

THE PROPHETIC
FAITH OF OUR FATHERS
VOLUME IV



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THE MASTER'S PARTING PLEDGE TO RETURN

HARRY ANDERSON, ARTIST

The Saviour's Solemn Assurance of His Return at the End of the Age, Attested by Angels and Echoed by the Prophets, Became the Hope of the Apostolic Church and Is to Be the Keynote of Heaven's Last Message to Men

The
PROPHETIC FAITH
OF OUR FATHERS

*The Historical Development
of Prophetic Interpretation*

by

LE ROY EDWIN FROOM

VOLUME IV

New World Recovery and Consummation of
Prophetic Interpretation



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*TO THAT Goodly Company of Pioneering
Prophetic Expositors, Spread Across the
Centuries, Whose Principles of Sound Inter-
pretation, Supported by a Record of Progres-
sive Fulfillments, Have Been as a Flaming
Torch Illuminating the Uncharted Path
of History, and Have Become Our Heri-
tage Today, This Volume Is Affectionately
Dedicated*

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Contents

FROM THE AUTHOR TO THE READER	9
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PART I—AMERICAN 19TH CENTURY REVIVAL OF PROPHETIC INTERPRETATION AMONG MEN OF ALL FAITHS, 1800-1844

1. THE BACKGROUND OF THE AMERICAN DENOMINATIONS	15
2. THE GREAT REVIVAL AND THE CAMP MEETING	36
3. LIGHT DAWNS ON THE LAST DAYS	56
4. PROPHECY ASCENDANT AT TURN OF CENTURY	82
5. BRITISH EXPOSITION REPRINTS INFLUENCE AMERICA	108
6. PERIODICALS BECOME FORUM FOR PROPHETIC DISCUSSION	134
7. PROPHECY EXPOUNDED BY OUTSTANDING LEADERS	153
8. FULFILLING SIGNS OF TIMES EMPHASIZED	179
9. 2300 YEARS BECOME NEW POINT OF EMPHASIS	204
10. 70 WEEKS CONSIDERED KEY TO 2300 YEARS	226
11. PROPHECIES DOMINATE DEBATES AND PERIODICALS	249
12. MEDLEY OF VOICES SWELLS PROPHETIC CHORUS	269
13. METEORIC SHOWERS SEEN AS HERALDS OF ADVENT	289
14. INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF EMPHASIS	301
15. CONFLICT CENTERS AROUND MILLENNIALISM	330
16. PREMILLENNIALISM RALLIES STALWART DEFENDERS	350
17. SCHOLARLY TREATISES STRESS EXPECTANCY OF TIMES	366
18. THE STATUS OF PROPHETIC INTERPRETATION	382
19. BREAKDOWN OF HISTORIC PREMILLENNIALISM	411

PART II—PROPHETIC EXPOSITION THE FOUNDATION OF THE MILLERITE PHASE OF THE SECOND ADVENT MOVEMENT, 1831-1844

20. TREMENDOUS CHANGES ALTER WORLD PICTURE	429
21. PREVIEW OF THE AMAZING ADVENT MOVEMENT	443
22. THE FOUNDING FATHER OF THE MILLERITE MOVEMENT	455
23. FROM INITIAL SERMON TO FULL-TIME PREACHER	476
24. FROM INDIVIDUAL EFFORT TO GROUP ENDEAVOR	503
25. EARLIEST MINISTERIAL RECRUITS JOIN THE CAUSE	528
26. SUCCESSIVE CONFERENCES SOLIDIFY THE MOVEMENT	555
27. MOMENTUM INCREASES AS CONFERENCES PROGRESS	582
28. CONFERENCES MAKE IMPRESS ON GREAT CITIES	598

29. UNRIVALED BATTERY OF MILLERITE PERIODICALS	621
30. CAMP MEETINGS BRING MILLERISM BEFORE THE MASSES	642
31. CLOSE-UPS OF MILLER'S LESSER-KNOWN ASSOCIATES	663
32. MILLER'S POWER IN THE PULPIT	681
33. AMERICAN BASE EXPANSION AND OVERSEAS EXTENSION	699
34. MILLERITE CHARTS EPITOMIZE THEIR INTERPRETATION	719
35. INCREASING ATTACKS BY PRESS AND CLERGY	738
36. RISING OPPOSITION LEADS TO SEPARATION	761
37. TRANSITION FROM SPRING TO AUTUMN, 1844	784
38. SEVENTH-MONTH MOVEMENT LAUNCHED AT EXETER	810
39. THE PARTING OF THE WAYS	827

PART III—COMPLETING THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CENTURIES BY RETENTION, RESTORATION, AND ADVANCE, 1844-1875

40. THE AFTERMATH OF THE BITTER DISAPPOINTMENT	855
41. CLARIFYING LIGHT DAWNS ON SANCTUARY'S CLEANSING	877
42. SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY EMERGENCE OF SABBATH ISSUE	906
43. THE SABBATH PENETRATES THE WESTERN WORLD	918
44. THE RISE OF SABBATARIAN ADVENTISM	941
45. THE SPIRIT OF PROPHECY MANIFESTED	964
46. TESTING THE VALIDITY OF THE MESSAGES	989
47. SABBATH CONFERENCES CONSOLIDATE EMERGING MOVEMENT	1021
48. RAISING UP THE FOUNDATIONS OF MANY GENERATIONS	1049
49. STUDIES CLUSTER AROUND THIRD MESSAGE	1070
50. THE TWO-HORNED BEAST OF REVELATION 13	1093
51. A SYSTEMATIC HARMONY OF THE PROPHECIES	1109
52. THE LARGER ASPECTS OF PROPHECY	1138
53. PROPHECY'S PLACE IN THE MASTER PLAN OF GOD	1152

EPILOGUE—PERSISTENCE OF PREMILLENNIAL SECOND ADVENT EMPHASIS IN AMERICA AND BRITAIN, 1878-1952

54. THE PREMILLENNIAL EMPHASIS PERSISTS	1177
55. BRITISH EXPOSITION PARALLELS AMERICAN INTERPRETATION	1186
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	1205
APPENDICES	1209
BIBLIOGRAPHY	1249
INDEX	1277

Illustrations and Charts

THE MASTER'S PARTING PLEDGE TO RETURN	2
THE GOVERNOR BRADFORD HOUSE AT PLYMOUTH	19
COLUMBUS REPORTS TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA	24
PRESIDENT JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' CALL TO PRAYER IN 1798	61
APOCALYPTIC SYMBOLS ON PLAQUE AND PLATTER	76
THREE NOTED EXPOSITORS OF PROPHECY	104
MARIE ANTOINETTE ON THE WAY TO THE GUILLOTINE	109
SCOTTISH INTERPRETER WILLIAM CUNINGHAME AND RESIDENCE	142
SYMBOLIC ANGELS BELIEVED NOW FLYING	198
PETRI'S HOME AT SECKBACK; PETRI'S CHURCH IN GERMANY	209
EARLIEST EXPOSITORS OF 2300-YEAR TERMINUS IN 1843	211
WIDELY SCATTERED EXPOUNDERS STRESS APPROACHING PROPHETIC CLIMAX	227
ALEXANDER CAMPBELL USED PROPHECIES IN WINNING DEBATES	250
ORBITAL PATH OF THE LEONID METEORS	293
INDIAN ANNUAL CALENDARS NOTE 1833 STAR SHOWER	296
MEXICAN JURIST CITES STAR SHOWERS AS HARBINGER	309
PROPHETIC INTERPRETERS APPEAR IN ALL FAITHS	331
HERALDS OF SECOND ADVENT ARISE SIMULTANEOUSLY IN OLD WORLD AND NEW	389
DANIEL AND REVELATION CHART REPRINTS	392-401
19TH CENTURY ADVOCATES OF 2300-YEAR PROPHECY TERMINUS IN 1843-1847 PRIOR TO WILLIAM MILLER	404, 405
YEARS OF INTENSIVE STUDY LEAD TO STARTLING CONCLUSIONS	460
TREASURE CHEST OF MILLERITE SOURCE DOCUMENTS	464
SCENES OF MILLER'S EARLIEST SERMONS ON THE IMMINENCE OF THE ADVENT	487
INITIAL MINISTERIAL LICENSE GRANTED TO MILLER IN 1833	495
SAMPLE ENTRIES IN MILLER'S FIRST TEXT BOOK	497
MILLER PREACHED IN CHURCHES OF ALL FAITHS	511
PROGRESSIVE PRINTINGS OF MILLER'S VIEWS	516
SUNDRY BUILDINGS WERE SCENES OF ADVENTIST MEETINGS	523
MILLER AND EARLIEST QUARTET OF MINISTERIAL RECRUITS	529
CHARLES FITCH—ADVENT HERALD ON WESTERN OUTPOST	542
MILLERITE GENERAL CONFERENCES FILL LARGE AUDITORIUMS	556
COVER PAGE OF FIRST GENERAL CONFERENCE REPORT	566
DR. HENRY DANA WARD	570
FAMOUS "1843" CHART USED BY ALL MILLERITE HERALDS	616
COMPOSITE VIEW OF LEADING MILLERITE JOURNALS	622
SECOND ADVENT MOVEMENT PERIODICALS (CHARTS)	624, 625
CAMP MEETINGS BRING MILLERISM BEFORE THE MULTITUDES	644
CONTEMPORARY DRAWING OF MILLERITE BIG TENT	656
MILLERITE MINISTERS HAD PASTORED THESE CHURCHES	671
WILLIAM MILLER—EFFECTIVE PREACHER OF THE PROPHECIES	684
TRIBUNE "EXTRA" FAILS TO STEM RISING TIDE OF MILLERISM	746

SCURRILOUS CARTOONS RIDICULE THE MILLERITES	758
MILLERITE CALCULATION OF STRUCTURAL DATES OF BASIC 2300-YEAR PERIOD	790
CIVIL EQUIVALENT OF DAY OF ATONEMENT IN 1844	792
LEADERS IN THE VIRILE SEVENTH-MONTH MOVEMENT	801
WAITING FOR THEIR LORD TO COME ON OCTOBER 22	825
THREE INDEPENDENT TEACHINGS MERGE INTO ONE	845
DANIEL: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL MILLERITE EXPOSITORS—1831-1844	846, 847
REVELATION: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL MILLERITE EXPOSITORS (1830-1844)	848-851
TRIO OF HEAVENLY MESSENGERS NOW UNDER FLIGHT	852
HIRAM EDSON—KEY FIGURE IN EXPANDING SANCTUARY STUDY	878
PLEADING FOR LIGHT ON THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT	880
LIGHT ON THE SANCTUARY FLASHES INTO EDSON'S MIND	882
CROSIER'S SANCTUARY POSITIONS GIVEN WIDE PUBLICITY	902
NOTED ENGLISH COURT PHYSICIAN A PIONEER SABBATARIAN	914
TWO 1729 SABBATH TREATISES PRINTED IN PHILADELPHIA	919
PALATIAL HOME OF ARGENTINEAN FRANCISCO RAMOS MEXIA	922
HISTORIC SCENES ENACTED IN WASHINGTON, NEW HAMPSHIRE, CHURCH	946
WILLIAM FARNSWORTH PLEDGES OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH	950
THE BRIDGE THAT MADE SABBATH HISTORY	955
ELLEN G. WHITE, PROLIFIC WRITER OF THE SABBATARIAN ADVENTISTS	977
MOMENTOUS OCCURRENCES IN PORTLAND (MAINE) CHURCHES	979
STREAMS OF LIGHT TO ENCIRCLE THE GLOBE	998
PHENOMENAL SPREAD OF SPIRITUALISM PREDICTED	1000
LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A WORLD-ENCIRCLING MOVEMENT	1020
YOUTHFUL ELLEN WHITE URGES HUSBAND TO WRITE AND PUBLISH	1024
PRAYER CIRCLE FOR SUCCESS OF FIRST PERIODICAL	1026
HERALDS OF A WORLD-WIDE MESSAGE	1034
LEADERS OF THE DEVELOPING SABBATARIAN MOVEMENT	1050
JAMES WHITE—STALWART ADVENTIST LEADER	1056
TWO EARLIEST PROPHETIC CHARTS ISSUED BY SABBATARIAN ADVENTISTS	1072
HISTORICAL EXPOSITORS OF THE 2 BEASTS OF REV. 13, AND THE 3 ANGELS OF REV. 14	1091, 1092
DISTINGUISHED PIONEERS IN NEW EXPOSITION OF REVELATION 13	1094
OFF FOR EUROPE	1095
URIAH SMITH MAKES MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO SYSTEMATIC EXPOSITION	1110
DANIEL: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL SABBATARIAN ADVENTISTS—1844-1875	1118, 1119
REVELATION: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL SABBATARIAN ADVENTISTS—1844-1875	1118, 1119
EXPOSITORS OF THE TRUMPETS AND THEIR TIME PERIODS	1124, 1125
COMPOSITE PICTURE OF INTERRELATED PROPHECIES OF SACRED SCRIPTURE	1128, 1129
THE FAITH OF JESUS AND THE COMMANDMENTS OF GOD	1158
THE DOMINANT NOTE OF THE LAST DAYS OF TIME	1170
ASSEMBLY HALLS OF LATER PROPHETIC CONGRESSES	1176
NOTED LEADERS IN THE 1886 PROPHETIC CONFERENCE	1187
DR. HENRY GRATTAN GUINNESS	1195
PERIODIC CONFERENCES ON PROPHECY—1878-1952 (CHART)	1204

From the Author to the Reader

I. The Climax of Centuries of Antecedent Preparation

The majestic cathedrals that adorn the Old World were not the work of a few short years, but were the result of generations of laborious effort. Centuries usually elapsed between the laying of the foundation stones and the completion of the towering superstructures. Such massive creations were inevitably a slow, painstaking task. The foundations were laid with great care and characterized by solidity. Deep excavations reached down to the solid bedrock on which they were built. And the extensive work of erection that followed was so painstaking and thorough that the results were most impressive and enduring.

Thus also with the second advent hope, based on Bible prophecy and eventuating in the great Second Advent Movement of the nineteenth century, popularly yet often contemptuously known as Millerism,* and now before us for study. Millerism was not a cause but a consequence. Its participants held that it was not a new, spontaneous development—not an isolated, independent, irrational, unrelated phenomenon, mushrooming to the surface at that time. They maintained, instead, that it was the inevitable outcome of two thousand years of solid preparatory backgrounds, perceptions, and cumulative fulfillments in the field of prophecy.

Its leaders profoundly felt that, logically and historically, it had to be; just as verily as the great Reformation of the sixteenth century had at that time to be—because the appointed

* The term "Millerite" is here used to designate that large body of believers in the impending second advent and attendant judgment hour that arose between 1831 and 1844. It is employed here in the historical sense, simply for brevity and adequacy, as one speaks of the Wesleyans or Campbellites. Used at first as an epithet of derision, it came to be used commonly and simply to designate that great body of believers in the imminence of the second advent and judgment hour as due around 1843-1844. No disrespect, therefore, is here implied by its use. The name Adventist had not yet been generally adopted, and then embraced all believers in the premillennial second advent, scattered throughout all the churches.

hour had come, in the divine plan of the ages, for it to appear and give its destined witness. And of this the Reformers in their day were similarly conscious. They considered themselves to be men of destiny, men with a mission, acting under the guidance of an All-wise Providence, a product of prophecy.

In a similar way, the Millerite movement of the nineteenth century was considered, by its proponents, to be the climax and consummation of the progressive exposition of prophecy that had been steadily unfolding across the centuries. The great Second Advent Movement cannot be explained on any merely social, psychological, economic, or organizational grounds. It partook of the nature and spirit of a great Christian crusade, with its rootage deep in the long past.

It was considered to be a new Reformation; or more accurately, the resumption and consummation of the arrested Reformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was timed for the closing scenes of the Christian dispensation. And an undeniable power and fervor attended it that was dynamic, often sweeping all irresistibly before it. It constituted the climax of centuries of preparation in advent expectation and witness. It was regarded as the unrolling of the final segment in the great prophetic scroll of the ages.

To the nineteenth century, then, we now turn. In Volume III the extensive Old World Advent Awakening of the early decades of the century that penetrated and surcharged all religious groups has been surveyed. The similar New World Advent Awakening that developed into a full-fledged movement will now be considered. We shall first note, in Part I, the general awakening on prophecy, with its expositors scattered throughout the various religious bodies—an interdenominational development. Then in Part II, the spectacular Millerite movement will be unfolded, which drew into its orbit hundreds of stalwarts from these various denominations—individual heralds of the advent and prominent expounders of Bible prophecy.

And, finally, in Part III the aftermath of that development will be surveyed, tracing the persistence of the premillen-

nial concept and the Historicist view of prophecy, that eventuated in the rise of one segment that has assumed significant proportions and expanded over the globe in ever-widening circles. The centrality of the second advent hope in the Christian faith, and its vital and inescapable relationship to the great first advent truth and fact, thus becomes the central truth of these latter times. An Epilogue will sketch the persistence of premillennialism in the decades following.

II. Focal Points of Time and Eternity

For ages astronomers had studied the heavens to find the secret of the movements of the planets. They had pondered these speeding spheres, sweeping through space without confusion or conflict, swinging on with precision in their ceaseless cycles. They tried in vain to calculate the path of their orbits on the basis of a circular movement through the heavens. Their thought was fixed on a single center for every orbit. But such calculations would not work out. They left the investigators in confusion, conflict, and chaos. Finally, one astronomer, Johann Kepler, found that the planetary orbit is an ellipse, or elongated circle, and therefore having *two* centers or foci. Then astronomical calculations of their courses became harmonious, exact, and complete. The law of the heavens had been found.

Similarly with the plan, or orbit, of salvation, if it may be so called. Multitudes through the years have sought to fathom the provisions of God's great redemptive movements and timings, but have thrown that orbit around a single center, the first coming of Christ some nineteen centuries ago. But the plan of redemption, it was found, has *two* centers, or foci. It sweeps around the *second coming* of Christ as well as the first. These twin centers—the tragedy of the cross and the triumphal return of Christ in power and glory—were seen to be inseparable. One is incomplete without the other.

Only in dual relationship does the plan of salvation become complete and harmonious. Only thus can those who seek for

truth understand the otherwise confusing and seemingly contradictory lines of prophecy in the Old Testament concerning the advent of the Messiah—some telling of His coming as a man in weakness and humiliation, born as a babe in Bethlehem, with subsequent suffering, sorrow and grief, His visage marred, His person contemned; others proclaiming His coming as King of kings, a glorious and resistless sovereignty that purges the earth, delivers His people, and inaugurates a reign of everlasting peace and righteousness.

But once this mighty truth of the two comings is grasped, one has in his possession the key to all the divine movements of the ages—past, present, and future. It is this that affords the solution to a thousand confusing problems and the rational basis of the only true philosophy of history. Such the Adventists of the nineteenth century came to believe. They came to see that around these two transcendent events revolve the issues of time and eternity. This, then, will be the scope of our quest in the closing sections of this concluding volume of the *Prophetic Faith* series.

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PART I

AMERICAN 19th CENTURY REVIVAL
OF PROPHETIC INTERPRETATION
AMONG MEN OF ALL FAITHS
1800-1844

The Background of the American Denominations

I. Setting the Stage for Coming Events

The unique developments that took place in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century and the movements that arose out of those throbbing decades represent the culmination of the incipient but insistent influences of the past. They would have been unthinkable, if not entirely impossible, back in the first two centuries of American history, or at any time in an Old World setting. And the distinctive currents and cross currents of nineteenth-century American prophetic interpretation can be understood only in the light of the American situation in its historical background.

Tracing with sweeping strokes the over-all picture of certain basic trends in North America from the days of the landing of our Colonial forefathers—with a glance back to antecedent Old World conditions—we shall then go on to the crucial decades of the first half of the nineteenth century¹—the period of our special quest in tracing the progressive development of prophetic interpretation at that time.

II. "Left-Wing" and "Right-Wing" Protestantism

Before the Protestant Reformation, church and state had been united in all lands, with the pope, in theory and often in

¹ In this initial background chapter, heavy draft is made upon such recognized authorities as Sidney E. Mead, of the University of Chicago; William W. Sweet, formerly of the University of Chicago, and now of the Southern Methodist University; Ernest Sutherland Bates, of the University of Oregon; and Kenneth Scott Latourette, of Yale. Other experts are cited freely in the documentation. In the study of the prophetic expositions of the nineteenth century, which will follow, the actual writings of the men under survey will then, of course, constitute the basic sources, as in the previous volumes of *Prophetic Faith*.

practice, as lord of kings as well as head of the church. Dissent from ecclesiastical dogmas was a civil as well as an ecclesiastical offense, subject to corresponding civil penalties.

The Reformation—primarily a spiritual revolution, although soon permeated by political elements—was but the crest of a tide that had been rising for centuries among such “left-wing” protesting groups as the early “heretical” Waldenses, Lollards, and Bohemians. But in certain ways the Reformation of Luther’s time underwent a reaction, giving rise to distinctly “right-wing” churches, which actually exchanged the domination of the Catholic Church for the domination of the state.²

Modern historians frequently distinguish between “right-wing” and “left-wing” Protestantism—using the words in a different sense, however, from the social and political implications of those terms in modern parlance.³ The right-wing group—the Anglicans, Reformed (Calvinistic), and Lutherans—commonly held to the union of church and state, and justified religious coercion. The religious “left-wingers” (such as the Anabaptists, Quakers, Mennonites, and German sectaries in general) may be defined, roughly, as those who rejected all union of church and state and stressed the inner, personal character of religion. Springing from the masses, these groups, “commonly on the left also with regard to church organization, sacraments, and creeds,” leaned toward Scriptural literalism and a return to primitive Christian standards of teaching and practice, stressing the necessity of a spiritual rebirth (sometimes turning to mysticism, or perchance to perfectionism). They looked to prophecy, and to eschatology, as commonly involving the concept of an approaching “divine event to shatter the present scheme of history,” or a cataclysmic end of the world.⁴

It is well to remember, as Sweet pertinently remarks, that

² Ernest Sutherland Bates, *American Faith*, pp. 34, 37-52; William Warren Sweet, *The American Churches*, pp. 12-15.

³ For example, Sidney E. Mead, “The European Churches Transplanted to America,” in “Christianity in America,” lecture 2; W. W. Sweet, *The American Churches*; E. S. Bates, *American Faith*; and Roland H. Bainton, “The Left Wing of the Reformation,” *The Journal of Religion*, April, 1941, pp. 124-134.

⁴ R. H. Bainton, *op. cit.*, pp. 125, 129, 130.

the Baptists, Methodists, Disciples, and Quakers were once the troublemakers for the "respectable" churches—at that time the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians. Just a little earlier these, in their turn, had been the troublemakers for the dominant Roman church in Reformation times.⁵ Pressing the principle back a little further, we find that the early Christian church was, similarly, the troublemaking group for the Jewish church at the beginning of the Christian Era. This would surely suggest reserve in the criticism of lesser groups today. So much by way of a definition of terms.

The precious boon of American religious freedom may be called the ultimate fruit of seed sown over centuries of heroic struggle by the religious radicals, the heretics, or spiritual "leftists" of pre-Reformation times.⁶ The left-wing Anabaptists—the "direct descendants," spiritually, of such groups as the Waldenses, and the "direct ancestors" of the Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers—as well as the Mennonites and the Schwenkfeldians, advocated separation of church and state. And the early English Baptists published a clear Declaration of Faith, demanding this separation of church and state.⁷

III. State Churches Constitute "Right-Wing" Group

1. STATE CHURCHES IN THE OLD WORLD.—At the time of its separation from Rome, the Church of England was not Protestant; it was simply an "English edition" of Roman Catholicism. Final authority was simply transferred, by the Act of Supremacy, from the pope to the king. But Catholic rites and dogmas were progressively set aside, and the liturgy translated into English.

⁵ W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, p. 177.

⁶ E. S. Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 9. In this section heavy draft is made upon Bates's excellent outline.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-57. In the English Anabaptists' "Brief Confession or Declaration of FAITH," drawn up at London in March, 1660, after a comprehensive statement of highly orthodox Protestant faith, Article XXIV reads:

"That it is the will, and mind of God (in these Gospel times) that all men should have the free liberty of their own *Consciences* in matters of Religion, or Worship, without the least oppression, or persecution, . . . and that for any in Authority otherwise to act, we confidently believe is expressly contrary to the mind of Christ, who requires that whatsoever men would that others should do unto them, they should even so do unto others, *Mat.* 7. 12, and that the Tares and Wheat should grow together in the field, (which is the world) until the harvest (which is the end of the world.) *Mat.* 13. 29, 30, 38, 39."

Even the persecution of Mary's Catholic reign did not kill out Protestant ideas. It resulted, however, in the introduction of Calvinism into England and Scotland, when the exiled clergy returned from Geneva under Elizabeth's Protestant regime. Calvin's view of an "absolutely fixed and sacred system of laws and punishments decreed by God and upheld by His ministers," required a theocracy in which the Calvinist churchmen should dominate civil authority with censorship over private morals. In England the conservative Anglo-Catholic party was supported by the throne against an increasingly aggressive, reforming minority of Calvinistic Puritans in a contest over the vesting of authority in presbyters rather than in bishops.⁸ But the ethical attitude of Calvinism, under the guise of "Puritanism," later influenced the Anglican Church, and it became well established in America in Colonial days.

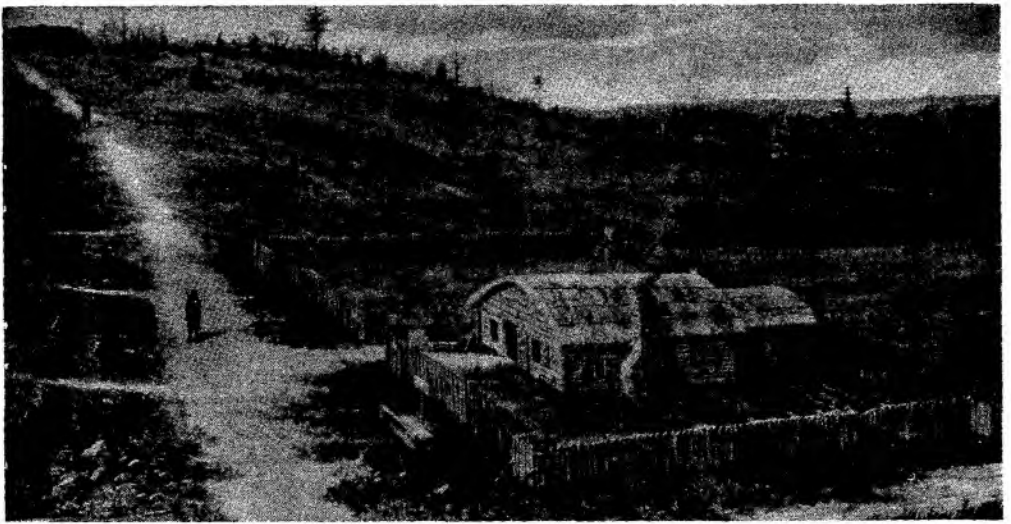
Meantime, the "Brownists" developed—the Independents, Separatists, or Congregationalists—who also were to have a profound influence on American religious life. Robert Browne, the founder of Congregationalism, openly supported the Anabaptist position—"that the church should return to the pattern of Primitive Christianity," with autonomous congregations—and he even countenanced the separation of church and state. The Separatists exercised the most "rigid inquisitorial control" over morals and conduct, for they were Puritans. Persecution drove several groups of them to Holland, and thus furnished the "original nucleus" for the later New England Pilgrims.⁹

2. STATE CHURCHES IN COLONIAL AMERICA.—America became the melting pot of political, social, and religious ideas and ideals, as well as of nationalities. But religious liberty for all was not brought over to the colonies from Europe. On the contrary, radical and conservative alike—left wing and right wing—had essentially the same concept of establishing God's kingdom on earth through human, churchly endeavor.¹⁰

⁸ E. S. Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-74.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-78.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-86.



W. L. WILLIAMS, ARTIST

THE GOVERNOR BRADFORD HOUSE AT PLYMOUTH

Primitive Conditions Marked the New World's Colonial Beginnings in the Destined Land of Freedom. Many Believed It to Be Part of the "Wilderness" or "Place" That God Had Prepared, as a Place of Refuge From Persecution

In Virginia, the first English colony, the Anglican was the established church, and uniformity was enforced to a certain extent. The second colony, Plymouth, was settled by the Separatist Pilgrims, whose ideal was not so much that of separation of church and state as of a community of the faithful, covenanted together in single, local church fellowship for the worship of God—a basic Anabaptist concept.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony, established about 1630, was not founded by Separatists, but by members of the Puritan wing of the established church, though they used the Congregational polity for practical purposes. In Massachusetts the ideals of Calvin seemed about to be realized—the divine right of pope and kings replaced by the divine right of the clergy and magistrates. The Pilgrims at Plymouth were somewhat milder, but in Massachusetts Bay the voter must be a church member, and to become such he must be examined and passed upon by the clergy.¹¹

But in 1631 the newly arrived Roger Williams—the "profoundest thinker that England gave to American history"—

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 95, 104, 105, 120, 124.

struck at the central principle of the Massachusetts Bay oligarchy by demanding the Anabaptist principle of separation of church and state. Forced to flee, he established Rhode Island, the only colony where complete religious freedom was vouchsafed to all—including Quaker, Jew, and Roman Catholic.¹²

Maryland had been the first colony to introduce "toleration" (not complete religious liberty) as a policy. But next to Rhode Island, the Quaker colonies—Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware—were the most liberal. All the proprietary colonies had liberal tendencies because of their mixed population. It was, indeed, this very diversity of religions that made possible the separation of church and state, and gave a distinctive character to American church development.¹³

IV. The Inadequacy of the Colonial Churches

In this new country, especially under frontier conditions, the church, for various reasons, never kept pace with the population. There were successive waves of migration from other countries, of differing religious backgrounds,¹⁴ and migrations are, as Candler remarks, periods of definite peril and moral danger to those cut off from established, vitalizing forces and the old restraints. Our Colonial forefathers were divided into separate jealous colonies, with differing religious groups in the lead, but in most cases with no dominant religion. Under the stress of wars and frontier conditions and the inadequacy of churches and pastors, religion declined, manners coarsened, and intemperance and licentiousness prevailed. Even the established churches were honeycombed with the unconverted. Such was the serious situation in Colonial America on the eve of the Great Awakening of the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁵

The early Puritans had been men of sturdy faith, strong convictions, and deep moral earnestness. But their religious

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 130, 134, 135, 149.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 174; *American State Papers and Related Documents on Freedom in Religion*, pp. 91, 92; W. W. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, pp. 322-339.

¹⁴ Leonard W. Bacon, *A History of American Christianity*, pp. 36, 37.

¹⁵ Warren A. Candler, *Great Revivals and the Great Republic*, pp. 39, 40.

life was controlled by the forbidding principles of duty and fear, and their ultra-Calvinism practically denied man's free moral agency. In the attempt to hold the succeeding generations, the "Halfway Covenant" filled the churches in New England with unconverted members, with general spiritual and moral declension as a natural consequence.¹⁶

In the colonies where the Anglican Church was established, the same spiritual declension was to be found, because political considerations rather than spiritual qualifications governed the appointment of the clergy. Furthermore, the great majority of the colonists were not church members. Of the 101 voyagers on the *Mayflower*, only a mere dozen were church members, or even professing Christians. Sweet summarizes the situation thus:

"That New England was the best churchd section of the colonies goes without saying, and here church membership was about one to eight in 1760. In the Middle Colonies where the great new German and Scotch-Irish immigration was coming to a larger extent than anywhere else, the proportion of unchurched was much larger, and was perhaps something like one to fifteen or eighteen. In the Southern Colonies the ratio of the churchd to the unchurched was not more than one to twenty; taking the colonies as a whole, the ratio was something like one to twelve."¹⁷

V. "Great Awakening" of Mid-Eighteenth Century

Then, in the middle of the eighteenth century, following a generally acknowledged period of spiritual declension and a low ebb morally, extraordinary efforts were put forth by men aflame for God to induce their fellows to accept the overtures of Christ's gospel. Such revivals of religion have always stressed pre-eminently the salvation of the individual rather than general social, political, and economic needs. It has been said that society in motion is, in fact, always an individualistic society; it is established communities that tend to embrace institutional religion.

¹⁶ Frank C. Beardsley, *A History of American Revivals*, chap. 2; see also Wesley M. Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia*, pp. 3, 4.

¹⁷ W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, p. 18.

The awakening first started in the middle colonies, and was joined by Jonathan Edwards' New England revival, which reached out from the little village of Northampton. It spread until the entire Colonial area from north to south and from the seaboard to the utmost fringe of settlement had felt its power. Edwards, the greatest theologian of the Great Awakening, pressed hard on justification by faith, even though some of his sermons were lurid, such as "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." Abhorrent as such preaching might appear today, it served to arrest the laxity and religious indifference of the time. This revival spirit was exemplified by such preachers as Frelinghuysen, Blair, and Tennent (the founder of the famous Log College in Neshaminy, Pennsylvania), and others.¹⁸

Chiefest among those promoting the Great Awakening in America, came to be the eloquent Anglican George Whitefield (1714-1770), of the Evangelical (or Wesleyan) Revival in Britain. The great British revival under John and Charles Wesley not only averted the danger of Deism, and established a great denomination, but also quickened Nonconformist groups to new life. And the Anglicans derived from the Wesleyan movement the spiritual impulse that later established the tract, missionary, and Bible societies, as well as the Sunday school, which constituted the beginning of popular education.

While this Old World revival was overwhelmingly Arminian in tone, the Great Awakening in America was decidedly Calvinistic, although embodying Methodist principles. Whitefield, though himself a Calvinist, did not preach his Calvinism. Rather, he emphasized the experience of "justification by faith and the new birth, leaving men to find their election by experiencing saving grace."¹⁹ If he had preached outright Wesleyan Arminianism, he would have aroused controversy and hindered unity. Hence, steering between the two, his message had the widest appeal. Allusions to the resurrection, the second coming of Christ, and the judgment occur frequently

¹⁸ F. G. Beardsley, *Religious Progress Through Religious Revivals*, p. 7.

¹⁹ W. A. Candler, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

in his preaching. Furthermore, the revival enthusiasm of this period (1740) as "partly generated by the widespread belief that the unprecedented movement presaged the imminent coming of the millennium," was a view promoted by Edwards and many of his followers.²⁰

Invited to Georgia by the Wesleys, who had been in this country, Whitefield also preached in Philadelphia, New York, Charleston, Boston, and other centers with increasing success, until multitudes were called back to God through his ministry. But partly because of strife over emotional extravagances, and partly because of the conditions of the succeeding period, the religious quickening was not permanent, and theological controversy followed. The various denominations shared in the harvest of conversions, but the revival brought to the Presbyterians the temporary "New Side"- "Old Side" division. And to New England Congregationalism, the controversy between Calvinism and Arminianism led eventually to the permanent Unitarian schism.

Nevertheless, the Great Awakening had many positive results. Aside from revitalizing religion for thousands and combating frontier irreligion and imported rationalism, it produced significant by-products. It aided indirectly in bringing equal freedom to all religions; it stimulated education, missions, social consciousness, and humanitarianism, and started movements "whose consequences for good in American life are beyond exact calculation."²¹

VI. America Achieves Separation of Church and State

It has been well said that the two most profound changes, or revolutions, in the entire history of the Christian church have been, "first, the change of the church, in the fourth century,

²⁰ S. E. Mead, *Nathaniel William Taylor*, pp. 12, 13.

²¹ W. W. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, p. 317. On the Great Awakening, see F. G. Beardsley, *Religious Progress*, chap. 1; Benjamin Rice Lacy, Jr., *Revivals in the Midst of the Years*, chap. 2; W. A. Candler, *op. cit.*, chap. 4; W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, chaps. 2-4; L. W. Bacon, *op. cit.*, chap. 11; F. L. Chapell, *The Great Awakening of 1740*; Joseph Tracy, *The Great Awakening*.



R. BALACA, ARTIST

COLUMBUS REPORTS TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

He Recounts the Providences of His First Voyage to the "Indies," Considering Himself to Be God's Messenger for the Opening of the World to the Preaching of the Gospel Before the End of the Age

from a voluntary society having in its membership only those who were members by their own choice, to a society conceived as necessarily coextensive with the civil community and endowed with the power to enforce the adherence of all members of the civil community; second, the reversal of this change," or the return to persuasion—with that second reversal accomplished in America in the eighteenth century.²² Sidney E. Mead pertinently lists four key factors as bearing upon the accomplishment²³ of this "reversal":

First, no one "right-wing" church could be a dominant majority in Colonial America. "By the time of the Constitu-

²² Winfred E. Garrison, "Characteristics of American Organized Religion," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1948, p. 17; see also Alvin W. Johnson and Frank H. Yost, *Separation of Church and State in the United States*, p. 256.

²³ From Sidney E. Mead's able lectures on "Christianity in America," a course given at the University of Chicago, 1950, and used by permission.

tional Convention (1787), it had become clear to them that the only way to get freedom nationally for themselves was to grant it to all others"; thus "these groups cancelled each other out."²⁴ And the immense geographical spread of the New World made effective persecution impossible.

Second, during and following the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century, left-wing membership increased and there was a shift of emphasis from intellectual belief to personal religious experience, from the sovereign reign of God in the total community, to the reign of God as sovereign in the individual human heart.²⁵

Third, rationalism had by this time permeated the intellectual classes. Civic leaders like Franklin, Jefferson, and Madison—largely deists—advocated religious liberty on the principle—

"that Religion, or the duty which we owe to our *Creator*, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and, therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience."²⁶

Both deists and left-wing Evangelicals looked upon religion as a personal, individual relationship with God, and the church as a "voluntary society."²⁷ The positive movement for the separation of church and state, and for equality of all religious groups before the law, therefore, sprang essentially from the joint activities of the large left-wing Protestant groups, particularly the Baptists and Quakers, along with those of the rationalistic leaders.²⁸

Fourth, for the first time a group of civil states was to be found where the large majority—90 per cent, says Garrison—

²⁴ S. E. Mead, "Christianity in America," lecture 4, pp. 1, 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.* (See also H. W. Schneider, *The Puritan Mind*, pp. 106, 107, 126.)

²⁶ Virginia's "Declaration of Rights," sec. 16 (prepared by Patrick Henry and James Madison, and adopted June 12, 1776), in *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. 6, col. 1562; quoted also in *American State Papers and Related Documents on Freedom in Religion*, p. 97.

²⁷ See W. W. Sweet, "The Protestant Churches," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1948, p. 45.

²⁸ S. E. Mead, "Christianity in America," lecture 4, pp. 2, 3.

were without religious affiliations,²⁹ yet were largely influenced by the prevailing pietistic left-wing and rationalistic views, together with the rather widespread anticlerical sentiments floating about. And although the Federal declaration for religious freedom did not automatically abolish church establishments in the States, complete religious freedom was achieved in all the States through democracy, religious toleration, and the growth of the "sect" groups which, taken together, clearly outnumbered those of the establishments.³⁰

In the swift transition period from 1775 to 1800, marked by the Declaration of Independence, the successful Revolution, the consolidation under the Articles of Confederation and the new Constitution, long-cherished ties were severed with parent European churches, and national religious freedom was established, with that peculiarly American phenomenon—an array of varied and independent churches, or "denominations," equally protected and equally free of governmental support and control. Then came the Great Revival at the turn of the century, and many new trends and developments in the new nation that show the significance of this crucial period in American affairs.

As Mead sums it up, "during the Colonial Period several religious groups, transplanted from Europe, meant to perpetuate their European religious patterns in America."³¹ But these Old World patterns of uniformity ultimately broke down, in successive steps, from religious *toleration* to real religious *freedom*, and eventually to complete separation of church and state, with all religious groups on an equal and voluntary basis. The left-wing church groups of the "sect" type grew at the expense of the right-wing churches, and the "pietistic-evangelical-revivalistic" tendencies predominated. Latourette well observes:

"The Christianity which developed in the United States was unique.

²⁹ W. E. Garrison, *op cit.*, p. 20.

³⁰ S. E. Mead, "Christianity in America," lecture 4, pp. 3, 4.

³¹ S. E. Mead, "Christianity in America," lecture 6, pp. 1, 2.

It displayed features which marked it as distinct from previous Christianity in any other land."³²

So the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth marked the rise of the free American denomination,³³ the beginning of the Great Revival, and the triumph of left-wing Protestantism in the battle of revealed religion versus "French infidelity."³⁴

VII. The Dual Revolt Against Calvinism

Two radically different trends away from the prevalent Calvinist "orthodoxy" came into the foreground toward the end of the eighteenth century—Deism³⁵ and Arminianism.³⁶

1. DEISM AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN.—Deism stemmed out of the concept of rationalism's "natural religion," which paralleled Locke's philosophy of the natural rights of man. From English sources before the Revolution, and especially from admiration for the French during and after the war, Deism became popular in the new American democracy. It flourished particularly on the unchurched frontier. The excesses of the French Revolution were popularly regarded as the inevitable fruitage of Deism.³⁷ The stage was set for coming developments.

The publications of Ethan Allen and Thomas Paine and the rise of deistic societies and antichurch movements gave the signal for Timothy Dwight, and scores of other defenders of revealed religion,³⁸ to launch an all-out attack on "French Infidelity." The Great Awakening had already demonstrated

³² Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 4, p. 424.

³³ The Congregationalists and Baptists were already completely independent, and the Presbyterian, Dutch and German Reformed, Quaker, and Moravian groups called for little change. The Methodist and Anglican (Protestant Episcopal) bodies quickly made their ecclesiastical reorganization.

³⁴ S. E. Mead, "Christianity in America," lecture 5, p. 1.

³⁵ Deism believed in a personal God as the Creator, but rejected the divine inspiration and revelation of the Bible and the direct personal intervention of God in human affairs.

³⁶ On Arminianism see note on p. 28.

³⁷ S. E. Mead, "Christianity in America," lecture 5, p. 3. Such, for example, was the contention of Jedediah Morse in a Fast Day sermon in Boston on March 23, 1798. See pp. 99-102 of this volume.

³⁸ On Timothy Dwight, see pp. 153-163 of this volume.

effective methods in reaching and moving the populace, and soon Deism and "French infidelity" virtually disappeared under the tidal wave of the new revivalism.³⁹

And in all this, be it noted, Bible prophecy occupied a central place; by scores of outstanding religious leaders, as we shall soon see, it was regarded as one of the supreme evidences of inspiration, as an infallible light on the immediate times and their final outcome, and the supreme weapon against infidelity.

2. ARMINIANISM'S REVOLT AGAINST CALVINISM.—But more important to American church development than the issue over Deism, was the revolt of Arminianism.⁴⁰ Like Deism, partly an importation from England, it was nevertheless a native protest against American Calvinism, and was colored by American democracy. The Calvinists, whose endless arguments over doctrinal minutiae had aggravated the situation, submerged their chief differences to present a solid fighting front not only against Deism but also against the growing Arminian menace within the church.

Arminianism, in essence, teaches that the supremacy of God is conditioned on the human freedom of will, which He has voluntarily given to man, and it places squarely on the individual the responsibility for his own sins and for his decision to accept salvation. It forced the Calvinists, in answer-

³⁹ See H. M. Jones, *America and French Culture, 1750-1848*, pp. 410, 411.

⁴⁰ Arminianism is a term hard to define. Originally the system of the learned Dutch theologian Arminius (1560-1609), it was a negation of Calvinist dogmatism, a protest against certain ideas regarded as implicit in the doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of God, which almost made Him the author of sin—dogmas such as limited atonement, irresistible grace, and the complete depravity of man. Arminianism asserted "(a) the universality of the benefit of the Atonement; (b) a restored freedom of the human will"; although in doing this it carefully rejected, with Calvinism itself, the idea of "reliance placed upon human nature alone," teaching the principle that man is entirely dependent on the grace of the Spirit of God for salvation. (Frederic Platt, "Arminianism," in James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 1, pp. 808, 809.)

