good Friday Problem which proves that Christ died on Wednesday and rose on Saturday" (*Ellen G. White Estate – Question and Answer File*, 13 May, 1965, p. 1, by Arthur L. White, Secretary, Ellen G. White Publications).

"Nield was known as a pastor of the Church of God and not sympathetic to the Adventist cause. He held such beliefs as a Wednesday crucifixion of Christ, the continuing necessity to celebrate the Passover He challenged the Pitcairners to give up Adventism and accept his teachings as his wife had done. Instead, the islanders refused and despatched an urgent request to Australia for a resident Adventist missionary." (*Sequel to a Mutiny Early Adventism on Pitcairn Island*, By Milton Hook, South Pacific Division Department of Education, Wairoa, c.1980, p. 16)

"From its low ebb the fervour on Pitcairn soared to a high peak during those eight months of 1924. News then came to hand that Nield had died in New Zealand and the Hares left Pitcairn on October 23." (p. 17)

is changed from his old, sinful life into a new creature in Christ" (R C Nickels, *Bible Doctrine*, p. 11.13). [emphasis mine]

Indeed, the time of the new birth has been a contentious issue for some time and is mentioned as such, along with other doctrines, at the 1929 General Conference of the Church of God at Stanberry. The time of the new birth was an issue at that conference, at which time it seems to have been 'dumped' by the major branch of the Church of God (R C Nickels, *A History of the Seventh Day Church of God*, p. 222).

A sabbatarian residing in Melbourne, Australia, has published an interview with an elderly lady who, as a young girl, was once part of a branch of the Church of God in the Brute Shire in Scotland early this century, but now lives in Melbourne. The lady, Margaret McCormack, confirmed several sabbatarian beliefs, including that "it was clearly understood that man's destiny was to be born into the family of God" (J Morgan, *Church of God in Scotland*, p. 1). Whether there was any connection to the other sabbath-keepers around the country we cannot be sure. But we do know that such groups existed according to an interview with another elderly lady in England:

"Seven churches existed: in London (Holborn, Finchley and Forest Gate), Southend and Moorcombe, England, Wales and Scotland" in the early 1900s. "In England the Church kept the Passover, the Days of Unleavened Bread and the Sabbath" (J Zhorne, *The Worldwide News*, 4 March 1985, p. 7). One wonders if these Churches of God had any connection to that in the Brute Shire in Scotland and perhaps taught the born again in the resurrection doctrine. We cannot know for sure, but if this issue were explored further, the information flowing from the results may be very encouraging.

It should come as no surprise therefore, that the Church of God (Seventh Day) based at Salem, West Virginia, still teaches a future birth at the resurrection. Their general belief is birth in three stages: 1. the natural birth at the time we enter this world; 2. birth at the time of water baptism; 3. the third birth at the time of the resurrection (see their booklet *The Three Births*).

Another group worth mentioning is the Church of God (Abrahamic Faith) which is one of the groups directly emanating out of the Millerite Second Advent Movement. Most of their doctrines appear identical to the Church of God (seventh day) except they observe Sunday and their view of Christology is a form of Unitarianism. In their publication *The Restitution Herald* (Aug/Sept 1997) we find an excellent article by a certain Pastor Sydney Hatch, reprinted from the 15 April 1965 edition of that magazine. The article is titled "Vocabulary of the Resurrection". The following quote indicates very clearly that an aspect of the born again doctrine was well understood by many of that church:

"To speak of "regeneration" or "new birth" as referring only to the present robs it of its prophetic splendor. In the Old Testament, resurrection was regarded as a new birth or second creation (Isa. 66:7-9; Ezek. 37). Some early Christian fathers made "regeneration" synonymous with "resurrection". Thoughtful students of the Word will realize Jesus had more in mind than the present when He told Nicodemus, "Ye must be born again" (John 3:7)".

It is obvious that this church, which dates to 1888, received this truth from the Millerite movement. It is a pity that it is dying out in that church and even the various churches of God. However, it may yet see a revival (dare I say "resurrection") over the next few years as news of this much neglected truth is circulated across the globe.

Finally, it may be opportune to mention here that some small groups have been reconsidering their position on this doctrine. The Adventist Laymen's Foundation, an SDA spin-off, in a private communication related the following:

"In all honesty, I had not perceived this unique concept previously. I am happy that you have called this to our attention. I shall give it some serious thought, and suggest its incorporation into the Statement of Beliefs on which we are presently working. The more one thinks about it, the more merit it has. It clarifies some questions relative to instantaneous sanctification, and covers very succinctly the whole of the Christian life."

Also, Dr Kai Arasola, Finnish SDA academic, admitted the following in a personal letter:

"Thank you for your letter on the two births. You brought out a concept that I never considered when going through Millerite material ... My first reaction is to consider what effect simple linguistics may have on this issue. Paul uses language which comes close to calling the resurrection a birth. He compares the process to sowing a seed (Gr. *spermaton*) and rising to new life (1Cor 15:20,23)."

Perhaps scholarship will be renewed into this wonderful teaching and that more and more resources will be brought to bear on tracing its origins followed by its resurrection (no pun intended) in various churches.

A SDA offshoot which publishes *The Remnant Herald* newsletter, acknowledges that Christ was 'born' at his resurrection, but do not go the next logical step, to likening the Christian resurrection to a new birth ("Winds of Doctrine," *The Remnant Herald*, April 1997). Their view is similar, if not identical to, Bullinger's *Companion Bible*.