Arminianism occupies the middle ground between overdepreciation and overemphasis on the human—"a *via media* between Naturalism and Fatalism." (*Ibid.*, p. 811.) Arminianism advocated moderation and toleration and tended to distrust creeds. It is because of this fact that later Dutch and English Arminians went to extremes of emphasis on the human element and became allied with Arianism, Socinianism, or Pelagianism, which have no true connection with pure Arminianism. The drift toward Rationalism and Latitudinarianism was not a necessary consequence of Arminianism, as is proved by the fact that it was the basis of Methodism, "whose leaders re-stated Arminianism in modern theology in its purest form, and vitalized it with the warmth of religious emotion and the joyous assurance of the Evangelical spirit." (*Ibid.*, p. 813.)

ing it, to modify their own statement of doctrine. And many a Calvinist revivalist, calling men to a voluntary decision, came under suspicion on the score of his Arminian implications. American Calvinism was attacked not only through the evangelical emphasis of Methodism but also through the liberal angle of the New England Unitarian schism.

VIII. New American Arminian Denominations

1. THE HEART OF THE UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY.—During the period of comparative indifference between the Great Awakening and the Great Revival at the end of the eighteenth century, American Unitarianism developed slowly as the liberal wing of Congregationalism, drawing its leadership from native and antirevivalist intellectualism, its theology from the literature of English liberalism and of Arian-Arminianism,⁴¹ and its easy-going optimism from Boston culture, prosperity, and world trade. The closer contact of eastern New England with the Old World allowed Arminianism and "liberal theology" to take greater root in that region.⁴²

Unitarian leaders such as William Ellery Channing emphasized "the loving kindness of God, the nobility of man, and the joy of a religious life."⁴³ They avoided Joseph Priestley, the radical Unitarian exile from England; they disclaimed English Unitarianism, and acknowledged the name merely as denoting their disbelief in the traditional doctrine of the Trinity, not the more radical belief, as commonly understood by the term in England, that Christ was merely human. Nevertheless, the New England Unitarians and orthodox Congregationalists finally separated after legal battles over church property. The Unitarians won more than one hundred churches in eastern

⁴¹ One of the main sources was in the writings of the English dissenters, particularly of Whitby and Taylor. It is interesting to note that Whitby, who was both Arminian and Arian, contributed the postmillennialism which Edwards and his successors propagated here in New England.

⁴² Williston Walker, *A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States*, p. 269.

⁴³ Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment*, p. 27. For discussions of the Unitarian separation, see Williston Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-346; W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, pp. 347-349.

New England, and the most prosperous and cultured part of the population.

At first the Unitarians moved only to Arianism, which "did not lessen for them their implicit faith in his [Christ's] revelation or their recognition of the beauty and glory of his divine character."⁴⁴ But a later period of radicalism brought in the new theory that the spiritual message is "inward," and not outward, "directly to the soul of a man," and not through the mediation of a person or a book.⁴⁵ Although tolerating all shades of opinion, the Unitarian Church moved far beyond the liberalism of Channing's day. The human emphasis in place of a supernatural message soon channeled Unitarian zeal and idealism into humanitarian enterprises. The ideals of Transcendentalism, expressed by some of the most noted literary lights of New England, were of Unitarian origin.

2. THREE NEW ENGLAND MOVEMENTS ARISE.—Following the American Revolution, while the Unitarian controversy still remained a matter of theory rather than of action, three humbler Arminian movements rose to attack Calvinism. Separating from New England orthodoxy, they soon formed sects—the Universalists, the Freewill Baptists, and the "Christians."⁴⁶ And the Great Revival produced frontier schisms that formed new denominations, like the Cumberland Presbyterians and the western branch of the "Christians"—and later the Disciples.⁴⁷ The Universalists, repudiating the Calvinist "limited atonement" (for the elect only) carried their "universal atonement" to the extreme of universal salvation; they later became closely identified with the Unitarians.⁴⁸ The Freewill Baptists,⁴⁹

⁴⁴ George Willis Cooke, *Unitarianism in America*, p. 15. He defines the Arian position by saying that they insisted on the language of the New Testament; they regarded the Son as subordinate to the Father, as in the ancient family, but they believed in Christ's pre-existence. His supernatural character and mission, that He was the creator, or that the world was created "by means of the spirit that was in him, and that every honor should be paid him except that of worshipping him as the Supreme Being." (*Ibid.*, p. 56.) The Unitarians denied (a) the depravity of human nature, (b) the worship of Christ as God, (c) the substitutionary atonement as the means of salvation.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

⁴⁶ David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850*, pp. 31-36.

⁴⁷ For the Cumberland Presbyterians and the Disciples, see pp. 33-35.

⁴⁸ Universalists believe in universal salvation for all souls. Today there are few churches in Europe bearing the name Universalist, but the doctrine finds favor and, in instances, open advocacy. Denominational organization in this country followed the introduction from England

drawing off from the Calvinist Baptists because of irreconcilable doctrinal differences, multiplied rapidly in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

3. THE POSITIONS OF THE "CHRISTIANS."—The third group, the "Christians," or Christian Connection, who attempted to end all denominational and creedal differences, need a little explanation, because they are often confused with the later and more numerous Disciples of Christ. They were a fusion of three schismatic groups.³⁰

Originating as part of the revolt against the restraints of Calvinistic creeds, they insisted on Christian character as the only test of fellowship, and their only creed the "plain language, and understanding of the Bible according to average judgment, as to meaning and interpretation." A member might likely have declared himself "neither Unitarian, Trinitarian, an Arian or Socinian, but simply a Christian."³¹ Thus, although holding various views, the anti-Calvinist Christians fell easily into the classification of anti-Trinitarians as a result of their reluctance to be bound by a "metaphysical" theological term not found

of the teachings of James Rely by John Murray about 1770. Most Universalists are Unitarians in Christology. The original Universalists denied any punishment for sins except the consequences in this life, but most of them now, like the Restorationists, who broke off from them in the 1830's, maintain that the wicked will pass through temporary punishment after death. (See Richard Eddy, *Universalism in America*, vol. 1, Introduction; George T. Knight, "Universalists," *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, vol. 12, pp. 96, 97.)

³⁰ The first church of the Freewill Baptist group arose about 1780 at Durham, New Hampshire. John Randall's search for a faith that would satisfy led him first to forsake the coldness of Congregationalism, and then to adopt the Baptist principles. Next, disfellowshipped for his Arminian position, he finally ventured to organize his own sect. In the early 1800's these Arminian Baptists grew rapidly, founding more than one hundred societies in Vermont alone. They were always "on the evangelical side of every doctrinal dispute of the day," and in the forefront of every reform movement—temperance, antislavery, antimasonry, and women's rights. (D. M. Ludlum, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Oliver Johnson, *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times*, p. 75; I. D. Stewart, *The History of the Freewill Baptists*.)

³¹ One came from the Virginia Methodists (1792), led by James O'Kelly; one from the New England Baptists, led by Abner Jones, of Vermont (1802); and one from the Kentucky Presbyterians, under Barton W. Stone (1803), later uniting under the simple name of Christians. In 1829 Barton W. Stone and a large number of the Christians in Kentucky and Ohio joined with the Campbellites, or Disciples of Christ, with the result that many congregations of the resultant denomination, especially in the South, are called Christian churches. But the original "Christians" were the threefold anti-Calvinist body whose general meetings in New England in 1809 led to the formation of a general conference in 1820, called the "Christian Connection." More recently designated officially as the "Christian Church (General Convention of the Christian Church)," this body merged in 1931 with the Congregationalists to form the General Council of Congregational and Christian Churches, with local groups calling themselves either Christian or Congregational, as they might prefer. (On the history of the earlier Christians, see Milo True Morrill, *A History of the Christian Denomination in America*; also historical and doctrinal statement in the U.S. Census volume, *Religious Bodies*, 1936, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 524, 525.)

³² M. T. Morrill, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

in Scripture.⁵² "The Bible only" was their watchword. Morrill puts it thus:

"Never for a moment have they surrendered the Bible, nor its simple direct use. People who have dubbed the Christians 'Unitarian' and other harder names, failed to appreciate their standpoint, and misapprehended their intention. True religious freedom avoids all theological dogmatism. Freedom and revivalism have always characterized the Christians. Their fold has included men of all opinions, and men of deep convictions, but by mutual consent they laid aside their speculative opinions and divisive tenets in favor of practical Christianity, plain Scriptural teaching and winning men to Christ."⁵³

4. CALVINISM'S PROBLEMS IN THE NEW WEST.—The frontier conditions necessitated, as many thought, a more unified organization than Congregationalism. Therefore, between 1801 and 1837, Presbyterianism and Trinitarian Congregationalism tried out a "Plan of Union." The Presbyterians profited more from this. But they would not consent to subordination of the doctrines of predestination, original sin, and election, to revivalism, or to the employment of ministers without full formal education. And rather than yield on these points, they allowed the Cumberland Presbyterian Church⁵⁴ to develop and take over their most promising western section in Kentucky. Ecclesiastical trials—for example the celebrated cases of Albert Barnes, Asa Mahan, and Lyman Beecher in the 1830's—were followed by the split between the "Old School" conservatives and the "New School" progressives, with strength wasted in dogmatic controversy that might have gone into growth. So the Methodists, Baptists, and then the Disciples took the definite lead in the new West.⁵⁵

5. THREE GREAT FRONTIER SECTS FORGE AHEAD.—On the Western frontier—the mountains and the Ohio-Mississippi

⁵² In the appeal to "plain language," some of them seem to have been influenced by anti-Calvinist arguments currently used by the liberals concerning the "proper Sonship" of Christ, when they inquired "how the Lord could be God and the Son of God in a proper human sense at one and the same time"—the question rising, of course, from their insistence that words describing divine relationships must be used in a *human* sense. But these frontier revivalists and fundamentalists stood at the opposite pole from the Unitarian intellectuals and liberals of Boston, and should not be confused with them.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁵⁴ See p. 43.

⁵⁵ E. S. Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 322, 323.

valley—three left-wing groups took the lead. The most successful of these were the Arminian Methodists, who had been organized in 1784, with Francis Asbury as the first American bishop. They stressed “original virtue,” says Bates, rather than “original sin,” and held that man had the power, with God’s enabling grace, to escape the consequences of the Fall and to avoid eternal punishment. They threw open the gates of heaven not only to the “elect” but also to all who truly willed to enter. And they held that in this life one might have the “certitude of salvation,” the two steps, or stages, to this being “justification” and “sanctification.” Meanwhile, the Baptists, Congregationalists, and Unitarians fought over control in New England, and the Presbyterians held Pennsylvania. But the itinerant-preacher system, successfully used by the Waldenses and the Wyclifites, and revived by the Methodists, was best suited to the needs of the frontier. For thirty years stalwart circuit riders, like Peter Cartwright, resolutely “carried salvation” to the Western wilderness.⁵⁶ And the camp meeting was taken over as a Methodist institution.

Likewise, into the West and South went the Baptists—“soft-shell” and “hard-shell,” “general” and “particular.” The Freewill Baptist movement spread from New Hampshire to the Northwestern frontier. A line of liberal Baptist colleges extended from Maine to Minnesota. Disputes with other groups over immersion versus sprinkling were common, and among themselves over Calvinism and foreign missions. The Calvinistic Baptists made the greatest gains—including large Negro accessions—in the South; however, there was little to distinguish the Southern Baptists from the Methodists except the name.⁵⁷

6. DISCIPLES ORGANIZE AS SEPARATE BODY.—The third of the great frontier sects was an indigenous American product, the Disciples of Christ, also called Christians, founded by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian preacher, Thomas Campbell (who

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 325, 327, 328.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 330-332.

came to America in 1807), and his son Alexander, who was associated with his father's work from 1810 onward. The elder Campbell's revolutionary proposal for reuniting all Protestants, by exchanging simple Bible teachings for creeds, brought down upon him a vote of censure from the Presbyterian synod in Pennsylvania. He then began to preach in the homes of his friends, holding "the Bible only" as his rule of faith. "Where it speaks," he said, "we speak; where it is silent, we are silent."⁵⁸

The Campbells did not desire to establish a separate sect. A Christian Association (not a church) was therefore established in 1809, without a paid ministry. They welcomed all Protestants who wished to join. Alexander Campbell took his stand for adult baptism only, and so, between 1813 and 1832, they were affiliated with the Baptist Church as its most radical group.⁵⁹

But in 1816 Alexander Campbell virtually discarded the Old Testament, or "the Law"—as the letter, the ministration of condemnation and death—in contrast with the New Testament gospel of the Spirit, the ministration of righteousness, the law of liberty and Christ. Nor did he require a public expression of Christian experience before baptism, as the Baptists did. As doors were now closed against them, in self-defense the "Campbellites" soon felt forced to abandon the dream of a unified Protestant church and to form themselves into a separate denomination—the Disciples of Christ. These were joined by Barton W. Stone and a group of the ex-Presbyterian "Christians," and by other groups, increasing their membership from 10,000 in 1830 to 250,000 in 1850.⁶⁰

Walter Scott, one of their fiery evangelists, converted in 1819, cherished a belief in the imminent second coming of Christ. And Alexander Campbell, whose debates with deist Robert Owen and the Catholic Bishop Purcell were among the high lights of the times, significantly changed the name of

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 333, 334.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 334, 335.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 335-337.

his journal, *The Christian Baptist*, to the *Millennial Harbinger*,⁶¹ and began to stress the prophecies.

But the development of the distinctly American system of varied, voluntary, and completely autonomous denominations cannot be understood except in its setting of another distinctive phase of American religious life—the Great Revival of the early nineteenth century. Both old and new denominations still show marks of the influence of that fervent revivalism. This we shall survey in the next chapter.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 336. For the prophetic interpretation in this periodical, see pp. 258-268 of this volume.

The Great Revival

and the Camp Meeting

Just as the Great *Awakening*, in the midst of the eighteenth century, had turned the tide against forces of irreligion in the colonies, so the Great *Revival*, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, saved the church of the infant nation from decadent ecclesiasticism and rationalistic unbelief, gave it a sense of its vital mission to the world, and stimulated the great missionary and philanthropic movements of the nineteenth century. Following the Great Awakening had come a spiritual decline, as a result of the French and Indian War and the unrest culminating in the Revolution.¹ The rise of Deism paralleled the theory of the natural rights of man. The successful Revolution and the new Republic brought not only the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights but also a reaction against "orthodoxy"; and the pendulum swung to the other extreme.

I. Ebbing Spirituality Precedes Revival

According to Bacon, "the closing years of the eighteenth century show the lowest low-water mark of the lowest ebb-tide of spiritual life in the history of the American church."² After the Revolution, skepticism rolled in like an engulfing tide from France, the more easily because of America's affection for the land of Lafayette; and emancipation from religious

¹ F. G. Beardsley, *Religious Progress*, pp. 26, 27; Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States*, pp. 195, 338.

² L. W. Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

tyranny was regarded as the rightful sequel to political emancipation. Men were charmed with the subtle French wit of the Encyclopedists, who contended that religion was a trick of priestcraft, revelation was without authority, and moral obligation a needless incumbrance; that matter was eternal, and thought was merely the result of elective affinities; therefore animal pleasures were actually the only happiness. Such was the contemporary picture as painted by Timothy Dwight, president of Yale, and by other competent witnesses.³

Many American colleges became "hotbeds of infidelity" instead of training schools for Christian leadership. Thus it was with William and Mary in Virginia, Harvard in New England, the University of Pennsylvania, and others. When Timothy Dwight came to the presidency of Yale, in 1795, he found it honeycombed with "atheistical clubs," where the students cynically dubbed each other "Voltaire," "Rousseau," "D'Alembert," and the like. Princeton had apparently only two students who professed Christianity. Conspicuous civic leaders had aligned themselves with Liberalism, and some with French Deism. "Cold Unitarianism and frigid ethical theories" made heavy inroads.⁴ Infidelity was particularly noticeable on the Western frontiers, where great sections were isolated, without a preacher or a church, and where Paine's *Age of Reason* had, for many, virtually supplanted the revealed Word. Various towns were named after Frenchmen, such as Rousseau.⁵

Voltaire, who is said to have boasted that soon the Bible would be a forgotten book, fascinated men with his brilliant skeptical wit, and infidel clubs flourished everywhere. Thoughtful men feared that mankind was heading toward some grave unseen crisis or revolution. Paralleling this growing infidelity, dueling increased, drunkenness became prevalent, family ties weakened, and many churches lost ground.⁶

³ Arthur B. Strickland, *The Great American Revival*, pp. 25-29; D. Dorchester, *op. cit.*, pp. 287, 288, 313-324; F. G. Beardsley, *Religious Progress*, pp. 27, 28.

⁴ A. B. Strickland, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-34; F. G. Beardsley, *Religious Progress*, p. 29; W. A. Candler, *op. cit.*, pp. 151, 152.

⁵ F. G. Beardsley, *Religious Progress*, p. 30.

⁶ D. Dorchester, *op. cit.*, pp. 341, 342, 347; A. B. Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 36; L. W. Bacon, *op. cit.*, pp. 231, 232.

At the close of the Revolution, great streams of emigrants moved westward toward the headwaters of the Ohio and southward through the valleys of Pennsylvania and Virginia, into the Piedmont sections of North and South Carolina, and Georgia, or down the Ohio and Holston rivers into Kentucky and Tennessee.⁷ Wrenched away from former social and religious ties and restraints, the settlers spent all their energies in wresting a livelihood and security from the raw wilderness. So lawlessness and intemperance were common. The desperate moral conditions of Logan County, Kentucky,⁸ described by Peter Cartwright, celebrated Methodist pioneer preacher, prevailed, in varying degrees, in all the pioneer country. Only a saving tide of religion, similar to the Wesleyan revival and the Great Awakening, could reclaim this frontier territory.

II. The Great Revival Molds the Nation

I. FRONTIER REVIVAL "SAVES" THE WEST.—What is known as the Great Revival of 1800, but continuing with greater or less constancy into the early forties, really began with local forerunners in Virginia as early as 1787. In 1794 a profound sense of dissatisfaction with the marked spiritual declension led to circular letters appealing for nationwide "Aaron and Hur Societies," to uphold the ministers' hands through intercession. And about 1800 there was a "simultaneous outbreak of revivalistic phenomena" among Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists.⁹

Following up the western emigrants, rode the itinerant Methodist circuit riders. And in 1796 James McGready, a "terribly earnest" Presbyterian preacher, moved into Logan County, Kentucky. Holding a modified form of Calvinism, he stressed the necessity of knowing where and when conversion took place—a new note in Presbyterianism. Preaching with

⁷ Lacy, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 64.

⁸ *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright*, pp. 24, 25.

⁹ F. G. Beardsley, *Religious Progress*, p. 32; A. B. Strickland, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-49; Elizabeth K. Nottingham, *Methodism and the Frontier: Indiana Proving Ground*, p. 186. For the forerunners of the revival, see Lacy, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-73; W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, pp. 118-120.

unusual power, he drew large crowds. Soon two brothers, William and John McGee (or Magee), one a Presbyterian minister and the other a Methodist, came to the Cumberland country of Kentucky and Tennessee, likewise preaching with amazing results.¹⁰

In July, 1800, in Logan County, thousands encamped in the woods for several days to hear the long-neglected gospel; this was evidently the beginning of the increasingly frequent and effective camp meetings. In August, 1801, the huge camp meeting at Cane Ridge, in Bourbon County, lasted nearly a week. An estimated twenty or thirty thousand people came, and four or five preachers, including Methodists and Baptists, had to speak simultaneously to different sections. All denominations benefited with accessions and quickened spiritual life.¹¹

The narrative sounds almost like the accounts of Whitefield's preaching back on Boston Common or at Blackheath, England, Candler declares. There was a startling awakening as an uncommon need was met in an uncommon way. The revival ran all through the Cumberland and Ohio country. The Presbyterians, however, soon dropped the camp meeting plan, whereas the Methodists took it over, under William McKendree (later bishop), who used it mightily for the "winning of the West." The Cumberland Presbyterian Church was also the direct result of this revival, and others grew out of the movement.¹²

Certain excesses and irregularities were to be expected under frontier conditions. But the whole face and tone of society was definitely changed in Kentucky and in other sections. Something extraordinary had happened that confounded infidelity. Soon these intensifying revival fires, which had been burning in various localities in the East, were fanned into a

¹⁰ Frederick M. Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, pp. 67, 69; W. A. Candler, *op. cit.*, p. 159; F. G. Beardsley, *Religious Progress*, p. 33.

¹¹ W. A. Candler, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-162; L. W. Bacon, *op. cit.*, pp. 235, 236; F. G. Beardsley, *Religious Progress*, pp. 34, 35. Barton W. Stone, later associated with Alexander Campbell and the Disciples of Christ, tells not only of these great encampments but of their strange physical accompaniments. Men fell, "slain," as in battle, sometimes remaining "smitten" for hours before obtaining "deliverance," and then would testify with power to the surrounding multitudes. (W. A. Candler, *op. cit.*, pp. 160, 161.)

¹² W. A. Candler, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-167.

national conflagration. Religious leaders everywhere recognized it as the Great Revival.

2. EASTERN REVIVAL FOSTERS NEW ENTERPRISES.—East of the Alleghenies the revival was scarcely less influential and beneficial, though less tumultuous. So a revival of national extent, in widely scattered centers, from north to south and east to west, came at the very time it was so greatly needed.

It deeply influenced the colleges of the East. Yale, for example, was shaken to its very heart as the result of President Timothy Dwight's incessant warfare on skepticism. More than two hundred young men were converted, many of whom entered the ministry. Four distinct revivals occurred during his administration, and thirteen between 1812 and 1837—some of the converts coming to render distinguished service in the evangelization of the West and profoundly affecting the life of the nation. In addition, the Great Revival introduced a new era in the work of missions, at home and abroad, in the publication and circulation of religious literature and in philanthropy and reform.¹³

Samuel J. Mills, of the famous Haystack Prayer Meeting, had been converted in the Revival of 1800. He was instrumental in making Williams College the virtual birthplace of American foreign missions. In a students' secret missionary society Mills and his associates—including Gordon Hall, Luther Rice, and Adoniram Judson—were the means of founding the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions.¹⁴ But that was not all. In 1813 and 1814 Mills and others went on missionary tours of the West, and found great spiritual poverty and destitution of Bibles in vast tracts of country. This resulted in the organization, on May 8, 1816, of the American Bible Society in New York City. This noteworthy enterprise is therefore also directly attributable to the Great Revival of 1800.¹⁵

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 170; F. G. Beardsley, *Religious Progress*, p. 37. For other college revivals see D. Dorchester, *op. cit.*, pp. 377, 378.

¹⁴ K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 79-81.

¹⁵ W. A. Candler, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-175; L. W. Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 256; F. G. Beardsley, *Religious Progress*, pp. 84, 85.

And from this period of the Great Revival came the American Tract Society (1814), likewise the American Education Society (1815), the American Home Missionary Society, the American Sunday School Union (1824), and the midweek prayer meeting as well. This period also marks the founding of the religious periodicals of America—from the *Hartford Evangelical Magazine* of 1800, on through the *Presbyterian Religious Remembrancer* (now the *Christian Observer*) in 1813, the *Congregational Boston Recorder* in 1816, the *Baptist Watchman* in 1819, the *Methodist Zion's Herald* in 1822, and the *Freewill Baptist Morning Star* in 1826—to a total of thirty-seven by 1828. One of these, the *Christian Advocate* of New York, reported the largest circulation of any paper in the world except the *London Times*.¹⁶

In the Great Revival "there was no Wesley, no Whitefield, no Luther around whose personality the movement centered."¹⁷ Perhaps the most conspicuous personalities were President Timothy Dwight, who drove back French infidelity and skepticism from the colleges, and Bishop Francis Asbury, who set in motion the army of itinerant Methodist evangelists from New England out to the Western frontiers. To these was later added the noted Charles G. Finney. As truly as the Great Awakening prepared the way for the new Republic, says Lacy, so the Great Revival "saved the new nation from French infidelity, crass materialism, rapacious greed, godlessness, and out-breaking violence on the frontiers."¹⁸ And it opened wide the door for the great modern advances of the church—including the earnest and conspicuous study of the prophecies.

III. Camp Meetings Develop on the Frontier

1. ORIGIN OF THE CAMP MEETING.—Revivalism soared to the height of excitement in the almost unchurched borderlands

¹⁶ F. G. Beardsley, *Religious Progress*, pp. 80-83, 99, 105, 106; W. A. Candler, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 177.

¹⁷ A. B. Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹⁸ B. R. Lacy, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio,¹⁹ where there was a sprinkling of New Englanders of Puritan stock, along with the dominant Scotch-Irish strain. It was here that earnest Presbyterian preachers with Methodist cooperation, started the camp meetings of the West in Logan County, Kentucky, in 1799.²⁰ That was when the McGee brothers, on a tour across "the barrens" toward Ohio, preached at McGready's Red River church, where sacramental services were being held.²¹ The powerful preaching attracted so many people that the meetings were held in a grove, and lasted several days. Similar gatherings were soon appointed elsewhere.²²

The first *planned* camp meeting was held in 1800 at the Gasper River church in Logan County, Kentucky, on McGready's invitation. Since many came forty, fifty, or even a hundred miles, they camped—a few in tents, the majority in their wagons, and others in brush shelters. A regular encampment was laid out in a hollow square, with hewn logs for seats, and a preaching stand in the center of the enclosure. For illumination at night, candles, torches, or brush fires were lighted. The tremendous appeal of this unique plan, once inaugurated, spread like wildfire along the frontier.²³

2. EXCESSIVE EMOTIONALISM AT CANE RIDGE.—During the summer of 1801 the revival spread to northern Kentucky, centering at Cane Ridge, in Bourbon County. Here the Presbyterian minister, Barton W. Stone, who had visited McGready's

¹⁹ John B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States*, vol. 2, chap. 12, pp. 578-582.

²⁰ According to Beardsley, similar meetings were evidently held in 1791 and 1794 in North Carolina, in Lincoln County, likewise attended by both Presbyterians and Methodists. And in 1795 a union meeting was also conducted at Bethel, North Carolina, where hundreds were converted. (F. G. Beardsley, *American Revivals*, pp. 192, 193.)

²¹ These "sacramental meetings," or "sacraments," customary chiefly among the Presbyterians, usually began on a Friday night, to prepare the communicants for the Lord's Supper on the following Sunday. To such meetings, often held annually on the frontier, the members of various denominations gathered, though the Baptists, because of close communion views, refused to join in the sacraments.

²² W. W. Sweet, *Methodism in American History*, pp. 155, 156; F. M. Davenport, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 70; James McGready, "Narrative of the Commencement and Progress of the Revival of 1800," in *The Posthumous Works of . . . James McGready*, pp. viii-x, and Sermon XL, "Vindication of the Exercises," pp. 471, 472 [i.e. 451, 452]; McMaster, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 578, 579; Nathan Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. 2, pp. 101-103.

²³ W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, p. 122.

meetings in Logan County, called a general sacramental meeting (interdenominational) for August, where the most spectacular—and unrestrained—single phase of the whole movement took place. Business was suspended and homes deserted as old and young came in almost incredible numbers—estimated at twenty thousand. And the revival was marked by awe-inspiring results—as well as unfortunate excesses, as will be noted.

Some three thousand “fell,” under the highly emotional preaching, and hundreds of others broke forth in various ways, with outcries for mercy, faintings, trances, or hysteria. The irreligious, who had come from curiosity, drank raw whisky freely. Peter Cartwright attributed the falling of hundreds to the power of God, although even he was appalled when an epidemic of such excesses swept the country. To those accustomed to quietness, dignity, and order, such emotionalism was looked upon as a travesty of religion.²⁴

3. CAMP MEETINGS SPLIT PRESBYTERIANS.—From this time on Western Presbyterianism was divided over camp meetings and revivalism. Two revivalist secessions resulted. One was the Cumberland Presbyterian Church; the other, in northern Kentucky, developed into the New Light (Stoneite) group, which became a branch of the Christians, and partly of the Disciples. The split was over Calvinism and the emotional type of appeal. Revivalism found adherents among the regular Presbyterians and the Congregationalists, and among the Lutherans and the German Reformed. It even appeared among some Episcopalians, but with opposition to emotional extravagance. The camp meeting plan came to prevail not only in the Western settlements and the South, but also in the more conservative East, including the New England States, where it was introduced by the Methodists. From 1810 to 1830 such assemblies multi-

²⁴ W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism*, pp. 122-124; also his *Methodism*, pp. 156-159; Robert Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky*, pp. 137, 138; *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright*, pp. 30, 31, 53; F. M. Davenport, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 83.

plied rapidly, with thousands added to the churches as a result.²⁵

4. METHODISTS ADOPT CAMP MEETING SYSTEM.—Although soon repudiated by the Presbyterians on account of excesses, the camp meeting was effectively used by the Methodists for reaching the scattered population of the frontiers, and it fitted admirably into their itinerant system.²⁶ Bishop Asbury, in his *Journal*, often mentions camp meetings favorably and reports their results. Although not a subject of legislation or official action, they were discussed in various Methodist periodicals, and there were various camp meeting manuals.²⁷

5. AMONG THE BAPTISTS AND IN ENGLAND.—Meetings of voluntary associations of Baptist churches held in the woods, with large lay attendance, corresponded somewhat to the camp meetings.²⁸ Transplanted to England during the visit of Lorenzo Dow,²⁹ camp meetings were censured by the Wesleyan Conference of 1807, but they were continued under the sanction of the Primitive Methodists, organized in 1810.

6. AT THE CREST; THEN ON THE WANE.—The camp meetings in America became increasingly important in spreading Methodism. By 1812 at least 400 such meetings, of various sizes, were held annually in the United States.³⁰ But eventually the camp meetings waned, and many old Methodist meeting grounds became summer resorts and places for summer conferences. The Chautauqua movement, with its lecture platform, school, concert music, physical education, social culture, and

²⁵ W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism*, pp. 124-128; William W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, p. 233; F. G. Beardsley, *History of American Revivals*, pp. 193, 194.

²⁶ F. G. Beardsley, *History of American Revivals*, pp. 192-197; Peter G. Mode, *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity*, p. 54.

²⁷ *The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury*, vol. 3, pp. 210, 232-237, 316; T. A. Morris, editorial, "Camp Meetings," *Western Christian Advocate* (Cincinnati), August 15, 1834, p. 62; for later examples of manuals see B. W. Gorham, *Camp Meeting Manual*; S. C. Swallow, *Camp-Meetings*.

²⁸ W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism*, pp. 128, 129; W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier: The Baptists*, pp. 55, 56.

²⁹ *An Essay on Camp Meetings* (1849), pp. 7, 8.

³⁰ The Long-Calm Camp Meeting (October 8-14, 1806), in Maryland, reported 580 converts. In 1809 seventeen camp meetings were held in the Indiana district alone. And in August, 1813, three thousand people were reported in attendance at a camp meeting in Pennsylvania. (W. W. Sweet, *Methodism in American History*, p. 160.)

entertainment features, has been one secularized outgrowth of the original camp meeting.³¹

IV. Primitive Camp Meetings and Primitive Emotions

The frontiersmen, shrewd but generally untutored, led a rigorous life in a wild country, with few social contacts and little constraint of either law or convention. Those who hungered for spiritual food, and rarely ever saw a preacher for months on end, found in the camp meeting an answer to these social needs of human nature. But along with the religious came a motley crowd of godless listeners. Here they were suddenly aroused by intense and prolonged exhortation, convicted by an overwhelming sense of their own wickedness and apostasy, and terrified by graphic portrayals of hell. They were urged to "contend in prayer," and so to find salvation. Invariably, emotional tension and fear lurked in the background as the impelling motive to action.³²

The extravagances that brought deserved criticism had no connection with real religion and saving grace, and afforded no valid evidence of salvation.³³ But as Strickland wisely says, "This froth on the top of the wave should not blind us from seeing the deep significance and power of the movement beneath the physical and accidental."³⁴ It has also been well said that a newly kindled fire will often smoke annoyingly at first, and an attempt simply to smother it only makes matters worse.³⁵ Better is it for the fire to burn itself quickly into a clear smokeless flame. And this was what happened as these interdenominational revivals, becoming increasingly sound and sane in these pioneer regions, truly transformed Kentucky and the West. The pendulum swung away from the widespread Deism of the day. Between 1800 and 1830 not far from a million converts were added to the Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, and

³¹ W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism*, pp. 165, 166.

³² E. K. Nottingham, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 188; F. M. Davenport, *op. cit.*, pp. 224, 225.

³³ A. G. Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³⁵ W. A. Candler, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

Methodist churches, and the quickening of religious life led to numerous missionary and reform movements.³⁶

V. Tied in With Millennial Expectancy

It should be noted that the growing expectation of an imminent millennial period led many to assume that these emotional manifestations were signs that the dispensation of the Spirit was already beginning. The result was to further stimulate millennial expectations in the frontier groups. Thus Davidson says:

"The Millennium was supposed to have commenced, and the ordinary means of grace were superseded, as rather embarrassing the new and free outpouring of the Spirit. Hence the frequent interruptions of preaching and even its entire suspension."³⁷

Similar expectations marked revival meetings in the East, although, as has been seen, the Eastern revivals, in which most of the colleges, like Yale, were in the forefront,³⁸ were largely free from emotional and physical reactions.

VI. Revivalism and Development of Hymnody

I. HYMNS OF THE HEART REPLACE THE PSALMS.—In order to understand the place of related sacred song both in the Great Awakening and in the Great Revival, we must briefly trace congregational singing from the time of the Reformation. Luther replaced the Latin choir hymn with the congregational hymn, but in Great Britain the versified psalms held sway for two centuries.³⁹

³⁶ For the permanent results see A. B. Strickland, *op. cit.*, chap. 11; W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism*, chap. 7; Robert Baird, *The Christian Retrospect and Register*, pp. 218 ff.; Delavan L. Leonard, *The Story of Oberlin*, pp. 59, 60. Within the years 1826-1830, about two hundred thousand were added to the leading denominations, including sixty thousand young men. There were powerful revivalists and evangelists such as Peter Cartwright, and later Charles G. Finney. In five months in 1831, fifteen hundred towns were profoundly stirred, also leading colleges and seminaries. Thousands were converted and many became Christian workers.

³⁷ Robert Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

³⁸ A. B. Strickland, *op. cit.*, chap. 4; H. B. Wright, chap. 4 in *Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale*, pp. 63-66.

³⁹ Albert E. Bailey, *The Gospel in Hymns*, p. 309; see also Harvey B. Marks, *The Rise and Growth of English Hymnody*, p. 86. Says Bailey, "When Henry VIII of England used his divorce from Catherine of Aragon as a lever to pry the English Church loose from the grip of Rome, he too [like Luther] threw away Latin hymns but unlike Luther he put nothing in their place. Under the influence of John Calvin, the theologian, . . . the newly-founded Anglican and Scottish Churches rejected all hymns of 'human composure' but allowed the people to sing Biblical Psalms made metrical."

The few poets who wrote hymns did not intend them for public devotions—men like Herbert, Milton, Baxter, Bunyan, and others. They never sought to compete with the best-known Psalters. Not until shortly before the Methodist movement gave to the common man the popular Wesleyan hymns in harmony with the powerful revival preaching of the time, did the paraphrases and hymns of Isaac Watts (1674-1748), "Father of English hymnody," begin to supplement and replace the psalms in the dissenting churches.⁴⁰ Watts, becoming thoroughly disgusted with the restricted and unwieldy psalms sung, the "heavy slow motion and tedious syllables of the time," set forth the provisions of the gospel with remarkable fullness, balance, and clarity in hymns that won the hearts of the people.⁴¹ But the Wesleyan songs did not affect American revivalism until some time later. Let us now trace the development from psalms to hymns in the colonies.

2. WATTS'S HYMNS COME TO AMERICA.—For nearly a century and a quarter psalmody alone was used in the English-speaking Colonial churches—and instrumental music was not used until Thomas Brattle's organ was introduced in 1713.⁴²

When Whitefield began his American tour in 1739, the churches still relied on the old psalmody, though he used Watts's hymns freely. But the Great Awakening put Watts's hymns, breathing the fervent spirit of revival, on the lips of the multitude, not only in the churches, but also in the streets

⁴⁰ A. E. Bailey, *op. cit.*, chaps. 2, 3, 4.

⁴¹ Watts voiced a living faith in such appealing hymns as "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross," "Joy to the World; the Lord Is Come," "O God, Our Help in Ages Past," "Before Jehovah's Awful Throne," and many others. See his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1707) and *The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament* (1719). See Louis F. Benson, *The English Hymn*, pp. 122 ff.; George P. Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals*, chap. 2.

⁴² Henry Wilder Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody*, pp. 3, 80, 81. The first portion of psalm 23 affords one of the better examples from *The Bay Psalm Book* (1640), the first book printed in the English colonies in North America. (*Ibid.*, p. 42.)

"The Lord to mee a shepherd is,
want therefore shall not I.
Hee in the folds of tender-grasse,
doth cause me down to lie:

"To waters calme me gently leads
Restore my soule doth hee:
he doth in paths of righteousness:
for his name's sake leade mee."

and on the ferryboats going to and from meetings. Although the antirevivalists were censorious, Jonathan Edwards defended these new hymns of Watts as expressing the feelings aroused by the Great Awakening.⁴³ So it was that the religious revival was borne along on the buoyant wings of song.

The Wesleyan hymns were not popularized in America in this period, although John Wesley's first songbook was published here. The Wesleyan forces were divided into two groups—the Arminians under the Wesleys, and the Calvinists under Whitefield. The latter preferred Watts because they were not at all enthusiastic over the basic theology of the Wesleyan hymns.

3. WESLEYS INTRODUCE HYMNS OF EXPERIENCE.—The pulsating hymns that kindled and kept aflame the great Wesleyan revival in England were a radically new type of congregational song—the subjective utterance of awakened hearts that sang because they could not keep from singing. Watts had nobly sought to improve the service of praise in the church, but many of his hymns were objective—sheer praise of God—and definitely Calvinistic. The Wesleys struck a higher note—the proclamation of Christ's unlimited atonement, His free grace for all, and the personal appeal to human hearts. Evangelistic preaching depends largely for its effectiveness upon the "obligato" of such songs—songs that have the power, beyond that of the spoken or written word, to penetrate and uplift the heart, to illuminate religious thought and Christian experience, and to educate in the faith.⁴⁴

John Wesley translated German hymns of the Moravian Brethren—who had revealed to him the spiritual potentialities of gospel song as an aid to devotion⁴⁵—and he had a definite part in many of his brother's hymns. But Charles Wesley, the

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-149; L. B. Benson, *op. cit.*, pp. 163, 164, 315.

⁴⁴ H. B. Marks, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 98, 99; Grover C. Loud, *Evangelized America*, p. 112.

⁴⁵ L. F. Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 223; Frederick J. Gillman, *The Evolution of the English Hymn*, pp. 214-219.

poet of the movement, whose glorious gift of song never failed him, mirrored in verse his own Christian experience.⁴⁶

These new revival hymns reflected a heightened emotion, expressing the inward aspirations and experiences of the soul. They exalted the atonement and glowed with the fire of God's free grace. They reached the heart, for their concept of definite release from sin through personal conversion made each singer feel that the songs truly meant "even me." They described the intense struggle of the soul—together with the grace, hope, light, and peace held out by faith, the bursting of the bonds of sin, and the subsequent rejoicing in liberation and redemption.⁴⁷

VII. Uplifting Songs of the Great Revival

Just as it was the Great Awakening that turned the American churches from the metrical psalms to Watts, and prepared the way for Wesley, so it was the renewed warmth of the Great Revival, after 1790, that made evangelical hymnody generally acceptable. With this type of song, great singing throngs became one, as the rhythmic lines swelled in unison, and revival response was inevitable.⁴⁸ The tunes had strong emotional appeal, creating an atmosphere favorable to conversion. From 1790 to 1832 a flood of popular hymns spread to the utmost bounds of the country, chiefly as a result of the zeal of the hardy Baptist preachers and the itinerant Methodist circuit riders, who penetrated wherever there was a settlement, visiting solitary cabins as well as assembling vast throngs in the open. Often the preacher had the only hymnbook, and he would have to "line," or give out the words, a line or two at a time, set to simple and easy tunes.⁴⁹

1. DISTINCTIVE CAMP MEETING SONG APPEARS (c. 1800).—

⁴⁶ L. F. Benson, *op. cit.*, chap. 5. Of course, many of his six thousand hymns were not of permanent character, but his "Oh, for a Thousand Tongues to Sing My Great Redeemer's Praise" (1749), "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing" (1738), "Love Divine, All Love Excelling" (1747), "Jesus, Lover of My Soul" (1739), "How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds" are unsurpassed. Many were really the reflection of John's deep Christian experiences as well, and were actually of joint composition. (H. B. Marks, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 103; G. C. Loud, *op. cit.*, p. 113.)

⁴⁷ G. C. Loud, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 115.

⁴⁹ L. F. Benson, *op. cit.*, pp. 284, 285, 291, 292; George P. Jackson, *op. cit.*, chaps. 3, 4.

The earlier church hymns had come from across the sea, but in the frontier camp meetings a new type of "spiritual songs," springing from frontier American hearts, was introduced when the Methodists took over the camp meeting. The staid old hymns, and even the folk hymns and religious ballads, were too sedate to express the tumultuous enthusiasm of the throngs under the open sky.

Sometimes the revival hymns were popularized by the insertion of refrains in which all could join. These were at times set to folk tunes with pulsating rhythm, emotional repetition, and ejaculatory refrains, whose crude doggerel would often be caught up by the throngs, and mighty choruses would roll through the forest clearings. Sometimes a "singing ecstasy" would seize the worshipers. At other times their feelings would be expressed by a chant of mourning, or again by a thunderous jubilation. Spontaneous song broke forth in rough and irregular couplets, combined out of Scriptural phrases and everyday speech, with many hallelujahs and refrains interspersed.⁵⁰

This indigenous type of song, at first transmitted orally, came to be printed in the simple camp meeting songbooks of the time. And later these "spiritual songs" (in contradistinction to "psalms and hymns") appeared in the back-country "shape note" songbooks, with the spirit retained but with much of the crudity "simmered away." These contagious songs presented "the prayer of the penitent and the hallelujah of the redeemed."⁵¹ They appealed to sinners, revealed the terms of salvation, and narrated personal experience.

2. REVIVAL SONGS IN THE CHURCHES.—The churches that rose on the well-worn trails of those valiant Methodist circuit riders were imbued with their hardy spirit and energetic singing. And the new songs of Watts and the revivalists, used not

⁵⁰ G. P. Jackson, *op. cit.*, chap. 6; G. C. Loud, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁵¹ G. C. Loud, *op. cit.*, p. 110; L. F. Benson, *op. cit.*, pp. 292, 293. The Englishman, Hugh Bourne, leader of the revivalist Primitive Methodist secession, which adopted the camp meeting from Lorenzo Dow, published and circulated his *General Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs for Camp Meetings* (1809). (G. P. Jackson, *op. cit.*, chap. 7.) Six "Spiritual Songs" appear in Lorenzo Dow, *The Dealings of God, Man, and the Devil*, pp. 691-703.

only to stir emotion but to instruct and edify, overrode denominational lines and language barriers as well, and were shared by Dutch and German Reformed and Lutheran alike. The Dunkers and Mennonites also used them, to which their own compositions were added to accompany their footwashing rites.⁷² Nottingham says:

"The whole character of frontier hymnody was a direct outgrowth of the revival meeting. It is redolent of the very flavor of pioneer life—its emotionalism, its fighting spirit, its ever-present sense of the reality of hell fire, and its fervid sectarianism. Not only is revival hymnody a veritable mine of material for those who would understand the social history of the frontier but the type of singing there evolved became characteristic of religious singing for years afterwards. Gone were the stately hymns of the eastern seaboard, hymns that had been brought from Europe, and in their place were substituted rough and ready rhymes set to rousing popular tunes."⁷³

3. NEGRO SPIRITUALS—VOICE OF THE OPPRESSED.—To all this must be added the Negro spiritual—the music of an oppressed people, with its constant overtone of death and heaven and the hope of more joy in the world to come than in this world. They adapted the camp meeting message and song to their own needs, and their response in song formed an "overflowing stream of swinging cadences and crooning melodies," with meaningful words such as, "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," "All Over God's Heaven," "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen," "It's Me, Standing in the Need of Prayer." These expressions of deep feeling, blended with matchless melodies in pathetic strains, were also an integral part of the revival music.⁷⁴

4. REVIVAL SONGS WANE AS REVIVAL PASSES.—But when the Great Revival became quiescent, between 1830 and 1857, its distinctive type of songs of the heart waned. Yet the Miller-

⁷² G. C. Loud, *op. cit.*, p. 120; G. P. Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 83.

⁷³ E. K. Nottingham, *op. cit.*, p. 26. Camp meeting songbooks include *Hymns on Selected Passages of Scripture . . . Usually Sung at Camp Meetings* (1811), John Harrod's *Social and Camp Meeting Songs for the Pious* (1817), *The Camp Meeting Chorister, and Songs of Zion . . . for the Use of Christians* (1818). (L. F. Benson, *op. cit.* [1827], pp. 291-296.)

⁷⁴ H. B. Marks, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-248; L. F. Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 204; G. P. Jackson, *op. cit.*, part II.

ites in the 1840's adapted and adopted many of the best of these melodies for their own use.

Contemporary with the camp meeting era, but at the opposite extreme of the revolt against Calvinism, was the emergence of the "literary hymn"⁵⁵ of progressively high poetic quality and devotional tone.⁵⁶ But as the Great Revival and the camp meeting waned, and as the urban type of church spread westward, the doctrine and experience of Watts's and Wesleys' hymns faded out. The trend was toward the formal, stately, and objective, and toward the reserved and ritualistic, as exemplified by the fact that in the 1840's the Congregationalists had little or no congregational singing.⁵⁷ As Jackson points out, by the second half of the century the old-time individualistic, emotional, and anti-institutional religion of the early frontier camp meetings was outmoded, and the old-time folk songs were pushed aside in favor of a more urbanized type of hymnody.⁵⁸

But the old revival hymns and camp meeting spirituals survived in the upland rural "singing schools" and in the Negro spirituals.⁵⁹ And some of the best of the folk-type songs found their way into church hymnals. Later, says Benson, for the class—both inside and outside the church—not reached by the more elevated literary and musical tone of church hymnody, there developed the "gospel songs"⁶⁰ that are quite familiar today in revivals and Sunday schools, the descendants, in part, of the camp meeting songs of the early decades of the nineteenth century, but in more refined form. They were evangelical in

⁵⁵ "A hymn may or may not happen to be great literature; . . . it is something more . . . it belongs with the things of the spirit, in the sphere of religious experience and communion with God." (Benson, *op. cit.*, p. viii.) Its test is its power to move and mold men.

⁵⁶ Among the pioneer writers of this type were Unitarian literati such as Oliver Wendell Holmes ("Lord of All Being"), Samuel Longfellow ("Beneath the Cross of Jesus"), James Russell Lowell, and others. There were also John Greenleaf Whittier (Quaker) with his "We May Not Climb the Heavenly Steeps" (1806), Ray Palmer (Congregationalist) with his moving "My Faith Looks Up to Thee" (1830), Phoebe Cary (Universalist), "One Sweetly Solemn Thought" (1852), Harriet Beecher Stowe (Congregationalist) "Still, Still, With Thee" (1853), and many others.

⁵⁷ L. F. Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

⁵⁸ G. P. Jackson, *op. cit.*, chaps. 12, 13.

⁵⁹ H. W. Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody*, pp. 171-173.

⁶⁰ H. B. Marks, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 208; L. F. Benson, *op. cit.*, pp. 482 ff.

spirit and evangelistic in objective—focusing on winning souls through conversion.

VIII. Overtone of Prophecy Heard in Songs of the Day

Prophecy already occupied a place in the religious songs of the early decades of the nineteenth century, when men were preaching and writing much on prophecy. Long before, Watts had written a hymn on "The Ruin of Antichrist," another on "Babylon Fallen," and one on "The Last Judgment."⁶¹ And in the Great Revival in America the witness of Bible prophecy, the hope of the second advent and imminence of the judgment, the millennium soon to be established, and the signs of the latter times—all found similar expression in song. This is evident from the fact that the Millerites "found a great stock of end-of-time songs" from the generation preceding them and used them in their call to preparation for the transcendent events impending.⁶²

But apart from these larger prophetic themes on the approaching end and second advent were the specific warning signs of the times. The catastrophic Lisbon earthquake of November 1, 1755, is listed as the basis for these lines:

"Alas! on earth how oft we spy
Wonders descending from the sky!

"And the dire frighten'd trembling earth
Abandons all her joy and mirth.
What terrors seize on us below
When nature speaks her overthrow!

"Can I with mortal tongue declare
What horror seized the earth and air,
When shocks from a supreamer hand
Did shake the distant wicked land?"⁶³

And impressive also is the depiction of the Dark Day of

⁶¹ Nos. 29, 59, and 45 in Book I of his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*.

⁶² G. P. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 107. Take, for example, Hugh Bourne's *A Collection of Hymns for Camp Meetings, Revivals, Etc.* (1810), used here in America.

⁶³ From "Miss Harvey," in 1806 (Baptist), quoted in G. P. Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 52. There are nine other stanzas sounding the warning to be ready.

May 19, 1780, and its meaning, as used by Randall's Freewill Baptists:

"1. Let us adore and bow before
The sovereign Lord of might,
Who turns away the shining day
Into the shades of night.

"3. Nineteenth of May, a gloomy day,
When darkness veil'd the sky;
The sun's decline may be a sign
Some great event is nigh.

"17. And now let all who hear this call
And saw the day so dark,
Make haste away without delay
And get into the ark."⁶⁴

Thus the clearly sustained overtone of the "last things," and the approaching return of Christ, was already heard running through many of these early nineteenth-century songs, soon to appear in a rising crescendo in the thirties and forties.

IX. Social Experiments and Strange Utopias

Before turning to the imposing list of early nineteenth-century expositors of prophecy we must, in order to get the over-all picture of the time, mention certain imported religious and social experiments and strange indigenous utopias which, along with the accepted and established religious bodies, marked these turbulent decades. Experimentation was characteristic of the times, along with the upspringing of numerous marginal cults and communities. Transcendentalism flourished among certain of the elite. And some sections were dotted with short-lived communal systems, such as the Shakers, the Ephrata Colony, the Rappites, the communities of Bethel and Aurora, the Separatists of Zoar, the Amana Society, and similar smaller groups.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

This was a period of social ferment, with America as a testing ground for the freakish as well as a haven for the orthodox and established. Utopias of an allegedly religious origin, but generally socialist in aim, included the Hopedale community, Fruitlands, the Oneida Colony, New Harmony, and the Fourierist phalanxes.⁶⁵ These were often motivated by strange hopes of an idealistic "millennium." Thus religious flux characterized the times, with varying "reforms" as an accompaniment. These dot the margin of the over-all picture, with its complex pattern.

⁶⁵ Full portrayals appear in Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment*; Whitney L. Cross, *The Burned-Over District*; David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont*; A. E. Bestor, *Backwards Utopias*; Victor F. Calverton, *Where Angels Dared to Tread*; and Gilbert Seldes, *The Stammering Century*.

Light Dawns on the Last Days

I. Century Ends With Upsurge in Prophetic Study

Around the turn of the century, during and following the world-shaking events and repercussions of the French Revolution, there was an unprecedented general turning to Bible prophecy on the part of an impressive number of thoughtful students of the Word among all leading Protestant faiths. And where one sermon on the theme was published, many more were evidently given orally, without ever getting into print. It seemed as if men had entered a new epoch in searching the pages of the two leading books of prophecy—Daniel in the Old Testament and Revelation in the New—the one obviously the complement of the other.

It was as though a baffling seal of mystery and restricted understanding of its latter portions had at last been broken. As men of all persuasions on both sides of the Atlantic began poring over these pages as never before, comparing part with part and checking them with history, light began to dawn on certain heretofore mysterious symbols, and greater understanding came on some of its cryptic phrases concerning the last events of the age. And this investigation continued with increasing momentum for several decades. Historian Ludlum makes this cogent observation on the emphasis in this period:

“In search for the workings of the divine will religious men turned to the Scriptures; in the Books of Daniel and Revelation they found not

only a satisfactory explanation for the prevalence of irreligion but also the ideological foundation for an attack on existing evils.

"At the turn of the century many tomes of Biblical exegesis came from New England presses and received a wide circulation. Though differing on minor points, all agreed that the 'times of the prophecies' had arrived, that the present constituted the predicted Reign of Infidelity, and that the Second Coming of Christ and the commencement of the Millennium were 'at hand.'"¹

It seemed to an increasing number of investigators that they had entered a distinctly new era in the understanding of those aspects of prophecy pertaining to the latter-day affairs of mankind in general and the church in particular. Men began to call this new period the "time of the end," and to refer to it as the "last days"—consciously or unconsciously employing the very terms of prophecy in their depictions. In increasing numbers, books, tractates, and periodical articles appeared, dealing with the meaning of the times and pointing out the period to which it was believed the world had come in the inspired schedule of the centuries.

In fact, they began to declare that the prediction of Daniel 12:4 was being fulfilled before their very eyes: "But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." (Dan. 12:4.) The eyes of these men were literally "running to and fro" over its pages, searching and comparing, and seeking as never before for a clearer understanding of the closing events of God's great outline of the ages as it is set forth in the Scriptures. Knowledge of the prophecies of the latter days was greatly increased.²

The really phenomenal nineteenth-century awakening on prophecy overseas, and the great number of volumes that began to pour forth from the presses of the Old World, can be visualized by a survey of the tabular chart on pages 270 and 271 of Volume III of *Prophetic Faith*. Each horizontal line represents the life span of a prophetic expositor, and each heavy dot

¹ D. M. Ludlum, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

² See Appendix A.

stands for one of his expositions of prophecy. The chart therefore not only records a cold historical fact but represents a throbbing, human activity in this field, transcending all previous interest in prophecy. And what was true of the first four decades of the nineteenth century across the Atlantic in Europe was soon matched and then surpassed in North America. However, the literature of the one aided the other, since there were many reprints of prophetic publications, each group stimulating the interest of the other.

The remarkable extent of this quest, and the activity of these pious and learned men in portraying the meaning of the times, and thus in locating the place they believed they had reached in God's grand outline of the centuries, is without a parallel in history. And not only were the great outline prophecies (like Daniel 2 and 7, and 8 and 11) studied afresh, but the great time prophecies, or designated periods, of that book, relating to the "time of the end" and the end of time, received special attention. These time features intrigued men. They sought to find when they would end, and what would then take place. As a result scores of books began to appear discussing this particular aspect. Nothing comparable to it, in sheer numbers, had appeared before. And this in itself became a recognized sign of the times, and came to be looked upon as a fulfillment of prophecy.

It was the last segment of the various prophecies focusing on the last days that received chief attention, the eschatological angle. The signs of the times, the obvious nearness to the end, and the second coming of Christ to wind up human affairs and vindicate the right and punish wrong, as well as the imminent introduction of the millennium—these were the themes that men studied and upon which they wrote and discoursed most earnestly. Again and again they were led to record their conviction that they were manifestly entering the final epoch in the affairs of mankind. But before we discuss the first of these nineteenth-century American writers, let us drop back to 1795.

II. Ogden—Striking Papal Portrait Painted in Revelation

UZAL OGDEN, D.D.,² rector of Trinity Episcopal Church in Newark, New Jersey, turned effectively to prophecy as the answer to Deism and infidelity. Refuting Paine's *Age of Reason*, he contends, in *The Deist Unmasked* (1795), that, as the Jews fulfilled prophecy in crucifying Jesus, so also was infidel France in the process of fulfilling prophecy concerning the dire fate of the Papacy.⁴ Prophecy, he holds, discloses in outline the "remarkable events" to be experienced by the Christian church from John's day to the end of the world.

The seven letters to the churches of the Apocalypse relate, he holds, to the circumstances of the churches to whom they are addressed. After chapter five the "prophetical part" covers seven periods in history. The seals Ogden restricts to the early centuries under the pagan Roman emperors (A.D. 95-323), as some others had done. The trumpets he extends from the death of Constantine (337) to the end of the Mohammedan conquests in the West (750). And the third period in the prophetic outline he places under the popes for the prophesied "1260 years." After the Witnesses of Revelation 11, and the appearance of the "monstrous beast" of Revelation 13—the "new Roman and persecuting power"—comes the vengeance of God, in Revelation 14, to be inflicted upon the Papacy. Then follows the pouring out of the vials of "some great judgment upon the papal kingdom." This is the general outline of Ogden's first three periods.⁵

After all this comes the millennium, the fourth period, in which the church is to "enjoy great peace and prosperity." But in the fifth period there is to be a "renewed invasion" by the

² UZAL OGDEN (1744-1822), son of a Newark merchant, studied under an Anglican clergyman of Elizabethtown, and went into missionary work in Sussex County, New Jersey. He was assistant rector of Trinity Church in New York before becoming rector in Newark. He had intellectual gifts, a forceful personality, and a capacity for leadership. Later he was elected first bishop of New Jersey, but his ecclesiastical superiors refused to consecrate him to the office, presumably because of his reputation for laxity in doctrine and his disregard for the order of the Episcopal Church. Besides his two-volume reply to Thomas Paine, he published various sermons and pamphlets.

⁴ Uzal Ogden, *Antidote to Deism. The Deist Unmasked*, pp. 93, 94.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90.

enemies of the church, only to end in their "final ruin." Next, in the sixth period, comes the general resurrection and last judgment, which terminates in the "seventh grand epoch" that puts the saints "in possession of a state of unceasing triumph and happiness in the heavenly world," and then the church shall "triumph over all her foes."⁶ This, he says, is the declared truth of inspiration, and in support cites Bishop Thomas Newton on the rule of the pope in the Christian church as depicted by Daniel and Paul, and especially by John in the Apocalypse.

Ogden quotes Newton's summary of the four world powers of prophecy, with the Roman fourth divided into ten lesser kingdoms, and the power with the "triple crown" that followed, casting down truth to the ground. And then there are the Mohammedan Turks, stretching forth their hands in desolation. But it is the great apostasy in the church, with its darkening worship of saints and angels, forbidding to marry, et cetera, and the seven churches of Asia overrun by Islam, which is depicted by their candlesticks being removed. And the ultimate depiction is that of the "beast and the false prophet, and the whore of Babylon," in the city on the seven hills. Ogden concludes with Newton's striking observation: "If the bishop of Rome had sat for his picture, a greater resemblance and likeness could not have been drawn."⁷

He further cited Newton on the destruction of "anti-christ, or the papal power," as clearly foretold in Revelation 18. Ogden adds that, though the beginning of its ruin doubtless was at the time of the Reformation, it will be advanced by the contemporaneous French Revolution, its total destruction impending in the not distant future. In support he cites "Dr. Linn,"⁸ at one time acting president of Queen's College (later Rutgers). Such is the emphasis of this respected Episcopalian rector in New Jersey.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 91.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 93.

⁸ On Dr. William Linn, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 227, 228.



By the President of the United States of America,
A PROCLAMATION

TIMOTHY
DWIGHT
President
of Yale

ELIAS
BOUDINOT
Director of
the Mint

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
 Yours, &c.
 JOHN ADAMS.

ORIGINAL IN LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

PRESIDENT JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' CALL TO PRAYER IN 1798

This Solemn Appeal, in Broadside Form, Resulted in the Delivery of Numerous Sermons on Prophecy Preached on This Appointed Day of Humiliation, Fasting, and Prayer—May 9, 1798. To the Side Are Two Early Stalwarts in the Prophetic Exposition Field; (Left) Timothy Dwight, President of Yale, and (Right) Elias Boudinot. President of the Continental Congress in 1782 and Director of the Mint

III. National Fast Day Evokes Sermons on Prophecy

The special day of "Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer," appointed by Presidential proclamation for May 9, 1798, witnessed an impressive number of sermons on the prophecies by various clergymen.⁹ (See facsimile above.) February 15 of that

⁹ President John Adams' Proclamation, dated March 23, 1798, recommended May 9, 1798, as a day of "Solemn Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer," to acknowledge before God our "manifest Sins and Transgressions," that our country might be "protected from all the dangers which threaten it," and which call for "Repentance and Reformation"; and to pray that "Our Civil and Religious privileges may be preserved inviolate," acknowledging God as the "Bestower of every Good Gift" and the Preserver of our "Religious and Civil Freedom." Original Source: <http://www.ushistory.org/whitehouse/religious/religious.htm>. The annual continuation of the older Colonial practice of annual fast days in New England. The religious fasts at the end of the eighteenth century, when the clergy were more prominent in civic

year had marked the dethroning of Pope Pius VI, in Rome, followed by his exile, and later his death in France. Word of his arrest had reached this country, and many keen students of prophecy told their Protestant congregations of the prophetic significance of the event and of the widespread conviction that mankind had evidently entered "the time of the end"—the latter-day epoch that would finally see the overthrow of the papal Antichrist. One of these sermons, based on prophecy, was delivered by Jeremy Belknap, Congregationalist.

Interestingly enough, in the Roman Catholic Church of Boston, on the same appointed Fast Day of May 9, Father John Thayer attempted to neutralize the common Protestant charge that the Papacy is the prophesied Antichrist, through ridiculing the scholarly acumen and logic of such an interpretation and by seeking to thrust Antichrist's appearance into the future—the standard Catholic position.¹⁰ So prophecy became the vortex of eddying currents of discussion evoked by President Adams' proclamation in the year 1798. We will first note M'Corkle in North Carolina and Belknap in Boston, and then turn to Thayer. Catholics, be it remembered, were distinctly in the minority in Massachusetts at this time.

IV. M'Corkle—1260 Years From Justinian to French Revolution

On every hand and in all sections, intensified interest in the prophecies was noticeable. Men of influence and training searched diligently for light on the meaning of the times. Numerous students of the Word preached and wrote on the anticipated outcome of the current European situation. There seemed to be a general conviction that the French Revolution, and the bold stroke of the armies of France against the Papacy, had definite prophetic significance. SAMUEL E. M'CORKLE, or McCorkle,¹¹ pastor of the Presbyterian church at Thyatira, near

affairs, became increasingly political after the organization of the Federal Government. There was deep concern over the influence of French infidelity, especially during the last decade of the century. Most were statewide fasts. A few, such as this, were nationwide. (W. De Loss Love, Jr., *The Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England*, chap. 25.)

¹⁰ On this see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, chap. 22.

¹¹ SAMUEL EUSEBIUS M'CORKLE (1746-1811), Presbyterian clergyman of North Carolina, was born in Pennsylvania, but as a lad moved with his parents to North Carolina,

Salisbury, North Carolina, was one of the substantial voices in that section of the South. His views were clearly reflected in an unusual sermon preached on this special Fast Day, appointed by the President for May 9, 1798. His chosen topic was *The Work of God for the French Republic, and Then Her Reformation or Ruin*.

Word had just come of the capture of the pope at Rome, in mid-February, and of his subsequent exile. In the press, he and his haughty dignitaries were popularly declared to be "no more." In a footnote to his printed sermon M'Corkle, alluding to the French mastery of Rome, makes this cogent observation on the 1260 years, revealing his acquaintance with prophetic expositors back over the years:

"It is long since interpreters have said that this would be effected by the French, and that the events would fall between the years 1760 and 1810. Particularly that a church domination, whose center is Rome, and seat, ten kingdoms of Europe, should last 1260 years—that the first rise of this period was about the year 500."¹²

M'Corkle continues to explain that, on such a basis, the early date might perhaps be calculated from the time the Papacy first "acted for herself as the Roman church," and could be considered fully completed in A.D. 550, when Justinian's general, Narses, "destroyed the Gothic government," thus ending the seventh form of government at Rome. So the Papacy is called the "8th form" of government. (Revelation 17:11.) Thus the prophesied 1260 years added to A.D. 500 would lead to 1760, when the Jesuits were banished. And 1260 years, calculated from 550, would end in 1810, by which time the final

settling near Salisbury. Graduating from the College of New Jersey in 1772, he studied theology and was licensed to preach by the presbytery of New York in 1774. After serving two years as a pastor in Virginia, in 1776 he accepted a call from the Thyatira congregation in Rowan County, North Carolina, serving there the remainder of his life. In 1785 he started a classical school, which continued for some ten years—one of few good schools in the State at that time, and the first to add a normal department, patterned after Princeton. M'Corkle was a competent Greek and Latin scholar and was accomplished in mathematics and philosophy. But his main business in life was the gospel ministry, some forty-five of his pupils becoming ministers. He received an earned D.D. degree from Dickinson College in 1792, and was offered the chair of moral philosophy at that institution, but declined. He published several treatises, preached and wrote vigorously against French infidelity, and was a discerning student of prophecy.

¹² Samuel E. M'Corkle, *The Work of God for the French Republic*, pp. 6, 7, note. (For the many predictions on the role of France, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, chap. 32.)

ruin should be accomplished. Such matters were naturally deemed of vital interest and current concern.

Reference is next made to the expositions of President Samuel Langdom of Harvard and David Austin of New Haven, bearing on this point.¹³ Then M'Corkle says that he has not seen J. Thomas Towers' collection (published 1794), of previous statements along this line,¹⁴ but has seen an extract from Robert Fleming's 1701 works, looking to 1794 for the humiliation of the French monarchy. (Fleming sees the 1260-year period as possibly from 534 to 1794.) So M'Corkle goes on record as believing that, with the tree of liberty planted by the French "before the capitol at Rome; the seat and center of imperial and ecclesiastic domination and persecution"—it had been reserved for France "to accomplish many prophecies which mark, with astonishing precision, the time, place and people by whom these prophecies were to be accomplished."¹⁵

M'Corkle adds that the public mind is doubtless too much agitated by Deism and Jacobinism to catch the significance of it all, but declares pointedly that such an attitude will "neither do away with the existence nor force either of the prophecies, or their explication." And he adds, pointedly, "On record they are, and on record they will remain." M'Corkle aptly compares the prophecies of the Bible to "the anchor of a ship, which, though out of view, holds her still fast in her moorings, and causes her at last to outride the storm." Thus, he adds with conviction, will the prophecies hold.¹⁶

The popular "denial of revelation, and prophecy," heard from the skeptical, only calls for a "more critical investigation" of the question of whether this deistic power, which overthrew the tyranny of priests and kings, is itself predicted. "There is no rational doubt," he says, "respecting the prediction of that domination which is ecclesiastic." Having just finished the

¹³ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 209, 210, and 239 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 723, 724.

¹⁵ S. E. M'Corkle, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.

reading of Austin's stimulating exposition of Revelation 11, "when the papers announced that 'Rome was free,' " M'Corkle makes this impressive statement in a footnote:

"I had the curiosity instantly to take 1260 [years] from [A.D.] 1798, and found the year 538. I then turned to the history of Rome, and found that in that very year Rome was taken from Vitiges, king of the Goths by Bellisarius [sic] Justinian's general."¹⁷

Satisfied on the identity of the power, men were thus seeking to understand the timing of its fall, or at least its "wounding." Such was the testimony of a respected Presbyterian voice from the South, who also wrote concerning the Great Revival in the Carolinas.¹⁸ And such was his instantaneous reaction, in 1798, to the actions of the French at Rome, to the timing of the 1260 years of the spiritual domination of the Papacy.

V. Belknap—France's Conquering March to Be Checked

As noted, May 9, 1798, was set apart by Presidential proclamation as a day of special fasting and prayer. And likewise noted, various clergymen used this solemn occasion to discourse on the meaning of the times in the light of Bible prophecy. Among these was DR. JEREMY BELKNAP,¹⁹ Congregational minister and historian of Boston, who, in a noteworthy address delivered upon that occasion, based on the prophetic outline of Daniel 2 dwells chiefly upon the multiple kingdoms of Europe that succeeded the fourth, or Roman, world power, which sweeping prophecy reaches its climax with the coming kingdom of Christ.

After stating that the prime purpose of prophecy is to keep

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8, footnote. He was inclined to regard the end of the war in 550 as significant, looking to a further freeing of Rome.

¹⁸ In James Hall, *A Narrative of a Most Extraordinary Work of Religion in North Carolina*, pp. 19 ff.

¹⁹ JEREMY BELKNAP (1744-1798), born in Boston, was graduated from Harvard in 1762. He then taught school and studied theology. In 1766 he became pastor of the Dover, New Hampshire, Congregational Church, where he remained for twenty years, during which time he wrote his three-volume *History of New Hampshire*. In 1787 he became pastor of the Federal Street Congregational Church in Boston. Belknap founded the Massachusetts Historical Society, which was incorporated in 1794, was a leader in literary circles, and was one of the recognized scholars of his day. He wrote much, and was held in high repute, receiving an honorary S.T.D. degree from Harvard.

alive the "faith and hope of God's people in times of calamity and distress," Belknap declares that the same progressive "series of events" are paralleled in the symbolism of Daniel 2 and 7, the latter including further particulars in relation to the church of God. Daniel 8 covers much of the same ground. And these visions culminate with the establishment of the universal and eternal kingdom of God, which, upon its establishment, will destroy all other kingdoms.²⁰

These four world empires are the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedonian, and Roman; and the fourth, he says, is the same as the kingdom symbolized by the first, or ten-horned, beast of Revelation 13. At first Rome was as strong as iron, then became corrupted, weakened, and divided by internal quarrels and religious controversy—eventuating in the ten kingdoms, or ten "toes" or "horns." The stone represents the "kingdom of Jesus Christ," which "as long as the divided remains of the Roman empire shall subsist," Belknap contends, will be as it has hitherto been, "a stone of stumbling and rock of offense," but will "come, or be visibly and permanently established." He sees the present period (in 1798) as still signified by the ten horns, which "comprehend western Europe," including Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, et cetera, and notes that they still exhibit the same characteristics of strength and weakness.²¹

Belknap relates how he had begun the study of prophecy more than twenty years previously, his thoughts first being directed to this prophetic outline in May, 1777, in the midst of the Revolutionary War. He then perused the best helps available—Joseph Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, and Bishop Thomas Newton—obviously agreeing with them on the leading features. England's earlier prospect, of exerting a dominating influence over the other nations through forging claims of control, had once seemed bright. But she had failed, proving

²⁰ Jeremy Belknap, *A Sermon, Delivered on the 9th of May, 1798*, p. 10.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-17.

herself "*iron and clay*." And Belknap was against American submission to any "rotten toe" or "horn" kingdom. Nor does he expect "invincible" France, now riding high, to be able to carry out her proud boasts of power and influence.²²

Further, it was foretold that an Antichristian power would arise and rule over the nations. This, he adds, is understood to be the "papal sovereignty." But "there are many antichrists" opposing true religion. France had supported the Papacy, and had given its power to enhance the Papacy. But with others it was to turn against her, and was now, although still Antichristian, being used of God as a rod to punish others. Convulsions of the nations were to be expected. But the already existing stone kingdom, whose subjects we are, will smite these disturbing powers to dust. They "will vanish like the chaff of the threshing floor before the wind, and the gentle, peaceful kingdom of the SON of David" will be gradually but universally established. And we are to pray, "Thy kingdom come," and hasten its progress.²³

The subduing of the kingdoms of the world to the Christian faith will be effected, not by the sword, but only by the divine Spirit, by "the secret energy of truth"; until true religion prevails, "till it shall have eradicated war, slavery, oppression, tyranny, superstition and vice; till antichristian power and influence shall be abolished; till false religion, false philosophy and despotic government shall be destroyed; till love and peace shall reign, and truth and righteousness shall be established in the earth."²⁴ So, a great many prominent and pious men turned to the glowing torch of prophecy to seek light on the dark and confusing times through which Europe was passing.

VI. Father Thayer—Challenges Protestant Position on Antichrist

Father JOHN THAYER,²⁵ in his discourse at Boston, delivered on the same national Fast Day, of May 9, 1798, empha-

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 17-21. On Mede and the two Newtons, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-26.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁵ JOHN THAYER (1758-1815), first American Protestant minister to become a convert

sizes the wanton cruelty and heavy loss of life under the French Revolution—tens of thousands of victims by guillotine, shooting, and drowning, and a total toll of two million civilians.²⁵ He then refers to the pope's sufferings in exile, and the strange exultation of Protestants "over the misfortunes of the Pope as if the fall of anti-christ were near at hand."

In this discourse he tacitly recognizes the common understanding among Protestants, from which, but naturally, he emphatically dissents. Thayer feelingly likens the captivity of Pius VI to the insult and reviling accorded the world's Redeemer, "whom he represents," and his imprisonment, possibly "loaded with chains," to the lot of Peter, and adds that perchance he has even "fallen a victim to the fury of the enemies of God and man, and has thus become a glorious martyr."²⁷

Then, in a footnote to the printed sermon, he refers to the further fact that "there are many persons who fancy, and boldly assert, that all the impieties and disorders of the French Revolution are so many steps to bring about what they term, *the millennium*," which Thayer denounces as "a mere chimerical state, which will never have an existence except in their imagination." He even expresses surprise that they cannot see that all of these turmoils, "instead of being signs of the overthrow of anti-christ already established, are the predicted fore-runners of his approaching reign!"²⁸ That, of course, was standard Roman Catholic exposition—a single heinous individual, overshadowing all, at the end of the age.

Contending that the pope is indeed the "Vicar of Jesus

to Catholicism and to enter its priesthood. Son of a Presbyterian clergyman, with an honorary B.A. from Yale, he became a licensed Congregational minister. In 1781 he went to Europe, and after theological discussions with Roman priests, joined the Roman church in 1783. After studying for the priesthood in Paris, he was ordained in 1787, and was sometimes dubbed "John Turncoat." He returned to Boston, where he was not badly received. But with it all he had a tactless zeal and an uncompromising Puritan spirit. He was highly egotistical, and quite a controversialist. He was assigned to the Kentucky frontier from 1799 to 1803, returning to Britain "under a cloud."

²⁵ John Thayer, *A Discourse, Delivered at the Roman Catholic Church in Boston, on the 9th of May, 1798*, pp. 12, 13.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21. Roman Catholic teaching holds that the millennium began long ago, perhaps with the first advent, or more probably from the fourth century, and that Antichrist, possibly an atheistic Jew, is to reign in the future, at the end of the age, for three and a half literal years, not 1260, and at Jerusalem, not at Rome. (See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, chap. 20, and Vol. II, chap. 22, for the heart of the Catholic Counter-Interpretations.)

Christ on earth," he boldly asserts that Christ will assuredly have a successor "even until the end of the ages," and that "the bark of St. Peter, with his successors at the helm, shall sail triumphantly down the stream of time." The Catholic Church will only be purified, as "gold tried in the fire," in the present "crucible of tribulation."²⁹

In another footnote Thayer refers resentfully to "Dr. Belknap's remarks on popery," made after "*twenty years of attentive contemplation, with the best helps,*" which have resulted in "the ludicrous discovery, that the English and French governments are '*rotten toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image,*' and that *the pope is doubtless a beast and a whore.*" Attempting to ridicule such an exposition of the symbols of Revelation 13 and 17, as applied by Belknap and Lathrop³⁰ and in Morse's Fast Day sermon, Thayer complains that "the ministers must be always seeking some occasion of venting their spleen upon the poor pope," and upon the church that is combating Deism and atheism. Then he cries out dramatically, "If he is falling, in God's name, let him go off the stage in peace."³¹ Such is another resounding echo, off key, of the intensive recorded discussion of the day. Prophecy was both a matter of serious, earnest exposition and sometimes a bone of contention.

VII. Mason—Christianity to Be Established by "Spiritual Revolution"

Many were the sermons preached, about this time, in churches and before the widely upspringing local missionary societies, proclaiming the soon-coming reign of righteousness on the earth, with the winning of the heathen for Christ and the speedy overthrow of infidelity. The rising of "kingdom against kingdom" on every hand and the contemporary scenes of bloodshed and desolation will give way to the coming king-

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

³⁰ On Lathrop, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 235-239.

³¹ Thayer, *op. cit.*, p. 23, note.

dom, it was frequently avowed, and righteousness and peace will then fill the earth.

For example, JOHN M. MASON,³² pastor of the Scots Presbyterian Church of New York City, speaking before the newly formed New York Missionary Society at its annual meeting, November 7, 1797, said that this glorious prospect was soon to be realized. The kingdoms of this world, he believed, would soon become the kingdoms of our Lord by a "spiritual revolution." Thus will the "mountain of the Lord's house" be "established in the top of the mountains." And this prophetic depiction is to become a glorious reality by means of the diffusion of the "doctrines of the gospel of peace." He contended that the world cannot be regenerated by "reason without conscience," or "philosophy without religion," or infidelity. "As far as man, with the lights of prophecy, can judge, the time is not very distant when God shall arise, and have mercy upon Zion. What mean these dire convulsions? this crash of kingdoms? these torrents of blood?" In this time of "distress of nations" and "men's hearts failing them for fear," the time of our redemption draweth nigh. "Now is the time for the armies of Israel" to gird themselves for conquest and victory.³³ Such was the tenor of this sermon, and of many others of that period.

VIII. Livingston—Prophetic Outline Nearing Consummation

A 1799 exposition was made by Dutch Reformed minister, and later president of Queen's (Rutgers) College, JOHN HENRY LIVINGSTON,³⁴ in an impressive sermon before the newly formed

³² JOHN MITCHELL MASON, (1770-1829), educated at Columbia College and Edinburgh University, settled in New York City, and became a minister of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. He was founder of the first theological seminary in the United States (the forerunner of Union Theological Seminary), where he served as its first professor. He founded *The Christian's Magazine* in 1806. And in 1811 was made provost of Columbia College, and in 1821 was elected president of Dickinson College in Pennsylvania. He was one of the greatest pulpit orators of his time.

³³ John M. Mason, *Hope for the Heathen, a Sermon . . . Before the New-York Missionary Society*, pp. 16-36.

³⁴ JOHN HENRY LIVINGSTON, (1746-1825), was born in New York, and after graduating from Yale began the study of law. Then he changed to the ministry, and went to the University of Utrecht, in Holland, for training. There he received his doctorate in theology in 1777. For a time he was pastor of the New York City Dutch Reformed Church, and other

interdenominational New York Missionary Society. His topic was "The Glory of the Redeemer," and was indicative of the growing prophetic emphasis that marked many a missionary discourse of the day. Dr. Livingston was pastor of the well-known Dutch Reformed Church in New York City at the time. He declared that the prophecies testify of Christ, who came historically at the time predicted. Adverting to the prophetic outline of the nations in Daniel 2, and Christ's kingdom of limitless duration to be established thereafter, he then declared, "Every empire and nation have a date fixed for their rise, continuance and dissolution." But this kingdom of God will defy all assaults and "foil the power of Christ's enemies."³⁵

All the great nations of prophecy, from Babylon to Rome, have "vanished like empty visions of the night" or "like ghosts of fallen empires." And the pomp and power of present rulers (in 1799) will soon be crumpled into dust. In contrast, Christ's kingdom is to fill the uttermost parts of the earth, and is to stand forever. It is destined to pass from its "stone" phase, which is small and can be easily moved about, to the "mountain" phase, which will fill the earth, and stand forever. This fact is established by the sure word of prophecy.³⁶

Turning then to the rise of Antichrist, irrespective of the precise date of its rise, Livingston asserted: "It is evident his usurpations and tyranny are drawing to a close." That pretentious power, which has been "gradually consuming" away, will "soon be destroyed by the brightness of the Redeemer's coming." Then, in the light of the French Revolution, he explained, "the last struggles of the monster may be violent, and his expiring agonies protracted, but he is certainly dying."³⁷ And he added that the vials of wrath are "now being poured out upon the nations that gave it support." The current revolu-

charges. In 1807 Livingston became professor of theology and then president of Queen's (later Rutgers) College in Brunswick, New Jersey. He was vice-president of the New York Missionary Society, was one of the regents of the University of New York, and was called the "Father of the Dutch Reformed Church in America."

³⁵ John H. Livingston, *The Glory of the Redeemer*, pp. 8-29.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-34, 45.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45. Livingston thought there was an Eastern as well as a Western Antichrist, arising nearly at the same time and destined to fall together.

tion, terror, and commotion all "announce the approach of some period, new and appealing." We know Christ's coming is near, even at the door. Then comes the end, when the kingdom shall be delivered to the Father.³⁸

Though not extensive, this glimpse is sufficient to show the concept of the times, widely held by thoughtful leaders, and the great consummation that was expected soon.

IX. Bacon—Second Beast (of Revelation 13) Has Protestant Connotations

Early in 1799, JOHN BACON,³⁹ Congregational clergyman, judge in the Court of Common Pleas, for years a member of the Massachusetts legislature, and later a member of the National House of Representatives, wrote *Conjectures on the Prophecies*, which contains certain suggestions that are noteworthy. Trained for the Presbyterian ministry at the College of New Jersey, and acquainted with theological lore and the range of prophetic interpretation of the day, Bacon opens by stating that it is "generally agreed" among Protestant expositors that the Roman Empire appears in the depiction of the latter part of Daniel 11; that the "king of the south" of verse 40 is commonly "supposed" to represent the Saracens, and the "king of the north" (verses 44, 45), the Turk. However, Bacon is intrigued by the trio of numbers in Daniel 12—the 1260, 1290, and 1335 "prophetic days," fulfilled in years, "each day for a year."⁴⁰ To the solution of these three numbers he addresses himself.

These periods are to be filled with abounding wickedness,

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-48.

³⁹ JOHN BACON (1738-1820), native of Connecticut, was licensed to preach by the presbytery at Lewes, Delaware. He later became pastor of the Old South Church (Congregational) of Boston. But his Presbyterian training made it difficult for him to enter into the spirit of Massachusetts Congregationalism. His severe manner, tenacity of opinion, and fondness for argument caused opposition. His public reading of Governor Hutchinson's Proclamation in 1775—calling upon the populace to give thanks for preservation of civil and religious liberty—led to his dismissal. So he turned to farming and then to law. From 1779 to 1807 he was associate justice of the county Court of Common Pleas, and its presiding judge from 1807-1811. He was twice a member of the General Court, and served for years in both lower and upper houses of the Massachusetts legislature, and in the National House of Representatives from 1801 to 1803. He wrote *Conjectures on the Prophecies* early in 1799.

⁴⁰ John Bacon, *Conjectures on the Prophecies*, pp. 3, 4.

he says, and a time of grave trouble will result. When the Turk "shall go forth with great fury" to destroy, and shall plant his camp in the glorious holy mountain, then Michael will stand up. But when is all this to be? Bacon believes all three periods begin together when the Church of Rome became the Beast, or Man of Sin. Some, he says, suppose this to be from 606, when the Bishop of Rome assumed the title of "Universal Pastor," and when Mohammed also began his period of influence.

On the basis of such a calculation the 1260 years would end in 1866 with the abolition of all "popish establishments," and perhaps of all ecclesiastical establishments and their supporting governments. On this scheme the 1290 year-days would close thirty years later, with a similar end of Turkey and "all Mohammedan establishments." The end of the 1335 years would lead to the fulfilling of the judgments of God and the beginning of the millennium, about 1941. Three and one-half days, or years, prior to the destruction of the power of the Beast, the slaying of the Two Witnesses—the worldwide suppression of religious freedom and human rights—will occur, at the end of which the small number of "faithful advocates for truth in Church and State" will awake and tyranny be put down. Thus Great Babylon will be cast down with violence.⁴¹ Bacon was ever the champion of civil and religious liberty, even believing it to come within the scope of prophetic depiction in Revelation 13.

The fifth vial is poured out on the "seat" of the papal Beast, he believes, and the sixth on the Ottoman Empire. It is therefore reasonable, adds Bacon, to suppose that the terrific scenes of the French Revolution are involved under the fifth vial, since the pope has been driven from Rome (in 1798), and Italy revolutionized. Following the pouring of the fifth and sixth vials, the forces of Armageddon are gathered by the three unclean frogs—the dregs of popery, civil despotism, the

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-9.

remaining Mohammedans. Although the wickedness of man and the judgments of God will abound, the forty-five-year period will close with the bright shining of the "Latter Day Glory." So there is a blessing upon those who come to the end of the 1335 years. Bacon speculates on the number "666" as A.D. 666, and by calculating the various periods from it, curiously arrives at the abolition of the "Popish establishments" in 1926, of Mohammedanism in 1956, and Armageddon and the millennium in the year 2001—the sabbatical millennium of ancient tradition. The possible identification of 666 with the name of the Beast he considers would be a corroborating factor.⁴²

The time of the "cleansing of the sanctuary," at the close of the 2300 years of Daniel 8:14, likewise fascinates Bacon. He is inclined to date the period from the time when Alexander invaded Asia, in 334 B.C., to A.D. 1966, ten years after the destruction of the Mohammedan power and the consequent return of the Jews to their homeland. The cleansing he understands as the conversion of the Jews. France he likens to a "scourge" used of God, and her actions attest the same predictive power of prophecy. The head of the Beast, he holds, has just been wounded by the sword.⁴³

Bacon is at a loss to determine the exact meaning of the two-horned beast of Revelation 13, but suggests:

"May this prophetic vision refer more particularly to the Clergy in general who will be on the stage some time after the *deadly wound* is given to the head of the former Beast, and who, unmindful of the pure doctrines and meek example of the Prince of Peace, will be so corrupt as to imitate the conduct of the former Beast,—act upon [the] same principles which he has always acted upon, and be influenced by the same spirit which he is influenced by? so that the former will still live in this second Beast, or, in the *Image* which he causeth to be made to the first? With the 'Horns of a lamb,' do not some of them who call themselves *Protestants*, already begin to 'speak as the Dragon?'—to court his favor?—to sympathize with the former Beast?—to palliate his crimes?—to pronounce his altars which

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 9-15.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18, 23, 24.

have been lately overthrown, to be no other than '*the Altars of God*,'—to advocate with vehemence, the cause of civil despotism, and to thunder out anathemas against all who oppose it? Be this as it may, we may rest assured, that, even in times of the greatest corruption, a goodly number will stand on Mount Sion who will not be defiled with the '*Mother of Harlots*'; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from among men:—And in their mouth there was found no guile.' ”⁴⁴

In any event, he is fully satisfied that the second beast “refers to some subject other than the pope and Church of Rome.”⁴⁵

In 1803 Bacon adds footnotes adapting his interpretation to later events. He hints at Napoleon in his identification of the second beast. The “two horns like a lamb” are, Bacon thinks, the “mild and benevolent principles of *civil and religious liberty*, which constitute the *equal rights of men*.” But this ruler finally conducts himself as a despot, having dethroned the first Beast and assumed his power. But he “exerciseth all the powers of the former Popes,” “in the presence of the Pope which now is,” who is only an image of the first Beast.⁴⁶ This second beast, Bacon feels, is probably not only one particular man but a succession of men—all who follow the same principles; similarly the image includes not only the one presiding at Rome but also many little images of similar nature in all parts of the Christian world.

Bacon senses the inadequacy of his attempt to explain a “particular part of the scared [sacred] prophecies, and to shew the connexion of certain events that have long been foretold, with such as are now taking place at the present day.”⁴⁷ He closes by urging someone better equipped to pursue the subject further, “with greater advantage to the cause of *pure religion*, and the *equal rights of men*.” These were the convictions of this esteemed Massachusetts jurist and legislator at the turn of the century.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 27.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28, note.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.



Coins, Medallions,
and Similar
Portrayals Often
Provided Unique
Contemporary
Expositions of
Prophecy



COURTESY OF FIELD MUSEUM NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

APOCALYPTIC SYMBOLS ON PLAQUE AND PLATTER

(Upper) Plaque in Field Museum, Chicago, Showing Emperor Constantine Clasp- ing Hands With a Woman, Symbolizing the Church—Emblem of Union of Church and State; (Lower) Various Media Were Employed to Portray the Prophetic Symbols in Reformation Times. This Portraiture of the Apostate Woman-Church, by Martial Couteys, Sixteenth-Century French Painter and Enameler, Appeared on an Enameled Copper Platter

X. Farnham—Pathfinder for Oncoming Expositions

Another discussion of new developments in prophetic fulfillment was *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, by BENJAMIN FARNHAM (fl. 1778-1799), school inspector of Granby, Connecticut. The preface is dated "September, 1800." And according to the title page it dealt with the last trumpets and the last vials, the signs of the last times, the resurrection and the judgment, and the coming new heavens and new earth. The great events of the nations and the church, which have been outlined in prophecy, have been understood at the time that each major part has been fulfilled. Now, additional fulfillments were under way.