Another teacher of this doctrine was George W Stetson who was a Second Advent Christian preacher. He died in 1879 and Russell preached at his funeral. In *The Present Truth* (note the acronym PT) of Sept-Oct 1991 it is acknowledged that George W Stetson, a minister with the Advent Christian Church, was influential in bringing certain doctrinal understanding to Russell, including the born again in the resurrection doctrine (p. 1). Stetson wrote an article in the 13 September 1871 *World's Crisis* on "Infant Salvation" (reprinted in the forementioned *Present Truth*, pp. 72-73).

In this remarkable article he argues for the new birth to occur at the resurrection when we shall be full Sons of God. Russell was very frank and honest by indicating that he was indebted to the Adventists and also George Stetson and George Storrs in formulating doctrine (MJ Penton, *Apocalypse Delayed*, p. 15). In fact Storrs was involved with the movement led by William Miller since 1842 (ibid, p. 16). Russell was also indebted to Storrs for the observance of Passover on 14 Abib, rather than as a weekly or quarterly Lord's Supper (*Apocalypse Delayed*, p. 17). Storrs was also instrumental in bringing the British-Israel truth into the Churches of God as far as we know.

One spin-off from the JWs, protesting at the doctrinal shift away from the teachings of Russell, is the Dawn Bible Students Association. Their booklet, *Born of the Spirit* discusses this subject thoroughly and concurs that "Christians are begotten now by the Spirit and in the resurrection will be born into the heavenly realm to live and reign with Christ" (p. 12).

Another spin-off is the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement. Their booklet *Born Again and once in Grace, Always in Grace - Is this Scriptural?*, discusses the born again doctrine within this context. It is clear that they believe that Christians are impregnated with the Holy Spirit at baptism, undergo a gestation Christian life and are finally born into the Kingdom. They maintain that Christ was born from the dead etc. The booklet is remarkably similar to HWA's position.

It is my hope that more information will be forthcoming on the roots of this doctrine. It obviously may be traced back to the Sabbatarians and both the early SDAs and Sunday Adventists at the very least. Very likely, as more research is undertaken, we will uncover its true roots.

Appendix. The Birth of the Spirit by Gilbert Cranmer.

“The Birth of the Spirit,” *The Hope of Israel*, Sept 1863, p. 3

I wish to express a few thoughts through ‘The Hope of Israel,’ with regard to the ‘new birth,’ or the ‘Birth of the Spirit.’ I am aware that upon this subject, there exists a great diversity of opinions, at the present day.

There is no subject taught in the sacred Scriptures, fraught with greater interest than the one before us; for, said Jesus to Nicodemus, ‘Verily, verily I say unto thee, ‘Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.’” John 3:5.

Some take the position that the ‘new birth’ is water baptism. But the 6th verse explains the two births. ‘For that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.’ Hence the first birth, is the birth of the flesh. The birth of the flesh Nicodemus well understood. But the ‘birth of the Spirit,’ was a mystery to him. This subject so involved in mystery, we are about to investigate, in the light of the sacred Scriptures.

First, Christ is said to be the ‘FIRST BORN of every creature.’ Col. 1:15. Now we would ask, was Christ the first one ever baptized in water? Most assuredly not, for Paul tells us that 600,000 ‘were baptized unto Moses, in the sea and in the cloud.’ And again, John had been baptizing six months before Christ came and demanded baptism at his hand.

Again, according to the theology of the day, the new birth is considered to be a change of heart, or conversion. If this idea be correct, there never was a man who was converted, or met with a change of heart, until Christ came in the flesh; for he was the ‘first born of every creature.’ But ‘to the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word it is because there is no light in them.’ Isa. 8:20. Paul has told us in what sense Christ was the first born of every creature. Col. 1:19, ‘He is the head of the body, the church: who is the beginning, the first born of the dead; that in all things he might have the pre-eminence.’ Again, Paul says, 1st Cor. 15:23, ‘That Christ THE FIRST-FRUITS; afterward they that are Christ’s at his coming.’ And again, Acts 26:23, ‘That Christ should [suffer, and] that he should be the FIRST that should rise from the dead.’ Again Rev. 1:5, ‘And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, and the FIRST begotten from the dead.’

Now we will see if the Old Testament will be in harmony with the New, on this subject.

Psalms 89:27, 28, ‘Also I will make him my FIRST BORN, higher than the kings of the earth. My mercy will I keep for him for evermore, and my covenant shall stand fast with him. His SEED also I will make to endure forever, and his throne as the days of heaven.’ This scripture agrees perfectly with Paul to Colossians 1:18, that the first born Son of God ‘should in all things have the pre-eminence.’ Yet E.G. White, in one of her ‘visions,’ called ‘The Great Controversy,’ says, on page 43, that Moses had a resurrection 1400 years before Christ. Enough of that fable for the present.

In the above remarks, we have seen how Christ became the firstborn Son of God. Now we will see if the rest of the family are to be born after the same manner.

First, I take the position that Christ is to take the place the first Adam might have occupied, as the ‘Everlasting Father of all the redeemed family. Go with me to Isaiah 9:6, ‘For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace.’ Now, the

question arises, How, and when does he become 'the everlasting Father'? Go with me to Isaiah 22:21, 'And I will clothe him with thy robe, and strengthen him with thy girdle, and I will commit thy government into his hand: and he shall be a FATHER to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah.'

From the above scripture we have learned who is to be our 'everlasting Father.' Next, we ask, Who is to be our mother? Go with me to Gal. 4:26, 'But Jerusalem which is above is free, and the MOTHER of us all.'