The onslaughts against the true church, or "woman" in white, by the dragon and the Beast, and the conflict with the false church, as the woman in purple and scarlet, present the historic issue. But in the end heaven interposes. The vials of divine wrath are poured out, and Babylon is overthrown. Then comes deliverance for the saints. That is Farnham's avowed scope of study and emphasis. And the impelling motive is, "Because I am of the opinion that many of the prophecies are at present fulfilling."⁴⁸ His concern is over the "last things."

1. APPROACHING END OF PROPHETIC NUMBERS.—Farnham plunges into the heart of his study in his very first chapter, where he puts the prophetic question, "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?" (Dan. 12:6.) And he answers it by the prophet's response that it "shall be for a time, times, and a half," and adds that a prophetic "time" is a year. So the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, or 1260 days, is "equal to so many years,"⁴⁹ at the end of which the enemies of the church shall be destroyed. Some, he states, begin this period in A.D. 606.

Farnham then couples with it the 2300 days, when the sanctuary and the host shall have been trodden underfoot, until the

⁴⁸ Benjamin Farnham, *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, pp. iii-vii.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28.

sanctuary shall be cleansed from its transgression of desolation. And he suggests for the timing possibly 481 B.C. (the "pushing" of the ram, when Xerxes set out to invade Greece) to A.D. 1819. Then the temple shall be cleansed. In any event, he says, whether or not this is the exact date, it is evidently "in a short time, and in the present age." This tie-in of the two periods is significant, and will become increasingly characteristic. But Farnham tells of others who have lately thought the 1260 years should rather begin with Justinian's publication of his law establishing the papal hierarchy, in A.D. 529, and thus reaching to 1789, when the French Revolution began and the Papacy received its great setback. But there is also the 1290 years, extending thirty years beyond the 1260. And 1290, added to 529, would likewise lead to 1819. And then there is the 1335 years, which seems to lead to "the first resurrection and the reign of the saints."⁵⁰ So the time will not be long.

2. END OF TURK BEFORE MILLENNIUM.—And along with this is to be placed the "tidings" out of the East and North, and the great conflict ensuing, as the tabernacles of the Turk are planted in the glorious holy mountain, between the seas, and he comes to his end with none to help him. This all relates, Farnham believes, to the return of the Jews and the deliverance of the Gentile church. Then comes the millennium for a thousand years.⁵¹

3. RAVAGES OF THE SARACENS AND TURKS.—Turning back to the seven trumpets, Farnham holds that the first four were clearly the barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire, accomplishing its overthrow, but the fifth and sixth are greater "woes." The Saracenic locusts of the fifth trumpet swarmed out of Arabia, with power to hurt men for five "prophetic months," or 150 years—from 612 to 762, when they made their great conquests in Syria, Persia, India, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, and other parts of Europe.⁵²

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 30.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 35-44.

Then come the Ottoman Turks, under the sixth trumpet, with their four Sultanies on the river Euphrates, sweeping ruthlessly over Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Babylon, Assyria, and Mesopotamia, out into Asia and Africa and then over Europe, seeming to carry all before them. And the 391 years prophesied of them (Rev. 9:15), perhaps reach from the taking of Kutahi, in 1281, to 1672, when they took Cameniec from the Poles. And the king of the North is probably Turkey, with Russia involved.⁵³ This was all preparatory to the final drying up of Turkey, under the sixth vial.

4. ANTICHRIST IDENTIFIED AS THE PAPACY.—Farnham next turns to Antichrist, the Little Horn rising out of the divisions of the Roman, or fourth, world power—the first three kingdoms being Babylonia, Persia, and Grecia. But this power is by John set forth as the Beast, similarly rising out of the sea of nations lashed by the winds of war. And in Revelation 17 the additional identification of the “seven hills of Rome” is added, and the same ten horns identify it, following Sir Isaac Newton’s list. Three horn-kingdoms make way—the dukedom of Rome, the exarchate of Ravenna, and the kingdom of the Lombards—and thus the pope is given his triple crown. Its identifying number is perhaps from *Lateinos*—the Latin church, with its Latin mass and prayers, Latin hymns and canons, and Latin decretals and bulls. The seven heads are the usual list, with the papal as the seventh.⁵⁴

5. THE TIME OF PAPAL DOMINANCE.—The two-horned beast from the earth is believed to be the Roman hierarchy, with its civil and ecclesiastical powers. Elsewhere it is called the false prophet. Arrogant, blasphemous, persecuting, she has her numerous marks of apostasy upon her. The full portrayal is made, with detailed and extended evidence. It is most convincing. The time of its spiritual dominion—the 1260 years—is based on the year-day principle, as exemplified by the 70

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-52.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-60.

weeks of years relating to the Messiah. It would not be dated from its later temporal dominance acquirements. Even 606, when Phocas made the pope ecumenical bishop, to 1866, seems not quite to fit the demands. Rather, he thinks, it was from 529, when Justinian established his headship over the churches by law, which would reach to 1789, the beginning of the French Revolution and the beginning of the fall of popery.⁵⁵

6. GREAT "EARTHQUAKE" HAS SHAKEN FRANCE.—The seven vials are the last judgments to be poured out upon the Papacy. The sixth vial, according to Farnham, was even then being fulfilled. The great earthquake of Revelation 11 had shaken France. The sixth vial was poured out, and they awaited the seventh, which will bring the last fateful time of trouble.⁵⁶

7. SEVENTH TRUMPET BRINGS THE END.—The seventh trumpet finishes everything—the mystery of God and the deliverance of the saints. Kingdoms will totter under that final quake, and the destruction of the Beast and the nations will be accomplished. The ten horns come to hate the harlot, and burn her with fire. Then the kingdoms of the world make way for the kingdom of Christ.⁵⁷

8. THE LAST CONFLICT AND ETERNAL TRIUMPH.—This brings us to the millennium and the reign of the literally resurrected saints with Christ. This millennial period is to succeed upon the ruins of Antichrist. Christ's kingdom will be universal, as the prophets attest. (See Dan. 7:14, 27.) It will be the golden age, he avers. It will be a period of peace and unity, and the Holy Spirit will be poured out in fullness.⁵⁸

As in the days of Noah there was a great overthrow, so will it be again. Earthquakes, commotions at sea, and other signs and omens proclaim it. And then comes the final judgment,

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-77.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-99.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-106.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-121.

with the saints assisting. And the great conflagration will destroy the last vestige of sin, and sinners. Finally comes Paradise restored—the new heaven and the new earth, to abide forever.⁵⁹ Farnham's was a remarkable treatise for the time—a pathfinding statement of last events and a blending of various factors rather in advance of his day. It was a decided advance over most previous statements. It was a keen analysis of the times, an anticipation of things to come.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-148.

Prophecy Ascendant at Turn of Century

I. Turn of Century Marks Transition Hour

There are transition hours in the course of world events when history seems to change its fundamental course, when it takes on an acceleration, a significance, and a direction previously unknown, as a new concept or revolutionary idea moves mankind forward to new attainments. However, the greatest advances connected with these transition times have not always been merely mechanical or material. Ofttimes they have been intellectual and spiritual, though at times all these factors have converged, as at the opening of the nineteenth century—or, more accurately, the closing decade of the eighteenth and the early decades of the nineteenth century.

It was a time characterized by new and heretofore undiscovered forces, by a new understanding of the times, by the rechanneling of pent-up energies; by new concepts of the world, of power, of society, of freedom, of progress; also often by a new sense of spiritual responsibility, and by new convictions of divine destiny. And, strange as it may at first seem, these concepts were to a surprising degree derived from a profound conviction that the destined hour of fulfillment of a great prophetic time and truth, long foretold in Holy Writ, had now come.

Tremendous changes took place during the first half of the nineteenth century, affecting every phase of human life—indeed, redirecting the very course of Christian thought, of

emphasis, of expectation, of outreach for revealed truth. In many ways it constituted a break with the past, and implemented a new desire to know and carry out the prophetic plan and purpose of God. It is therefore a period fraught with deepest interest and greatest significance for us as we trace the inseparable part that the interpretation of the inspired prophecies of the Bible played in the tremendous advances and changes of these new and fascinating times. Ludlum puts it tersely:

"The revivals of 1800-1837 had restored the Bible to a high place; to many it was the sole guide for the conduct of life. Accordingly, they felt it their imperative duty to realize the prophecies outlined in the Books of Daniel and Revelation."¹

Certain characteristic movements of the time should be considered, which all had their bearing on contemporary religious developments. Professor Latourette, of Yale, lists some of the factors that materially influenced the first half of the century:

1. Man's increased knowledge of the physical universe, which both helped and hindered Christianity, for, with some, it tended to outmode the Bible and to push God away, out of touch with the individual.
2. Man's increased mastery of his physical environment through the invention of machines, beginning in the latter part of the eighteenth century—bringing in progressively the factory, steamship, railroad, and telegraph—thus making possible the means of spreading Christianity to an extent before undreamed of, and at the same time causing an overconfidence in human achievement.
3. Development of the scientific method—the experimental discovery of facts and natural laws—which had made the first two developments possible and necessitated freedom of thought and untrammelled search for truth.
4. The resultant industrial revolution, which basically changed society through the factory system, followed by the increase of population, migration, cities, and mass education.
5. Attempts to reorganize society on the basis of ideologies, particularly in relation to democracy and individualism.
6. Various intellectual currents, such as Rationalism, Romanticism, the seeds of evolution, and the idea of assured human progress.

¹ D. M. Ludlum, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

7. Increasing nationalism as a heritage from the eighteenth century.
8. Continued relative peace, with no general war of the great powers from 1815 to 1914.
9. The dominant note of optimism, rising from expansion, prosperity, and new and great accomplishments, leading to unbounded enthusiasm in attacking further problems and to the hope and expectancy of abolishing man's ills while marching on to perfection. From this stemmed the hope of world evangelism.
10. Unprecedented, world-wide expansion of Western peoples—chiefly from predominantly Protestant territory—who carried Christianity, by migration and mission activity, to the far corners of the globe.²

The stage was thus set, Mead observes, for those important religious developments of the first half of the nineteenth century. With only 10 per cent of the populace as church members, but with a rapidly increasing population, and with marked expansion westward, he adds, "It is more than a figure of speech to say that this was the 'testing time,' and that the frontier was the 'testing ground' for the American Churches."³ And with religious freedom and westward expansion, and the development of mechanical means of transportation and communication, and eastern cultural ties largely severed, the picture inevitably changed both rapidly and radically. Mead says significantly:

"Following the War of 1812, America turned its back upon Europe to face the problems of its own west, and was granted a century of time to work out its problems with a minimum of outside interference."⁴

In 1800 the population of the United States was but five and a third million, and with but a small percentage west of the eastern mountains. In 1820 it had grown to nine and one-half million, with 27 per cent of the population west of the mountains. In 1830 it was around thirteen million, with almost 34 per cent west of the mountains, and by 1840 it was over seventeen million, with a still increasing percentage west of the mountains.

² K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, chap. 2.

³ S. E. Mead, "Christianity in America," lecture 6, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Mead also points out that during the first third of the century the great evangelical revival added millions of church members, and thus the "sect" bodies (Baptist, Methodist, Disciple, et cetera) far outweighed the "churchly" bodies (Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopalian). Thus, as previously observed, there came into being that typical American phenomenon, the denomination, organized on a voluntary, active, and usually congregational basis—really a merging of sect and church.⁵

II. Leaders Emphasize Prophetic Significance of Times

Prophecy was the motivating force in much of the religious thought and activity of America in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, according to history professor Oliver W. Elsbee, of Bucknell University. The common conviction held by religious leaders of various denominations regarding the prophetic significance of the times in which they were living, was expressed in pamphlets, periodical articles, and books, as well as in sermons preached before church groups or missionary societies. Elsbee gives this succinct summary of their composite views on prophecy:

"Were not all these unusual and fearful happenings the prelude to the millen[n]ium, as foreseen by Biblical writers? The signs of the times were highly suggestive that the last days were near.

"The unusual turbulence of the closing decade of the century and the newly awakened interest in missions led to a reexamination of prophecy. Conversely, the contributions of preachers and students of prophecy to the interpretation of vague passages in the Bible constituted a not inconsiderable part of the dynamic of missions. It is difficult to see how any effective missionary propaganda could have been developed without an incessant appeal to Bible prophecy as a final authority in regard to the duty of Christians to evangelize the world. By an appeal to prophecy infidelity could be refuted. Prophecies which were being fulfilled in contemporary events constituted a most valuable part of the armory of the believer in his contest with skepticism."⁶

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5. On the distinctions between sect and church, see Reinhold Niebuhr, "The Ecumenical Issue in the United States," *Theology Today*, January, 1946, pp. 525-536.

⁶ Oliver W. Elsbee, *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790-1815*, pp. 122, 123. In a thoroughly documented chapter, which he significantly entitles "Prophecy, Prayer, and Propaganda," Elsbee presents an astonishing array of published statements from a score of ministers of various faiths, chiefly resident in New England, but extending into New York.

After noting two voices heard just before the turn of the century, Elsbree presents President Timothy Dwight, of Yale, as a conspicuous example of the dominating position of prophecy on current thought. As to Dwight—

“Dwight’s analysis of the international turmoil was made in the light of the sixteenth chapter of the book of Revelation. It was clear to the famous President of Yale that the prophetic writers of Scripture had the closing decades of the eighteenth century in mind when they uttered many of their dark sayings. The book of Revelation might be difficult for the masses to understand, but not for Timothy Dwight. The sixth vial of Revelation 16:12 was just about to end. During the period of the pouring out of this vial, the Jesuit order had been suppressed, the Roman Catholic clergy had been shorn of some of their power, the revenues of the Pope curtailed, and the French kingdom overthrown. All of these events the great seer of Patmos had predicted seventeen centuries before. The beast and the false prophet referred to by the sacred writer were to be understood as the papacy and the Catholic countries, such as the philosophers and the encyclopaedists of France.”⁷

This interest, adds Elsbree, centered in the 1260 years of Antichrist’s dominance, and the transcendent events to follow at the close of that fateful period. He goes as far as to say regarding the interpretation of the time:

“There was a virtual unanimity among Bible scholars that the forty-two months of Revelation 11:2 and the ‘time, times, and half a time’ of Daniel 12:7 were to be understood as twelve hundred and sixty years. During this interval Antichrist was expected to flourish. By Antichrist most Protestants meant the pope, although some felt that the sultan of Turkey was an Eastern Antichrist. . . . It might be objected by the skeptic that this method of interpretation was questionable and that the prophecies were obscure. To William Collins who preached the annual sermon before the Baptist Missionary Society in Boston in 1806 such objections seemed trivial. The obscurity of prophecy served a purpose in that it enabled the Church to conceal her designs from her enemies, who, steeped in skepticism, were unable to understand projects, such as the missionary movement, until after they were well under way. The calling of the Gentiles was clearly a subject of prophecy. The spread of the gospel would result in the gradual Christianizing of the earth. The missionary spirit was being manifested everywhere, and the Jews would be converted, in all likelihood, in the near future.”⁸

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 124.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 125.

And now with rapid strides, let us survey the efforts of various men, some prominent and some obscure—men who are not commonly known or noted as expositors or as writers of books on prophecy, but who nevertheless earnestly attempt to focus the light of prophecy on those dark contemporary times. Some can be brought before us in a few paragraphs. Others will take more space. They might be listed as incidental expositors. Notice particularly the diverse denominational affiliations as well as the wide geographical spread. This emphasis, significantly enough, embraced all groups and covered the country. Let us watch as they pass in panoramic survey.

III. Baptist Association Stresses Expectancy of Latter Days

Even the formal minutes and addresses of the annual meetings of some of the local Baptist associations glowed with the warmth of second advent expectancy, and stressed the latter days in the light of prophecy. For example, there was the meeting of the Stonington Baptist Association held at Montville, Connecticut, October 15 and 16, 1805. Here the assembled elders appointed Elder⁹ Abel Palmer to write the "Corresponding Letter," and Elder Nehemiah Dodge the "Circular Letter." After approval, these were then sent by special messenger or by post to the New York, Philadelphia, Danbury, and half a dozen other local associations (Warren, Sturbridge, Layden, Oswego, Ransaleorville, and Shaftsbury), and to the Groton Baptist Conference.¹⁰ These, be it noted, were the group

⁹ In those times, the term "elder," was commonly applied to "an official of the church, who takes part in its management;" an officer exercising governmental functions, with or without teaching functions. (Craigie and Hulbert, *A Dictionary of American English*, vol. 2, p. 867; see also *Century Dictionary*, vol. 5, p. 1864.) It was a common term in Colonial New England, employed by such men as Robinson, Winthrop, Roger Williams, and Cotton Mather in their writings. In the early nineteenth century, "elder" was still used by various denominations as designating a minister or preacher.

Among Presbyterians it was technically applied to a teaching elder, whereas in the Congregational Church it was more the ruling elder, aside from the pastor and teacher, and thus connected with government and discipline. Among the Baptists it was used more particularly to designate evangelists and missionaries, and among the American Methodists, "elder" was a general term still used for any clergyman in the early nineteenth century. (See William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine*, vol. 2, pp. 696, 697.) As the title "Reverend" was introduced it drew heavy fire from some, especially by ministers of the Christian Connection. This was long before the Mormons arose, also appropriating the term.

¹⁰ *Minutes of the Stonington Baptist [Baptist] Association, held at Montville, October 15 and 16, 1805*, pp. 4, 5.

statements of an assembly of ministers, not the expression of an individual, and hence carried unusual weight.

1. STONINGTON MESSAGE COINED IN PROPHETIC PHRASING. —The "Circular Letter," sent to the neighboring associations, is addressed to "all that love His appearing," and expressly declares that "we live in a day wherein Iniquity is abounding and the love of Many waxing cold," with delusive doctrines abounding, and "Sin and abominations increasing in the Earth." Further,

"it likewise appears to be a day when great National struggles in the world which is predicted in Scripture that should take place in the last days; previous to the second coming of the SON of MAN. As distress of Nations, with perplexity, men's Hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the Earth."¹¹

The "brethren" are admonished not to be "discouraged or dismayed" but to endure "until the Judgment day," when Christ sends His angels to gather the elect from one end of heaven to the other. Despite judgments and great adversity, there will, nevertheless, be "large accessions made to the Redeemer's Kingdom." And in the Letter of Conveyance the word is: "Whilst on one hand the painted hypocrite marked with the veil of *State Religion*, attempts to wrest the government of the church from the hand of Christ," the "open infidel, the licentious and profane on the other; are despising the Laws of God, and the faith of the gospel." They are admonished to stand with "lamps trimmed and burning, as men waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." So the advent hope burned brightly in the hearts of many, as based on the prophetic assurances of Scripture.¹²

2. ASSOCIATION SAYS PROPHETIC ANGEL HAS BEGUN FLIGHT. —The Minutes of the Meredith Baptist Association, "holden" at Rumney, New Hampshire, in 1817—with the term "elder" for its ordained ministry likewise employed twenty times in the eight-page report—contains this interesting expression,

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.

characteristic of the times, authorized by the association and signed by Joseph Wheat, as moderator: "The missionary angel [of Revelation 14:6, 7] has begun to fly in the midst of heaven, carrying the gospel of peace to the dark corners of the earth."¹³

This new application of the flying angel now begins to appear again and again in the writings of prophetic students and expositors of all groups. It becomes, in fact, a common view.

IV. Nott Predicates Missionary Sermon on Prophecy

Flashes of exposition frequently illuminated sermons on various topics, preached on all kinds of occasions. One of these illustrative uses was by ELIPHALET NOTT, D.D. (1773-1866), president of Union College, of Schenectady, New York, from 1804 onward for nearly sixty years. In a sermon given before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church on May 19, 1806, and published at their request, Nott speaks of "the types which prefigure, and the prophecies which foretell" the coming kingdom of eternal righteousness. He cites the "memorable vision" of Daniel 7, concerning "future events," to provide the historical sequence and relationships for his main theme. The "beast" symbols of the four kingdoms, as practically all expositors had conceded, are followed by the rise of the various kingdoms of Europe, and these in turn by the Little Horn, which is identical with the power portrayed in Revelation 12 and 17. This power wears out the saints during the 1260 year-days, which period, however, is short in comparison with the kingdom of the saints, which will stand forever.¹⁴

Citing Second Peter, Nott declares the present world system is advancing "towards that dreadful catastrophe, of which revelation pre-admonishes the saint. The six thousand years of Satan's triumph is almost over."¹⁵ But to Nott, steeped in the Whittyan

¹³ *Minutes of the Meredith Baptist Association, Holden at Rumney, New-Hampshire, Sept. 10 and 11, 1817*, p. 8.

¹⁴ Eliphalet Nott, *A Sermon Preached Before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church . . . May 19, 1806*, pp. 13, 14.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 18.

postmillennial concept, the reign of Christ "is to be introduced BY HUMAN EXERTIONS," which he thus emphasizes by full capitals in the printed sermon. This, he holds, is exactly as the early heralds of the cross extended apostolic Christianity over Europe, Asia, and Africa—"through the intervention of human agency." That is really where the divergence and the issue lay, between two basic schools of thought.

All seemed agreed on the grand outline of prophecy and in the year-day principle for the time prophecies. But what would occur at their close was a matter of sharp difference of view. One group held stanchly to a cataclysmic end of the age, brought about by the personal, literal, second coming of Christ in power and glory, accompanied by the literal resurrection of the saints and followed by the earth redeemed. The other held tenaciously to a spiritual coming and spiritual resurrection, and the gradual extension of God's kingdom by human endeavor, until it prevails over all the earth. And this vital divergence was destined to grow, until it came to an open break in the forties, as will soon be seen.

V. McFarland Presses on Prophetic Signs of Times

Another well-trained and influential Presbyterian expounder of prophecy at this time was ASA MCFARLAND, D.D.,¹⁶ stationed at Concord, Massachusetts. Two of his published sermons are particularly pertinent. The first, on the *Signs of the Last Times*, was preached in Concord on July 24, 1808, and deals with the meaning of the "astonishing convulsions" of the last fifteen years, around the turn of the century, and tells how many great and good men were studying their meaning.

¹⁶ ASA MCFARLAND (1769-1827), Presbyterian clergyman, was born in Massachusetts, and graduated from Dartmouth in 1793. There he stayed on for four years, tutoring and teaching and pursuing theological studies. In 1798 he received a call from the Presbyterian church at Concord, where he remained twenty-seven years, or until 1824. He had a well-disciplined mind, and preached primarily to the understanding. He had a logical form of presentation, possessed a full voice, and was dignified in manner. In addition to his regular preaching he lectured widely and was the preacher on numerous special occasions. Such included a number of sermons on prophecy. He also served as chaplain of the State prison, was a trustee of Dartmouth College from 1809 onward, and helped to found the New Hampshire Missionary Society in 1811. He wrote some eighteen treatises, and received a D.D. degree from Yale.

1. VIALS OF WRATH POURED ON WORLD APOSTASY.—Launching directly into Daniel 7, with its four world kingdoms and Little Horn that followed, which he identifies as the Papacy, he tells of its special three and one-half times of “prophetic years,” at the close of which the saints will soon be delivered. The Witnesses are in sackcloth during these 1260 years, as “all good commentators agree.” Twice this expression of general unanimity appears, indicating acquaintance with a common conviction on the basic points he stresses. Faber, he adds, places them in time from 606 to 1866.¹⁷ Then the Persian “Ram” and the Grecian “Goat” are followed by the exceeding great horn, which he conceived to be the Mohammedan apostasy, likewise dominant, he thought, for 1260 years—thus beginning at approximately the same time, and ending together.

2. VIAL POURED OUT IN TIME OF THE END.—McFarland stresses three vital and consecutive epochs in the Christian Era—the “latter times” of the great apostasy, from about A.D. 600 onward; then the “last times,” of 2 Timothy 3:1, 2 and 2 Peter 2:3, 4; and finally the “time of the end,” when the vials are poured out, the enemies of Christ overthrown, and the former inheritance restored.

3. FLYING ANGEL IS NOW ON THE WING.—In Revelation 14 the first angel is seen flying a short time before Babylon is overthrown, and preaching the gospel to all. This indicates the rapidity of the mission movement, which is represented by this flying angel with the everlasting gospel.¹⁸ Here is an arresting sentence, on a point of common agreement:

“We have beheld the astonishing, though pleasing spectacle, of Christians in Europe and in the United States agreeing that this is the time designated in Prophecy to arise and build the temple of God.”¹⁹

4. DESIRE OF ALL NATIONS SOON TO COME.—McFarland then draws certain “probable conclusions” respecting the “time

¹⁷ Asa McFarland, *Signs of the Last Times*, pp. 5-11.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-18.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

of the night," from the book of Revelation. The seven vials, or seven last plagues, are the last judgments. The seven seals, seven trumpets, and seven vials extend from apostolic times to the end. The seven vials are poured out in the "last times," toward the close of the great papal and Mohammedan apostasies. Some believe they are already being poured out. But the sixth, involving the drying up of the Euphrates, is a symbol of the Turkish Empire, once formidable but now on the decline. The four world kingdoms, in successive rise and fall, are soon to be followed by the fifth universal kingdom, in exact fulfillment of prophecy. The heavenly judgment sits and takes away the dominion of the papal Little Horn. The evil characteristics of the "last times" are on every hand—the "tremendous day," when Christ shall pour out the last overwhelming vial of wrath upon His enemies. The nations are being shaken. The Desire of All Nations is soon to come.²⁰ And this outline is presented in considerable detail.

5. FLYING ANGEL IS HUMAN PREACHING OF GOSPEL.—The second sermon, delivered on September 17, 1812, before the New Hampshire Missionary Society, is likewise noteworthy. With Matthew 24:14 as his text, McFarland again declares that events at the turn of the century proclaim the time of Christ's coming near. The obvious pouring out of the vials of wrath on the apostate nations are "collateral signs." Christ declared the gospel should be preached to the world, and the flying angel of Revelation 14 is its symbol. The trumpet is being sounded concerning the impending day of wrath. Bible and missionary societies and preachers and revivals attest it. Wars and their rumors, distress of nations, unsettled religious opinion and the propagation of error, as well as earthquakes (Matthew 24), all attest it. The intent of the angelic messengers of Revelation 14:6, 7, he says, is spiritual preachers carrying this special gospel message.²¹ So the chorus swells.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-31.

²¹ Asa McFarland, *Sermon . . . Before New Hampshire Missionary Society*, Sept. 17, 1812, pp. 3-9.

VI. King—Ends Both 1260 and 2300 Years About 1866

Village parsons as well as city pastors were constrained to study, preach, and write on prophecy. One of these lesser known but interesting expositors was JOHN KING, D.D. (1740-1811), Presbyterian minister of Irish ancestry, who was born in Pennsylvania.²²

1. 1260 YEARS NEARING THEIR END.—Though he was long interested in prophecy, it was not until three years before his death that King wrote his *Observations on the Prophecies Which Relate to the Rise and Fall of Antichrist*, and which, according to his title page, “may not now be far off.” He begins by discussing the “woman” of Revelation 17, the professed church of Christ, actually drunken with the blood of saints —“the most tyrannical, oppressive and persecuting” power ever known to the world. In the footnote he parallels Revelation 13 and 17 with Daniel 7, 8, and 11, as well as 2 Thessalonians 2. The accuracy of the inspired description of this papal power, he stated, should lead many in our day to accept these Bible prophecies as a divine revelation.²³

Its allotted time period, the 1260 days (the 42 months, or the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times) is on the basis of “a day for a year.” Men differ, King adds, as to their beginning date. Some have started it as late as 756, when Pepin bestowed certain temporalities upon the pope. But that was not the beginning of the papal reign; he had been seated long before that. Others more accurately fix upon Justinian’s extinction of the Goths in Italy, under Bellisarius, when he gave up Rome to the pope—thus giving him “his power, and his seat, and great authority.” Accordingly, Fleming—whom he quotes—dates the terminus in 1794.

²² Because of straitened finances, half way through the usual classical education he was forced to drop out of college and teach for several years. Then because of the Indian War of 1763, the school was closed. First he thought of studying medicine, but turned instead to the gospel ministry, finishing college in Philadelphia and then studying theology. He was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Philadelphia, and began his ministry in New London. But, upon visiting the scene of his former teaching, at Conococheague, he responded to a call to serve there as pastor. After ordination in 1769 he remained as their minister until his death—some forty-two years in all! In his latter years he was so crippled by a rheumatic infection that at times he had to deliver his discourses in a sitting position. Because of his recognized scholarship, Dickinson College conferred upon him the D.D. degree in 1792.

²³ John King, *Observations on the Prophecies*, pp. 1, 2.

But King thinks the key lies in his spiritual supremacy, as a universal bishop—the Man of Sin and Mystery of Iniquity. Thus he leans toward the grant of Phocas, in 606. He does not think the “666” stands for years from a certain date. He submits “some calculations on prophetic numbers to shew, that the fall of the Roman antichristian power may not be far from the present time,” and suggests 1795 as the possible closing date, shortly after which the pope was taken prisoner and exiled to France, with the French troops in possession of the nearby Castle of St. Angelo at Rome. Or possibly it could be in 1811.²⁴

2. 2300 YEARS FROM PERSIA TO PERHAPS 1867.—King then turns to the 2300 years of Daniel 8:14—extending from Persia through Grecia, and on through pagan and papal Rome, during which time truth would be cast down to the ground, the church desolated, and the sanctuary polluted. When the 2300 years are ended, the sanctuary will be cleansed, he declares, the church purified, and the true worship of God re-established.²⁵ That was the main outline. “This number” therefore includes “a line of events, in prophecy, from a certain time in the reign of the Persian monarchy, to the end of the fourth, or Roman and antichristian monarchy,” the transgression of desolation. Its beginning is clearly not from the time of the vision, because that is too early. But nevertheless it is from Persia. The fall of ancient Babylon is a type of the fall of mystical Babylon, or Antichrist—“Babylon the great, the mother of harlots”—which will be an introduction to the enlargement of the church, the conversion of the Jews, and the cleansing of the sanctuary. Then comes the key sentence as to its time placement:

“This long period then, may be supposed to begin, with the conclusion of the seventy years captivity, or with the *beginning of the seventy weeks mentioned ch. 9.24. i.e. 490 years before the death of Christ.*”²⁶

King believes, however, that these “prophetic years”

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-12.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11. (*Italics supplied.*)

should be reduced to solar years.²⁷ And he sees the 70 weeks as comprised of three parts—the 7 weeks or 49 years, followed by the 62 weeks or 434 years, “to the death of Christ,” and the 1 week, or 7 years to “confirm the covenant with many.” So he simply takes 434 B.C. as the starting point of his calculation and arrives at 1867, which would tally with the 1260 years (without reduction), ending in 1860, for the temporal fall of the Papacy. And this, in turn, would be 56 years beyond its spiritual fall in 1811.²⁸ The 1290 and 1335 year periods may have a bearing on this he thinks, but is not sure. Concerning his calculations on the 1260 and 2300 years, he adds, “which, though new, may perhaps deserve some note.”

3. TWO-HORNED BEAST—PERHAPS EMPEROR BONAPARTE.—King next turns from the papal first Beast to the second, or two-horned beast of Revelation 13, and suggests that “perhaps, no power has yet arisen which better answers to the Description of the second Beast, than the present emperor of the French.”²⁹

The two horns, described by the innocence and gentleness of a lamb, were perhaps “*Liberty and Equality*.” The first Beast had seven heads, or forms, of government—kings, consuls, dictators, decemvirs, military tribunes, and emperors, with the second as the papal phase, which revived the Beast and extended its tyrannical dominion, with its image in the temporal authorities, and the spirit of Old Rome still persisting and inspiring. He looks upon the emperor Bonaparte as perhaps the answer. The “mark” might be his various decrees.

4. THE SEVEN LAST PLAGUES NOW FALLING.—The seven vials, manifestly the “judgments of God upon antichrist and his supporters,” and the means of its downfall, King applies to “the events of our times, since the beginning, or some time before the beginning, of the French revolution.”³⁰ The “noisome sores” were perhaps these secret, atheistical societies and

²⁷ The “prophetical years (of 360 days)” reduced to sidereal years (of 365.6 hours).” (Page 9.)

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 13.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

the so-called "reign of reason," as seen in the French Revolution. (The second beast is also the false prophet.) The second vial was upon the sea (the great body of mankind), with its deranging and destructive effects of atheistical principles. The third vial was on the rivers and fountains, which he looks upon as the ministers of religion—condemned or banished. The fourth was on the sun, the ruling authorities.

The fifth on the seat of the Beast, or Rome, the French "completely fulfilled" in the captivity of the pope. And so his kingdom was darkened. Thus we are brought "down to our times." The sixth vial is evidently future—the drying up of the Euphrates, the three unclean spirits of devils, and Armageddon. Rome will be destroyed by the kings into which the Roman territory was divided, such as France has exemplified. In the "great battle" the dragon, the Beast, or Antichrist, and the false prophet are all involved. But the establishment of the kingdom of God may require many years. The seventh vial, with the great earthquake, presages the "last convulsion" of this old world, which will "make way for the peace of the world."³¹ Such is King's thoughtful analysis. In the matter of the 2300 year-days he too was a pathfinder. But though he published two years before William C. Davis, he did not come to such specific conclusions.³²

VII. Romeyn—Final Overthrow of Papacy Prophesied

The rise of Napoleon to power in France furnished a new incentive for fresh study and speculation in the field of prophecy. Might he be the "eighth" king of Revelation 17:11? Just as the French Revolution and the "discomfiture" of the Papacy was confidently interpreted as fulfilling Revelation 11, so now the concordat between Napoleon and the pope was thought possibly to be the "healing of the wound" of the papal "Beast."³³

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³² On Davis, see pp. 212-220.

³³ O. W. Elsbee, *op. cit.*, p. 127. A concordat is a treaty, or pact, between the see of Rome and any secular government with a view to arranging ecclesiastical relations. Specifi-

And was the setting up of Catholic establishments in the Rhenish Confederation, in Holland and Switzerland, to be considered further evidence of the verity of Bible prophecy?

Among those seeking an answer to such questions was JOHN B. ROMEYN,³⁴ pastor of the Presbyterian church of Albany, New York, who emphasized the application of prophecy to the Papacy in a sermon on September 8, 1808. The day had been appointed for "Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer" by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. After portraying the merited judgments to be visited upon the Papacy, as foretold by prophecy, he expressly declares: "We are indubitably in that period which is called in Scripture, 'the last days,' and drawing near to the end thereof."³⁵

Romeyn outlines the four world monarchies of Daniel—Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome—followed by the ten divisions of Rome, as the northern barbarians established themselves within its borders. These, he adds, now include Spain, Portugal, France, Switzerland, Germany south of the Danube, Hungary, Italy, Britain, Belgium, and Holland. Romeyn then describes the "spiritual empire of the church of Rome" which arose "under the emblem of the little horn of the fourth beast" of Daniel 7, and which he thought was likewise symbolized by the two-horned beast from the earth, in Revelation 13.³⁶

Its spiritual domination was to last three and a half times (or 42 months, or 1260 year-days), which, "according to common calculation," is the same number of years. Suggesting A.D. 606 as the year of its beginning, or possibly 756, he repeats,

cally, in this case, the one in 1801 between Napoleon Bonaparte, as first consul, and Pius VII, defining the restored privileges of the Roman Catholic Church in France and regulating the relations between the ecclesiastical and civil powers.

³⁴ JOHN BRODHEAD ROMEYN (1777-1825), Presbyterian minister, was born in Marbletown, New York, graduating with a B.A. from Columbia in 1795 and receiving an honorary M.A. from Union College in 1797 and a D.D. from the College of New Jersey in 1809. Licensed to preach in 1798, he first served as pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church at Rheinbeck, New York (1799-1803), and of the Presbyterian churches in Schenectady and Albany until 1808, then of the Cedar Street Church in New York City, from 1808 until his death in 1825. He declined the presidency of Transylvania University and of Dickinson College, but was a trustee of the College of New Jersey from 1809-1825 and was one of the founders and directors of Princeton Theological Seminary from 1812-1825. In 1810, at the age of thirty-three, he served as moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and was one of the most popular preachers of his day.

³⁵ John B. Romeyn, *Two Sermons . . . Sept. 8, 1808*, p. 12.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 13.

"It is evident, that we are not far from the end of the whole period." Then "this grand apostasy—this spiritual empire of Rome," guilty of a whole category of false doctrines and practices, including persecutions, cruelties, and the Inquisition, directed against God and His followers—is to be overthrown, as those whom she has deceived will turn upon her. Texts are cited in proof from Revelation 17 and 18. The kingdoms of this world will then become the kingdoms of our Lord. The end will come suddenly, though the preparatory events have begun in the wars and revolutions already under way. Of this Romeyn logically declares, "These seem to have begun; for, if the time of her end cannot be far off, the causes to produce that end must be in existence."³⁷

Uncommon wrath against mystical Babylon is developing, he adds. Then he continues: "History produces no parallel to the events now passing on the theatre of action. Never, since time began, have interests so immense been at stake"—revolution, the crash of kingdoms, wars, disasters. Next he asks, "Are not these events the judgments of God?" Are they not falling upon the Roman hierarchy, and "within the bounds of the territory of the fourth empire which Daniel saw?" The "indignation of the Lord began in France," then marched over Germany, and has fallen with force upon Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, and is beating upon Spain and Portugal, twin centers of the great apostasy. Romeyn makes it clear to his hearers that he is not justifying the conduct of the revolutionary leaders of France and the "scourge of God"—Napoleon. If we must favor the latter because he "is marching in a course prescribed by God," then "the witnesses to truth, who opposed the grand apostasy, which they knew would last for 1260 years, were guilty of a crime." Napoleon is permitted to scourge Protestant countries also, which have come only partly out of Babylon. He hopes that America will escape the calamities that await the ten kingdoms included in mystical Babylon; for we

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.

have never, as a nation, been subject to her spiritual dominion.³⁸

The death of the Two Witnesses, he felt, is near, at the hand of some emperor of the new line recently established by Napoleon—who is the “eighth head” of the beast, according to Faber. Catholic superstition has been restored in France by Napoleon, and a Catholic cardinal has been appointed to be chief of all the congregations of the Rhenish Confederation, over which, together with Holland and Switzerland, a “popish government” has been set up. More than that, “the religion of Rome is the court religion of almost all the ancient ten kingdoms.” Thus the way is paved for the slaying of the Witnesses—a dreadful persecution, he thought, of true Christians in general—near the end of the 1260 years, probably in the present generation or the next.³⁹

This will come three and one-half years before the end of the period, during a “revival of popery,” in a period of tyranny, superstition, and lawlessness in church and state throughout “mystical Babylon, among the ten kingdoms.”⁴⁰ Thus ends the first sermon.

A series of luminous footnotes to the printed discourses disclose his wide acquaintance with prophetic expositors, including Faber, Lowman, Bishop Newton, Ussher, Vitringa, Jurieu, Chandler, Jortin, Sherlock, Johnson, and Bell. These notes deal with variant views, evidences, the extent of papal persecutions, the Beast, the Papacy, and the fourth empire, the French restoration of papal power, and the grievous days just ahead—all these, and more. Such was the published viewpoint of Albany’s popular Presbyterian preacher.

VIII. Morse—Prophecy Fulfilling Before Our Eyes

JEDEDIAH MORSE,⁴¹ pastor of the Congregational church at Charlestown, Massachusetts, textbook writer and controver-

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-18, 23.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28, 32. (On Faber, see Romeyn’s note 13, pp. 76, 77.)

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 35.

⁴¹ JEDEDIAH MORSE (1761-1826) was born in Connecticut. After graduating from Yale he returned to New Haven to study theology, meanwhile teaching to pay expenses. The pioneer

sialist, and founder of the *Panoplist*, contended earnestly for the "orthodox" faith by exposing Unitarianism, and particularly by warning of the dangers of infidelity. In 1810 he preached a notable sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians, entitled "Signs of the Times." Taking his text from Daniel 12:4, 10, he reminds his hearers that Christ reproved the Pharisees and Sadducees for not discerning the times of their day, when Daniel's 70 weeks were just ending and the numerous prophecies concerning the first advent were fulfilling. Then Morse searchingly declares that many of the present generation of religious leaders are likewise "criminally ignorant of the Scripture prophecies, which relate to the present period, and inattentive to events, which are remarkably fulfilling them."⁴²

The prophecies of Daniel relating to the last times, he adds, were not generally recognized until they actually came into view. The Mohammedan power, or Turkey, foretold in the latter part of Daniel 11, will come into conflict with Russia on the north, and the Eastern Antichrist will be brought to ruin. The Western, or papal Antichrist is to fall about the same time. Then Michael will stand up, and a time of unprecedented trouble will follow, ending in deliverance for God's people—the restoration of the scattered children of Israel to the Holy Land. Following this will come, after an unknown interval (evidently the millennial kingdom), the general resurrection and the final judgment.

Morse then declares that the prophecy of his text has been fulfilling through the Christian Era, but "perhaps we have entered upon the period, in which it is to receive its full and ultimate accomplishment," for the events of the past twenty

geography he wrote for his school was the first of numerous popular editions and revisions that earned him the title of *Father of American Geography*. Eclipsed now by his son Samuel F. B. Morse, this geographer-preacher-editor-pamphleteer was prominent in his day not only for his textbooks but also for his championship of "orthodoxy" in New England theology. He was the man who probably did most to bring about the separation of the Unitarian wing from the Congregational Church. As pastor of the First Church of Charlestown for thirty years, he was in close touch with Boston, where his reputation as an author won him the recognition and friendship of the intellectual leaders, many of whom were liberals, and against whom he was later to turn his pen and influence.

⁴² Jedediah Morse, *Signs of the Times*, p. 4. (See also O. W. Elsbee, *op. cit.*, p. 129.)

years and more seem to point to a grand revolution in the world through the spread of knowledge, through missions, perhaps through the conquests of some modern Alexander—evidently a reference to the Napoleonic wars as apparently preparing the way.⁴³

In 606 both Mohammed at Mecca and the pope at Rome—the Eastern and Western Antichrists—started on their wonted missions at approximately the same time, and will doubtless be overthrown at about the same time, probably near at hand [1866?], when they will shake all nations by their fall. Then will follow the restoration of the Jews, the conversion of the Gentiles, and Christ's kingdom. Various latter-day prophecies will be fulfilling at the same time. The world will be visited by terrible judgments, with the darkest part yet to come. But at the same time many are running to and fro, every species of useful knowledge is being increased, and extraordinary efforts are being made to spread the light of the gospel. Even in the tragedy being enacted in Europe many will be purified and made white and tried. The rise of Bible and missionary societies is clearly a fulfillment of the prophecy of the running to and fro and of increased knowledge.⁴⁴ The times are portentous. Then Morse solemnly admonished:

"While we perceive a deluge of troubles about to overwhelm the world, we should lift up our warning voice, and do what we can to persuade all, over whom we have influence, to enter into the ark, that they may be safe."⁴⁵

As a theological product of Jonathan Edwards the younger Morse was a moderate Calvinist with revivalistic tendencies, an associate of the intellectuals of Boston, and an active participant in such movements as the New England Tract Society, the American Bible Society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians. Thus he was conversant with all

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-12, 17, 18.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-29.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

sorts of groups and activities. But his outstanding characteristic was his zeal for the promotion of evangelical Christianity. For this he fought first against indifference and later against fashionable liberalism and, specifically, against Unitarianism.