Now go with me to Rev. 10:7, and we will have our father and mother married. 'Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honor to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.' Rev. 21:9, 10. And there came unto me one of the seven angels which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me, saying, Come hither, I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife. And he carried me away in the spirit to a great high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God.'

Now turn to Isaiah 66:6, 7, 8, and you will see when the whole family is to be born. 'A voice of noise from the city, a voice from the temple, a voice of the Lord that rendereth recompense to his enemies. Before she travailed, she brought forth; before her pain came she was delivered of a man child. Who hath heard such a thing? who hath seen such things? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day? or shall a nation be born at once? for as soon as Zion travailed, she brought forth her children.'

We learn from the scripture, just quoted that before the general resurrection of the saints, 'the woman brought forth a man child,' that shall rule all nations with 'a rod of iron.' See Rev. 19:15, And at the general resurrection of the saints, the earth will be made to give up the dead, and all the family be born 'at once;' or as Paul has it, 'shall be changed, in a moment in the twinkling of an eye.'

In conclusion, I would say to the scattered flock of God, may that spirit that brought Jesus forth from the grave, dwell richly in all our hearts, that 'our vile bodies' may be quickened like his, at the sound of the last trump.

GILBERT CRANMER
Comstock, Mich.

Appendix. A History of the Saturday Resurrection Doctrine Among Sabbath-Keepers

By George Dellinger

**(Published by Giveshare c2000. Adapted from chapter III
of Dellinger's booklet *A History of the Saturday Resurrection Doctrine*)**

The belief that Jesus Christ was crucified on Wednesday, and resurrected on Saturday, has found wide acceptance among most Sabbath-keeping churches and organizations over the past two hundred and more years. It has also been widely accepted by many Sunday-observing ministers and authors. The only Sabbath-keeping church that has officially rejected this belief is the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and it is presently receiving considerable support in many quarters of that church.

The first definite appearance of the Wednesday-Saturday belief in Sabbatarian sources occurred in 1724. In that year George Carlow, a British Seventh Day Baptist, published a book entitled *Truth Defended* in which he presented many arguments in favor of the seventh-day Sabbath. In Chapter XI Carlow teaches the Saturday resurrection. He mentions no one else who shared his opinion, but his presentation of the subject while possibly his own personal opinion is well done. It is a reasonably sure assumption that Carlow knew others who agreed with him although no one else is named, nor does he say it was a Seventh Day Baptist belief.⁵⁴

The Saturday resurrection continued to appear among early Seventh Day Baptist leaders, however. Francis Bampfield, an early leader in this group, is said to have believed it, but definite documentary evidence is lacking. Henry Clarke, Seventh Day Baptist leader and author in the very early Nineteenth Century, had this understanding.⁵⁵

Other late Nineteenth Century and early Twentieth Century Seventh Day Baptist leaders accepted the Saturday resurrection. These include Abram Herbert Lewis, N. Wardner, and Loyal F. Hurley.

In the Mid-Nineteenth Century, there were those more or less associated with the Adventist movement who began to reject a number of the teachings developing among the followers of James and Ellen G. White, including the Friday crucifixion-Sunday resurrection. One Nineteenth Century Adventist writer even published a pamphlet in which he argued for a Friday crucifixion and Monday resurrection! Uriah Smith, in an effort to establish the Friday crucifixion-Sunday resurrection, carried on a one-sided debate in some of the early Adventist papers in favor of the idea. The Adventist Church made the Friday-Sunday tradition an official teaching, and numerous Adventist writers have published literature in its support. But, as was stated above, the Saturday resurrection is currently receiving increasing favor and acceptance among Adventists.

⁵⁴ In 1833 the Seventh Day Baptists published their list of doctrines under the title *Expose of Sentiments* which included a statement that suggests a Wednesday crucifixion-Saturday resurrection, though it should be noted that because they observe an open creed, these doctrines were not binding on congregations or members: "He suffered death upon the cross, was buried, and at the expiration of three days and three nights He rose from the dead".

⁵⁵ Clarke wrote: "The prophet Daniel speaks, or rather the angel to Daniel, ix. 26, 27, about the Messiah being cut off, and the sacrifice and oblation, to cease in the midst of the week. And our Lord said, Mat. xii. 40, in answer to those that wanted a sign; " For as Jonas 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 any person may know, that the middle of the week is fourth-day; and we have scripture that tells us, he was put into the sepulchre in the evening, (Mat. xxvii. 57.) and would it not be more agreeable to those scriptures, to conclude he arose from the dead in the evening?" (*A History of the Sabbatarians in America*, p. 127)

The Wednesday crucifixion-Saturday resurrection understanding appeared very early in what would become the Church of God, Seventh Day, as that group moved away from its Adventist affiliation. There was, quite naturally, a great deal of study and debate on many doctrinal issues. One of these was the question of what day Christ was crucified and resurrected. The first appearance of the Saturday resurrection understanding in Church of God, Seventh Day, literature was their magazine, *The Hope of Israel* in the September 21, 1864, issue. A man named Luther L. Tiffany of Lansing, Iowa, had a short study entitled "Christ's Resurrection on the 7th Day." It is obvious from his language this was nothing new; Tiffany was simply explaining something many knew and understood.

Through the next thirty years a great many articles appeared in *The Hope of Israel* (later called *The Bible Advocate*) both for and against the Saturday resurrection. In 1893, the Saturday resurrection became the official position of the Church of God, Seventh Day, when *Bible Advocate* editor William C. Long published the Church's articles of belief and included the Saturday resurrection as one of their doctrines.