In 1805, Morse first opened fire in opposition to the appointment of a Unitarian professor at Harvard. And the same year he launched the militant *Panoplist*, which he edited for five years. He helped to establish the Park Street Church in Boston as an orthodox outpost in the very "stronghold of the enemy," and assisted in founding Andover Theological Seminary. He was active in holding the older and newer wings of Calvinism in a united front against Unitarianism. And there was a peculiarly prophetic note in Morse's expectation that God will "by new and uncommon means, be spreading his word, and the light of his Gospel, and increasing every species of useful knowledge" as instrumentalities.⁴⁶ This assumes significance in view of the fact that his son, Samuel F. B. Morse, was soon to make a major contribution to "useful knowledge" in the invention of the electric telegraph.

IX. Beecher—Signs Herald the Millennial Day

Then there was LYMAN BEECHER, D.D.,⁴⁷ at the time pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Litchfield, Connecticut. In a sermon at New Haven in 1812, on "A Reformation of Morals Practicall and Indispensable," he spoke of the evils of the time and the judgments of God in the land. But he noted signs in New England that a reformation was already beginning—the softening of the manners of the people through the progress of civilization and religion, the progress of evangelical orthodoxy against heresy, the revivals, the new missionary spirit, the rising temperance societies. If we endure a little longer,

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴⁷ LYMAN BEECHER (1775-1863) was born at New Haven, Connecticut, and educated at Yale under Timothy Dwight. Beecher became pastor at East Hampton, Long Island, next at Litchfield, and then at Boston. In 1832 he became president of Lane Theological Seminary at Cincinnati, Ohio, and pastor of the Presbyterian church of that city. Bold and energetic, and a recognized pulpit orator, he was an ardent promoter of temperance, antislavery, and other reforms. His books had a large circulation.

he added, the resources of the millennial day will come to our aid.⁴⁸ Here is the next paragraph, couched in prophetic phrasings, uttered as he calls for a reformation, and declares the angel of Revelation 14:6, 7 has begun his flight:

"Many are the prophetic signs, which declare the rapid approach of that day. Babylon the great is fallen. The false prophet is hastening to perdition. That wicked one hath appeared, whom the Lord will destroy, by the breath of his mouth and the brightness of his coming. The day of his vengeance is wasting the earth. The last vial of the wrath of God is running. The angel having the everlasting gospel to preach to men has begun his flight, and with trumpet sounding long and waxing loud, is calling to the nations to look unto Jesus and be saved. Soon will the responsive song be heard from every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, as the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluiah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth."⁴⁹

It has been said that to Beecher the internal harmony of New England Congregationalism and its union with Presbyterianism was "the glory of Christ's kingdom, and the threshold of the millennium."⁵⁰ Such were his rosy aspirations for the future.

X. Griffin—Millennium Scheduled at End of 1335 Years

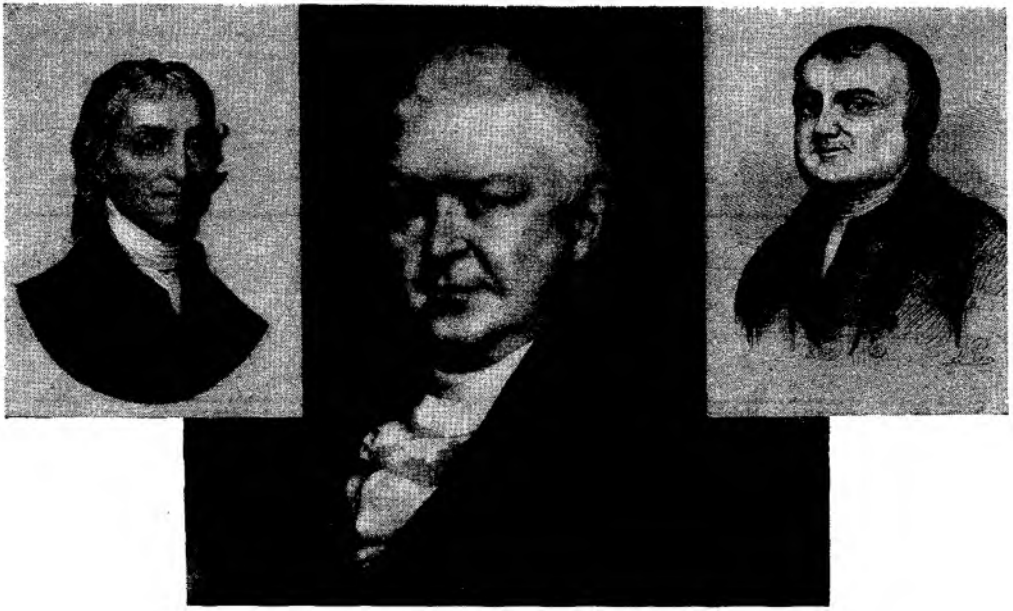
EDWARD D. GRIFFIN, M.A., D.D.,⁵¹ pastor of the Park Street Congregational Church of Boston, and later a prominent educator, preached a famous sermon ("The Kingdom of Christ") before the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1805. This eloquent appeal for worldwide missions was a landmark in the missionary movement.

⁴⁸ Lyman Beecher, *A Reformation of Morals Practicall and Indispensable. A Sermon Delivered at New-Haven, . . . October 27, 1812*, p. 30.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ S. E. Mead, *Nathaniel William Taylor*, p. 207, quoting Calvin Stowe.

⁵¹ EDWARD DORR GRIFFIN (1770-1837), Congregational pastor, teacher, and college president, was born in Connecticut. He lived his childhood in Revolutionary times, and was deeply stirred by passing events. He had been dedicated from birth to the ministry, and went to college with that objective. But, being unconverted, he decided to study law. For a time he undertook to teach. However, a serious illness led him to read theology under Jonathan Edwards the younger, at New Haven. Following this he was successively pastor of several churches in Connecticut (including New Hartford), and finally at Newark in 1801-09. He was the friend of Samuel Mills, Jr., the successful sponsor of foreign missions. In 1807 a great revival broke out in Griffin's church. And in 1809 he became professor of pulpit eloquence at Andover, and later served as pastor of the Park Street Church of Boston. He became president of Williams College in 1821.



THREE NOTED EXPOSITORS OF PROPHECY

(Left) Dr. Joseph Priestley, Unitarian Scientist, Historian, and Commentator; (Center) Dr. Edward D. Griffin, Congregational Pastor, and President of Williams College; (Right) Dr. Jeremy Belknap, Congregationalist Historian and Pastor of Boston. On Belknap See Page 65, and on Priestley See Page 117

1. URGES CHURCH TO PREPARE FOR MILLENNIUM.—Griffin's trumpet call to the support of foreign missions sounds the millennial note. Christ is committed, he declares, to accomplishing the restoration of God's original design for a happy, holy universe. The cause of Christ is the only cause that matters in the world, and he points to Ezekiel's wheels of providence "rolling down the descent of time to the end of the world," overturning everything in their course to prepare the way for the full establishment of the kingdom. After leading his listeners forward to the end of six thousand years, to the glory of Zion filling the earth—and then beyond to the kingdom of Christ, "advanced to the heavenly state"—he challenges Christians to activity for Christ, "to be instrumental in giving him the heathen for his inheritance."²²

2. LOOKS FOR CRISIS IN 1847 OR 1848.—At the dedica-

²² Edward D. Griffin, *The Kingdom of Christ*, pp. 16, 20, 21, 24, 25.

tion of the Calvinist Congregationalist Church at Sandwich, Massachusetts, in 1813, Griffin's dedicatory address on the current fulfillment of prophecy, and on the course marked out in advance by inspired prediction, reflected the common area of interest and discussion at that time. Stressing the coming "rest of the church at the bright millennial day," Griffin declares that the Christian world has been aroused to give "earnest attention to the prophecies." And, noting the "remarkable agreement respecting the principal dates" of the time periods of Daniel and the Revelation, he speaks of what he believes to be the "now generally admitted" period of the 1260 years of the "continuance of the papal church," as well as of the Mohammedan delusion from 606 to 1866, or possibly, by "Chaldaic years," to end in 1847 or 1848.³³

3. NEW ERA OPENED IN 1792.—In a footnote to the printed sermon, Griffin remarks on the identity, or oneness, of the three and a half times, the forty-two months, and the 1260 year-days as the period of the church's oppression, after the division of the Roman Empire into ten kingdoms.³⁴ He declares that the predicted period is fast running out, that the Papacy is nearly extinct, and the papal kingdoms are expiring. He likewise alludes to Turkey's approaching dissolution. The vials are already so far advanced according to the consensus of the "most distinguished writers on the prophecies," that the year 1792 evidently opened a "new era" for the world—"an era of wo to papal kingdoms, and to the countries included in the four great empires of antiquity," which is to continue till the dawn of the millennium.

He next discusses the additional thirty years of the 1290-year period (Daniel 12:11, 12), beyond the 1260, and the final forty-five years of the 1335 years beyond the close of the 1290 years—or seventy-five years in all—which he believes lead up

³³ Edward D. Griffin, *Sermon, Preached Oct. 20, 1813, at Sandwich, Massachusetts*, pp. 23, 24. In a footnote he suggests that according to Chaldaic reckoning (which in his day was believed to involve a 360-day year), this might be reduced to 1241 88/100 years, thus ending in 1847 or 1848.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

to the full millennium by 1941, or probably 1921 or 1922. The "time of trouble" he expects near the end of the 1260 days (near 1866 or 1847), involving the restoration of the Jews and the destruction of the power of the latter part of Daniel 11 (which he later says is probably the Turk). Then comes his startling conclusion: "It would appear from this calculation that we have already seen twenty-one years of that period of wo which is to extend to the morning of the millennium."⁵⁵

And how will it fare, he asks, with the church during the time of trouble for the world? In 1792 the "grand era of Missions" was introduced as the first missionary society of modern times was formed, followed by a "whole concourse of missionary and Bible societies" in both Great Britain and America, and the establishment of missions in Asia, Africa, and America. This, he adds, distinguishes the present time from "all former ages." Moreover, just at the beginning of this era, after a "long drought," copious "showers of grace" (revivals) have continued to fall upon Britain and the United States. Not only has evangelical faith been advanced, and the papal kingdoms darkened, but he hopes that "infidelity concealed under Christian names" is being stemmed at home. And he expresses the conviction that "Zion has seen her darkest hour, and that her light will henceforth continue to shine with increasing brightness to the perfect day." And the church which he is addressing may expect to have a part in bringing in this blessed period.⁵⁶

4. EXPECTS MILLENNIAL KINGDOM ABOUT 1922.—In another footnote Griffin sees the destruction of "Babylon," of Revelation 18, fulfilled in the Roman church with "surprising exactness." And in still another extended footnote Griffin speculates that perhaps in thirty years more the Jews will be restored, and Gog (the Ottoman Empire) destroyed in an assault on the Jews at the end of the 1260 years (about 1847 or

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33.

1848); that the thirty years thence, to the terminus of the 1290, are for the gathering and conversion of the ten tribes; and that the forty-five years remaining, till the close of the 1335 years, will bring the conversion of the Gentiles and "the complete establishment of the millennial kingdom," about 1921 or 1922.³⁷ Such is the publicly declared view of this prominent Massachusetts Congregational pastor and educator in 1813.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-30.

British Exposition Reprints Influence America

As already observed, around the turn of the century a rising tide of interest in Bible prophecy became sharply noticeable on both sides of the Atlantic. In the Old World it was particularly active in Great Britain. And the influence of these affirmative British commentaries on prophecy was distinctly felt in this country, because of numerous American reprints, which were widely circulated over here. Let us examine the American reprints of these British works that exerted their “molding influence” on New World prophetic interpretation—commentaries, annotated Bibles, prophetic expositions, and standard reference works.

I. Compilation of French Revolution Predictions

At the very height of the French Revolution, pamphlets were issued that assembled various published statements by scholarly students of prophecy, written over the previous century, and earlier. These had boldly forecast a coming upheaval in France and a revolt from the Papacy, all based upon Revelation 11. One of these British compilations was the anonymous *Prophetic Conjectures on the French Revolution* (96 pages reprinted at Philadelphia in 1794), citing the former statements of eight well-known European scholars. The fact that the first American edition was all sold out within “a few days,” and a second edition printed, attests the deep public interest in this current phase of prophetic fulfillment. The



FRANCOIS FLAMENG. ARTIST

MARIE ANTOINETTE ON THE WAY TO THE GUILLOTINE

The Violent "Earthquake" of the French Revolution, With Its Bloody Scenes, Was Widely Believed to Be Touched With Prophetic Significance, and Regarded as a Forerunner of the Last Times by Many Religious Leaders of the Day in America and Europe

fifteen-page Introduction is illuminating and provides a good summation of the predominant prophetic views then held. It begins:

"Prophecy is one of the best evidences of a divine revelation. And it is a peculiar glory of our Bible that it contains a regular series of prophecies from the earliest times to the consummation of all things."¹

Then, tracing the utterances of inspired prophecy from the days of Enoch, Noah, and Moses onward, the compiler makes this classic statement concerning the grand outline covering the entire Christian Era:

"The succeeding prophets, each in clearer and fuller language, described the events of future and distant ages—the various revolutions of empires and states—and some of them even fixed the times in which their words should be accomplished. The New Testament completes and illustrates the Old. Our Lord and his apostle Paul added many valuable particulars; the former as to the close of the Jewish oecumeny, and the latter with respect to the corruptions since brought into the Christian church. But the REVELATION of St. John, or rather of *Jesus Christ* to him, contains the most full and important series of prophecies ever bestowed on mankind; extending from the close of the first century of Christianity, about which time it was written, to the end of time; and may be considered as an inspired comment on the predictions of Daniel, referring in great measure to the same events."²

1. SCOPE OF THE PROPHECIES OF REVELATION.—Prophecy, continues this Introduction, was also designed to be a comfort and encouragement in times of special "public distress and danger." Thus it has proved to be in the crucial periods of history as in the days when the seventy years' captivity of the Jews was drawing to an end, and again when the first advent was near. And thus it should be in this time. The "secret things" belong indeed to God, but "those that are revealed" belong in verity to us. So these "conjectures" on the prophecies, uttered sincerely by "eminent and pious men," appear to "remarkably correspond with subsequent events." Then, as a prelude to the special observations concerning the French Revolution as ful-

¹ *Prophetic Conjectures on the French Revolution*, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 4.

filling prophecy, a "brief analysis" is given of those parts of the book of Revelation "as are generally agreed to be already accomplished."³ First, the excellent summary of the scope of the seven churches of Revelation 2 and 3, drawn from Dr. Gill and others, is cited:

"1. That the church of *Ephesus*, represents the church in the apostolic age—2. that of *Smyrna*, the time of the ten early persecutions, and to the days of Constantine—3. That of *Pergamos*, the church from that period during the rise of popery—4. That of *Thyatira*, the dark ages of the church preceding the reformation—5. That of *Sardis*, the reformed church—6. That of *Philadelphia*, Christ's spiritual reign—and the 7th and last, that of *Laodicea*, a state of remarkable declension expected to follow the latter period, and immediately precede the end of the world."

This admits of no gaps. The churches sweep in the entire Christian dispensation from the first to the second advent. For the remaining sections of the Revelation the compiler largely follows Bishop Thomas Newton,⁴ as on the seven trumpets, which are explained, in order, as follows: (1st) The invasion by Alaric and his Goths, (2d) the ravages of Attila and his Huns, (3d) the depredations of Genseric and his Vandals, (4th) the ruin wrought by Odoacer and the Heruli, destroying what remained of the Western Roman Empire. Then, (5th), Mohammed and his Arabian army, symbolized by the locusts, and (6th) the Ottoman Turks, who effect the ruin of the Eastern Empire, while (7th) the last trumpet ushers in the millennium.⁵

In chapter 11 the death of the Two Witnesses, and their resurrection after three and a half year-days, is perhaps "still future." The great red dragon of chapter 12 is "commonly understood of Pagan Rome," and this vision covers the events of the first six seals. The ten-horned beast of chapter 13 "represents Papal Rome," with the two-horned beast the "pope and his clergy." And the 666 is either the Greek *Lateinos*, applied to the Latin or Roman Catholic Church of the West, the Hebrew

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7. On John Gill, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 682-684.

⁵ On Thomas Newton, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 684-687.

⁶ *Prophetic Conjectures*, pp. 9, 10.

Romith, the Latin *Ludovicus*, referring to the French kings named Louis, or the Latin *Vicarius Filii Dei*, referring to the pope as "Vicar of the Son of God."

Revelation 14 describes the true church, and the progress of the later Reformation. In chapter 16 the vials "effect the final destruction of antichrist." Chapter 17 "represents the church of Rome under the emblem of a gaudy harlot, riding on the seven headed beast." Chapters 18 and 19 cover the destruction of spiritual Babylon and the final triumph of the church. Chapter 20 presents the millennial state, or the coming "thousand years of the churches glory," and chapters 21 and 22, on the new earth and the New Jerusalem, refer either to the millennium or to heaven itself. That is the over-all picture, common among many Protestants. Then follow the specific citations, naming France and predicting her repudiation of the Papacy.⁷

2. JURIEU PREDICTS FRENCH BREAK BY 1795.—The two excerpts from those earlier expositors which gave the most point and pertinency to this pamphlet were gleaned from Pierre Jurieu and Robert Fleming, Jr. The former, before 1687, wrote *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, and the latter penned his contribution but a few years later, in 1701, on the *Rise and Fall of the Papacy*.⁸ Pierre Jurieu was the Huguenot scholar who forecast the coming upheaval in France on the basis of the predicted "earthquake," recorded in Revelation 11:13, when the "tenth part" of Christendom, or the Babylonian "city"—one of the ten kingdoms—would, through bloodshed, dramatically fall away from its support of the Papacy. "In my opinion, we cannot doubt that it is FRANCE," Jurieu had said explicitly. France, which a long time ago has begun to "*shake off the yoke of Rome*," will "*break with Rome and the Roman religion*."⁹

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-15.

⁸ For discussion of the original writings, and the British reprints of Jurieu, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 636-649.

⁹ *Prophetic Conjectures*, pp. 30-32.

Now all this, be it noted, was written a century prior to the Revolution. The death and resurrection of the Two Witnesses, he says, will also take place in France. And all this, he declares, will develop shortly. After the falling away of France he expects, within a short interval following 1785, the beginning of Christ's reign on earth, the millennium. This will come after the fall of the papal empire, the elimination of the divisions in Christendom, then the conversion of the Jews and afterward of the "remote nations," and finally the reign of peace, humility, equality, and love.¹⁰

3. FLEMING FORECASTS PAPAL HUMILIATION BY 1794.—Even more specific is Robert Fleming, Jr., minister of the Scottish Presbyterian Church in Lothbury, in his 1701 work. Believing that he is living under the fourth vial, which was to be poured out upon the papal kingdom, through the humiliation of some "popish princes," he conjectures on future fulfillments. He looks for the French monarchy to be humbled at the end of the fourth vial, about 1794—his end date for the 1260 years (from Justinian on to 1794)—when the fifth vial would be poured out, he believes, upon the "seat of the beast," or Rome, from 1794 to 1848 (the end of the 1260 360-day "years" from 606).¹¹

It was consequently the tremendous upheaval of the French Revolution, beginning in 1789, which brought out these reprints, in England, France, Germany, and America—reprints of the numerous predictions of a "stroke" against the Papacy, to be delivered shortly before 1800. Little wonder that there was a profound stir and wide discussion of the matter on the part of thousands in the different countries of Christendom concerning the very events that now appeared obviously to be fulfilling these predictions before their very eyes. Time was waxing late. The end of the age was approaching.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-39.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 41; for fuller discussion of Fleming, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 642-649.

II. King and Bicheno Look to French Revolution

When the French Army entered the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican, on February 15, 1798, and took Pius VI prisoner—sending him off to die in exile in France—a whole group of men began to assert that that very year, 1798, marked the end of the 1260 years.¹²

1. KING ANNOUNCES CLOSE OF 1260 YEARS IN 1798.—One of the first so to declare was EDWARD KING, Cambridge University graduate and attorney, whose *Remarks on the Signs of the Times* was thrice published in London in 1798 and 1799, with an American reprint at Philadelphia in 1800. Expressly maintaining that the long papal period had ended in 1798, and that the closing date thereby fixes its beginning as of 538, the date was thus established from which to calculate the time of this special period in the “ECCLESIASTICAL PONTIFICAL POWER” of the pope.¹³ Here is King’s statement:

“And now let us see;—hear;—and understand. THIS IS THE YEAR 1798.—And just 1260 years ago, in the very beginning of the year 538, *Belisarius* put an end to the Empire, and Dominion of the Goths at Rome.

“He had entered the City on the 10th of the preceding December, in triumph, in the name of *Justinian*, Emperor of the East; and had soon after made it tributary to him: leaving *thenceforward* from A.D. 538, NO POWER in Rome, that could be said to rule over the earth,—excepting the ECCLESIASTICAL PONTIFICAL POWER.”¹⁴

This was definitely calculated on the basis of the specifications of the prophecy. Was not the fall of the Papacy, he asks, or “Great Babylon,” to come “at the END of 1260 years” of Daniel 7:25 and 12:7, or “at the end of a time, times, and half a time? which computation amounts to the same period.” King later observes, “Surely, *the End*, prophetically spoken of in Holy Scripture, approacheth,” and on the next page he solemnly adds, “We approach unto the latter days!—I tremble whilst I write! . . . I have not the least presumptuous idea of

¹² See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, chap. XXXV. (Capitals and italics his.)

¹³ Edward King, *Remarks on the Signs of the Times* (1800), pp. 19, 21.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

intending to prophecy [prophesy].—The word of Prophecy is sealed forever.”¹⁵ So impressive were these statements by King that four decades later they were quoted in the *Boston Signs of the Times*, and the readers urged to “weigh every word.”¹⁶ Various other works of that period made essentially the same declarations concerning the ending of the 1260 years.¹⁷

2. BICHENO ENDS 1260 YEARS IN 1789.—Another oft-reprinted work was by James Bicheno, dissenting minister and schoolman of London, entitled *The Signs of the Times: or, The Overthrow of the Papal Tyranny in France*. This was published at London in 1793. And it not only went through five editions in England by 1800 but was also reprinted in America, the first time in 1794.¹⁸ The popularity and the influence of such an extensively circulated book here in America can be envisioned by its unusual circulation. Bicheno took much the same position as Fleming on the prophetic numbers, only he dated the 1260 years of the power and prosperity of the papal “antichristian beast” from 529 to 1789—from the first publication of Justinian’s Code to the year when the French Revolution broke out. And he wrote while the Revolution was actually under way.

He also thought that the 2300 years extended from 481 B.C. to A.D. 1819, in the nineteenth century, when the sanctuary would be cleansed, thus ending them synchronously with the 1290 years.¹⁹ The supplemental thirty years, completing the 1290 years, ending in 1819, would see the overthrow of the Papacy, the Turk, and other tyrannies. And the remaining 45 years, to the close of the 1335 years (in 1864), would witness the gathering and conversion of the Jews, the purification and unification of the Gentile church, the conversion of the heathen, and the appearance “of the Lord” (citing Zechariah 12:8-14; 14; Ezekiel 38, 39, and probably Revelation 20:9).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 27, 28.

¹⁶ “The 1260 Years of Papal Triumph,” *Signs of the Times*, Feb. 22, 1843, p. 177.

¹⁷ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, chap. 33.

¹⁸ On Bicheno, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 746-748.

¹⁹ James Bicheno, *The Signs of the Times*, pp. 74-77, and table.

Bicheno held the standard view on the four kingdoms of Daniel 2 and 7—as Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome—followed by the division of Rome, with the Little Horn as the spiritual tyranny of the Papacy. In Revelation 12 the dragon likewise stood for pagan Rome and its despotism, while the ten-horned beast of Revelation 13 represented the spiritual tyranny of the Papacy. He thought, however, that the two-horned beast from the earth was to be identified with the kings of France. But on the great fundamentals there was essential agreement.

III. Commentary and Dictionary Reprints Mold Views on Prophecy

Bible commentaries, Bible dictionaries, and family Bibles with marginal notations occupy a unique place in religious life and literature. They constitute handbooks, reference volumes, tools for the constant use of every religious worker. They are consulted by speaker and writer alike, and are commonly regarded as authoritative—or at least as drawn from the writings of experts in their given fields. If not followed as authorities, they are nevertheless constantly consulted for comparison and suggestion. And in such capacities they exerted an unusually wide influence upon religious views and writings. And this is rightly so, for usually commentators have in turn read widely from the ablest scholars and have largely coordinated their findings, so that their commentaries are really compendiums, reflecting the views of a large group of trained minds. So it was in the period we are studying.

1. COMMENTARIES POPULAR IN AMERICA.—There were practically no original American commentaries at the dawn of the nineteenth century. But aside from imported volumes, which were always available, there were American reprints of leading British commentaries, which had the same force and influence as indigenous American products. Among these favorites were the commentaries of Matthew Henry, Thomas Scott, Adam Clarke, and John Wesley, and theological dictionaries,

such as that by Charles Buck. In addition, such standard works as Prideaux, Horne, and Faber all exerted their weight of influence. Their leading positions are all noted on the tabular charts.²⁰ Note the caliber of these expositors and their diversity of church affiliation.

But before turning to British commentaries, we must notice one published in America by an Englishman who fled from his homeland to escape persecution.

2. PRIESTLEY (UNITARIAN): SHIFTS FROM POST- TO PRE-MILLENNIALISM.—Although a Nonconformist minister and author of several religious works, JOSEPH PRIESTLEY²¹ is best known as a noted English experimental scientist and the discoverer of oxygen. He was welcomed in America as a great scientist by such leading citizens as Thomas Jefferson. At his home in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, he wrote most of his religious books, including the latter part of his *General History of the Christian Church* (4 vols., 1790-1803); *Unitarianism Explained and Defended* (1796); and *Notes on All the Books of Scripture* (4 vols., 1803-04).²² Priestley was not, however, welcomed by the New England Unitarians (who at that time were still merely a liberal wing in the Congregational Church), for he had already moved farther away from "orthodoxy" than they were prepared to go at that early date. He was a "humanitarian" Unitarian—that is, he disbelieved the divinity as well as the deity of Christ. But he acknowledged miracles as the proofs of Christianity and accepted the validity of prophecy. (See illustration on p. 104.)

²⁰ The reader is invited to turn, periodically, to these detailed charts for this period. The first opening (pp. 392, 393) is devoted to the expositions on Daniel, and the second (pp. 394, 395) to the prophecies of Revelation. Here will be found the leading positions of all the writers we are surveying—from about 1800 to 1840—as well as of some minor characters not detailed in the text.

²¹ JOSEPH PRIESTLEY (1733-1804) was educated in his native Yorkshire at a dissenting academy where his Arian views took root. Later he became an outspoken Unitarian. Barred from the universities because he was not an Anglican, he was awarded the degree of LL.D. by Edinburgh. His interests were varied. As a pioneer chemist he isolated nine new gases. As an educator he was the first to put modern history into the curriculum, and he introduced practical methods of science instruction. As a champion of freedom, he rebuked the government for unjust treatment of the American colonies. Later, he expressed sympathy for the French Revolution, with the result that his home and all his personal effects were burned by an angry mob. He sought a haven in America in 1794, where he spent the rest of his life.

²² For a sermon on prophecy preached in England, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 745, 746.

His interpretations of prophecy were in the main orthodox. And by the time he wrote his *Notes on All the Books of Scripture*, he had changed his view from postmillennialism to premillennialism. He now affirmed the literal, visible return of Christ and the literal resurrection of the righteous at the beginning of the millennial kingdom on earth, during which Christ will reign over restored Israel and the world for a long and unknown period, followed by the general resurrection and judgment, with probably the annihilation of the wicked, and finally the renovation of the earth.³³ He presented the standard historical interpretations of the four empires, with the Papacy as the great persecuting power, applying the year-day principle to the time prophecies, although he did not try to pin down the periods to exact dates. Allowing for the figurative nature of the predictions, he was satisfied with approximate dates and intervals.³⁴

Priestley's commentary is less well known than its English contemporaries, but was periodically cited. Its influence was probably limited by the fact that, as Adam Clarke says in the General Preface to his own commentary, Priestley "keeps his own creed (*Unitarianism*) continually in view, . . . yet his work contains many invaluable notes and observations, especially on the philosophy, natural history, geography, and chronology of the Scriptures: and to these subjects, few men in Europe were better qualified to do justice."

In the 1830's came another American exposition of the Scriptures—Jenks's *Comprehensive Commentary*, which had wide circulation. But his was a compilation, chiefly from Matthew Henry and Thomas Scott. Hence these British commentaries, which were also reprinted in America before Jenks published, will be taken up first.

³³ Joseph Priestley, *Notes on All the Books of Scripture*, vol. 4, pp. 651-667.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 525-527, 538-544, 514, 517. It may be worth noting here that Priestley refers to Bishop Lloyd's prediction of the fulfillment of the "hour, day, month, and year" (of Rev. 9:15) as ending in 1672. Although disagreeing with Lloyd's interpretation of the prophecy, he points out that there were 391 years between the taking of Katakhi by the Turks in 1281 and their taking Kaminice in 1672, after which, he says, it is acknowledged that the Turkish power has been on the decline. (*Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 601.)

IV. British Commentaries Reprinted in America

1. NONCONFORMIST HENRY: PIONEER IN COMMENTARY FIELD.—Another eminent Nonconformist clergyman and commentator, MATTHEW HENRY,²⁵ began his *Exposition* of the Old and New Testament in 1704, and completed the first edition, up to Acts, in 1710. The *Epistles* and *Revelation* were prepared by thirteen Nonconformist divines. So the set was completed, with eleven editions listed in the British Museum Catalogue, and two American reprints, the first in 1828-29. More than two hundred thousand single volumes had been circulated up to 1840.

Henry's wide influence doubtless gave currency to the postmillennial view. His exposition of Daniel 2 is standard, except that the iron and clay refer to the weakened state of Rome itself, rather than the commonly accepted barbarian kingdoms which supplanted it, and that the stone is the church set up initially at the first advent, to be fulfilled fully when Christ shall overcome all. In Daniel 7 he allows alternate interpretations—either Rome or the Seleucid kings for the fourth beast, with the Little Horn as either Rome (pagan and papal) or Antiochus.

He avoids exact dates for the 70 weeks of years, but regards them as pointing to Christ's first advent. He makes the 2300 days literal, but allows the 1260, 1290, and 1335 to be either days or years. The exposition of Revelation (by William Tong) makes the 1260 days of Revelation 11 represent years, the time of Antichrist; no attempt is made at dating the period. The two beasts of Revelation 13 are either pagan and papal Rome respectively, or else papal secular power and papal ecclesiastical power. If the former, the wound is inflicted on

²⁵ MATTHEW HENRY (1662-1714) was born in Flintshire, England. Rather precocious as a child, he later studied law. Because his father was a Nonconformist he was denied the privilege of entrance in either Oxford or Cambridge. But he soon began to preach to a Presbyterian congregation in Chester, in 1686, and was ordained in 1687. A meetinghouse was erected, and he preached in the neighboring villages and to the prisoners in the Castle. In 1686 he began his expository preaching, and combined it with the development of his commentary. In 1711 he went to London, where his responsibilities increased. He wrote numerous works.

pagan idolatry, and healed in papal idolatry. The millennium is an indefinite period of peace and prosperity for the church.

2. ANGLICAN COMMENTATOR SCOTT: WIELDS UNPARALLELED INFLUENCE.—THOMAS SCOTT,³⁸ most popular and widely quoted of early nineteenth-century Bible commentators—in America as well as Britain—wielded an unmatched influence among expositors of prophecy consulted in the nineteenth century. His *Commentary* (1788-92) was reprinted in 1792, 1809, 1810, and 1812, with numerous subsequent British printings, or editions. The first American reprint (1804-9) came at just the right time for molding the succeeding decades, and was followed by at least eight other printings in the United States. The record is unmatched and its influence profound. Scott was an ardent believer in prophecy and urged his fellow ministers to mark well the signs of the times. He himself preached on prophecy, and emphatically declared the extraordinary character of the times. His interpretation appears in detail on the tabular charts on pages 392-395.

On Daniel, Scott presents the standard Historical School exposition.³⁹ He quotes the two Newtons, Lowth, and others. He gives the standard four world powers of Daniel 2 and 7, the commonly accepted division of the Roman fourth into ten kingdoms, with the intermingled clay and iron as the secular and ecclesiastical elements (citing Lowth) of the nations of Europe. The "mountain" phase of the kingdom of God is not yet accomplished. The Little Horn is the "church and bishop of Rome," with its special period of 1260 years. The exceeding great horn of Daniel 8 is, to him, Rome (though in later editions he changes this to Mohammedanism), and the 2300 year-days of Daniel 8:14 are drawing to their close,

³⁸ THOMAS SCOTT (1747-1821) was born in Lincolnshire, England. Ordained in 1773, he filled a chaplaincy and several curacies. An accomplished student of the Scriptures in the original tongues, he moved to London in 1785, and in 1788 began his commentary. It was prepared in 117 weekly installments, and was brought forth (1788-92) amid a perpetual struggle with financial difficulties and ill health. Characterized by sincerity, competence, and piety, his work was called the "greatest theological performance of our age and country." In 1807 he received the degree of D.D. from Dickinson College, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

³⁹ For Scott's exposition of the standard Historicist views, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 348-350.

their end being "not very distant." He prefers to begin the 70 weeks of years of Daniel 9 with the seventh year of Artaxerxes, although he is not dogmatic about it, and gives no dates.²⁸ And Turkey is, to him, the power of the latter part of Daniel 11.

In Revelation the first four trumpets are the barbarian incursions upon western Rome, and the fifth and sixth trumpets involve the inroads of the Saracens and the Turks, with the 391-year period of the latter from 1281 to 1672. France is possibly the "tenth part" of the Antichristian "city," with the "earthquake" as the French Revolution. But Scott prefers to leave this matter undecided. The two beasts of Revelation 13 are the Holy Roman Empire (or papal secular power) and the papal hierarchy, with the two horns of the latter possibly the regular and secular clergy. The second beast is also the false prophet; and the image is the pope. The notorious woman of Revelation 17 is the papal church, supported by the temporal powers of the European nations. She is Babylon, and her name is Mystery. The seven hills are the seven forms of Rome's government, with the last as papal. The Beast's special prescribed period is 1260 year-days.

3. SCOTT'S WHITBYAN VIEWS SPREAD POSTMILLENNIALISM. —However, on the millennium Scott follows a modified Whitbyanism, or postmillennial theory, which in turn was widely impressed on American students of prophecy by his commentary. Scott was the reliable reflector, in most features, and not the originator, of the standard Historical School of Protestant interpretation, which he gives. But he cites the views of many other noted interpreters on details which were doubtless often followed by his readers, as well as his own conclusions. Scott, therefore, was basic to prophetic study and emphasis at this time.

4. CLARKE (WESLEYAN): STANDARD ON DANIEL'S OUTLINES. —ADAM CLARKE,²⁹ Wesleyan itinerant preacher, commentator,

²⁸ In the margin of Ezra 7, in the 1804 edition, is the date 457 B.C., but in the 1830 edition this is changed (possibly by the reprinter) to 458 B.C. in the first part of the chapter.

²⁹ ADAM CLARKE (1762-1832), born near Londonderry, Ireland, was markedly influenced by John Wesley. Joining the Methodists in 1778, he soon became an exhorter, then a regular

and theologian, had great literary power and capacity, producing many highly valuable works. His eight-volume commentary is dated 1810-25, with another edition issued in England in 1836, and many American editions from 1811-25 onward. These volumes, the result of extraordinary labor and research, had a very wide circulation in their time, though but little now. They were decidedly evangelical in viewpoint.

Clarke presents the standard four kingdoms of Daniel 2 and 7, followed by the ten barbarian kingdoms, with the Papacy as the Little Horn, the Willful King, the Man of Sin, and Babylon. However, "Antichrist" embraces any person, doctrine, or system opposing Christ's reign in the world, in others, or in himself, and is found in Protestantism as well as in Popery. The stone, the church, has been smiting the image through the progressive destruction of all idolatry and will grow into the mountain, he holds, culminating in universal Christianity during the millennium. Present means to this end are the British and Foreign Bible Society and contemporary missions, and the stone kingdom is possibly near its end.

On the Little Horn of Daniel 7 he remarks that if we were certain "when the Papal power began to exert itself in the *Antichristian* way, then we could at once fix the time of its destruction. The *end* is probably not very distant; as it had already been grievously shaken by the French" in 1798. If the 1260 years date from the pope's temporal power, possibly it begins in 755 with Pepin, but he does not regard the dates as necessarily exact. He is cautious in general about time periods, but arbitrarily places the 2300 years at 334 B.C. to A.D. 1966. Citing Prideaux for the 70 weeks, he reckons back from the cross, at J.P. 4746 (A.D. 33), to a starting point at J.P. 4256 (458 B.C.), in the seventh year of Artaxerxes—although his

and very popular preacher, appointed to his first circuit in 1782. The conversion of men was his great aim. He was three times president of the Wesleyan Conference—in 1806, 1814, and 1822. After years as a circuit rider, he lived in London from 1805 onward. From 1815 till his death he devoted himself to writing. Clarke was a most "assiduous scholar," rising early, and was intensely active, systematic, and versatile. Studying the classics, the Fathers, and the Oriental writers, he became proficient in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit. In 1807 he received an M.A. from the University of Aberdeen, and in 1808 the degree of LL.D.

margin at Ezra 7 carries A.M. 3547 and 457 B.C., because his margins follow the "received" chronology (of Ussher and Lloyd), as generally found in Authorized Version Bibles since 1701.

Clarke professes to know nothing definite of the meaning of the book of Revelation. He gives various interpretations for what they may be worth, and inserts longer expositions of Revelation 12, 13, and 17 from J. E. Clarke. The items appearing on the tabular chart are taken from the New York 1833 edition.

5. BIBLE NOTES EXPOUND PROPHECY.—In addition to the better-known commentaries there were Bible editions printed with expository notes of a more or less extended character, which were doubtless the direct source of prophetic interpretation for many lay readers. Their influence is hard to evaluate, for it might be questioned how often the large-sized "parlor" Bibles, or those of more than one volume, were actually read. Nevertheless, when any query arose the lay person was likely to be vastly impressed by the information he found on the very pages of the family Bible. Several of these might be noticed.

In 1790 the first American reprint of the Catholic Douay Bible carried "annotations for elucidating the principal difficulties of Holy Writ," and the 1805 reprint, from a later Irish edition, included still more supplementary matter, such as chronological notes and tables. Although Catholics were less likely than Protestants to search the Scriptures for prophetic interpretation, they had available in their Bibles concise and authoritative notes on many of the principal prophecies giving distinctive Catholic interpretations. Some of these are: the Catholic Church as the stone, Antiochus as the Little Horn, a future individual Antichrist, Enoch and Elijah as the Two Witnesses, the church or the Virgin Mary as the woman of Revelation 12, pagan Rome as Babylon, the millennium as the whole New Testament Era, or especially from the fall of paganism.

The *Self Interpreting Bible*, edited by JOHN BROWN, a Presbyterian minister of Haddington, Scotland (1778), was reprinted in America as early as 1792. It carries an extensive introduction, including background and expository material, and even a detailed chronological table; and the text is accompanied by notes at the bottom of each page. Brown's concordance, and sometimes his introduction, were incorporated into many later Bibles. His prophetic interpretations (see chart on p. 392) represent the general Historicist view of Daniel as to the four kingdoms, Little Horn, year-day principle, et cetera. But it makes the 2300 days literal, under Antiochus. The stone is the church that will become the mountain in the millennium. The Papacy is the Antichrist, Man of Sin, Babylon; the beasts of Revelation 13 are respectively the Papacy, and the pope and clergy. The seals and trumpets run in continuous sequence, the seventh trumpet (as also the seventh vial) denoting the fall of Antichrist. The New Jerusalem is the earthly millennial state, the two resurrections figurative, and the advent postmillennial.

Two Annotated Bibles—one with Anglican notes, edited by GEORGE D'OYLY and RICHARD MANT for the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (reprinted in New York, 1818-20) and the *Cottage Bible*, edited by THOMAS WILLIAMS (revised and enlarged by an American editor in 1833, and often reprinted)—both present basically the same interpretations as Brown's *Self Interpreting Bible*, although there are some noticeable differences.

An American annotated Bible, the large folio *Columbian Family Bible* (1822) has brief notes covering the principal prophecies. It makes the Papacy the Man of Sin and the Little Horn of Daniel 7, but in Daniel 8 it has only Antiochus. The church, the stone of Daniel 2, becomes the millennial kingdom (for 360,000 years). Thus the popular postmillennial view is set forth.

These annotated Bibles, like the current commentaries, lent the weight of their influence to old established Historicist

interpretations of the outline prophecies, combined with the newer postmillennialism, with the prospect of the approaching golden age of a world church embracing Jews and pagans, and constituting the spiritual kingdom of Christ on earth preceding the resurrection, second advent, and judgment.

V. Jenks (Congregationalist)—Produces Popular American Commentary

WILLIAM JENKS (1778-1866), Congregational minister and teacher, outstanding Biblical and Oriental scholar and a graduate of Harvard, was a prominent member of the American Antiquarian Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Oriental Society, and the New England Historic Genealogical Society. He wrote many literary and historical articles and pamphlets for their publications. But his influence was probably felt most through a compilation from earlier writers—his *Comprehensive Commentary on the Holy Bible* (1834-38), of which twenty thousand copies were sold immediately, with several later editions. It was a work characterized as “the best Family Commentary in the language, and admirably adapted to the wants of Bible-class and Sunday-school teachers,” standing “without a rival for the purpose for which it is intended.”³⁰

Thousands of copies of British commentaries were already in circulation in America, but this popular compilation, which professed to contain “nearly all that is valuable in Henry, Scott, and Doddridge,” and extracts from many other authors, all for only fifteen dollars, doubtless gave these writers a much wider reading public in this country, and was possibly the source

³⁰ [Samuel] Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 69, 963. In order to reach a wider reading public, the first edition was issued in two forms in the same year. The special “Baptist Edition,” differentiated on the title page by the addition of those two words at the top, carried an additional “Preface to the Baptist Edition,” in volume 4 (on the Gospels), the first issued. This preface, signed by Joseph A. Warne, explains that the commentary is left untouched except at the specific spots where the comments were out of harmony with distinctive Baptist beliefs. The only difference was that in issuing the “Baptist Edition” these particular pages were printed from revised plates, on which acceptable material was substituted in brackets for the deleted comments, and the bracketed notation “[Baptist Edition]” was added at the bottom of each revised page.

of many a later reference credited to various originals. It carries an abridgment of Matthew Henry's commentary in parallel columns with the text; at the end of each section, the "Practical Observations" of Scott; and at the bottom, a series of notes on the Bible content, each with separate credit to Scott and others.

In the notes on Daniel and Revelation, Scott seems to be given the principal place. Prominent also are Bishop Newton (often cited through Scott) and Woodhouse. It is interesting to note that this commentary occasionally cites an American writer, such as Griffin or Ethan Smith. The influence of the *Comprehensive Commentary* would also be in the direction of the prevalent postmillennialism of the time—the expectation of the world's conversion and universal peace before the second advent and the judgment.

VI. Other Foreign Works Drawn Upon

I. BUCK (INDEPENDENT): ENDS TURKISH PERIOD IN 1844. —CHARLES BUCK (1771-1815), theological writer and minister of Independent congregations at Sheerness, Hackney, and London, was author of the well-known, oft-reprinted *A Theological Dictionary*, used by practically all Protestants in the first half of the nineteenth century. There were six London editions, the first being published at London in 1802. American reprints were spread as follows: 1807, 1810, 1814, 1815, 1818, 1820, 1821, and almost yearly until after 1850. They were found in practically every clergyman's study.

Buck's *Dictionary* touches prophecy in some of its definitions. The Church of Rome is Antichrist, as "most authors agree," for no form of government arose "after Rome was broken to pieces by the barbarians, but that of the papal power." He equates it with "the *great apostacy*, the *man of sin*, the *mystery of iniquity*, and the *son of perdition*," and the Beast, whose 1260 years began, he believes, in 606. Antichrist is now fast declining. The sixth trumpet, Mohammedanism, is ended

by Buck about 1844—the terminus of the 391 years (Rev. 9:15), presumably from the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The millennium, perhaps the seventh thousand years, is near, to be marked by the worldwide triumph of the church and the conversion of the Jews.³¹

2. ROLLIN (FRENCH): CHRIST'S KINGDOM FOLLOWS FOUR MONARCHIES.—A French work, CHARLES ROLLIN'S³² *Histoire Ancienne*, or *Ancient History* (1730-38), is included here because it was translated immediately into English. It passed through many editions in England, and in America after 1800—almost yearly for the greater part of the century. Rollin's history does not go into prophetic interpretation as such, but in speaking of Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar he refers to the standard four monarchies, beginning with the "Assyrian" (Neo-Babylonian), which series is followed by the kingdom of Christ, also to Alexander's conquest and the horn-divisions of his empire, with Antiochus, as the exceeding great horn, a *type* of Antichrist.³³ He is widely cited by prophetic interpreters for his dating of the 70 weeks, taken from Ussher—from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, which he places at 454 B.C.—and extending approximately to the cross. Rollin, however, quotes the prophetic text and refers the reader to "other writers" for the interpretation.³⁴

3. PRIDEAUX (ANGLICAN): SEVENTY WEEKS FROM 458 B.C. TO A.D. 33.—HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX'S³⁵ *The Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighboring Nations* (1716-18) ran through some twenty

³¹ Charles Buck, *A Theological Dictionary*, articles on Antichrist, Millennium, Mahometanism.

³² CHARLES ROLLIN (1661-1741), eminent French historian and professor of belles-lettres, was born in Paris and held chairs of rhetoric and eloquence in different colleges, and was twice rector of the University of Paris. He revived the study of Greek and made educational reforms.

³³ Charles Rollin, *Ancient History* (1825 American reprint), vol. 1, pp. 288, 292, 352-354; vol. 4, pp. 143, 144.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 109.

³⁵ HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX (1648-1724), Orientalist, historian, and dean of Norwich, was born in Cornwall. He graduated from Oxford in 1672, with a B.A., followed by an M.A., a B.D., and a D.D. He was distinguished for his scholarship, and was for many years rector of St. Clement's, Oxford, as well as Hebrew lecturer in Christ Church College, Oxford. He was an able controversialist over the Roman Catholic issue, and was author of nine works.

editions up to 1845. There were American reprints in 1815-16, 1824, 1825, 1832, 1833, 1836, 1845 (the fifteenth American edition), et cetera. Prideaux is cited chiefly for the historical events and for his lengthy discussion of the 70 weeks, which he dates from the seventh year of Artaxerxes, placed from 458 B.C. (J.P. 4245) to A.D. 33 (J.P. 4746), with the cross at the close.³⁶

4. HORNE (METHODIST): CURIOUS DATING OF 2300 YEARS. —THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE'S³⁷ *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures* (first published in 1818), after "17 years' prayerful, solitary, persistent, and not infrequently midnight labour," went through ten editions in Britain and was reprinted in America in 1827. Horne gives the old standard interpretations of Daniel—the four kingdoms, the kingdom of the Messiah, the various lists of the ten horn-kingdoms following Rome; and the pope as the Little Horn of Daniel 7, the Willful King, and the Man of Sin. He diverges on the Little Horn of Daniel 8 as Roman temporal power, taking away the Jewish Temple and polity. By implication, though not by actual statement, he makes the 2300 year-days cover the long desolation of the Jewish Temple after the Roman destruction of the sanctuary. He reckons the 70 weeks from the seventh year of Artaxerxes (the precise date not given) to the cross, in A.D. 33. He looks for the restoration of the Jews and the destruction of Antichrist (the Papacy) at the beginning of the millennium. He has little on the interpretation of Revelation. Papal Rome is the beast and Antichrist, but the book in general applies "to the progressive church of Christ," and the "kingdom" is spiritual, the triumph of true religion.³⁸

³⁶ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 429-431.

³⁷ THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE (1780-1862), English Biblical scholar, bibliographer, and polemicist, was born in London. About 1802 he joined the Wesleyan Methodists. He became literary assistant to several noted scholars, meanwhile devoting his early mornings and late evenings to compiling works on various subjects and to editing law books. He was small of stature but stalwart in intellect, and was author of forty-five volumes. He began to write in 1800, at the age of nineteen, and received his M.A. from King's College, Aberdeen, and later a B.D. from Cambridge in 1829. He was ordained to the curacy of Christ's Church, Newgate, and after several similar posts, was made prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral. He was also one of the librarians of the British Museum.

³⁸ Thomas Hartwell Horne, *Introduction to . . . the Holy Scriptures*, vol. 4, pp. 188-192, 486, 492.

5. FABER (ANGLICAN): FOLLOWED BY MANY EXPOSITORS.—The prophetic interpretations of GEORGE STANLEY FABER³⁹ (discussed in *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III) were widely quoted by American expositors, frequently in reprints, as authority for the termination of the 2300 years, synchronous with the 1260 years, in 1866, and other interpretations, as well as for post-millennialism and for a curious extension of the 6000-year theory.

6. CROLY'S REPRINT CONFIRMS KEY POSITIONS.—Another British reprint that exerted the full force of an original American publication because of constant citation, was *The Apocalypse of St. John* (Philadelphia, 1827), by GEORGE CROLY (1780-1860), Irish rector, expositor, and literary critic. A fleeting glimpse of Croly's key positions must suffice.⁴⁰ One basic feature is that this cogent writer reckons the 1260 years, which are repeated some seven times in prophecy, as from Justinian in 533 to the French Revolution in 1793, rather than beginning them later with the decree of Phocas in 606, which directive he said was merely a confirmation of the original grant of Justinian. And the slaying of the Two Witnesses, interpreted as the Old and New Testaments, came at their close for three and one-half year-days, or from November, 1793, to June, 1797. Others were encouraged to make a similar application.

France was clearly the "tenth part" of Europe's "city," and the political "earthquake" was obviously the French Revolution. Moreover, Croly made the seals, trumpets, and vials contemporaneous rather than consecutive—thus contrary to Mede. The seals, for example, cover the entire Christian Era. By the pure and impure "women" are indicated the true church and false

³⁹ GEORGE STANLEY FABER (1773-1854), "controversialist," and prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral, was born in Yorkshire and thoroughly educated at Oxford, with B.A., M.A., and B.D. degrees. He served at Long Newton for 21 years, and was an uncompromising advocate of his own convictions and conclusions. He was author of forty-two works. Among these were his *Dissertation on the Prophecies . . . Relative to the Great Period of 1260 Years* (1806), which ran through five editions in Britain (the first American edition was a Boston reprint of 1808); his *General and Connected View of the Prophecies* (1808); and *The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy* (1828). His productions evince great learning and research. (On the quasi scientific theory of the days of creation, see Shimeall in the present volume.)

⁴⁰ Full sketch appeared in *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 544-548.

or papal church. The beasts denominate the Papacy and the Dominican, or persecuting, order. The ten horns are, naturally, the kingdoms of Europe, and the angels' messages are steps by which the triumph of the church is accomplished. The thousand years are future. That is Croly in a nutshell. And these were some of the principal tools, the British handbooks, available to the American students of prophecy.

7. SCOTTISH POET PAINTS COLORFUL PICTURE.—The printing of more than fifty American editions surely justifies the inclusion of the impressive poem, *The Course of Time* (published in Edinburgh in 1827), by the Scottish poet ROBERT POLLOK,⁴¹ although it does not deal with time prophecy. This extraordinary didactic poem, dotted with beautiful and powerful passages, came—

“like a comet on the literary circles of Edinburgh and London. In less than one week after it appeared, it became the absorbing topic of conversation. The harp of Scotland had suddenly been struck by the Master hand to notes of holy minstrelsy.”⁴²

In this, the great Calvinistic poem of the church of Christ and redemption, the poet uses striking metaphors, such as “bright candle of the Lord” and “star of eternity,” to exalt the Bible,⁴³

“this holy book, on every line
Marked with the seal of high divinity.”⁴⁴

The bard then turns to the great churchly perversion, that fatal union of church and state, “To bind religion, free by birth, . . . behind the wheels of state.”⁴⁵

⁴¹ ROBERT POLLOK (1798-1827) was born in Renfrewshire, was graduated from the University of Glasgow (M.A.) in 1822, and studied for the ministry. He began preaching as a minister of the United Secession Church, but his health was fatally impaired by excessive study. In 1825 he began writing *The Course of Time*, comprising ten books of blank verse, a considerable portion of which was composed in bed, and issued just six months before his death. Pollok had only preached four sermons, in 1827, when his health broke. He planned to recuperate in Italy, but died shortly after arranging his itinerary.

⁴² James Scott, *The Life, Letters and Remains of Robert Pollok, A.M.*, p. 283. Reprinted in America in 1828. It appeared here in fifteen editions by 1833, and thereafter several publishers brought out simultaneous editions. In Britain the 78th thousand was printed by 1869. There was a German edition as well.

⁴³ Robert Pollok, *The Course of Time*, bk. 2 in Thomson and Pollok, p. 187.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 190.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

He speaks of the "unfaithful priest," who wished—

"To mount to place, and power of worldly sort;
To ape the gaudy pomp and equipage
Of earthly state, and on his mitred brow
To place a royal crown, . . . and for this
Made merchandise of the immortal souls
Committed to his care."

Thus it was that religion was "wounded sore at her own altars."⁴⁶

In book 4 Pollok tells of the "captive prophet" who saw—

"A dreadful beast, and terrible, and strong
Exceedingly, with mighty iron teeth;
And, lo, it brake in pieces, and devoured,
And stamped the residue beneath its feet!"⁴⁷

Then in book 5 he contrasts the "kingly and . . . priestly tyranny," clearly the Papacy, with the true church. He describes the rulers who had been—

"Cruel, rapacious, tyrannous, and vile,
And had with equal shoulder propped the Beast."⁴⁸

The true church was in the wilderness "debased in sack-cloth and forlorn in tears," while—

"As yet had sung the scarlet-colored Whore,
Who on the breast of civil power reposed
Her harlot head, (the Church a harlot then
When first she wedded civil power,) and drank
The blood of martyred saints,—whose priests were lords,
Whose coffers held the gold of every land,
Who held a cup of all pollutions full,
Who with a double horn the people pushed,
And raised her forehead, full of blasphemy,
Above the holy God, usurping oft
Jehovah's incommunicable names."⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 195, 196.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, bk. 4, p. 242.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, bk. 5, p. 289.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

Yet retribution's day is near. The prophetic picture is unrolled:

"Wise men had read the number of the name;
The prophet-years had rolled; the time, and times,
And half a time, were now fulfilled complete;
The seven fierce vials of the wrath of God,
Poured by seven angels strong, were shed abroad
Upon the earth and emptied to the dregs;
The prophecy for confirmation stood;
And all was ready for the sword of God.

* * * * *

"Earth shook, the kingdoms shook,
The Beast, the lying Seer, dominions, fell;
Thrones, tyrants fell, confounded in the dust,

* * * * *

"And, lo! another angel stood in heaven,
Crying aloud with mighty voice, 'Fallen, fallen;
Is Babylon the Great,' to rise no more.

* * * * *

"Kings, who drank her cup of whoredoms,
Captains, and admirals, and mighty men,
Who lived deliciously; and merchants, rich
With merchandise of gold, and wine, and oil;
And those who traded in the souls of men,
Known by their gaudy robes of priestly pomp;—
All these afar off stood, crying, Alas!"⁵⁰

Then, with Satan bound for the prophesied millennial period, the glories of righteous peace and restoration follow, and the poet adds, "And Earth kept Jubilee a thousand years."⁵¹

Of its approach he forecasts:

"The day is near,
Great day of God Almighty and the Lamb!
The harvest of the earth is fully ripe;
Vengeance begins to tread the great wine-press."⁵²

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-293.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 293-297.

⁵² *Ibid.*, bk. 6, p. 301.

Even thus is prophecy vindicated.

“These prophecies had tarried long, so long
That many wagged the head, and, taunting, asked,
‘When shall they come?’ but asked no more, nor mocked:
For the reproach of prophecy was wiped
Away, and every word of God found true.”⁵⁸

Thus Pollok wrote his powerful exposition in verse in a day when prophecy was a dominant note, when its symbols were employed by many and recognized by all.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, bk. 9, p. 403.

Periodicals Become Forum for Prophetic Discussion

After the troublous times of the American Revolution and its aftermath, and especially after the devastating effects of the infidelic French philosophy, men turned again to the Bible for light, especially the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation. They were seeking a satisfying explanation of the prevailing irreligion of the time and to find God's way out of the situation. Concurrently, the Great Revival, beginning about 1795, swept in recurring waves over the land, as men, alarmed at the inroads of unbelief, became increasingly convinced that the inspired prophecies of the Word disclosed its vicious source. Ludlum aptly calls it a "counter reformation" against the prevalent infidelity and religious apathy of the time.

I. "Evangelical Magazine" Medium for Prophetic Discussion

As part of the new religious awaking, the Connecticut Missionary Society was organized in 1798, one of its aims being to evangelize the northwest frontier.¹ The *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, interdenominational but predominantly Calvinistic, followed in 1800, as its publicity medium. And this became one of the pioneer forums for the American discussion of prophecy. Two other early journals will be similarly noted—the *Christian Observer* (Anglican) of Boston, which started in 1802, and the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* (Christian), launched in 1808, which likewise constantly stressed Bible prophecy.

¹ Ludlum, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43.

1. MILLENNIUM THE CLIMAX OF THE CONFLICT.—A series of articles "On the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation" appeared in the April, May, and July, 1803, issues of the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*—signed "Peregrinus," so evidently not editorial. These present the standard exposition of Daniel 7, held by the early church, listing the first and fourth world powers of Daniel 2 and 7 as Babylonia and Rome, with Medo-Persia and Grecia obviously understood. The two phases of the Roman fourth empire, pagan and papal, correspond to the great red dragon of Revelation 12 and the beast of Revelation 13. The Witnesses, the true church in the wilderness, are resurrected in the Reformation. The 1260 years of papal supremacy may be expected to end about 1860 or 2000; the river Euphrates—the wealth and strength of Roman Babylon—is even now drying up, and the present victories and advances of the church are harbingers of the last struggle and the millennial state to come. Such was the tenor of his interpretation.

2. THE 2300 YEARS TO END BY A.D. 2000.—The August, 1803, issue contains an "Analysis of the Book of Daniel," signed "———." It likewise presents Daniel 2 as outlining the "rise and fall of the four great monarchies which were to precede the coming of Christ, and the appearance and kingdom of the Son of God." The depiction of chapter 7 covers the rise and fall of the same standard successive empires. The eighth chapter leads similarly through Persia, Alexander's empire and its division, and the Seleucid despotism (the king of the north), which is a type of the New Testament Antichrist. This oppression of the Jews begins the profanation of the temple, or the church of God, for 2300 years, terminating near the year 2000, when the "Savior will take the kingdom, subdue his enemies, and reign forever and ever."

The 70 prophetic weeks, or 490 year-days of Daniel 9, reach to "the exact time of his [Christ's first] coming," while the remaining chapters of Daniel present conflicts that look

forward to the "still more dreadful oppressions of the new testament antichrist," and bring us to the standing up of Michael, or Christ, for the deliverance of His people. The discussion closes with a "conclusion," in which it is stated that the millennium "will appear in its glory, at or before the year two thousand." A revolution greater than any in the succession of the four world empires is the climax of the great conflict between light and darkness, which is believed to be at the door, if not already begun. The specifications of the sixth vial are held to describe events that mark the beginning of the nineteenth century, and yet the hopeful signs are the revivals and the missionary movements.

3. FIGURATIVE RESURRECTION INTRODUCES MILLENNIUM.—

A few pages farther on another article on Revelation 20:5, 6, signed "Hemera," discusses the millennium and the first resurrection. The book of Revelation is divided into distinct periods, and the thousand years of Revelation 20 is one of them. The first resurrection is presented as merely figurative—"a universal revival of religion, consequent upon an antecedent spiritual death," and again as the adding of "thousands and millions of new converts," until "religion should be universally prevalent over the whole earth," while Satan is bound. This writer does not point to the revivals and missionary spirit of his time as the harbinger of this, but many at that time were making such an application. The resurrection of "the rest of the dead" is the rise of Gog and Magog at the end of the millennium, and only the third resurrection, at the end of the world, is literal.

4. LITTLE HORN AS THE PAPAL POWER.—

"Peregrinus" writes again (November, 1803, and January, February, and August, 1804), giving "An Explanation of the Prophecy of Daniel." There is further detailed discussion of the four prophetic symbols of Daniel 2 and 7, the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman powers, but especially of the Roman fourth, which is declared to be identical with the ten-horned beast of Revelation 13, with its ten divisions corresponding to

the toes in Daniel 2. The Little Horn is declared to be the papal Antichrist, persecuting and blaspheming for its allotted period, and the judgment scene is the grand finale, followed by Christ's peaceful and righteous reign on earth, and His glorious and everlasting kingdom in heaven.

In the third installment, in January, 1804, "Peregrinus" presents arguments used for and against the Antiochus Epiphanes theory of Daniel 8, but argues for the application to Rome. Suggesting the 2300 days as years, from the fourfold division of Alexander's empire to about the year 2000, he really expects the explanation to be made clear at the time of the fulfillment. Daniel 11 and 12, discussed in February, he considers a continuation of Daniel 8. Applying the closing up and sealing of the words, he declines to attempt an explanation of the 1290 and 1335 days. That is for the future.

5. JUDGMENT SITTING AND STONE SMITING.—In August he reverts to the 70 weeks, which he places (without giving precise dates) between the seventh year of Artaxerxes and the cross, when the Jews ceased to be God's special people. Continuing with a summary of the fulfilled prophecies of the book, he points to events of his own day as evidence that the judgment is already sitting to take away Antichrist's kingdom and that the stone is even now smiting the image and filling the earth. He closes with an appeal for "holy exertions" as the appointed means of promoting the Lord's cause in the world, in the assurance that in due time He will appear in glory and make Zion "a joy and praise in the earth."

6. ANGELS OF REVELATION 14 NOW GIVING MESSAGES.—In the July, 1809, issue application is made, by an anonymous writer, of the angelic messages of Revelation 14:6-8—the first angel flying in the midst of heaven with the everlasting gospel for all mankind of every land, saying, "Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come," and the second declaring, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen." The searching question is then asked, "When was this prophecy to be fulfilled? Hath

it been in time past, or is the fulfilment now commenced, and to continue through a series of years to come?" And the answer is given clearly: "That spiritual Babylon is now falling by the prevalence of infidelity, and the awful scenes of war which convulse Europe, no man can doubt, who is acquainted with the history of the world, and the church."²

The logical deduction is made that, in time sequence, the first angel flies before the second, and therefore "the event must take place before the final fall of Babylon, which will directly precede the millennial glory of the church." And the anonymous writer adds that "the present is distinguished by many signs from all former periods"—the wicked conduct of men who have become instruments of Satan, who is wrathful because he knows he has but a short time; and also the fact that "that part of the church, which hath maintained purity of doctrine and decency of manners," is "animated with a new spirit for the propagation of Christian knowledge" among the heathen. Then follows the luminous sentence: "Very dark and trying events may intervene between these glimmerings of light, and the meridian shining of the sun of righteousness thro' the world."

And finally, after asserting that "the formation of Missionary and Bible Societies, on the large scale now attempted, is new in the Christian world"—the one traversing the world to preach the name of Jesus, while the other is placing the pure Word into the hands of the populace out to the ends of the earth—this article remarks that it is strange that through many ages past men had done so little in this line. The conclusion is impressively drawn that "perhaps, this is the most sure omen of the time being near when the glory of Zion shall fill the earth," and that Christians should cheerfully aid "pious institutions designed for this purpose!"

7. HERALDING ANGEL SYMBOL OF MISSIONARY AGENCIES.—A little later the November, 1813, issue reports another sermon

² *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, July, 1809, p. 267.

before a Hartford County Missionary Society by NEHEMIAH PRUDDEN. He sees in the new spirit, inspiring the contemporary European and American Missionary and Bible societies, a fulfillment of the symbol of the flying angel of Revelation 14:6, 7, having the everlasting gospel to preach to all the world and heralding the coming of God's judgment. It will fly, he says, until the world is won to Christ, including pagans and Jews, and is united under one Shepherd. The time of the angel's flight Prudden locates as just preceding the fall of papal Rome, the historical "Beast" power of the Middle Ages. The Papacy has fallen into vassalage to France, but the Mystery of Iniquity still works, and the bearers of the mark of the secular beast now feel the wrath of God. The bondage of the saints will end with the 1260 years of the papal Beast (606-1866), but the angel is flying prior to the end of that period. So Prudden is still another in the growing chorus of voices believing the symbolic angel had begun its flight.

8. THE PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF PROPHECY.—One last example must suffice. The September, 1815, number has an unsigned editorial headed, "On the Application of Prophecy to Passing Events." The value of the prophecies, as set forth, might be defined as threefold: They were designed (1) to confirm faith and be a support in affliction, (2) to deepen our attachment and fidelity to God's service, and (3) to be a perpetual shield against the assaults of infidelity, by confirming the message of God. Scripture abounds with prophecy that removes "the veil from futurity" and declares things to come. Most prophecies have already been fulfilled. Others are yet to be accomplished. Their object is to fix the attention of men on God and His government. "Most of ancient history is occupied with" the four world powers of the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman empires, and Daniel portrays their rise and fall so clearly that none can honestly avoid the application. And the government of God is vitally concerned in it all.

Every age has seen the fulfillment of some prophecy. John

continues the narrative beyond where Daniel leaves it, at the millennium, and leads us on to the end of the world. Many of these "chronological prophecies" continue from the time of utterance to the end of the world. Prophecies are now fulfilling before our eyes, the writer declares, and history is indeed the "mirror of prophecy." He stresses the idea that *prophecies are understood as they are fulfilled*, and cautions against attempting to apply specific prophecies to events of the future. Even contemporary events, he adds, tend to be overrated, and cannot be fully understood until afterward. He cautions against the popular millennial expectations of immediate conversion of the world, and the attempts to fit Napoleon into prophecy.

Thus the golden thread of prophetic application runs through the various volumes of the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, at the outset of the century. Prophecy had again become the common study of a large number of the clergy. And the minds of men in general were being definitely influenced by this increased study of prophecy.

II. "Christian Observer" Forum for Prophetic Discussion

The Boston *Christian Observer* was unique in that it was an American edition of the staid London monthly of the same name, paralleling it from the first issue in 1802 onward, and running largely article for article, without adaptation to American interests.³ It was issued by clergymen of the Anglican Church, and from its very first volume dealt frequently with prophecy. It was often the medium for the introduction of advanced positions, and constituted an aggressive forum for free discussion of varying viewpoints. It was a pioneer, in a sense, widely read throughout New England and somewhat in other sections. Chapter 16 of Volume III of *Prophetic Faith* deals at length with the discussion of prophecy in the London edition and its influence upon the British Advent Awakening

³ Clifford P. Moorhouse, "Origins of the Episcopal Church Press From Colonial Days to 1940," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, September, 1942, p. 206.

of the early nineteenth century. We here summarize the leading expositions presented and their impress on American thought.

1. TURKEY'S PLACE IN PROPHECY COMMONLY ACCEPTED.—

These *Observer* articles were written for the most part under pseudonyms and initials, and by British expositors. Yet it was an American edition, and widely read over here. One early writer sets forth the principle of 391 prophetic years for the symbolic time period of the sixth trumpet of Revelation 9:15, as the time of Turkish supremacy.⁴ Another contributor says he is awaiting the end of Turkey's dominion, as presented in Daniel 11:42-45, after the Turk plants himself in the glorious holy mountain, in Palestine, between the seas.⁵

2. 1260 YEARS FROM JUSTINIAN TO FRENCH REVOLUTION.

—"Talib" (William Cuninghame), writing in 1807 and onward, holds that the 1260 years of the papal Little Horn are already expired. These he dates from Justinian to the French Revolution, and then dates the 2300 years from the time of the vision of Daniel. In 1808 he asserts the "exceeding great" horn of Daniel 8 to be Rome, not Mohammedanism, since the Mohammedan power did not take away the "daily sacrifice." In the January, 1810, issue, Cuninghame gives further reasons why the 1260 years obviously begin with Justinian, in connection with the emperor's recognition of the pope as head of all the holy churches.⁶

3. FRENCH REVOLUTION AND TURKISH TRUMPET PERIODS.

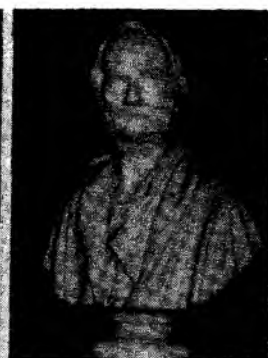
—Then "Philo" identifies the "earthquake" of Revelation 11

⁴ *Christian Observer*, December, 1802, p. 763.

⁵ *Ibid.*, January, 1804, pp. 11, 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, November and December, 1807, pp. 701-705, 774-777; April, 1808, pp. 209-211; January, 1810, pp. 16, 17. On Cuninghame see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 364-385.

WILLIAM CUNINGHAME of Lainshaw (c. 1775-1849), whose education in Scotland was completed at the University of Utrecht, was for a time in the Bengal Civil Service. While in India he met and was deeply influenced by William Carey. He returned to Scotland in 1804, where he engaged for a time in "scientific agriculture." He was first a "learned layman" and member of the Presbyterian parish church of Lainshaw. But in 1827 he founded and became pastor of the commodious Congregational church in nearby Stewarton, serving there for twenty-two years. His comfortable estate and residence, Lainshaw House, is in Stewarton. A marble bust, with legend, is in the Stewarton church, and an oil painting hangs in the Congregational Manse. The first of his twenty-one books on prophecy was issued in 1810 and the last in 1847.



Cuninghame
Was Author of
Many Works
on Prophecy

PHOTOS BY BRASH

SCOTTISH INTERPRETER WILLIAM CUNINGHAME AND RESIDENCE

The Substantial Character of This Early (1813) Old World Expositor Is Evidenced by Such a Home, Its Picturesque Gate and Gateman's Lodge. (Right) Marble Bust of William Cuninghame in Congregational Church at Stewarston, of Which He Was Pastor. His Portrait Hangs in the Parish Presbyterian Church at Lainshaw, Ayreshire, His Finger Pointing Interestingly to the Book of Revelation, Which He Ably Expounded

as the French Revolution, and the "tenth part of the city" as France, and the time periods of the fifth and sixth trumpets as the 150 years from 612-762, with the 391 years from 1281-1672.⁷

4. CUNINGHAME GIVES DOCUMENTATION FOR DATING 1260 YEARS.—In April, Cuninghame offers further documentary evidence for A.D. 533, under Justinian, as against A.D. 606, under Phocas, for the beginning date of the 1260 years.⁸ And the question of the integrity of the number 2300, as against the 2400 of the printed Septuagint and the 2200 of the Jerome copies, is likewise discussed.⁹

Cuninghame later firmly adopted the 457 B.C. beginning, and the corresponding A.D. 1843 close, of the 2300 years, to which position he held consistently thereafter. He was one of Britain's leading expositors, beginning to expound the prophecies while still a layman. And he continued such interpretation

⁷ *Ibid.*, March, 1810, pp. 133, 137.

⁸ *Ibid.*, April, 1810, p. 195.

⁹ *Ibid.*, October, 1810, p. 600.

throughout his 22-year pastorate of the Stewarton (Scotland) Congregational Church. The foregoing illustrations indicate the substantial character of these expositors of the 2300 years, in their respective communities, and the esteem in which they were held locally.

5. J. A. B[ROWN] ENDS 2300 YEARS IN 1843.—Then, in the November, 1810, issue, "J. A. B." (obviously John Aquila Brown) contends for the first time in Britain—and now reprinted in Boston—that *the 70 weeks (or 490 years) and the 2300 years began synchronously in 457 B.C., with the command of Artaxerxes to restore and rebuild Jerusalem—the 490 years reaching to the cross and the 2300 years ending in the year 1843.*¹⁰ This seems to be the first time this thought and precise dating were presented in the Old World, and were nearly identical with the position taken three months later by William C. Davis in the United States, in January, 1811,¹¹ though the findings of Brown and Davis were probably unknown to each other. It was the spark that kindled a great flame of interest and discussion in the Old World, paralleled by an independent but equally animated and wide discussion here in the New World.

6. "C. E. S." ENDS THE 391 AND "2400" YEARS IN 1844.—Next, "C. E. S." would end both the 391 years of Revelation 9:15 and the supposed 2400 years of Daniel 8:14 (Septuagint misprint) in 1844—the first extending from 1453 to 1844, and the second from 556 B.C. to A.D. 1844, reckoned inclusively.¹² By way of variation, "Senior" dates the 391-year period from 1299 to 1690.¹³ But the dating of this Turkish period continues to be a point of vigorous discussion in *The Christian Observer*, on into 1827, 1828, and even 1831. Finally, "J. A. B." reiterates his previous stand on the 2300 years as beginning with Ezra's commission, but now expressly terminates them in 1844.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, November, 1810, pp. 668-670.

¹¹ See pp. 212-220.

¹² *Ibid.*, June, 1818, pp. 351-354. On the erroneous reading of 2400, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 176-180.

¹³ *Ibid.*, November, 1826, pp. 654, 655.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, July, 1828, p. 415. Brown had already set forth 1844 in place of 1843 in his book published in 1823. See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 404, 405.

This phenomenon, at that early day, of one journal with two editions—issued 3,500 miles apart on opposite sides of the Atlantic, but presenting identical discussions of prophecy to its readers on two hemispheres—shows how widespread was the interest and how similar the common understanding of the prophetic terms, symbols, and time periods of the books of Daniel and the Revelation in the Old World and the New. Prophetic study knew no geographical boundaries. The same points and problems in prophecy were of common concern in various lands. And the new emphasis on the 2300-year period, with the synchronous beginning of the 70 weeks as the master key to unlock its timing, was significant. But it was simply the beginning of increasingly wide agitation upon this point. Only two men, and they just prior to the French Revolution, had previously enunciated this principle—Petri of Germany and Wood of Ireland.¹⁵ But the concept had taken firm root, and soon scores of men were writing and preaching upon it.

III. "Herald of Gospel Liberty" Stresses Prophecy

The third journal that touched constantly on prophecy was the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*. It was launched in 1808 at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, by Elias Smith, one of the founders of the Christian Connection¹⁶—the second minister of the New England wing. It was dedicated to the preservation of the God-given religious liberties of man, just as the secular press fostered civil liberty. It also included the prophetic aspect, proclaiming the news of the Redeemer's coming kingdom. On the front page of its initial issue Smith states: "A religious News-paper is almost a new thing under the sun; I know not but this is the first ever published to the world."¹⁷ The rarity of religious periodicals in those early years gave unusual popu-

¹⁵ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 713-722.

¹⁶ See page 31. Smith launched his editorial career with a quarterly, *The Christian's Magazine* (1805-07); then, *The Herald of Gospel Liberty* (editor, 1808-1817). Next he edited *The Herald of Life and Immortality* (1819-1820), and, finally, in 1827-29, *The Morning Star*, and *City Watchman*, much like *The Herald of Gospel Liberty*.

¹⁷ *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, Sept. 1, 1808, p. 1. Issued fortnightly, it was heavily editorial and reflected strongly the views of Smith. On Elias Smith see p. 179.

larity and influence to the few that were issued. And the emphasis of the *Herald* on prophecy gave this topic unusual weight with their readers.

1. VISIBLE SIGNS OF THE SECOND ADVENT.—The very next issue launched a regular section called "The Preacher," containing brief sermons on important themes, often on prophecy. In fact, "Sermon No. 1" was on the signs of the second coming of Christ. Of this transcendent event Smith says, "The coming of the Son of man has not yet taken place; but according to the prophecy [of the text, Luke 21:25, 26] the time is at hand." These signs he proceeds to note—signs in the sun, moon, and stars, and on earth among men as well as on the seas. Noting first the "Signs in the Sun," Smith locates them with plain words, based on personal knowledge, and asks a pointed question:

"Without doubt this means something uncommon in the sun. This many can remember. In the year 1780, the sun was darkened, to the astonishment of thousands, & since that time something of the same kind has been seen. If this is not a sign of the second coming of Christ, why has this taken place at the time when several other signs mentioned by Christ are seen?"¹⁸

Continuing, he notes in the next column the inseparably connected sign in the moon, on the night following, together with its real meaning:

"2d. He [Christ] mentions signs in the moon. Several people have told me that the evening after the dark day, was unusually dark, though the moon was at the full. This seemed a second witness, with the darkness of the sun. This taking place immediately after the sun was darkened, is an awful testimony to the world that the coming of the Son of man draws near."¹⁹

2. SIGNS IN THE STARS ARE AWAITED.—The next celestial sign is forecast as *soon to come*. Here is the third statement:

"Christ mentions signs in the stars.—Whether there has been any

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1808, p. 6. This phenomenon had previously been noted, as it occurred, by Samuel Gatchel and Joshua Spalding, and was anticipated by Edmund March in 1762. See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 202, 212, 233.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

particular signs in the stars, I am not able to determine; but while there are so many other signs, *we may expect them soon.*"²⁰

This expression is noteworthy, in that, in 1808, Smith anticipated as coming "soon" what a whole battery of men shortly afterward began to proclaim as having been actually fulfilled in the unparalleled meteoric shower of November 13, 1833. This was seen all over the eastern half of North America, and even noted in Mexico, by Justice José de Rozas, and its prophetic significance emphasized by this writer to the south.²¹ But Smith here anticipated this celestial phenomenon, just as in 1689 Drue Cressener anticipated the stroke against the Papacy "about the year 1800."²²

The *Herald* editor turns next to the "signs in the earth among men." The turmoil among kingdoms, the wars and rumors of wars, and the consequent perplexity of mankind is noted, and the situation in Europe reviewed. Fifth, signs in the sea—great storms and destruction—were to come. But the joyful sign is that of the gospel to all nations, which was at last in process of proclamation. These signs, Smith believed, include also the return of the Jews to Canaan.

3. SECOND ADVENT'S ATTENDANT CIRCUMSTANCES.—Having thus covered the *signs* of the second advent, the writer turns to the second advent itself, and gives a terse summary of the tremendous scenes of that great day in their sequence:

"If these signs of the coming of the Son of man are so important, how much more so must His coming be! When He comes, it will be to slay the wicked, overthrow every thing contrary to righteousness, raise the dead saints;—change the living ones, establish justice in the earth, fill it with the knowledge of God; reign on the earth one thousand years; and prepare the way for that which will take place at the end of the world."²³

And this editorial exposition is immediately followed by the report of a "discourse on the Signs of the times" on July 24,

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ On De Rozas, see pp. 301-311.

²² See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II., pp. 591-596.

²³ *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, Sept. 13, 1808, p. 6.

1808 (on the text "Watchman, what of the night?"), by Asa McFarland, of Concord, New Hampshire, who makes a declaration and asks the question here quoted:

"Although mankind in general are wrapt in spiritual slumber, regardless of the portentous signs of these times; yet some precious souls are awake, and, waiting for the consolation of Israel, enquire of their Watchmen in the spirit of the text, Watchman what is the time of night? When will the deliverance and glorious state of the church commence? What do the signs of the times indicate?"²⁴

4. THE FOUR WORLD POWERS OF PROPHECY.—Numerous articles on prophecy, papal tyranny, persecution, and premillennialism marked the successive issues for years. For example, on February 1, 1811, a discussion appears on the seven-headed "dragon" of "*usurped priestly authority*," ever warring against Christ and the saints. The first beast of Revelation 13 is "*usurped priestly authority* revived after the days of the apostles," a sevenfold apostasy. The second beast is priestly authority reigning in *one* party, and Smith implies that the symbol involves Protestant sectarianism.²⁵ This is interesting, because this second beast begins to be more and more the subject of study and discussion. Again, in October, 1813, in Nos. 3 and 4 of a series called "Important Discovery," the four world powers of prophecy—Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome—symbolized by the four parts of the great metallic image of Daniel 2, are paralleled by the four symbolic beasts from the sea in Daniel 7. The "stone" kingdom of Christ, growing in the earth since Christ's day, is discussed in No. 5, in November. The portrayal closes with these words:

"The way in which this stone is to grind the image, and become a great mountain and fill the whole earth, is described in the seventh chapter of Daniel, and will be terrible to the enemies of God and the Lamb. The day is not far off when these glorious and terrible things will take place, to the joy of the righteous, and the confusion of all who are enemies to this kingdom. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him. Amen."²⁶

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1811, p. 254.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1813, p. 546.

5. 1260 YEAR-DAYS ARE ABOUT EXPIRED.—In the same issue an article by "Elihu" declares that, since the Jews failed to grasp the prophecies concerning the first advent of the Messiah, so many current professors of religion, despite their boasted knowledge of the Bible, do not discern the times of the second advent. Then follows a series of discussions on Napoleon, one of which contends that the special 1260-year era of the papal power is ending. Thus:

"Unless we agree with some of late, that the bloody persecuting religion of the church of Rome, which they are censuring the French nation for abolishing, is the true religion of Christ, we must conclude that this twelve hundred and sixty years is about expired."²⁷

Then the ten horn-kingdoms, under the leadership of Bonaparte, that are making the symbolic "whore" desolate, are noted, and the fact that the judgments of God are already falling upon her is stressed.

6. POPE ASSUMES COMMAND IN DIVIDED EUROPE.—Earlier, No. 37 in the section, "The Preacher," emphasizes that the fourth beast of Daniel 7, which is Rome, is the same as John's "beast" in the Apocalypse, with its seven heads and ten horns. The seven heads are the seven successive forms of Roman government—kings, consuls, tribunes, dictators, decemvirs, emperors, and popes. The ten horns are the ten kingdoms into which Rome was divided—such nations as are now known as France and England—when the pope, as "Christ's vicegerent upon earth," took over spiritual and temporal command at Rome. But the beast is now (in 1812) wounded in every head. The "gay woman," astride the symbolic beast of Revelation 17, is the Roman hierarchy which manages the beast. Her garb represents the gay appearance of the popes, cardinals, clergy, and "all the sectarians." She is Babylon the great, the mother of all churches, who wishes "a government to ride upon." Her golden cup is full of abominations—erroneous creeds, pompous

²⁷ *Ibid.* A footnote reads, "Calculating a day for a year, according to the opinion of commentators in general."

ceremonies, and false doctrines to which she has subjected mankind.²⁸

7. TERRIBLE EVENTS PRECEDE KINGDOM'S ESTABLISHMENT.—The proximity of the terrible closing events, outlined as the fall of the Turks, the return of the Jews, preceding the earthly kingdom of the saints, is stressed in No. 6 of "Important Discovery." Before Christ takes the kingdom, "things the most terrible will take place, as everything contrary to that kingdom must be removed." Smith then makes this solemn forecast:

"The present commotions in the world are the beginnings of sorrow to all who are opposed to the 'kingdom of God;' and we have reason to believe that the present shaking among the nations will never end until everything that can be shaken will be taken away, and that those things which cannot be shaken may remain."²⁹

8. PAPACY IS AN "IMAGE" OF PAGANISM.—A later issue discusses the "Image of the Beast." Pagan Rome and the papal likeness are contrasted with the true Christian church. For example: The Roman emperor was the Pontifex Maximus, receiving divine honors with prostration at his feet, and princes in purple assisting him. Similarly, the pope is the Pontifex Maximus, receiving divine honors and prostration at his feet, only with cardinals in purple to assist him. In contrast, the church has Christ as her high priest, and the author of her order and worship; and honor is duly paid to Him as the Son of God.³⁰

In pagan Rome, in addition to their supreme god, Jupiter, there were lesser deities—including the queen of heaven, Saturn, Mars, Venus, and others—worshiped in special temples. Likewise in the Roman church, in addition to God there are lesser gods—the queen of heaven and the saints—to whom altars are erected and images dedicated. Then, too, as in Rome, there were temples to Jupiter and the various gods, including the queen of heaven and mother of God—and a pantheon for all the gods, with worship toward the East—so in Romanism

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1812, pp. 438, 439.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1813, p. 553.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1814, p. 649.

these heathen temples and images were simply reconstructed and dedicated to their own gods, only with new names, and they built new temples and likewise worshiped toward the East.³¹

9. GENERAL TESTIMONY OF NEW ENGLAND CLERGY.—Finally, on May 26, 1815, the *Herald* makes an appeal "To the Clergy and People of America." It sums up the previous prevailing opinion of the New England clergy on the papal Antichrist in these forthright words:

"For many years, the *New-England Clergy*, particularly the most learned among them, have, by preaching and in their publications, been engaged in describing to the people, the meaning of the words *Anti-Christ*, *mystery*, *Babylon*, the *great whore* that sitteth on many waters, the *beast* with seven heads and ten horns, the *man of sin*, & c.—words recorded in the New Testament. All these they applied to the *Pope* and *Romish Clergy*. They have not hesitated to represent the *Pope* as *Anti-Christ*, the *scarlet whore* of *Babylon*, covered with abominations. They clearly proved that he was the *Beast* mentioned in Revelation; that he had made the world drunk with his abominations; that his *seven heads* were seven hills on which Rome is situated; that his ten horns are the ten principle [*sic*] non-catholic sovereignties in Europe; and that his colour was scarlet because it was dyed in the blood of saints. In their prayers they called on the Lord for vengeance on the man of sin; and they represented, in their prayers, that the *catholic religion* was *idolatrous*, *blasphemous*, and *diabolical*, and evidently tending to the eternal damnation of millions and millions of precious souls. These things are facts which cannot be denied."³²

This the older readers could all remember, and Smith reminds them:

"The greater part of the people in New England now, from forty to seventy years old, can remember from their childhood, that these things have been preached and prayed for by the clergy where they have attended public worship."³³

And now, the *Herald* says, that the stroke has been given by the French against that great false system—as "*Napoleon*, and his men, did that in three years which had been prayed for more than three hundred years"—many Protestant clergy

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 549, 550.

³² *Ibid.*, May 26, 1815. p. 685.

³³ *Ibid.*

have strangely turned and have begun to call Napoleon the Antichrist, the Whore of Babylon, Beast, and Man of Sin. And later, when the ancient papal order was re-established, they appeared to rejoice that the "venerable institutions" were restored. Smith roundly chides all such for their about-face, and their loss of spiritual perception.

10. SMITH'S LATER JOURNAL DISCUSSES PROPHECY.—*The Morning Star*, issued at Boston (1827-1829), still echoed Smith's emphasis on prophecy. For example, in a series called "The Preacher," there is an extended discussion on the "Beast" of Revelation 13, Rome being the same as the fourth beast of Daniel 7; and Babylon, the mystery woman of Revelation 17, representing "Rome under its bishops."³⁴ Later Smith reprints from the *Christian Messenger* an editorial sounding the stentorian call to come out of Babylon, which is broadened to include more than Rome—the confusion of sects among the "orthodox."³⁵

In summation, it may be said that this dominant note on prophecy occupied a determinative place in the thinking, writing, and preaching of an astonishing number of leaders in religious and civic life, as will soon be seen in detail. It was destined to grow into a veritable chorus of interpretive voices, and these early periodicals exerted a definite influence in this direction.

IV. Even Newspaper Joins in Widespread Exposition

The first two "books" of Elias Smith's *Clergyman's Looking Glass*, No. II,³⁶ were published in the *New Hampshire Gazette* (Portsmouth), in 1803. The very fact that in 1803 a newspaper would run a serial called the "Book of Antichrist," based on prophecy and written in chapter and verse form, after the Bible style, is significant. This use of the Antichrist theme for political satire shows how widespread and accepted was the

³⁴ *The Morning Star*, August, 1827, pp. 50, 51.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, February, 1828, pp. 208-211.