In the 1930s, there came on the scene a newly-ordained minister, former businessman Herbert W. Armstrong. Ordained within the Church of God, Seventh Day organization by the Oregon Conference of the Church of God in 1932, Herbert Armstrong would become a strong promoter of the Saturday resurrection doctrine, and his influence would help to spread this belief far and wide.

Armstrong states in his *Autobiography* (Vol. I, pp. 325-326) that he learned the Saturday resurrection in the summer of 1927, which was before his ordination, and wrote an article on the subject, "The Foundation for Sunday Sacredness Crumbles," at that time. Although never published under that title, this article appeared to have been the original of what became his frequently-published article and booklet, "The Resurrection Was Not on Sunday."

Armstrong's Radio (later Worldwide) Church of God took a very strong stand for this doctrine. Church scholar, Herman L. Hoeh, in particular, did wide research into the subject. Since Herbert W. Armstrong's death in 1986, the Worldwide Church of God has weakened its stand and no longer emphasizes the Saturday resurrection as they once did. However, all of the larger groups that have split off from the Worldwide Church in the last years, including Global, International, United, and Philadelphia, continue to hold to the Saturday resurrection, as do most of the smaller groups.

Whatever one may think of Herbert W. Armstrong, it cannot be denied that his influence was far-reaching in the history of Christianity in the Twentieth Century. It was because of his widespread work that many of the things he taught were accepted by other religious leaders and groups, including the second birth, the Israelite Identity, the Holy Days, and, of course, the Saturday resurrection. This understanding is generally accepted by most in the Sacred Name movement, and finds increasing acceptance among groups continuing to develop in these rather restless but exciting times.

This is a brief history of the Saturday resurrection doctrine among Sabbath-keepers. I have made no attempt to trace its acceptance among those who do not observe the seventh-day Sabbath. As in all areas, there is a lot we do not know, and much more research needs to be done. But suffice it to say that the Saturday resurrection doctrine has found favor, not merely with those who see it as undermining any claim Sunday-keeping has, but also as a logical, Scriptural understanding of the "three days and three nights" Jesus Christ was to be in the grave.

Appendix. The Trinity in Seventh-day Adventist History

“The Trinity in Seventh-day Adventist History”

***Ministry Magazine*, February 2009, pages 5-8**

By Merlin D Burt

The last decade has seen increased antitrinitarian activity within the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Four reasons for this activity should be mentioned. (1) The availability of information through the Internet. (2) Several other Adventist groups that emerged from the Millerite movement continue to hold to an antitrinitarian perspective. Examples would be the Church of God (Seventh Day), also known as the Marion Party; the previous view of the Worldwide Church of God; **the Atlanta Church of God in Georgia (formerly of Oregon, Illinois, or the Age to Come Adventists)**, and Jehovah’s Witnesses (that branched from the Advent Christian Church). It should be noted that the Advent Christians, like Seventh-day Adventists, have embraced the trinitarian view. (3) Some think that the Trinity doctrine comes from Catholic theology and therefore must be false. Many have not realized that the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity has differences from the Seventh-day Adventist biblical doctrine of the Trinity. These include eternal generation of the Son and Divine impassibility, which are influenced by Greek philosophy. (4) Perhaps most significant, over the last few decades, some Seventh-day Adventists have thought to return to early historical Adventist faith, or what might be called neo-restorationism.

Some have failed to recognize the dynamic nature of Seventh-day Adventist theology. Historically, our doctrines have developed in the context of the original distinctive core of the three angels’ messages and kindred concepts. **A small, though significant and growing segment of “historic” Adventists, are advocating a return to an antitrinitarian stance.** Sabbatarian Adventism and Seventh-day Adventists have always been Bible-centered in their theology and doctrine. They have rejected a static creed and have ever sought to study, understand, and follow the Bible as the source of doctrine and the guide for experience. Consequently, it should not be surprising that Adventist doctrine has developed over time building upon previous and new Bible study.

As Sabbatarian Adventism emerged during the late 1840s, it brought various Christian truths and placed them in the framework of fulfilled prophecy and ongoing discovery of biblical teachings. A cluster of biblical teachings explained what had happened in 1844 and why Jesus had not come. The heavenly sanctuary, the end-time ministry of Jesus in the Most Holy Place, and the Sabbath as the seal of God were a particular focus. Adventist understanding of various theological perspectives continued to develop and improve over time. Two examples are the Sabbath and tithing. Early Adventists initially concluded, through Joseph Bates’s influence, that the Sabbath should begin and end at 6:00 p.m. It was in 1855, nearly a decade after the initial Sabbath emphasis, that J. N. Andrews’s biblical and historical presentation influenced believers to adopt sundown as the correct time to begin and end the Sabbath. Tithing first began in 1859 as systematic benevolence and had little or no link to the biblical teaching of 10 percent. It was not until the 1870s that a careful restudy of the topic led Seventh-day Adventists to adopt the tithing framework we practice today. A similar process is evident in Adventist understanding on the nature of God and the Trinity.

The purpose of this article is to outline the historical development of the Trinity view of Seventh-day Adventists from its beginning to the present day.

Up to 1890n: Antitrinitarian period

Until near the turn of the twentieth century, Seventh-day Adventist literature was almost unanimous in opposing the eternal deity of Jesus and the personhood of the Holy Spirit. During the earlier years, some even held the view that Christ was created. It is very important to understand that Adventist views were not homogeneous. Theological tension within Adventism began during the Millerite movement and is illustrated by the two principal leaders, William Miller and Joshua V. Himes.