³⁶ See p. 180.

belief that the Papacy was that predicted power, and that, in accordance with the prophecy, it had been gravely wounded by the French Revolution. And so, not only books, pamphlets, printed sermons, published reports, and periodical articles appeared, but now even newspaper columns became the medium for the wave of prophetic interpretation that began to spread over the land.

Prophecy Expounded by Outstanding Leaders

In the early nineteenth century Bible prophecy was not simply the hobby of the recluse, the pet theme of the mystic, or the speculative ground of the ignorant or the erratic. Many of the finest minds of America, often leaders in religious, educational, and civic lines, were devoted students and expositors of prophecy. The accuracy and significance of this statement will grow upon us as we proceed with the examination of the evidence, calling up a surprising array of pertinent witnesses. That prophecy held a vital and honored place in the minds of thoughtful men a century and more ago is seen from the range of serious books on prophecy—American imprints, issuing from the presses of all sections of the land during the first four decades of the century. And this is all in addition to British reprints and imported volumes. We turn, first, to two outstanding leaders—Timothy Dwight, outstanding educator and clergyman, and Elias Boudinot, distinguished statesman—then to various others.

I. President Dwight—Expounds Prophecies in Yale Chapel

TIMOTHY DWIGHT (1752-1817), illustrious grandson of Jonathan Edwards, was born in Northampton, Massachusetts. Graduating from Yale in 1769, at seventeen, he served as tutor at Yale, then as a member of the Massachusetts legislature for two terms, next as chaplain in the Army during the Revolutionary War until 1778, and then as pastor of the Congregational

church at Greenfield Hill, Connecticut. Next, he was president of Yale from 1795 until his death in 1817. His was a life of tireless activity and singular achievement. Brilliant and precocious, he was reading the Bible before he was four, and had begun Latin when but six. At eight he was reading Josephus, Prideaux, and Rollin, and at eleven was seriously studying Latin and Greek. He entered Yale at thirteen, and was graduated with honors four years later. (Portrait on p. 61.)

No day could justify itself in Dwight's eyes that had not yielded fourteen hours of close study. Later, however, his eyes were so seriously affected that others had to read for him. And all of his writing had to be done by dictation to an amanuensis. At nineteen he composed an epic poem, "The Conquest of Canaan," comprising eleven books. Then in 1788 he wrote a satire, "The Triumph of Infidelity," as he began to assume the role of defender of the Christian faith, contending against the sophistries of Hume and Voltaire, ridiculing the theory of origin by chance, and emphasizing the law of cause and effect. Many other poems were written and published by him, as well as hymns, before his call to Yale's presidency.

It was, however, as a speaker that he excelled. His voice had an extraordinary strength, and a richness that enthralled his hearers. Of fine presence, he was a great preacher and theologian and molder of men, and was one of the best-informed men of his time, with an amazing faculty for acquiring and holding knowledge.¹ When, at the age of forty-three he became president of Yale, as well as its professor of divinity, the institution was in a deplorable state spiritually. To its upbuilding Dwight gave himself without stint, teaching as well as administering, and serving as chaplain of the college all through the years of his incumbency. His fame grew, and his leadership as educator and publicist and moral and spiritual guide became widespread. He was conspicuously the champion of

¹ See "Memoir," in Timothy Dwight, *Theology: Explained and Defended*, vol. 1; Moses C. Tyler, *Three Men of Letters*; William B. Sprague, "Life of Timothy Dwight," in *The Library of American Biography*, 2d series, vol. 4, pp. 223-364.

the Christian faith against the Deism of the French Revolution, which seemed about to sweep over all of Puritan New England. The impression seemed to be general that Christianity could not gainsay this new criticism, which derisively called the Christian faith the "cult of the ignorant."

Upon his inauguration as president of Yale, Dwight found that the members of the senior class had jocularly assumed the names of leading infidels, calling one another Voltaire, Hume, Rousseau, Chubb, Paine, et cetera. Their first proposition for debate was, "Are the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments the Word of God?" In this most of the students assailed the Bible. When they had finished, President Dwight proceeded clearly and conclusively to point out the inaccuracies and fallacies of their one-sided arguments, and then advanced impressive and positive proof of the divine character of Christianity. One by one the students were convinced. News of that episode sped through the college and town, and the fashionable doctrine that Christianity was just for the feeble mind and the cowardly heart was soon shattered.

Dwight gave a masterly baccalaureate discourse in 1797 on "The Nature and Danger of Infidel Philosophy," and yet another in 1801, on "Events of the Last Century," which we shall note. His Sunday morning sermons in four years covered the entire range of theology.² Dwight was conspicuous for his conscientious regard for truth. He would not sanction exaggeration and misrepresentation.³

In 1802 a momentous revival broke forth in the college, in which more than a third of Yale's students were converted, over thirty of whom entered the ministry; and nearly half of the students joined the college church. In this connection it is to be particularly observed that, as far back as 1781, while still pastor at Greenfield Hill, the torch of Bible prophecy was one of the guiding lights for Dwight in his understanding of

² His theological sermons were published in five volumes, as *Theology; Explained and Defended*.

³ "Memoir," in his *Theology*, vol. 1, p. lxx.

the troubled times through which the newborn nation had been passing, as well as in meeting the menace of infidelity and re-establishing faith in the hearts of his countrymen. And as Dwight was one of the outstanding leaders in the Great Revival in the early decades of the nineteenth century, his conspicuous exposition of prophecy was one of the definite factors in that great spiritual awakening that marked these impressive years at Yale. Note his views.

I. PROPHETIC PORTRAYAL OF ANTICHRIST.—In *A Sermon, Preached at Northampton*, in 1781, Dwight emphasized the precursors of Christ's glorious kingdom in the latter day and the coming overthrow of the Papacy as the prophesied Antichrist seated in the Christian church. It was delivered just after the capture of the British Army under Cornwallis. Citing the apostle Paul in Thessalonians and Timothy, and also Peter, concerning the prophesied general wickedness of the latter times, Dwight stresses the coincidence of these prophecies with conditions of the previous two centuries and declares, "The prophets abovementioned saw with intrusive [intuitive] certainty the general state of events among the Christian nations."⁴ Discoursing then on the character of Antichrist in 2 Thessalonians 2, Dwight identifies it especially as the Papacy, but applies it also to Protestant princes who rule state churches. He calls this policy the "most fatal opposition ever made to the kingdom of Christ," and declares that God calls for "entire separation between civil and ecclesiastical things."⁵ And its destruction he connects with the "sixth vial," or plague. Here is his depiction of the historical Antichrist, bestriding the centuries, as "unfolded to us by St. Paul":

"This description, the clergy, especially the Popes, of the Romish church, have, for many ages, literally verified. They have seated themselves in the church, or temple of God, and shewed that they were God, by assuming powers, which belong only to God: The powers, for instance, of making laws to bind the consciences of men; of pardoning sin; of form-

⁴ Timothy Dwight, *A Sermon, Preached at Northampton*, p. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

ing religious establishments; of introducing new laws for the conduct and government of the church; or, in one word, the mighty powers, denoted by that comprehensive title; The supreme Head of the Church; which belongs only to the Lord Jesus Christ. They have even gone farther, and claimed a power, to which God himself never pretended, the power of indulging in sin. Thus have they *exalted themselves above all that is called God, or is worshipped.*"⁶

2. BEGINS MILLENNIUM WITH ANTICHRIST'S DESTRUCTION.

—Comparing Isaiah 59:18, 19 with 2 Thessalonians 2:8, he interprets the destruction of "that Wicked" by "the breath of his [Christ's] mouth" and "the brightness of his coming," as the "moral or spiritual" brightness of the Word and Spirit of God (through truth and holiness) coming to "accomplish the ruin of the enemy." He alludes to that "most fatal wound" dealt to the Papacy by the suppression of the Jesuits, and notes skepticism's part, as well as America's Revolution, in bringing civil and religious liberty to realization. From this freedom of inquiry he hopes for advancement in the sciences, in truth, in the "reception of the grace of the gospel"—universal improvement.⁷ Dwight's concept of the millennium is disclosed by this clear observation on the thousand years as still future:

"The great period of a *thousand years*, in which the church shall enjoy unexampled peace and felicity, is yet to begin. Its commencement is expected by the most judicious commentators, at a time, near the year 2000. It begins, in the Revelation of St. John, with the destruction of Antichrist, under the seventh vial."⁸

Later, when president of Yale, in a sermon delivered January 7, 1801, on "Some Events of the Last Century," Dwight refers to the Great Revival in this country. He mentions some of the weakness and error attendant on enthusiasm, but bears witness to its relative freedom from fanaticism in most sections. "Of the last of these revivals of religion, that which still extensively exists, it ought to be observed, that it has absolutely, or at least very nearly, been free from every extravagance."⁹

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-31, 33, 34.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁹ Timothy Dwight, *A Discourse on Some Events of the Last Century*, p. 18.

3. PRESENT TIME OUTLINED BY PROPHECY.—After reviewing America's grave spiritual and moral declension, the product of the French and Indian War, and showing how the Revolutionary War had "increased these evils," he notes how infidelity began to obtain currency in this country, and undertakes to trace its development through successive stages.¹⁰ Then, following the searching question, "*What shall the end of these things be?*" Dwight makes the impressive statement:

"The present time is, at least in my view, distinctly marked out in prophecy, as a time of singular deception, sin, and hostility against religion and against its author. In exact accordance with Revelation, spirits of singular falsehood, foulness, pertinacity, and impudence, have issued from the mouth of the Dragon, or secular persecuting power, of the Beast, or ecclesiastical persecuting power, . . . That these two persecuting powers are in the view of the scriptures wholly united, and that they entirely cooperate, cannot, I think, be reasonably questioned. Both of them are described as having seven heads, and ten horns. From the angel interpreter we know, that the seven heads are the seven mountains of Rome, the great city which at that time reigned with undivided empire over the kingdoms of the earth; and that the ten horns are the ten kingdoms, into which that empire was finally divided. Those spirits, therefore, that is, the false teachers designated by them, were to spring, as they have sprung, from Antichristian ground."¹¹

4. ANTICHRIST'S OVERTHROW UNDER WAY.—After rehearsing the various prophetic names applied to Antichrist—Beast, the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition and the Wicked, or rather the Lawless One—he explains:

"Each of these names is intended to denote some particular characteristic of this power. Thus the Beast directly exhibits its ferocious, sanguinary, or persecuting character; the Man of sin its pre-eminent wickedness; the Son of perdition its certain destination to singular perdition; and the Lawless One its distinguished refusal of being restrained by the laws of either God, or man."¹²

Then, climaxing with the prophesied destruction of that Wicked One, Dwight expresses the belief that the process is under way, but adds, "Yet some time must doubtless elapse

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

before this abomination of desolation shall be finished," and states:

"The kings, or states, into which the secular persecuting power was divided, have begun to hate the Whore, to eat her flesh, and to burn her with fire. The ecclesiastical persecuting power is in a fair way to be soon destroyed. The secular persecuting power is rapidly wasting itself, and that not the less because of the present splendour of one of its constituent parts. The reign of the spirits of deceit is exhibited in prophecy, as short, and the coming of Christ to destroy them, as sudden, unexpected, and dreadful."¹³

5. FIFTH VIAL POURED OUT DURING REFORMATION.—

Perhaps Dwight's most comprehensive survey of prophetic exposition is found in his really remarkable *Discourse in Two Parts*, delivered in the chapel of Yale College on July 23, 1812, and its continuation in another *Discourse in Two Parts* on August 20, 1812. These were given on state and national fasts respectively, in connection with the War of 1812. In the first *Discourse*, he warns against any alliance with France, the chief representative of the divided "Romish empire," or "Babylon."¹⁴ In common with various others Dwight believed that the seven vials of Revelation 16 were then in process of being poured out on the earth. Thus—

"The period in which we live is, in my own belief, marked out in prophecy as a part of that which is included within *the effusion of the seven vials*. *The fifth* of these I consider as unquestionably poured out at the Reformation. According to this scheme, we are now under *the sixth* or *the seventh*."¹⁵

Noting that several recent expositors differ from such a view, he gives the reasons for his position, contending that the fifth vial had already been poured out on the "seat of the beast" in the Reformation. Everyone, he holds, knows that this is the pope and his hierarchy, and the immense body of people under his control, "agitated by a general convulsion," as a large part of his spiritual dominions revolted and were freed. Thus the kingdom of the Beast was in "darkness."

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁴ Timothy Dwight, *A Discourse in Two Parts*, . . . July 23, 1812, pp. 50-54.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

6. SPIRITS LIKE FROGS FROM THE SPIRITUAL EMPIRE.—The sixth vial was to dry up the river Euphrates. Dwight reasoned that, as the literal river ran around the walls of literal Babylon, so “the symbolical Babylon . . . of the Apocalypse, is the Romish spiritual empire.” This drying up would therefore “diminish, or destroy, that source of wealth, strength, and safety.” The kings of the East are simply the “destroyers of spiritual Babylon.” The three evil spirits like frogs come, he says, out of the secular and spiritual powers of this empire and out of the body of monks. That is, as this Romish empire declines, there will come demonlike men, “clamorous and intrusive, impudent and obstinate,” to deceive “the potentates of the earth, or Roman Empire.” Then comes Armageddon, denoting the place where the war will be carried on—Christendom—and the destruction of spiritual Babylon will occur as the Redeemer comes as a thief.¹⁶ In the second part of this discourse he applies this to the infidels who sprang from the countries under the control of the hierarchy and gathered the kingdoms to war and revolutions. Thus Christ has come in sudden judgment as a thief, and the hierarchy is ruined.¹⁷

The seventh vial will bring its final destruction in a terrible convulsion of nations. Then Great Babylon—Rome, the seat of its hierarchy, its power, and its corruption—falls.¹⁸

7. INFIDELIC PLAGUE FOLLOWED BY GREAT REVIVAL.—Next he proceeds to give reasons why “the present period falls under the last two of these vials.” He describes the rise of Deism, followed by the era of infidelity, when atheism and profligacy swarmed through schools, palaces, and churches, spreading their evil literature and attendant philosophy. He mentions the society of the Illuminati, and the French Revolution, with its Reign of Terror, that seemed like “a prelude to the funeral of this great world,” when the Goddess of Reason was worshiped in the form of a dissolute woman, when the Bible was banished,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-14.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-38.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

and religion lay virtually dead "*in the streets of the great city*," and finally recounts the conquest of Europe. Already a voice sounds out from heaven, "It is done." On the other hand, other signs are the Great Revival spreading through a considerable part of the land, and touching Yale, the missionary and Bible societies, with knowledge increasing, according to the prophet Daniel, and the abolition of the African slave trade.¹⁹

8. SCARLET WOMAN SYMBOL OF ROMAN CHURCH.—In the second of his two-part discourse, given in August, Dwight expounds the prophecies of Daniel that correspond with those of the Apocalypse. In Revelation 17 the fallen woman, riding the scarlet beast, is the Roman Catholic Church, pompous and persecuting, reigning over the kings of earth. She is in contrast with the bride, the Lamb's wife. And she is to be "destroyed, immediately before the introduction of the Millennium."²⁰

9. JOHN'S "BEAST" DERIVED FROM DANIEL'S "BEASTS."—The derivation of the "Beast" of the Apocalypse from Daniel's fourth beast, is noted:

"The image of this fierce and savage Beast, as a representative of power, was undoubtedly taken from the prophet *Daniel*; who exhibited the four great ancient monarchies under the successive images of fierce animals; the first resembling a lion; the second, a bear; and the third, a leopard. The fourth, which denoted the Roman Empire, was not only unlike the other three, but widely different from anything else in the animal world. The Beast of the Apocalypse is plainly derived from the last, mentioned by *Daniel*. He is said in some respects to resemble the three first; the leopard, the bear, and the lion; that is, to have the activity of the leopard, the greediness of the bear, and the fierceness of the lion. Like the fourth, he had seven heads and ten horns; and is unquestionably the same; only as his nature was more amply revealed to *John*, he is more extensively, and completely, described. On this Beast the woman sat."²¹

10. PAPACY DESTROYED BEFORE MILLENNIUM.—Dwight's terse summary of the evidence concerning the woman of Revelation 17, and her destiny, is as follows:

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-23.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 10.

"The Woman, here presented to us, is an idolatrous church; distinguished by wealth and splendour; pompous in the ritual of its worship; exercising great cruelty towards the real followers of Christ; having its principal seat in the city Rome; sustained by a persecuting power, which was either the seventh, or eighth, form of Roman government, (according to different modes of construing this subject;) and destroyed immediately before the Millennium." ²²

And he notes how Bishop Newton, almost sixty years prior, had forecast France as the instrument of her overthrow. ²³

11. SEVEN HEADS AND HORNS IDENTIFIED.—Dwight now proceeds to identify the ferocious "*Beast, or Ecclesiastical persecuting power,*" with its seven heads and ten horns. The "Romish Hierarchy" is one of the seven heads of the Roman Empire, which were, in order: kings, consuls, dictators, decemvirs, military tribunes, emperors, dukes, and the hierarchy or popedom. ²⁴ The ten horns are the ten kingdoms into which Rome was divided through incursions of the northern barbarians. For this Dwight cites Mede, Lloyd, Isaac Newton, Daubuz, and Whiston, but especially Eberhard of Salzburg, back in 1240, as well as referring to Irenaeus, Cyril, Jerome, and other early writers who were expecting the division shortly after their day. After dilating on its blasphemous pretensions and its dreadful persecutions, Dwight gives this further explicit conclusion:

"From these observations, if I am not deceived, it is unanswerably evident, that *this profligate Woman, seen by St. John, is the Romish Church; and that the savage Beast, on which she sat, is the Romish Hierarchy.* If these conclusions be admitted; it follows irresistibly, that *the seven vials are poured out upon the Romish Empire, and its Hierarchy.*" ²⁵

12. ANGELIC MESSAGE PRECEDES MILLENNIUM.—Then comes the proclamation of the flying angel announcing the doom of the Roman church, and the call to come out of her before she is cast as a millstone into the depths. Next comes the great

²² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 12. (On Newton see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, p. 724.)

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

battle of God Almighty (under the sixth vial). Dwight declares, "Speedily after this awful event, the Millennium commences."²⁶ So, chapter 17 is the description of the Papacy, he avers, chapter 18 portrays its destruction, and chapter 19 the final overthrow of its hierarchy.

13. BELIEVES MILLENNIUM INTRODUCED GRADUALLY.—In common with various other expositors of the time—stemming from Whitby, Jonathan Edwards, and others—Dwight believes the millennium will not make its full appearance suddenly, but come on gradually, though perhaps rapidly. And the first resurrection, at its beginning, he thinks is to be spiritual, not literal—the "conversion of mankind." The full establishment of the millennium, he holds, involves the entire reformation of all the erroneous doctrines of the Protestant nations and churches, the renovation of sinners, the abolition of all sects, and the acknowledgment by the Jews of the true Messiah. The mouth of infidelity will then be stopped, and all nations cease from wars, jealousy, and hatred.²⁷

14. HOLDS TO SUCCESSIVE DATES CONCEPT.—When shall all this be? According to Daniel, thinks Dwight, it is in the "time of the end"—"after the prediction [of the three and one-half times] shall have been fulfilled;" and specifies two other periods, one of 1290 days; and another of 1335 days. But, he reasons curiously, as there were three decrees of Persian monarchs for the restoration of the Jews, so "in the same manner the period of 1260 years may commence at several different dates, and be completed at as many extraordinary, successive epochs." And so "in a similar manner," thinks Dwight, "will the Millennium commence," and "its complete establishment" will "not take place before the latest of these times." Then he adds that, in his opinion, "this happy period, has, in the sense which I have specified, already begun."²⁸ Such was Dwight's view of prophecy, expounded in the chapel of Yale in 1812.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-26.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.

II. Boudinot—Expounds Major Features of Prophecy

ELIAS BOUDINOT (1740-1821), eminent American lawyer, patriot, philanthropist, and public servant—and the first president of the independent United States under the Continental Congress—was born in Philadelphia, of Huguenot ancestors. He received a classical education and studied law, graduating from Yale. Admitted to the New Jersey bar in 1777, he was a delegate to the Continental Congress, in 1778-1779 and 1781-1783, of which body he was elected president in 1782.

As such Boudinot signed the treaty of peace with Great Britain at the close of the Revolutionary War, and was thus really the first brief president of the United States as a recognized, independent nation.²⁹ From 1789 to 1795 he represented New Jersey in the newly formed Congress. He was a director of the College of New Jersey (Princeton) from 1772 until his death, and received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Yale in 1780. Then, from 1795 to 1805, he was director of the mint at Philadelphia. But he resigned from this to devote himself most earnestly to the study of Biblical literature, and in particular to Bible prophecy. (Portrait appears on p. 61.)

Boudinot made liberal gifts to various charitable institutions. He was the actual founder and first president of the American Bible Society,³⁰ to which he gave ten thousand dollars. He was also a member of the Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, to which he also contributed substantially. He likewise helped the department of natural history at Princeton College, and was greatly interested in the work for the Cherokee Indians and the deaf-mutes and in relieving suffering among the poor. He bequeathed a large estate for charitable uses. Boudinot was author of several historical and biographical works and was also joint translator into the Cherokee of the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, the

²⁹ Washington was the first president "under the new Constitution." See Abram Wakeman, *A President Before Washington?* (1926), pp. 4 ff.

³⁰ *Bible Society Record*, May, 1941, p. 88.

Epistle of James, of the Acts of the Apostles, and of a Cherokee hymnbook.

Prophecy runs like a golden thread throughout the texture of his public utterances. He was ever appealing to Scripture. In a Fourth of July oration, made in 1793, on American guarantee of freedom for man and the establishment of this land as an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, Boudinot stresses the "almighty arm" of divine Providence in establishing freedom in this country, when all Europe was being plunged into commotion and distress. Then he adds: "He [God] putteth down kingdoms, and He setteth up when He pleaseth, and it has been literally verified in us, that 'no King prevaieth by the power of his own strength.'"³¹ Elsewhere, in a footnote, he remarks that, had America not been freed, there would not now have been "a spot on the globe" to which the oppressed could have retired in their search of liberty, and he asks whether—

"the prophecies of ancient times are not hastening to a fulfilment, when this wilderness shall blossom as a rose—the Heathen be given to the *Great Redeemer* as his inheritance, and these uttermost parts of the earth for his possession.

"Who knows but the country for which we have fought and bled, may hereafter become a theatre of greater events than yet have been known to mankind. . . .

"And may these great principles, in the end, become instrumental in bringing about that happy state of the world."³²

Though a statesman and a layman, Boudinot was the author of two important works in the religious field. His *Age of Revelation* (1801) was an answer to Thomas Paine's infidelic *Age of Reason*. And his *The Second Advent, or Coming of the Messiah in Glory* (1815), with the subtitle, *Shown to Be a Scripture Doctrine, and Taught by Divine Revelation, From the Beginning of the World*, was issued under the pseudonym of "An American Layman." This was an interesting exposition

³¹ Elias Boudinot, *An Oration, Delivered at Elizabeth-Town, July 4, 1793* (before the New Jersey Society of the Cincinnati), pp. 9, 10. This oration is also in *The Life . . . and Letters of Elias Boudinot*.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 27, and footnote on p. 26.

1. **HOLDS STANDARD VIEW OF FOURTH WORLD POWER.**—Boudinot held the standard view of the fourth world power of Daniel 2 as “agreed on all hands” to be Rome, and the “feet with ten toes of clay and iron, designating a subdivision into ten kingdoms.” During the existence of the last of the four world-kingdoms, there was to be set up, at Christ’s first advent, the kingdom of God, which is ultimately to prevail over all. This is further established and amplified by the vision of the four beasts “predicting the same four governments,” and the ten horns that subdivide Rome into ten kingdoms, with the Little Horn as the Papacy, and his special period of 1260 years—all climaxing with the second advent.³³

2. **SEVENTY WEEKS REACH TO TIME OF MESSIAH.**—The 70 prophetic weeks of Daniel 9 are 490 literal years, either solar or lunar, reckoned variously to the coming of the Messiah and His death, or by some to the destruction of Jerusalem. Of the various opinions Boudinot preferred the dating as from the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (J.P. 4256) to the crucifixion in A.D. 33 (J.P. 4746), which he called the thirty-seventh year of the true era of Christ’s age. This was the popular crucifixion date at that time, based on a Friday crucifixion on Nisan 14.³⁴

3. **ROME PORTRAYED IN DANIEL 8 AND 11.**—The exceeding great horn of Daniel 8 is applied to the Romans, but more especially to a later date, ending with the cleansing of the sanctuary, at the end of the Roman Government and of the times of the Gentiles. In the eleventh chapter Rome pagan, and then Rome papal, are succeeded by an “atheistical power” that will finally come to his end, thinks Boudinot, followed in the twelfth chapter by the glorious kingdom of Christ established at His second coming.³⁵

4. **TEN KINGDOMS AND THE 1260 YEARS.**—The latter half

³³ Elias Boudinot, *The Second Advent, or Coming of the Messiah in Glory*, pp. 37-40.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-65.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-71.

of Boudinot's extensive treatise shows wide reading and diligent study of the writers on prophecy before his day. The ten kingdoms are enumerated in two lists as the Huns, Visigoths, Burgundians, Vandals, Ostrogoths, Franks, Suevi, Anglo-Saxons, Heruli and Thuringi, or else the Lombards.³⁶ The ecclesiastical apostasy of the "Man of Sin" appeared when the hindering power of pagan Rome was removed.³⁷ Then follow the 1260 years of the papal power and the Two Witnesses (Bible instruction with public worship and the Sabbath and Lord's day) in sackcloth, ending about 1760 to 1800.³⁸

5. PREDICTED WITHDRAWAL OF FRENCH SUPPORT.—The tenth part (*dekaton*) of the city is one of the ten kingdoms—and the "earthquake" of Revelation 11 is the same "convulsion" of the government, said Boudinot.³⁹ And the witness of Ussher, Jurieu, Willison, Vtringa, and Goodwin is cited predicting the revolt of France (the *dekaton*) against the Papacy.⁴⁰ Four epochal events are yet to be expected: the resurrection of the witnesses, the destruction of Rome, and of the Turkish Empire, and the restoration of the Jews.⁴¹ Boudinot's wide reading of key prophetic expositions of the past is attested by the citation of Arnulf, Bernard, and the Waldenses and others in the Middle Ages, as well as Tertullian and Hippolytus in the early church.⁴²

III. Lathrop—Prophetic Drama Includes French Revolution

In April, 1811, in his eightieth year, JOSEPH LATHROP,⁴³ Congregational minister at West Springfield, Massachusetts, gave two outstanding addresses on the prophecies of Daniel in relation to the "time of the end." And the next year, at

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 291, 292.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 294.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-183, 212, 295, 347.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 250-254.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 474-476.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 472, 473.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 316-318, 338. These expositors are all covered in *Prophetic Faith*, Vols. I and II.

⁴³ JOSEPH LATHROP (1731-1820) was born in Connecticut, and was a descendant of stalwart John Lathrop, pastor of the first Independent church in London, England, who came to America in 1634 because of his nonconformity. Joseph graduated from Yale in 1754, then becoming principal of a grammar school at Springfield while continuing his studies in theology.

the organization of a foreign mission society, he preached a sermon in Springfield from Revelation 14:6, 7, entitled *The Angel Preaching the Everlasting Gospel*. He was expounding prophecy, however, as early as 1798. His notable *Sermon on the Dangers of the Times*, published that year, was preached in two places.

1. THE PROPHEPIC DRAMA OF REVELATION 12.—Discoursing on the "grand prophetic drama" of the conflict between Christ and Satan (Revelation 12), Lathrop shows how the gross pagan idolatry of ancient times was supplanted by a modified papal idolatry, and this now in turn by a combination of "deism, materialism, atheism, and every species of infidelity." The sun-clothed woman is the Christian church; the dragon, the pagan Roman Empire persecuting the church. The seven heads are Rome's seven hills, and her seven successive forms of government, and its ten horns are the ten kingdoms into which the empire was divided. The fall of Satan in this chapter is, he says, referred by "the best interpreters" to the great change when Constantine was raised to the imperial throne. And Rome's breakup only contributed to the spread of the gospel.⁴ That was his panoramic view.

Lathrop sees the subsequent irreligion, immorality, and infidelity that spread over Europe from France (an allusion to the 'supposed Illuminati Conspiracy) as an artifice of infidelity, being fully equal in subtlety to popery itself. But this very development is directing attention to the Scripture prophecies of the downfall of papal dominance. And France, who had elevated and defended the Papacy, is now the chief instrument in its overthrow. When the devil came down with wrath, the voice sounded, "Wo to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea." This is now being repeated. The unclean spirits,

In 1756 he became pastor of the First Church of West Springfield, which post he filled with distinction for sixty-two years, until his death in 1820. An effective speaker and vigorous writer, a member of learned societies, he was the recipient of the degree of D.D. from Yale in 1791 and Harvard in 1811. He declined the professorship of divinity at Yale in 1793. He did, however, train about twenty young men for the ministry.

⁴ Joseph Lathrop, *A Sermon on the Dangers of the Times, From Infidelity and Immorality*, pp. 1-10.

like frogs, these spirits of devils—the emissaries of atheism—have surely gone out into the world.⁴⁵ This feature is soon developed by other writers.

2. PAPAL APOSTASY DOMINANT FOR 1260 YEARS.—Two sermons, delivered on the public Fast Day of April 11, 1811, discussed Daniel in relation to the time of the end. At the outset he declares:

“Daniel and John have foretold a general apostacy in the Christian church, which would be accompanied with great oppression and persecution, and would continue 1260 years. Such an apostacy, you know, has already existed for many ages, and still exists under the name of *popery*. When 1260 years from its commencement shall have expired, it will then come to its end.”⁴⁶

This period, he adds, is generally dated from Phocas, in 606, to 1866, or is more probably, according to another computation, to end in 1842.

3. FRENCH REVOLUTION TIMED BY PROPHECY.—He continues by stating that the prophets declare there will be an increase of atheism and infidelity, “with an unusual corruption of morals, and with horrible wars among the nations” before the end of the Papacy. He refers to the willful king of Daniel 11:36, who denies God’s existence and seeks to abolish religion and disregards Christ, giving divine honor to a phantom god. Lathrop cites Bacon and Faber as saying that all this is fulfilled in the French Revolution. And he adds:

“The French Revolution coincides with the time marked in the prophecy, ‘the time of the end;’ the time when we were to expect, and when many did expect some great change in the political state of Europe.”⁴⁷

4. MOHAMMEDAN APOSTASY AND APPROACHING FALL.—Then Lathrop gives a somewhat new turn: the kings of the North (Britain) and South (Spain and Portugal) will push

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-20.

⁴⁶ Joseph Lathrop, *The Prophecy of Daniel, Relating to the Time of the End, . . . in Two Discourses* (1811), p. 4.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8; also pp. 8-10, where this is expanded.

at France, but the victorious France "shall enter into the countries and shall overflow and pass over." He explains:

"To understand this we must observe, that prophecy [also] foretells the existence of the *mahometan* apostacy, and its duration for 1260 years. History informs us, that this began about the same time with the establishment of popery, and consequently will come to its end about the same time. Both appear now to be fast tending to their fall. The Ottoman empire, as well as the papal hierarchy, is feeble and tottering."⁴⁸

5. MAN OF SIN DESTROYED BY SECOND ADVENT.—The French emperor, "with his confederate papal kings," will overrun Turkey, Palestine, and Egypt. But the "concluding catastrophe of this mighty Drama," after the tabernacles of his palace have been planted in Jerusalem, will be the destruction of this Man of Sin by the brightness of the coming of the Lord. All this occurs perhaps thirty to fifty years hence (around the end of the 1260 years). Next he expects the fulfillment of Daniel 12:1 in the national restoration and conversion of the Jews and the "lost" ten tribes, and in the conversion of the heathen through world missions.⁴⁹

6. UNPRECEDENTED TIME OF TROUBLE IMPENDS.—In the second sermon on the same topic, Lathrop avers that prophecy shows that the Bible is inspired:

"When, in the scriptures, events are foretold, which human sagacity could not have conjectured; and when we see in history the exact accomplishment of these events, we must conclude, that the predictions were uttered by divine inspiration, and the events brought to pass by divine providence."⁵⁰

The period in which we live is truly "momentous." We should "realize our situation, learn our duty, and attend to the means of our safety." But amid the "gloomy signs of the last days" there is a bright spot—a wonderful zeal to send the gospel to unenlightened nations. Then he adds: "From these

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-17.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

appearances we must conclude that the end of popery and infidelity is swiftly advancing. There may be an awful conflict; but truth will prevail." As Paul warns, the unparalleled trouble of the last days impends. The call sounds, "Come out of Babylon." All this summons us to dedicate ourselves to God.³¹ This likewise became a familiar rallying call.

7. ANGEL OF REVELATION 14 SYMBOLIZES MISSIONARIES.—In his sermon *The Angel Preaching the Everlasting Gospel* (given in 1812, at Springfield, "at the institution of a Society for the Encouragement of Foreign Missions"), Lathrop declares that the message of this symbolic "angel" is followed by some tremendous judgment on Babylon, the papal church. It presents the everlasting gospel in contradistinction to the corruption of the age. And this angel symbolizes the ministers of the gospel—missionary ministers to every nation—"flying," or showing great diligence and activity. The purpose is to reclaim men from their idolatry and lead them to worship the supreme God, the Creator of all things.³²

8. GOD'S CALL OUT OF APOSTASY.—A great apostasy from truth came into the Christian church, pure religion was succeeded by the worship of images, and Christian liberty was subverted by "spiritual tyranny and cruel persecution" for "1260 years." But soon this tyrannical power will be cast down by the hand of God. The prophecy of the apostasy has been fulfilled. "There can be no doubt, but the time of its end is approaching." The angel's message is now being carried by missionaries. It warns of God's judgment hour, when He will pour out His wrath on the corrupt inhabitants of the earth who will not respond to reform or attend to the messages of God's grace.³³ God is even now calling men out of apostasy. Such was Lathrop's mature conviction near the close of his long and fruitful ministry.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-31.

³² Joseph Lathrop, *The Angel Preaching the Everlasting Gospel*, pp. 4-6.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-13.

IV. Emerson—Blends Historical and Postmillennial Concepts

In JOSEPH EMERSON,⁵⁴ Congregational clergyman and educator of Beverly, Massachusetts, we find another representative voice on the prophecies, but blending the Historicist view of Daniel with the postmillennial concept introduced into America by Edwards and Hopkins, that was to grow in popularity.

1. STANDARD VIEW OF FOUR KINGDOMS AND PAPAL HORN.—Emerson quotes from *Scott's Commentary* the standard view on the four kingdoms of Daniel 2 and 7, with the ten toes as the ten kingdoms into which Rome was broken. Following Mede, Emerson holds to two stages of the fifth power, the small stone of Christ's kingdom that is finally to become the world-filling mountain in the future. This outline, Emerson holds, is the first step toward the understanding of the prophecy of the millennial kingdom. The "eleventh horn" of Daniel 7, coming up later and small at first, but ultimately becoming the greatest of them all, eliminating three—and having eyes, a mouth, and persecuting power, and continuing 1260 years—is applicable, says Emerson, to one power, the spiritual kingdom of the pope, that tyrannical ecclesiastical dominion.⁵⁵ There was no question as to the application.

Faber and Lloyd are cited for the ten kingdoms—the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Sueves and Alanns, Vandals, Franks, Burgundians, Heruli and Thuringians, Huns, and Lombards. The three uprooted were the Heruli, Ostrogoths, and Lombards. And the millennium, Emerson concludes, should begin "very soon after the termination of the period, denoted by a *time and times and the dividing of time.*"⁵⁶

⁵⁴ JOSEPH EMERSON (1777-1833) was born in New Hampshire, graduating from Harvard in 1798, where he served as tutor from 1801 to 1803 while he studied theology. Upon ordination he served as pastor of the Beverly Congregational Church from 1803 to 1816. Ill health necessitated his resignation. His lectures on the millennium and related prophecies were delivered a year later, at Beverly, in 1817. He also gave a course of lectures in Boston on astronomy. Emerson then established an academy in Byfield, Massachusetts, and taught until 1823. After another break in health in 1824 he again took up teaching, in 1825, in Connecticut.

⁵⁵ Joseph Emerson, *Lectures on the Millennium*, pp. 142-154.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-162.

2. BEASTS OF APOCALYPSE ROME'S TWO PHASES.—Some of the same powers appear in Revelation 13. One is struck, he adds, by the resemblance of John's ten-horned beast and Daniel's fourth beast, for both emerged from the sea, and both were ferocious. They represented one and the same power—civil Rome. So is also the seven-headed Beast of Revelation 17 (with seven forms of government), which carries the "mystery" woman, "Babylon," drunken with the blood of saints—the papal power of Rome. The two-horned beast from the earth also symbolizes the Roman ecclesiastical power, or papal hierarchy, the very same as the eleventh horn of Daniel's fourth beast.⁵⁷

3. 1260 YEARS DATED FROM 606 TO 1866.—Emerson begins the three and a half times, or 1260 literal years—calculated on the year-day principle like the 70 weeks of years—with Phocas' declaration of Pope Boniface as Universal Bishop. Others place this period from Justinian to the French Revolution. But Emerson says:

"Beginning at the year 606, and reckoning downwards, 1260 years will give the year 1866, as the termination of the period—the year of sweet release to the saints of the Most High, after a cruel bondage to the Papal and imperial beast, of more than a thousand years."⁵⁸

That, he continues, "will be a grand jubilee to the Christian world," marking the deliverance of the saints and the destruction of the two beasts' power.

4. SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OF "TIME OF THE END."—The 1290 and 1335-year periods extend seventy-five years beyond the basic 1260 years. And this bright and glorious "Time of the End" leads to the millennium.

"We may conclude therefore as the third period will end 75 years after the first, and as the Millennium will begin at the termination of the third period, that the Millennium will commence 75 years after the close of the 1260 years; and that the duration of *the time of the end* will be 75 years.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-169.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 194. Emerson observes that this 1260 years is mentioned seven times in Daniel and Revelation, "all designed to express one and the same period" (p. 195).

"If, then, the 1260 years commenced in the year 606, they will terminate in the year 1866; and if the opinion is correct, that the Millennium will commence 75 years after, then that glorious period will begin in the year 1941." ⁵⁹

Emerson expresses the indispensable place of prophecy in these words:

"Within one hundred years, it is probable, that the study of prophecy will be considered a branch of common education, no less than the study of arithmetic." ⁶⁰

5. CONDITIONS TO PREVAIL DURING "MILLENNIUM."—In his first six lectures Emerson sets forth twenty propositions concerning the millennium, and then turns to his second inquiry, *When will the millennium begin?* determining this by the signs of the times and by the prophecies we have noted. Here are his propositions of conditions during the millennium, with initial page references in parentheses:

1. True religion will prevail much more than before (9).
2. Idolatry will cease (14).
3. The Jews will be converted to Christ (17).
4. The church will be delivered from her external enemies, including Satan (27).
5. War will be unknown (39).
6. The saints will rule the earth; or, in other words, all rulers will be saints (43).
7. The righteous will possess the earth (48).
8. The wicked will cease from the earth—either converted or slain (54).
9. All shall know and serve the Lord (60).
10. Knowledge will be greatly increased (74).
11. Christians will make much higher attainments in grace (81).
12. People will enjoy much better health (87).
13. People will live much longer than men have lived since the days of Moses (89).
14. Christians will be much more numerous than before (90).
15. The fruits of the earth will be much more abundant than before (94).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

16. Christians will be much better united (104).
17. The souls of the martyrs of preceding ages will live and reign with Christ on earth (108).
18. Zion (the church) will appear exceedingly beautiful and glorious (114).
19. The earth will be filled with the glory of God (115).
20. Christians will be much happier than before (117).

6. SPIRITUALIZES BOTH RESURRECTIONS AND MILLENNIAL REIGN.—For each of these propositions Emerson adduces numerous Scripture passages—by applying the promises and predictions of the new heavens and new earth, or Paradise restored, to the millennial period. Moreover, he spiritualizes both the first and second resurrections, postponing until several hundred years after the millennium the literal general resurrection at the end of the world. And he declares that Christ's reign likewise "will be spiritual, in the hearts of the people, and not personal or external."⁶¹

It was this conflict between the literal and spiritual nature of the millennium that was destined to intensify as the years progressed. But the full significance of the two opposing philosophies—premillennialism and postmillennialism—was not yet seen at that time.

V. Tennessean Jurist Holds to Basic Prophetic Views

In 1819, under the pseudonym, "A Tennessean," JOHN HAYWOOD,⁶² noted Southern jurist, published a book entitled *The Christian Advocate* (that is, Attorney)—a rather wordy, rambling discussion of prophecy. But points of interest and agreement with others are scattered over its pages, and it forms part of the Southern angle of a larger picture. Haywood

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-72, 109.

⁶² JOHN HAYWOOD (1753?-1826), jurist and historian, was born in North Carolina. After preparing for the bar he became State's attorney general in 1791, and was considered an outstanding criminal lawyer. Then he was elected to the State Supreme Court bench. In 1807 he left North Carolina for Tennessee, and served as judge on the Supreme Court of Tennessee from 1816 until his death. A man of tireless energy, and of very logical mind, he wrote numerous law books, which became standard, and established the first law school in the Southwest. He also wrote two histories of Tennessee. He has been called "the greatest jurist that has lived in Tennessee." His was "an accurate and profound general scholarship."

was of strong mind and positive convictions, and seemed especially intrigued by the prophetic minutiae in Daniel and in Revelation—particularly the 1260 years, with the added 30 and 45 years, respectively, of the 1290 and 1335 year periods, which he ends in 1874 and 1919.⁶³

Haywood holds to the year-day principle for some time prophecies, including the 1260 days of Revelation, and the 70 weeks of Daniel 9, but he calls a “time” a week of days, years, or centuries, as the case may be, and curiously makes the time of Daniel 12:11, 12 equal to $3\frac{1}{2} \times 700$ years, or 2450 years! The French Revolution is likewise stressed as “an indispensable preliminary to the successful progress of gospel light, and to the general conversion of the world,” spreading the knowledge of the rights of men, despite its entanglement with “political fanaticism and infidelity.” Thus has “providence brought good out of evil, and wisdom from the extravagances of insanity.”

He mentions Rome as the fourth “beast”—the first three being Babylonia, “Medea,” and Grecia—the ten kingdoms dominated by the papal Little Horn, with its allotted duration, and then its overthrow prior to “the universal prevalence of the Christian religion.” The first six trumpets are six periods of the Dark Ages after the fall of Rome, during which the Papacy, Mohammedanism, and paganism—the three unclean spirits—have “corrupted the fountains of religion.” The five months of the Mohammedan fifth trumpet are 150 years. And the hour, day, month, and year of Revelation 9:15, of the Turkish sixth trumpet, are recognized as 391 years, possibly ending in 1777, with the raising of the siege of Vienna. The seventh trumpet follows, with the great Sabbath rest, preceded, however, by dreadful carnage, and the end of Mohammedanism and the Papacy.⁶⁴ So prophecy was studied by jurist, educator, and minister alike—varying in detail but harmonious

⁶³ John Haywood, *The Christian Advocate*, p. 48.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 81, 84-87.

on great essentials. Prophecy was the common denominator in the study life of men in all walks of life.

It should be added, parenthetically, that the dating of the 70 "weeks of years" from 457 B.C., as the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus of Persia, was widespread, as in the Protestant Episcopal catechism of Doctor FREDERICK DALCHO,⁶⁵ of Charleston, South Carolina. This date was regarded as established and fixed.

⁶⁵ FREDERICK DALCHO, M.D. (1770?-1836), was one of the ministers of St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church at Charleston, South Carolina. In 1820 he produced a closely reasoned "Course in Catechetical Instruction" entitled, *The Evidence From Prophecy to the Truth of Christianity, and the Divinity of Christ*. Published with the approbation of the bishop of the diocese, it was designed for Sunday schools, following the question and answer plan. Dealing with prophecy as proof of inspiration, the Old Testament prophecies concerning the first advent are first set forth. The 70 weeks for the Jews, up to the death of Christ as an atonement for sin, is extended from the seventh of Artaxerxes, in 457 B.C., to A.D. 33, when Christ died in the month Nisan. "agreeably to the prophecy." All this is preceded by a recital of the various Old Testament prophetic specifications—His virgin birth, before the scepter departs from Judah, brought forth in Bethlehem, and called out of Egypt. Then follow the predictions of His miracles, atoning death, resurrection, ascension, priestly ministry, and second coming in kingly power.