Miller, being a Baptist, was a trinitarian. He wrote, "I believe in one living and true God, and that there are three persons in the Godhead. . . . The three persons of the Triune God are connected."¹ **Himes, a close associate of William Miller, was of the Christian Connexion persuasion. The northeastern branch of the Christian church "rejected the Trinitarian doctrine as unscriptural."**² It is important to note that Millerite Adventists were focused on the soon coming of Jesus and did not consider it necessary to argue about the Trinity.

Two of the principal founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Joseph Bates and James White, like Himes, had been members of the Christian Connexion and rejected the doctrine of the Trinity.

Joseph Bates wrote of his views, "Respecting the trinity, I concluded that it was an impossibility for me to believe that the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father, was also the Almighty God."³ James White wrote, "Here we might mention the Trinity, which does away [with] the personality of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ."⁴ Both Bates and White were anxious to maintain the separate personalities of the Father and the Son. This concern was caused, in part, by the strong spiritualizing influence among Bridegroom Adventists during 1845 and 1846. A similar problem would resurface around the turn of the twentieth century with the de-personalizing of God and J. H. Kellogg's pantheistic views.⁵

Though James White rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, he did believe in the three great Powers in heaven reflected in his first hymnbook.⁶ Though opposed to the Trinity, he did not believe that Christ was inferior to the Father. In 1877 he wrote, "The inexplicable trinity that makes the godhead three in one and one in three, is bad enough; but that ultra Unitarianism that makes Christ inferior to the Father is worse."⁷

Not all agreed with James White on the equality of Father and Son. During the 1860s, Uriah Smith, long-time editor of the *Review and Herald*, believed that Jesus was "the first created being."⁸ By 1881, he had changed to the belief that Jesus was "begotten" and not created.⁹

A selective list of Adventists who either spoke against the Trinity and/ or rejected the eternal deity of Christ include J. B. Frisbie, J. N. Loughborough, R. F. Cottrell, J. N. Andrews, D. M. Canright, J. H. Waggoner, and C. W. Stone.¹⁰ W. A. Spicer at one point told A. W. Spalding that his father, after becoming a Seventh-day Adventist (he was formerly a Seventh Day Baptist minister), "grew so offended at the antitrinitarian atmosphere in Battle Creek that he ceased preaching."¹¹

In surveying the writings of various pioneers, certain concerns frequently appear. In rejecting the Trinity, some saw the orthodox Christian view as pagan tritheism. Others argued that the Trinity degraded the personhood of Christ and the Father by blurring the distinction between Them. While the early positions on the Trinity and deity of Christ were flawed, there was a sincere attempt to oppose certain legitimate errors.

By about 1890, Adventists had come to a more-or-less harmonious position that viewed Jesus as the begotten or originated Divine Son of God. He was seen as the Divine Creator with the Father.

The nature of the Holy Spirit was lightly discussed, though the Holy Spirit was generally considered to be the omnipresent influence from the Father or the Son rather than a person.

From 1890 to 1900: Emergence of trinitarian sentiment

As the 1890s began, two of the key thinkers on each side of the righteousness by faith/law in Galatians issue agreed on the derived divinity of Jesus. E. J. Waggoner wrote in his 1890 *Christ and His Righteousness*, "There was a time when Christ proceeded forth and came from God . . . but that time was so far back in the days of eternity that to finite comprehension it is practically without beginning."¹² In 1898, Uriah Smith wrote in *Looking Unto Jesus*, "God alone is without beginning. At the earliest epoch when a beginning could be,—a period so remote that to finite minds it is essentially eternity,—appeared the Word."¹³

The period after the 1888 Minneapolis General Conference saw a new emphasis on Jesus and the plan of salvation. This led to a consideration of His deity and what it meant for the redemption of humanity.

A. T. Jones was among the first (with the exception of Ellen White) to suggest that Christ was eternally preexistent. Jones emphasized Colossians 2:9 and the idea that in Christ was the "fullness of the Godhead bodily." He also described Christ as " 'the eternal Word.' "¹⁴ Though he avoided the

word Trinity, in 1899 he wrote, "God is one. Jesus Christ is one. The Holy Spirit is one. And these three are one: there is no dissent nor division among them."¹⁵

Ellen White played a prophetic role in confirming the eternal deity of Jesus and the Three-Person Godhead. As early as 1878, she referred to Jesus as the "eternal Son of God."¹⁶ In *The Desire of Ages*, she wrote, "[Christ] announced Himself to be the self-existent One" and "In Christ is life, original, unborrowed, underived."¹⁷ She wrote of the Holy Spirit as the "Third Person of the Godhead."¹⁸ Ellen White played an important role in urging the church toward a biblical trinitarian position. However, for years after the publication of *The Desire of Ages*, the church generally avoided these and other statements. While she never used the term Trinity in her published writings, she repeatedly conveyed the concept.

M. L. Andreasen questioned whether Ellen White had actually written some of her statements in *The Desire of Ages* and other books. During 1909, Andreasen spent three months at Elmhaven, California, and was convinced of the accuracy of her published position.¹⁹

From 1900 to 1930: Transition and conflict

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, the church remained divided in its position on the deity of Christ. The use of the word Trinity in print continued to be avoided. W. W. Prescott and A.T. Jones, both editors of the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, were key supporters of the full and eternal deity of Jesus. During the 1890s, Prescott was slower than Jones to accept the new view. But after 1900, as editor of the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, he published articles on the personhood and eternal nature of the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit.²⁰ Still Prescott believed that Jesus had a derived existence from God the Father. At the 1919 Bible Conference, he presented a series of eight devotionals for the conference titled "The Person of Christ" that expressed this view. Careful discussion at this conference showed that there were varying opinions.²¹

The early twentieth century saw Adventists and Protestant Fundamentalists battling higher criticism and the "new modernism" growing in Christianity. Liberalism rejected the deity of Jesus and His virgin birth. Adventist articles defending the Bible view began to appear more frequently in church papers. Irrespective of individual differences on details, Adventist ministers pulled into line against liberal views. Naturally, those who rejected the eternal preexistence of Christ did not want to speak of His beginning and weaken the argument against higher criticism. Even articles on the Trinity were tolerated.²² The result was an increased appreciation of the full deity of the Son of God.

From 1931 to 1957: Acceptance of the trinitarian view

F. M. Wilcox was crucial in facilitating the final transition to an accepted Seventh-day Adventist view on the Trinity through his guidance in the 1931 Statement of Fundamental Beliefs and his articles in the *Review and Herald*.²³ Doctrinal summaries were carefully avoided during the first decades of the twentieth century, due in part to conflict on the Trinity. According to L. E. Froom, Wilcox was "respected by all parties for his soundness, integrity, and loyalty to the Advent Faith—and to the Spirit of Prophecy—he, as editor of the Review, did what probably no other man could have done to achieve unity in acceptance."²⁴ It was not until 1946 that the General Conference session officially voted a Statement of Fundamental Beliefs.²⁵

During the 1940s, an ever-increasing majority of the church believed in the eternal, underived deity of Christ and the personhood of the Holy Spirit, yet there were some who held back and even actively resisted the change. These were mainly comprised of a few older ministers and Bible teachers such as J. S. Washburn, C. S. Longacre, and W. R. French. In 1944, Uriah Smith's *Daniel and the Revelation* was revised and his comments on the derived nature of Christ's divinity were removed.²⁶ In 1957, the book *Questions on Doctrine* anchored the doctrine of the Trinity or Godhead for Adventists. While the book produced theological conflict in other areas, there was virtually no dissent on the book's clear teaching of the Trinity.²⁷ The current unambiguous statement on the Trinity in the Seventh-day Adventist Fundamental Beliefs was revised and voted at the 1980 General Conference Session.

The process of adopting the Trinity continued from 1900 to 1950. Key influences in the change were (1) repeated published biblical studies on the topic, (2) Ellen White's clear statements, (3) Adventist response to the attacks of modern liberalism on the deity of Christ and His virgin birth, and (4) F. M. Wilcox's statement of Fundamental Beliefs and his *Review and Herald* editorials.

We may learn several lessons from the history of the development of doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. First, we must acknowledge that the development of Adventist theology has usually been progressive and corrective. This is clearly illustrated in the doctrine of the Trinity. The leading of the Holy Spirit is dynamic. Other doctrinal concepts developed in a similar manner. This development never supposed a paradigm shift that contradicted the clear biblical teaching of the heavenly sanctuary ministry of Jesus and the prophetic foundation of the church. Second, the development of the Trinity doctrine demonstrates that doctrinal change sometimes requires the passing of a previous generation. For Seventh-day Adventists, it took more than 50 years for the doctrine of the Trinity to become normative. Third, Ellen White's unambiguous statements subdued controversy and provided confidence to transition to our current view. Finally, Adventist theology is always supremely dependent upon Scripture. The Bible tells us that the "path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."²⁸ Hebrews 2:1 reads, "Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things we have heard." It was ultimately the Bible that led Seventh-day Adventists to adopt their present position on the Godhead or Trinity. [emphasis mine]

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1 Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1853), 77, 78.

2 Joshua V. Himes, "Christian Connexion," in *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, ed. J. Newton Brown (Brattleboro, VT: Brattleboro Typographic, 1838), 363.

3 Joseph Bates, *Autobiography of Elder Joseph Bates* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press, 1868), 205.

4 James White, "Preach the Word," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, December 11, 1855, 85.

5 See J. H. Kellogg, *The Living Temple* (Battle Creek, MI: Good Health, 1903), 26–36, 396–398, 450–460, 484–486.

6 Arthur L. White to Hedy Jemison, July 2, 1969; James White, comp., *Hymns for God's Peculiar People* (Oswego, NY: Richard Oliphant, 1849), 47.

7 James White, *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, November 29, 1877, 72.

8 Uriah Smith, *Thoughts, Critical and Practical on the Book of Revelation* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press, 1865), 59.

9 Smith, *Thoughts*, 1881, 74.

10 J. B. Frisbie, "The Seventh Day Sabbath Not Abolished," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, March 7, 1854, 50; J. N. Loughborough, "Questions for Brother Loughborough," *Advent Review Sabbath and Herald*, November 5, 1861, 184; R. F. Cottrell, "The Trinity," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, July 6, 1869, 10, 11; J. N. Andrews, "Melchisedec," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, September 7, 1869, 84; D. M. Canright, "The Personality of God," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, August 29, 1878, 73, 74; September 5, 1878, 81, 82; September 12, 1878, 89, 90; September 19, 1878, 97; J. H. Waggoner, *The Atonement* (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1884), 164–179; C. W. Stone, *The Captain of our Salvation* (Battle Creek, MI: n.p., 1886), 15–20.

11 A. W. Spalding to H. C. Lacey, June 2, 1947.

12 E. J. Waggoner, *Christ and His Righteousness* (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1890), 21, 22.

13 Uriah Smith, *Looking Unto Jesus* (Battle Creek, MI: *Review and Herald*, 1898), 10.

14 A. T. Jones, "The Third Angel's Message Number 20," *General Conference Bulletin*, February 27, 1895, 378; *ibid.*, "The Third Angel's Message Number 17," *General Conference Bulletin*, February 25, 1895, 332.

15 A. T. Jones, editorial, *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, January 10, 1899, 24.

16 Ellen G. White, *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, August 8, 1878, 49.

17 Ellen G. White, *The Desire of Ages* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1898), 470, 530.

18 *Ibid.*, 671.

19 M. L. Andreasen, "Testimony of M. L. Andreasen," Ellen G. White Estate Document File 961, October 15, 1953.

20 W. W. Prescott, *Review and Herald*, April 4, 1896, 232; General Conference Committee Minutes for February 15, 1902, cited in Gilbert Valentine, William Warren Prescott (PhD dissertation, Andrews University, 1982), 351; W. W. Prescott, "Studies in the Gospel Message," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, September 2, 1902, 4; *ibid.*, "Our Place as Sons," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, September 23, 1902, 6; *ibid.*, "The Eternal Purpose," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, December 23, 1902, 4; *ibid.*, "Our Personal Saviour Jesus Christ," *Sabbath School Lesson Quarterly*, first quarter, 1921, 2, 9, 20; *ibid.*, *The Doctrine of Christ* (Washington, DC: *Review and Herald*, 1920), 3, 20, 21.

21 Donald E. Mansell, "How the 1919 Bible Conference Transcript Was Found," Unpublished Paper, Ellen G. White Estate Document File, July 6, 1975.

- 22 Stemple White, *Canadian Watchman*, September 1923, 18; C. P. Bollman, *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, March 15, 1923, 4; Lyle C. Shepard, *Canadian Watchman*, September 1927, 12.
- 23 F. M. Wilcox, "Christ as Creator and Redeemer," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, March 23, 1944, 2; *ibid.*, *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, January 3, 1945, 5, 6.
- 24 L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1971), 413, 415.
- 25 Robert Olson and Bert Haloviak, "Who Decides What Adventists Believe: A Chronological Survey of Sources, 1844-1977," Unpublished paper, Ellen G. White Estate Document File 326, February 24, 1977.
- 26 Uriah Smith, *Daniel and the Revelation* (Nashville: Southern Publishing, 1941), 400; *ibid.*, *The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation* (Nashville: Southern Publishing, 1944), 391.
- 27 *Questions on Doctrine* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1957), 30, 31, 36.
- 28 Proverbs 4:18, KJV.

Appendix. The 1888 Articles of Faith

The following Articles of Faith, expressing our belief in general, were adopted in lieu of former declarations.

1. We believe that God, the Creator, and Jesus Christ, His Son, the Redeemer, are personal beings.
2. We believe that repentance, conversion, baptism by immersion, a godly life through faith in the cleansing power of the blood of Jesus, and His mediatorship for us, are the essential elements of salvation.
3. We believe that the law of God, contained in the ten commandments, forms the basis of a godly life, the standard by which to regulate it. *[this includes the 7th day Sabbath]*
4. We believe that man is mortal and has no consciousness in death.
5. We believe that there will be a resurrection of the righteous to everlasting life, and the setting up of God's everlasting kingdom on the earth at the second coming of Christ.
6. We believe that there will be a resurrection of the wicked to a judgment of deeds done in this life, wherein life and probation for them forever ceases.
7. The prayer of faith, for the sick.
8. The ordination of ministers by the laying on of hands.

The following preamble was added in 1892: "We take the Bible and the Bible alone as our only rule of faith and practice. The following are some of the things it teaches and that we believe."

Appendix. The Millennium and Kingdom of God on Earth

For our purposes, it should be noted that

"In addition to Marsh, Stephenson, Myers and T. Wilson, other early age-to-come writers of the Church of God [*ie the Sunday Adventist group known as Church of God (Abrahamic Faith)*] who produced books addressing the subject of the kingdom of God, which included the prophecies of the restoration of Israel, were R.V. Lyon, Wiley Jones, and H.V. Reed. Among the Christadelphians were John Thomas, L.C. Thomas, Thos. Williams and R.C. Bingley ...

Those extant groups which hold age-to-come positions regarding Israel, with variations relative to future probation, are the Church of God Abrahamic Faith (General Conference and some independent congregations); the Christadelphians and those Abrahamic Faith brethren who are in close fellowship with them; the Church of God 7th Day (and its splinter groups — Salem, VA, Meridian, ID, Jerusalem); and those who maintain C. T. Russell's views (Dawn Bible Students, Laymen's Home Missionary Movement, Pastoral Bible Institute, etc.). These are broad and general connections, but have similar if not common origins." (Rankin, *A Watershed Doctrine for the Age to Come Believers and the Millerites*, pp. 10-11)

Also Julia Neuffer's information:

"Marsh taught the principal Literalist doctrines of the millennium: probation continuing for mortals left on earth; believing descendants of Israel in a special position in a Davidic kingdom; Ezekiel's temple and commemorative sacrifices; "Old Jerusalem" built, cleansed, and glorified as the capital of the millennial empire (not the New Jerusalem and the new earth).[61] However, neither he nor his associate Crozier (as the name was spelled by this time) held a pre-Advent return of literal Jews to Palestine, as held by [Henry] Grew and Cook.[62]

Marsh reprinted in the Advent Harbinger selections from Literalist works. He opened his columns to Storrs, who promoted therein a book on British Israelism, teaching the inheritance of Palestine by the supposed British descendants of the ten tribes along with a Jewish Judah.[63] But that doctrine does not appear to have been a major issue in the age-to-come controversy.

Prominent among the statements cited as errors in the Boston conference "address" of 1850 were the following from Marsh's age-to-come editorials, mostly on the restored Jerusalem and forgiveness after the Advent:

Jerusalem will be rescued from the gentiles, and fitted for the place of the throne of his glory.[64]

Numerous prophecies as clearly and positively predict the building up again of Jerusalem as they do of its fall. And as they make Jerusalem rebuilt, the glorious city of the Lord during his millennial reign, it is evident that the new Jerusalem, which is not to be re-built, cannot be that city. . . .

It [Isa. 54] does not speak of the new Jerusalem which is to be located on the new earth, but of literal Jerusalem in its redeemed, cleansed, beautified, and glorified state, in the Age to come, under the millennial reign of Christ. . . .

After the close of this gospel age, Christ would "return" and build again the tabernacle of David, which was thrown down. . . . This cannot be the new Jerusalem or "tabernacle of God," (Rev. xxi. 3,) for it was never thrown down. . . .

We are forced to the conclusion that there are three Jerusalems named in the Bible.

1. Jerusalem, that is trodden down, and now in bondage.

2. Jerusalem, redeemed, rebuilt the beloved city during his millennial reign on the earth. And

3. The new Jerusalem which will come down from God out of heaven, after the close of the thousand years reign of Christ.[65]

This prophecy [Isa. 66:15-24] first clearly predicts the coming of the Lord; then informs us that "the slain of the Lord shall be many" in that day, but gives us to understand that "some will escape" that destruction, who, we think, will not then be changed to immortality, but will be sent to declare the fame and glory of the Lord unto the Gentiles, and the isles which have not heard his fame nor seen his glory. . .

The remnants of the nations that will escape the great destruction, at or near the time of the coming of the Lord, will be favored with the gracious privilege of submitting to his universal law; but in case of noncompliance with his offer of mercy, instead of expostulation and entreaty being made to the offenders, as in this probationary age, judgments will be speedily executed.[66]

[61]. Ibid.; also Marsh's editorials in the *Advent Harbinger*, n.s. 1:284, Feb. 23, 1850; *ibid.*, pp. 308, 324, 325, March 16 and 30, 1850; also n.s. 2:244, 245, Jan. 18, 1851; n.s. 3:52, 53, Aug. 2, 1851.

[62]. Marsh, *The Age to Come*, pp. 106-109; Crozier, in *Advent Harbinger*, n.s. 4:45, July 24, 1852; Grew, *ibid.*, n.s. 2:107, Sept. 21, 1850, and n.s. 2:388, May 24, 1851; Cook, *ibid.*, n.s. 3:29, July 12, 1851.

[63]. Marsh, *Advent Harbinger*, n.s. 2: 12. June 29, 1850. Extracts were printed in the *Harbinger* from this book (*Our Israelitish Origin*, by an Englishman, John Wilson), for example on p. 21, July 6, 1850.

[64]. *Ibid.*, n.s. 1:284, Feb. 23, 1850.

[65]. *Ibid.*, pp. 324, 325, March 30, 1850.

[66]. *Ibid.*, p. 372, May 11, 1850.

[67]. For example, Jerusalem rebuilt: *Advent Harbinger*, n.s. 1:306, 324, 325, 349; n.s. 2:116, 117, 306, 332, 406; n.s. 3:84, 93. For "the tabernacle of David" rebuilt: *ibid.* n.s. 1:300, 324, 329, 337, 373; n.s. 2:68, 212, 406; n.s. 3:45, 52-53, 69, 101. In reply to the Literalist application, Himes cites the inspired commentary on Amos in Acts 15, applying it to the conversion of the Gentiles [*Advent Herald*, n.s. 5:61, March 23, 1850]." (*A historical review of early non-Sabbatarian Adventists' dispute over Israel in prophecy (1844-1850)*, pp. 74-76)

A number of other sources could be cited on the historical development of the understanding of the Millennium. Three which stand out are:

- *History and Doctrine of the Millennium* by Henry Dana Ward
- *A historical review of early non-Sabbatarian Adventists' dispute over Israel in prophecy (1844-1850)* by Julia Neuffer, available at <https://adventistbiblicalresearch.org/materials/adventist-heritage/gathering-israel-historical-study-early-writings-pp-74-76>
- *Doctrinal Development of Millennium in Adventism Between 1831-1850* a paper written by Miguel Patiño, AIAS/Universidad de Montemorelos, 6 January 2014

Below is a list of some of the authors who attempted to explore the details of the millennial reign of the Messiah. It is likely that the Sabbatarian folk may have read these and other such works:

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Martin, T (1855)	<i>Jesus "Crowned with Glory and Honor."</i> Moodie & Lothian, Edinburgh.
Neuffer, J (nd)	<i>A historical review of early non-Sabbatarian Adventists' dispute over Israel in prophecy (1844-1850)</i> . Biblical Research Institute General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists,

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Armstrong, H W (1978)	"What Every Reader Needs to Know About the Foundation, History, Authority and Doctrine of the Worldwide Church of God," <i>Plain Truth</i> , February, pp. 2-3, 39-43.
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