Fulfilling Signs of Times

Emphasized

Intensified interest in prophecy, and particularly in its contemporaneous fulfillment, continued to mark this period. The world-shaking effects of the French Revolution, together with the exploits of Napoleon in Europe—and even the changes resulting from the American Revolution—were considered as harbingers of momentous developments ahead. Hence the signs of those approaching events became the subject of increasing investigation and anticipation, because it was commonly believed that important developments were soon to take place.

I. Smith, of "Christian Connection," Expounds Prophecy

ELIAS SMITH,¹ having withdrawn from the Calvinistic Baptists, became the second Christian preacher, and was an earnest, though oftentimes eccentric, writer and editor.² Smith's early interest in prophecy is evidenced by a discourse, in 1802, on *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*.

¹ ELIAS SMITH (1769-1846) was born in Connecticut. He taught school for a time, began preaching in 1790, and was ordained to the Baptist ministry in 1792. After joining the Christians, whose cause he advanced through his pioneer periodical (see p. 144), he later became a Universalist; but finally, in old age, returned to the Christian Connection.

² On the Christian Connection, see pages 31, 32. The beginning of the Vermont group was on this wise: Abner Jones, a country physician, was converted at a revival in 1800, was ordained by the Arminian Baptists in 1802. He and his group of followers at Lyndon, Vermont, discarded all sectarian names, calling themselves simply "Christians," holding to freedom from creeds and tradition, with private judgment and individual interpretation as an inalienable right. (J. R. Freese, *A History and Advocacy of the Christian Church*, pp. 25-28; John Hayward, *The Religious Creeds . . . of Every Christian Denomination*, pp. 15-19; see also Abner Dumont Jones, *Memoir of Elder Abner Jones*, p. 64.)

1. STANDARD VIEW OF DANIEL 2 AND 7.—He held to the standard four world powers of Daniel 2 and 7, culminating with the kingdom of God. He identified the “church of Rome under the popes,” with the Little Horn of Daniel 7, also with the two-horned beast of Revelation 13, and the woman of Revelation 17 riding the beast empire; he held that all churches having government support are of the same nature as the Church of Rome, their mother. Smith’s descriptions are vivid, often phrased in incisive language, and frequently sustained by clear reasoning.

2. ALL-INCLUSIVE CONCEPT OF ANTICHRIST.—In 1803 after his “History of Anti-Christ” ran serially in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, it was reprinted with additional material as No. 2 of four pamphlets called *The Clergyman’s Looking-Glass*. In quasi-Biblical style Smith pictures Antichrist as embodied in the hostile power that attempted to slay the Babe of Bethlehem, and carries it on through the Jewish leaders, then the heretics who denied that Christ was God, the aspiring bishop who succeeded to the rule of Rome, and finally the persecuting state church in England, and the similar establishment in New England. The officers of Antichrist he lists as cardinals, “Archbishops, Lords Spiritual, Right Reverend Fathers in God, Metropolitans, Rectors, Reverend Clergy, Parsons, Curates, Archdeacons, Doctors of Divinity, Professors of Divinity,” et cetera.³

Chapter 2 of book 2 starts with the rivalry between the Bishops of Rome and of Constantinople over the claim of universal bishopric. Finally this is established for the Roman Pontiff by the help of the King of France, from thenceforth “called the *eldest son of the church*.” Antichrist’s claim of being Christ’s vicegerent on earth was followed by persecution, with the threat of death for heretics if they did not obey—falling back for justification on the law of Moses.

³ Elias Smith, *The Clergyman’s Looking-Glass* [No. II]; *Being a History of . . . Anti-Christ*, bk. 1, p. 14.

3. FRENCH "EARTHQUAKE" SHAKES ALL STATE RELIGIONS.

—Then in chapter 11 of book 2 the great reversal of papal fortunes is portrayed, and the violence visited upon the Catholic bishops and priests of France, and which had all been predicted in the book of Revelation under the symbol of the "great Earthquake," when the "tenth part of the city fell." Verse 10 reads:

"Now by the Earthquake was meant the overthrow of the kingdom of France, and the breaking that part of the kingdom of Anti-Christ; for France was considered as the tenth part of the city of Rome, that great city which ruleth over the kings of the earth."

And so great was the quake, says this unique popularized account, that it "shook the Bishop of Rome out of his great chair" (verse 12).

"14. Moreover this Earthquake shook his money out of his coffers into the hands of the French General, and it even shook the Pope out of his dominion, and caused him to tremble away to Malta.

"15. This great Earthquake also shook off the hand of the King and Queen; it also shook many of the Bishop's heads off, and others it shook out of the government."

It also shook "the Altars, the Images, the wax Candles, the Court of Inquisition, and even Purgatory itself" (verse 16)! Then follows the application (verses 17 ff.) that closed the original newspaper articles: "Though Rome and France felt the most of this great Earthquake," it was felt also by "all the countries where kings and clergymen reigned," including the ministers of Antichrist in America—a direct thrust at the state-supported clergy in New England—who tried to make the people believe that the election of "Thomas" (Jefferson) would endanger not only Christianity but the heads of the ministers, who were really worried about their livelihood if the state support of the church should end. Thus the symbols of prophecy were used as a vehicle for political satire.

4. AMERICA'S PART IN ESTABLISHMENT OF "KINGDOM."—

In an 1805 discourse, *The Whole World Governed by a Jew; or, The Government of the Second Adam, as King and Priest,*

Smith compares the prophecies of Daniel, Revelation, and Thessalonians. He sees the standard four kingdoms of Daniel, followed by the coming of Christ as the second Adam in the time of the Romans; but he looks for the fulfillment of the predicted "kingly government of Christ" in the government of the United States.⁴ Then he adds:

"These three prophecies in Daniel, Revelation and Thessalonians. all refer to one thing. When we have found the accomplishment of one, we have found the accomplishment of all. By comparing these three prophecies together we may see their agreement."⁵

This exposition is devoted chiefly to Rome—the fourth beast (equated with the leopard beast of Revelation 13), and with the papal Little Horn emerging from the divisions of Rome and exercising power 1260 years. When, he continues, judgment was given to the saints in the Reformation, the Protestant countries kept and exercised the dominion that they took away from the beast (defined as "a form of government, where religion is part of the constitution"). He also identifies the Little Horn with the Man of Sin, and the "Mystery of Iniquity," or the "mystery Babylon," called "that wicked." Governmental enforcement of religion was introduced in America, but was discarded. Thus the tail of the beast has begun to burn here, but the body, in Europe, will burn gradually, together with "the woman or church which this beast holds up."⁶

In this country the saints possess the kingdom, he adds, and the people of the saints (and those who, like Jefferson, are not saints, yet "are friendly to that government which the saints love") shall have the greatness of the kingdom. This kingly government of Christ, or republicanism, with its principles of "*liberty, equality, unity, and peace,*" he fondly hopes, will eventually spread over the Beast's kingdom (Europe), and

⁴ Elias Smith, *The Whole World Governed by a Jew*, pp. 9, 36-41.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-49, 50-56. (The prophecy in Revelation 17 "that the ten horns shall hate the whore,"¹⁷ he believes, was accomplished, at least in part, in the French Revolution. (*Ibid.*, p. 71.)

the whole world. The present "general shaking among almost all nations" and the political and religious earthquakes in this country, as well as the "remarkable outpouring of God's spirit," are signs that "the government is now on Christ's shoulder," and this partial accomplishment will soon be realized in full.⁷

In 1805 he also published *The Day of Judgment*. Among the developments outlined as predicted to precede the judgment, he names the dispersion of the Jews, the efforts of men and devils to destroy the kingdom of Christ by persecution, the falling away in the church—the reversion to heathen practices and the rise of the Man of Sin—and the signs in the heavens, these all having taken place. Other things, such as the return and conversion of the Jews, he expects in the future.⁸

5. DARK DAY RECOGNIZED SIGN OF ADVENT.—Smith says the predicted falling away (2 Thessalonians 2) is from the doctrine of Christ, going back to old heathen practices. And he defines the Man of Sin as—

"an order of men who succeeded each other in the church, each one practising wickedness under the name of religion. This means the Popes in the church of Rome. This man of sin was to shew himself that he is God."⁹

Smith also calls attention here, as in his periodical *The Herald of Gospel Liberty*, to the signs in the heavens pointing to the nearness of the second advent. He explicitly states:

"These things have been seen, some of them even in our day. In the year 1780, there was something remarkable seen in the sun by day, and in the moon by night. All who believed the Bible, thought this a sign of the coming of the son of man."¹⁰

6. HYMNS SING STORY OF THE ADVENT.—Smith uses various forms of writing. His editorial ventures are discussed in chapter 8. In 1812 he issued *A New Testament Dictionary*. He there defines *Antichrist* as not only the bishops of Rome,

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 58, 70-78.

⁸ Elias Smith, *The Day of Judgment*, pp. 10-13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12. He also mentions the northern lights as a sign (citing Joel 2:30), being seen in New England. On *The Herald of Gospel Liberty*, see pp. 144-151.

but as also including any spirit—in any church—that opposes Christ's "true *character, spirit, doctrine, or law*," or any system that denies the right of private judgment. In Babylon he sees the confused religion introduced after the apostolic period and the Antichristian hierarchy headed by the pope, the mother of all Antichristian principles. Its overthrow has begun, for "the pope is deprived of his territory and is in the hands of Bonaparte." In the discussion of the prophetic *Beasts*, Smith lists the standard four world powers. The first beast of Revelation 13 is the "cruel government" of old Rome and its present ten kingdoms; the second beast is the "*hierarchy, or ecclesiastical government*" of popes and all who enforce creeds by law.

In *Hymns, Original and Selected, For the Use of Christians*, compiled by Smith and his colleague Abner Jones, the emphasis is significant. One is entitled "The Last Judgment," beginning: "He comes! He comes! to judge the world." Another was called "The Harvest, or End of the World," with a vivid description of the second advent.¹¹ And several were on the millennium, one being titled "The Thousand Years of Christ's Reign; or the New Jubilee," containing the rhyming lines:

"A thousand years our souls shall dwell,
And sing while Satan's bound in hell."¹²

Several were on baptism by immersion, and one bore the unusual title "Your Bodies Are Temples of the Holy Ghost."¹³

7. THE NEW EARTH THE CLIMAX OF PROPHECY.—In his book of *Sermons, Containing an Illustration of the Prophecies to Be Accomplished From the Present Time, Until the New Heavens and Earth Are Created, When All the Prophecies Will Be Fulfilled* (1808), Smith asserts that prophecy provides light for this dark world. Throughout its chapters he emphasizes the increasing signs of Christ's coming, such as scoffers, wars, distress of nations, catastrophes, famines, and pestilences. He

¹¹ Elias Smith and Abner Jones, *Hymns, Original and Selected, For the Use of Christians* (8th ed., 1817), nos. 121, 33.

¹² *Ibid.*, no. 338; see also no. 49.

¹³ *Ibid.*, no. 45.

expects at the second advent the first resurrection, that of the righteous, the destruction of the army of Gog gathered against Jerusalem, the conversion of the Jews, the destruction of the Beast—the papal Roman Government—and the kings of the earth and their armies, including the fall of Babylon. This brings the binding of Satan and the beginning of Christ's reign of a thousand years on earth with the glorified saints.¹⁴

During the millennial reign there will be peace, Smith believes, even among the beasts, and unprecedented fruitfulness of the earth. Unusual health will be general among "those who are not of the raised or changed saints." And the knowledge of the Lord will fill the earth, and the angel of Revelation 14:6, 7 will fly. The Holy City will be built at Jerusalem, with the twelve tribes settled in Canaan, where streams of life-giving water will flow. And the nations will meet in Jerusalem each year.¹⁵

At the end of the thousand years Satan will lead the nations in revolt against the Holy City, but they will be destroyed by fire. After this comes the general resurrection and the last judgment, then the destruction of the wicked in the lake of fire—the burning earth. But the new heavens and new earth will be re-created out of the ashes, as it were, of the old, the new Jerusalem will come down from heaven, and the eternal kingdom will begin.¹⁶ That was the grand outline leading up to the climax and consummation of the plan of redemption, according to Smith.

Smith emphatically rejects the hell of everlasting torment, held by most churches, contending from many Scriptural passages that the wicked will be destroyed, that they will perish, be devoured, burned up like the chaff. The soul and body of the unrepentant wicked will die, to live no more. This second death, he avers, is in opposition to eternal life.¹⁷

¹⁴ Elias Smith, *Sermons*, sermons 7, 8.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, sermons 9-12. Its pages are saturated with the return-of-the-Jews concept.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, sermons 13, 14, 19-22.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, sermons 15-18.

II. Miller—Drying of Euphrates Is Withdrawal of Support

Between 1803 and 1808 WILLIAM F. MILLER, M.A.,¹⁸ pastor of the Presbyterian-Congregational church at Windsor, Connecticut, issued several tractates on prophecy—*Signs of the Times*; or, *The Sure Word of Prophecy*; *A Dissertation on the Prophecies of the Sixth and Seventh Vials* (1803); *Christ the Rod of Iron Upon Antichristian Kings and Nations* (1804); and *A Dissertation on the Harvest of Mystical Babylon* (1808). Though rather wordy and repetitious, their essence is this: The first treatise sets forth the French Revolution, and subsequent events, as a fulfillment of the sixth vial—the drying up of the figurative Euphrates, or the French monarchy, the source of the wealth, power, and influence of *mystical*, or papal, Babylon. The Papacy, says Miller, rose in three stages under the trumpets, and will similarly diminish in three distinct stages. In this he leans heavily on Lowman, but cites other expositors—Doddridge, Lightfoot, Newton, et cetera.

The first period in its rise began under Justinian, perhaps in 553, from which, on the 360-day “prophetic year” basis (1242 Julian years, inclusive) he calculates that the 1260 years would end in 1794 (citing Fleming), when the king of France was beheaded, and thus a great judgment fell on the kingdom of the Beast.¹⁹ The historical sequence of the prophecies of Revelation is stressed, as opposed to the idea of recapitulation, or repetition.²⁰

The three “unclean spirits like frogs,” hatched in the ponds of the mystical Euphrates, inflict the awful judgments on the papal world. These come out of the mouths of the devil, the pope, and the Jesuits. The first was the conspiracy against religion in France, culminating in the antireligious aspects of the French Revolution. The second was the secret “German

¹⁸ WILLIAM F. MILLER (1768-1818) graduated from Yale in 1786, and was ordained in 1791. He was recognized as a scholar and was considered a good church historian and a godly man.

¹⁹ William F. Miller, *Signs of the Times*; or, *The Sure Word of Prophecy. A Dissertation on the Prophecies of the Sixth and Seventh Vials*, pp. 3-10.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 37, 38.

Union," and the third the Society of the Illuminati, founded by the ex-Jesuit Weishaupt. The two-horned beast is the religious orders of the Church of Rome, particularly the Jesuits. To Miller the "kings of the east" are a succession of kings who are exalted above the pope—Napoleon Bonaparte is perhaps the first—who will reduce the power of the pope.²¹

The book of Revelation he regards (following Lowman) as covering the history of the church in consecutive order. The first period, the seven seals, extends from about 95 to 323. The second (the trumpets) follows the reign of Constantine and covers the invasions of the empire, including the Mohammedan exploits down to 750. The third period (the vials) is the time of the last (or papal) head of the Roman Government, which continues 1260 years, about 756-2016.

The Beast clearly is Rome, and the seven heads successive forms of government. The Roman wound was healed when the Papacy succeeded the sixth or imperial power. Thus the first stage in the rise of the Papacy is set at 553; its second stage at 606, along with the rise of Mohammedanism (but the second terminal date of 1866, for the 1260 days, should be reduced to 1848). However, the full power of the pope was not reached until the temporal power was conferred by Pepin, in 758, which would perhaps lead to 2018, or more accurately 2000, when Rome and the Papacy would finally be destroyed, preceding the millennium.²²

The number 666 is both the name *Luduvic* and the measure of time (from John's vision to the Beast's appearance in 758).²³

His *Christ the Rod of Iron* (1804) repeats that the French Revolution brought about the downfall of the Papacy. He cites 2 Thessalonians 2 as plainly dooming the papal nations to damnation. In his 95-page *Dissertation on the Harvest of Mystical Babylon* (1808) he reiterates his former positions on

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16, 19-33.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 37-46.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 43. and William F. Miller, *Harvest of Mystical Babylon*, p. 38, respectively.

the vials and the frogs. He states that as atheism and Deism were corrupting the whole world under the sixth vial, so the overturning of kingdoms under Napoleon and his successors will constitute the seventh vial. But this scourge used by God—the “Judai-Papal” Antichrist—will in turn be overthrown in the final conflict, followed by the setting up of true Protestant Christianity to rule the world in the millennium.

Miller sees the standard four kingdoms in Daniel 2, and the ten horns of the fourth beast as Rome’s divisions, with the Papacy as the Little Horn. The present (1808) is the great day of God Almighty, reaping the harvest of papal and Mohammedan nations by the conquering sword of war. This is the judgment of Daniel 7:9, 10. In Revelation 12, Miller sees the “woman” as the church down through the centuries, particularly now in Britain and “the American *wilderness*.”

III. Kinne—Anticipates Millennium About 1866

Mention must also be made of AARON KINNE,⁸⁴ Congregational clergyman and legislator, who wrote *A Display, of Scriptural Prophecies* (1813), *Explanation of the Types, Prophecies, etc.* (1814), and an *Essay on the New Heaven and Earth* (1821). He was respected as a scholar and as a man of prayer.

1. STANDARD POSITIONS ON OUTLINE PROPHECIES.—Remark-
ing that Daniel is the first of the prophets “to detail events in a regular order and chronological succession,” Kinne presents the standard view of Daniel 2 and 7, “the four great empires of Babylon, Media and Persia, Greece, and Rome,” and the usual position on Daniel 8 and 11. The dragon of Revelation 12 is the Roman emperors; the Beast from the sea would seem to be the idolatrous empire, both pagan and medieval; and the two-horned beast, the Little Horn of Daniel 7, and the Man of

⁸⁴ AARON KINNE (1744-1842) was born in Connecticut and graduated from Yale with an M.A. He was ordained in 1770, was a missionary to the Oneida Indians, then served as pastor of the Groton, Connecticut, Congregational church (1769-98) and of other Congregational churches from 1804 onward. He was a chaplain in the Army, principal of the Morris School at Lebanon (which developed into a college at Hanover, New Hampshire), and a member of the Massachusetts legislature from 1813 to 1815.

Sin all seem to refer to the Roman church, or Papacy, although Kinne is not too explicit on this point. The Little Horn and the two-horned beast apparently embraced what others called the Eastern and Western Antichrists, for he speaks of troubles of both branches of Christendom; yet does not mention Antichrist by name, but he states clearly that Babylon is the "popish" church.²⁵ The desolating Little Horn of Daniel 8 he applies to Mohammedanism.

2. FOLLOWS MEDE ON SEALS AND TRUMPETS.—In interpreting the seven seals and seven trumpets Kinne makes them consecutive, one group following the other, and so spanning the Christian Era, thus harking back to the old Joseph Mede theory of 1627²⁶—with the seals confined to the first three centuries, from the destruction of Jerusalem on to the convulsions of the Roman Empire, when it was converted from paganism to Christianity. The trumpets are then made to begin with the invasion of the northern barbarians (about A.D. 400), followed by Genseric with his Vandals, and Odoacer and the Heruli. Under the fifth trumpet, soon after the Gothic kings heal the "deadly wound" by restoring pagan idolatry, the Little Horn of Daniel 8 appears as Mohammedanism, which is to introduce (about 606) the 1260 years of the witnessing in sackcloth, and is to hurt men 150 years, from 612 to 772. The sixth, or Turkish, trumpet follows, with its 391 years from 1281 to 1672.²⁷

3. PARALLEL WOES AND VIALS.—The seven vials Kinne interprets as the punishments falling on the "idolatrous Christians of the West," contemporary with the woes of the fifth and sixth vials poured on the Eastern church. He takes them to be wars within the empire, between the Christians and the infidels, or Mohammedans, and then between the emperors

²⁵ Aaron Kinne, *A Display, of Scriptural Prophecies, With Their Events, and the Periods of Their Accomplishment. Compiled From Rollin, Prideaux, Newton, and Other Eminent Writers* (1813), pp. 13, 14, 16-20.

²⁶ On Mede, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 542-549.

²⁷ Kinne, *A Display, of Scriptural Prophecies*, pp. 15-19.

and the popes and among the popes. The Reformation is involved in the fifth vial, poured upon the seat of the Beast, denoting "the infraction upon the idolatrous power of the empire"; the sixth predicts the drying up of the papal revenues, the froglike spirits are the spirit of infidelity currently pervading Europe, which will destroy Babylon, or the Catholic Church. The third woe and the seventh vial he sees as current or future, and the 1260 years, beginning at 606, will end in 1866, which date would mark the beginning of the millennium, followed by the end of the world.²⁸ Kinne's outline was really a synthesis of various earlier expositions, and somewhat behind many of his contemporaries.

IV. Ethan Smith—Places Emphasis on France

Another able Congregational pastor, who turned to the intriguing prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation to find the meaning of those strange times, was ETHAN SMITH,²⁹ stocky in build and quick in mind. He felt that the mystic symbols were a challenge to the understanding of the Christian expositor. He studied the prophecies for eighteen years, then submitted his findings to his fellow ministers—eight commendations appearing in the printed volume from leading clergymen, including Lathrop, Morse, and McFarland. In his earliest treatise Smith, following Faber, sees the infidelic French Empire in Daniel 11:36, and as Antichrist, or the Beast.³⁰

1. BEASTS, TRUMPETS, AND VIALS.—Smith's early concepts were not too clear on certain features. He put the principal emphasis on an atheistic Antichrist and Beast, but he held that

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20. The last three dates in the last column of page 20 are aligned wrongly, as is evident from the date 1866, which, according to his 606 beginning, is the end of the 1260 years. Someone, probably the original owner, has marked the obvious corrections in ink in the Library of Congress copy.

²⁹ ETHAN SMITH (1762-1849) was born in Massachusetts, and in 1780 joined the American Army. Returning home, he was converted and joined the church in 1781, establishing prayer meetings in his home. Encouraged to study for the ministry, he went to college. After graduation from Dartmouth in 1790, and a special period of theological study, he served as Congregational-Presbyterian pastor at Hopkinton, New Hampshire, Hebron, New York, Poultney, Vermont, and Hanover, Massachusetts. His last responsibility was as city missionary in Boston. He wrote three books on prophecy—*A Dissertation on the Prophecies* (1811), *Key to the Prophecies* (1814), and *Key to the Revelation* (1833), the first two while in Hopkinton.

³⁰ Ethan Smith, *A Dissertation on the Prophecies* (1811). pp. xii, xiii, 104-109, 250.

the Roman hierarchy is the second beast of Revelation 13, the Little Horn of Daniel 7, the mystical Harlot Babylon of Revelation 17 (though Babylon under the seventh vial is the atheistic Antichrist).³¹ Smith likewise follows Faber on the 1260 years (606-1866) of the Little Horn and Mohammedanism. And he connects both the name *Lateinos* and the date 606 with the mystic number 666.³²

He begins the seven last plagues at the time of the Reformation—the fifth, on the “seat” of the Papacy, being the rise of Antichrist in the French Revolution, and the sixth vial relating to the overthrow of Mohammedan Turkey, which arose under the sixth trumpet. (The hour, day, month, and year are either 391, 360, or 365 years, from 1453 to 1844, 1813, or 1818.) The seventh vial, beginning with the destruction of Antichrist, introduces the millennium with its kingdom of the converted Jews and the church, its first and second mystical resurrections, ending with the literal resurrection, the personal coming of Christ, the final judgment, and the conflagration of the world.³³

2. BARBARIAN INVASIONS AND TURKISH WOE.—Smith's later *Key to the Revelation* (1833) also carries ministerial recommendation, this time from a number of prominent clergymen. The first six seals, confined to the early centuries, represent judgments on the Jews and on pagan Rome, and the seventh contains the trumpets. The first four trumpets are the northern invasions of the barbarians (such as the Goths and the Vandals), bringing the fall of the Roman Empire. The fifth and sixth trumpets are the Mohammedan and Turkish scourges, and are woe trumpets. The seventh trumpet destroys Antichrist just preceding the millennium.³⁴

The terrors of the French Revolution, beginning in 1789, are connected with Revelation 10—the descent of the angel (Christ, he says) and the seven thunders. In this connection

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 34, 85-94.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 102.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 265, 323, 324, 326, 327, 340, 341, 199-202, 235-237, 244-249.

³⁴ Ethan Smith, *Key to the Revelation*, pp. 20, 85-99, 105, 108-129, 147-150, 174 ff.

the exposition of Daniel 11 is introduced—the willful king as France, with Napoleon as the new “god of forces”; also the four kingdoms of Daniel 2, and the ten divisions that would not adhere to one another, and the Beast of Revelation, with the 1260 days interpreted on the year-day principle, as 360-day years (from A.D. 666). The Two Witnesses—God’s true people—are slain for a brief period, at the time of the future “great day of God.”³⁵

3. THE WOMAN-CHURCH AND PAPAL BEAST.—In Revelation 12 the true church, in conflict with the papal power, flees to retreats in Europe and America. The child is Christ. But the climax of the conflict is with the flood of infidelity. The first beast of Revelation 13 is secular Rome—like Daniel’s fourth beast—wounded by Constantine. The second beast, the papal counterpart, paralleling the Little Horn of Daniel 7 is the papal hierarchy continuing 1260 years from A.D. 666, with the 1335 ending in the year 2001.³⁶

4. FLYING ANGEL IS GOSPEL PROCLAMATION.—The first angel of Revelation 14 is emblematic of the worldwide missionary movement. And this Smith equates with the blowing of the trumpet (as in ancient Israel), the unprecedented proclamation of the gospel to the nations just before the fall of Antichrist; also with the standing up of Michael in Daniel 12:1-4. This apocalyptic passage he also equates with Joel 2, in which he sees the return of the Jews; Malachi 4 on the great day of God, preceded by the coming of Elijah the prophet (the missionary angel); and Matthew 24:14 on the worldwide witness. The second angel’s message, on papal Babylon’s fall, is applicable to France in 1789 and after, when infidelity overthrew the papal power and replaced it as Babylon. The third warns of both infidelity and popery; and this is followed by the harvest and vintage scenes, as Christ thrusts in His sickle in the battle that destroys Antichrist and introduces the millennium.³⁷

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-148, 242, 155, 156, 162, 163.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, lectures 14-18.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, lectures 19, 20.

5. 2300 YEARS FROM 481 B.C. TO A.D. 1819.—The seven vials are poured out on the worshipers of the papal Beast from Reformation times to the millennium. He begins the fifth vial in 1789 with the French Revolution, paralleling the fifth trumpet—the darkening of the earth with the smoke of Mohammedanism. This parallelism he carries on to the sixth trumpet and the sixth vial, poured out on the Turks. He applies the exceeding great horn of Daniel 8 to Mohammedanism. The Turkish period he places from 1453 to 1818; approximating his dating of the end of the 2300 years of Daniel 8:14 (to the cleansing of the sanctuary), as extending from 481 B.C. to A.D. 1819, and reaching to the beginning of the fall of the Turks. The three unclean spirits (from Satan, infidelity, and the declining papal system) gather the latter-day nations together for Armageddon.³⁸

6. FRENCH REVOLUTION AND INDEFINITE MILLENNIUM.—The atheistic power rising from the French Revolution is brought into Revelation 17 as “the healed head of the old pagan beast”—the newly raised infidel beast from the pit, who carries papal Babylon to execution, and is slain in the judgment at the close of the vision of Daniel 7. These tremendous scenes introduce the millennium as mankind comes to the end of the 1335 days, and the “rising of the millennial sun.” Smith is a straight postmillennialist. The “mystical resurrections,” like that of Ezekiel’s dry bones, are figurative; Christ’s reign is likewise spiritual, he says; and the thousand years itself is an indefinite period. The converted Jews will convert the heathen. At the close Satan will go forth to deceive the nations briefly; then follow the final judgment and heaven.³⁹ Such was Smith’s trail on the now rather well-worn prophetic pathway. Though differing from most on the precise timing, he nevertheless had the 2300 days as years, and ended them in the nineteenth century.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 310, 313, 314, 316, 317, 320, 323, 324. On the dating of the 2300 days he apparently follows Bicheno.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, lectures 30-35.

V. Armstrong—Remarkably Balanced Views on Revelation

The ten excellent lectures on the prophecies of Revelation that the Presbyterian minister and educator, Dr. AMZI ARMSTRONG,⁴⁰ gave to his church at Mendham, New Jersey, in the winter of 1814-15, resulted from twenty years of earnest study. Prophetic exposition, he says, is to be esteemed and weighed with care. Prophecy is not for speculation, but to help Christ's followers to understand God's providential care of His people from His ascension until His second advent, and their coming deliverance from all their enemies.⁴¹ Hence its pertinency at the time.

1. SEVEN SEALS ARE HISTORY OF CHURCH.—The seven seals, says Armstrong, cover the entire Christian Era—(1) from the triumphs of the "white" apostolic church; (2) through the "red" pagan persecutions, up to the time of Constantine; (3) during the "black" period of famine for the Word of God, from Constantine to the barbarian desolations of the empire; (4) the "pale" period of the extinction of spiritual life, until the dawning of the Reformation; (5) the time of the revival of the spirit of the martyrs, after the "long night of death," when justification and Christ's righteousness were again brought to light; (6) the great concussions and the total subversion of all earthly establishments, when the stone kingdom shall smite all nations and all earthly powers shall be broken to pieces, at the great day of the wrath of the Lamb. (In the sealing he sees the restoration of Israel.) This is all followed (7) by the millennial peace and rest of the church. Such, he says, is God's inner history of the church.⁴²

⁴⁰ AMZI ARMSTRONG (1771-1827) was born in New York and had his schooling in Connecticut. After teaching for a time in Bloomfield, New Jersey, he studied theology and was licensed to preach by the presbytery of New York in 1795. He was pastor in Mendham, New Jersey, from 1796 to 1816, lecturing on the Apocalypse near the close of his pastorate, when he went to Bloomfield as principal of an academy to prepare students for the ministry. He received an M.A. degree in 1804, and a D.D. in 1821, from the College of New Jersey (Princeton). A thorough theologian, and a gifted speaker without recourse to manuscripts, he also had the faculty of simplifying difficult subjects. One of his noted sermons, in 1823, was on *The Last Trump*.

⁴¹ Amzi Armstrong, *A Syllabus of Lectures on the Visions of the Revelation*, pp. 12-14.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 23-43.

2. SEVEN TRUMPETS: SCOURGES UPON APOSTATE CHURCH.

—The seven trumpets (alarms of wars) paralleling the seals in part, execute wrath upon an apostate church, beginning when violence and oppression prevailed in the church after the Roman Empire became nominally Christian. The first four, “intended for correction, as well as expressing displeasure,” are of short duration: (1) Alaric and the Goths, descending “from the cold regions of the north” like a “storm of hail upon the empire,” sparing neither age nor infancy, knowing not that they had a commission from God to rebuke men for sin; (2) Attila and the Huns, preceding the middle of the fifth century, invading the whole empire with violence, destroying as the “scourge of God, and the terror of men,” because of the degeneracy of the times; (3) Genseric and the Vandals, representing the Arians, with their “philosophizing notions,” punishing the church’s apostasy and coercion of conscience, and subduing not only North Africa but Rome itself, executing the wrath of God for mercies long abused; (4) the last correction, before the close of the fifth century, the end of the Western Empire (in 476). Then says Armstrong:

“Between this time, and the sounding of the next trumpet, I suppose, it was that the true Church retired to the wilderness—The witnesses began to prophesy in sackcloth—The nominal Church was rejected as apostate—And the beast arose out of the sea.”⁴³

The “woe” trumpets were judgments without mercy upon the apostate church in connection with the empire, “after being rejected of the Lord.”⁴⁴ These are: (5) the Mohammedan “woe,” from about 612 to 762—the predicted five “months,” or 150 years, counting a day for a year—a continual scourging by these Saracenic “locusts,” that abased the glory of a worldly church; (6) the “woe” of the Turks, on the borders of the river Euphrates, against the whole apostate church (the 391 days, or years, of Revelation 9:15, extending from 1281 to 1672); (7) the introduction of the millennial kingdom of Christ with His

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-72.

triumph over His enemies, and the subsequent conversion of the nations.

3. EVENTS OF 1260 YEARS DEPICTED.—The Little Book, introduced between the sixth and seventh trumpets, is now open, says Armstrong. The announcement that there should be “time no longer” implies that “the triumphing of the wicked is at an end,” the mystery of God about to be finished. Then the people are to be measured, and the line of separation made. The 42 months, lasting until the seventh angel sounds, are 1260 years:

“This is the term of the continuance of that great mystery of the divine providence toward the Church, during which the witnesses of Christ prophecy in sackcloth—The Church remains in the wilderness—The beast triumphs, and holds the saints under his domination—The power of the holy people is scattered—And Antichrist sits enthroned over an apostate Church—While the sanctuary is trodden under foot, and heathenish idolaters boast themselves in occupying the place of the Church of the living God.”⁴⁵

4. RESURRECTION OF WITNESSES AND BIBLE SOCIETIES.—The name Christian could not long apply to the church after the “conversion” of multitudes under Justinian in the middle of the sixth century. Thus the outer court of the Temple and the Holy City were trodden underfoot for 1260 years, and “the *Word* and *Ordinances* of the Lord”—the Two Witnesses against the apostate church—clothed in sackcloth. Then the Two Witnesses were killed, and were raised after 3½ days, or years, in the French Reign of Terror (1792-1796). Then the era of Bible and Missionary societies began, and the sackcloth of the Witnesses was put off. The earthquake shook the whole empire of the Beast, and one of the ten kingdoms fell.⁴⁶

5. THE WOMAN, THE DRAGON, AND THE BEASTS.—The woman of Revelation 12, or the church, “invested with the rays of the sun of righteousness,” bears the “man child,” Christ, as the 70 weeks of years are ending. The dragon is pagan Rome

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-95.

—Daniel's fourth beast. The wilderness is the obscurity to which the church retires during the 1260 years, when the flood of pagans inundates the Roman church. The beast from the sea, in chapter 13, is the same as Daniel's fourth beast—"Roman dominion"—following Babylonia, Persia, and Grecia. John sees it particularly in its eighth or papal form. The seven heads are forms of government. The ten horns are the ten kingdoms—Huns, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Franks, Vandals, Suevi and Alans, Burgundians, Heruli and Turingi, Anglo-Saxons, and Lombards—ten horn-nations that support the Beast, and still show their beastlike, despotic character. But the Roman beast's blasphemous existence "will expire with the 1260 years given to the Gentiles."⁴⁷

The two-horned beast (as also the papal Little Horn of Daniel 7) is, Armstrong holds, the apostate Roman church, with the two horns as the regular and secular orders of the priesthood. And its boasted miracles are the "distinguishing stigma of Antichrist." The image is the Papacy. And the 666 is the number of the Latin man—yielded by the three names *Romiith* (Hebrew), *Lateinos* (Greek), and *Vicarius Filii Dei* (Latin). And again Armstrong begins with Justinian the period of the pope as head of the apostate church, or Paul's man of sin.⁴⁸

6. THE FLYING ANGELS AND THE JUDGMENT HOUR.—The first angel of Revelation 14, having the everlasting gospel to preach to all the earth, is only beginning to be fulfilled in "the missionary spirit, manifested in the societies formed for missionary purposes," and the provisions to multiply and distribute the Scriptures. But the full power of this, he adds, will not be manifest "till they shall be persuaded that the hour of his judgment is come." Hence the angel's proclamation. And following the threefold angelic message comes the harvest of the world, with the "majestic appearance of the great Judge"

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-107, 114, 119-132, 137-140.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-155 (cf. pp. 83, 84), 157-159.



AFTER DORE

SYMBOLIC ANGELS BELIEVED NOW FLYING

In Both Old World and New, Many Able Expositors Began to Declare That the Symbolic Angel Had Begun Its Flight, as the Message of the Last-Day Judgment Was Being Heralded to Men in All Nations

of all the earth, coming "to separate between the wheat and the tares." This is followed by the crushing of the grapes of wrath—the "exterminating judgments" upon an apostate church.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-171, 175-180.

7. SEVEN VIALS PREPARE FOR LAST TRUMP.—The seven vials, or plagues, connected with the last period of the 1260 years represent “successive judgments” preparing the way for the saints to take the kingdom, and for the sounding of the last trumpet. In the sixth vial, upon the great river Euphrates, Armstrong sees the destruction of the Turkish dominion, to prepare the way for the kings of the East (either the Jews or the dominions of Asia). And the gathering at Armageddon is followed by the outpouring of the seventh vial (coincident with the seventh trumpet), which overthrows all human establishments and prepares the way for the kingdoms of this world to become the kingdoms of our Lord.”⁵⁰

8. SIGNS OF THE APPROACHING ADVENT.—Armstrong continues with a warning and an admonition. Christ, the Judge, comes unexpectedly, as a “thief,” as did the Flood in the days of Noah. But the antediluvian world had a warning, and so will the world before the second advent. The time prophecies and the signs of the times declare that great event near, but the times are not discerned for lack of real faith. “Public sentiment, in the present day, does not favor the expectation of such events,” because men hope that “the triumphs of grace shall now complete the work of subduing the nations of men to the obedience of faith.” But Armstrong could not cherish a hope that would hide the approach of the events described in Scripture.⁵¹

As to the time of the advent, Armstrong stresses that it is after the Holy City has been trodden underfoot and the Witnesses have prophesied in sackcloth, after the woman has been preserved in the wilderness, and the Beast has tyrannized over the saints, during the 1260 years. The Roman hindering power was taken away and the Papacy established. Taking 566 as the date when the Man of Sin was fully revealed, he ends the 1260 years at 1826. “The sixth vial will bring on

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 185, 186, 192-197.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-208, 216-220.

the destruction of the Turkish empire," and after a lull, during which Israel will be restored and converted and the gospel sent to all the nations, then the final events will come tumbling on. Great Babylon will drink the cup of wrath, the Beast and false prophet be cast into endless perdition, and their hosts slain. Satan will be bound, and the saints reign with Christ during the thousand years of the millennium.⁵² It is a vivid exposition, well thought out. The larger outline is clearly portrayed, with difference from others largely in detail.

9. LAST TRUMPET ANNOUNCES DAY OF GOD.—Eight years after his retirement for health reasons, Armstrong returned once more to his church at Mendham, on October 17, 1824, to put them in remembrance of his former messages on prophecy. His sermon theme was *The Last Trumpet*. Trumpets, extending the power of the human voice, were used as warning against danger, or to announce feasts and fasts, especially the Day of Atonement in the year of jubilee, or release. This all reminds us of the last trumpet, which will convoke mankind for the coming and presence of the great Judge, when the captives of sin go free and the bands of death are loosed, when the "ancient receptacles of the dead will be broken up," and the scattered dust that once formed the constituent parts of man will be reanimated to appear before the Lord. Now "when shall this be?"⁵³

10. PREMILLENNIAL ADVENT OPENS THE JUDGMENT.—The "general judgment," Armstrong thinks, clearly cannot be compassed in a single day. It will doubtless open at the beginning of the millennium, for the saints are to sit with the Judge on thrones of judgment; and the closing scenes of judgment come at the millennium's close. The millennium will begin suddenly, unexpectedly, preceded by the destruction of the Man of Sin, whom the Lord will "destroy with the brightness

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 220-227, 231, 234-236.

⁵³ Amzi Armstrong, *The Last Trumpet*, pp. 5, 6.

of His coming." And John tells how the Beast and false prophet are to be cast into the lake of fire. Armstrong believes that "the seed of Abraham shall be recovered from their dispersion," to honor Christ during the millennium. Certain commentators describe the first resurrection as only spiritual, not literal. On the contrary, Armstrong avers, the second advent is everywhere connected with the resurrection of the saints and the execution of the judgment upon their enemies. The battle of the great day, which precedes the millennium, is the beginning of judgments at Christ's second coming, when the seventh or last trumpet shall sound.⁵⁴

11. THE VOICE OF WARNING SOUNDS FORTH.—As never before, says Armstrong, disappointed men are in a kind of "almost mute suspense," "as though we were on the eve of some great change." If the cry is made at midnight, "Behold the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him," will you be prepared? "And now I stand before you to remind you of former warnings" during twenty years of ministry. Search the Scriptures, he appeals, to see whether these things be so concerning the glorious appearing of Christ. Others have so allegorized and spiritualized the Scriptures on this subject "as to leave room for them to arrogate themselves the honor, and the power in the Church, which belongs to Christ alone." And so entirely has this scheme prevailed that men are in darkness on the subject.⁵⁵

In these days of increasing light and knowledge and the sending of the gospel abroad, men delight to recognize the first angel of Revelation 14, but they do not "notice the subject matter of the angel's proclamation," "Fear God, and give honour to him; FOR THE HOUR OF HIS JUDGMENT IS COME."⁵⁶ Armstrong here sounds a note destined to grow louder and more extended as time progresses.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-15.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

VI. Eccentric Lorenzo Dow Adds His Curious Bit

A unique figure in the class of crude but zealous itinerant preachers in the Great Revival, and an almost legendary caricature of that class, was LORENZO DOW⁵⁷—Lorenzo, as he styled himself, or “the eccentric Cosmopolite.” Traveling from New England to the southwestern frontier wilderness and even to Ireland and England, he preached to enormous crowds. Also he sold or advertised his books—journals and expanded sermons—and in later years dispensed his patented “Lorenzo Dow’s Family Medicine.” But he was immensely serious about the conversion of sinners.

1. STANDARD INTERPRETATION OF BASIC OUTLINES.—Not an expositor of prophecy as such, he preached on it as a matter of course, and sometimes referred to earlier writers on whom he drew, such as Fleming, but particularly Wesley and Bengel.⁵⁸ He gave the standard historical interpretations of Daniel’s four empires, the ten kingdoms, the beast from the sea, the dragon, the woman of Revelation 12 and 18.⁵⁹

2. ODD IDEAS ON LESSER FEATURES.—In addition, Dow put forth several teachings typical of this period, such as atheism as the Antichrist and Napoleon as the two-horned beast. London he saw as Babylon, in control while the Beast “is not,” and the established Protestant churches as the daughters of the scarlet woman.⁶⁰ Regarding himself as the champion of American freedom and of separation of church and state against the Old World tyranny of kings and priests, he thundered warnings

⁵⁷ LORENZO DOW (1777-1834), born in Connecticut, and converted in his youth, began preaching for the Methodists, but soon became a free lance. Aided undoubtedly by his reputation as “crazy Dow,” he made a host of converts. He was skinny and asthmatic, unkempt and ragged, with long hair and beard, a glittering eye, and a high rasping voice—a combination of legendary holy man and buffoon, of visionary and shrewd Connecticut Yankee, of ignoramus and purveyor of pretentious smattering of facts of history, politics, and miscellanea. He won attention with jokes, with bizarre texts, with tirades against Calvinism, Deism, Universalism, or the Papacy. Despite his vagaries, some of his Methodist brethren, whose patience he sorely tried, regarded him as a true man of God.

⁵⁸ For his use of the Wesley-Bengel scheme, see “Omnifarious Law Exemplified,” in *Biography and Miscellany* (1834 ed.), pp. 145, 146.

⁵⁹ See “Of Prophecy Fulfilling,” in *A Journey From Babylon to Jerusalem* (1812), pp. 75-79; and “Hints on the Fulfillment of Prophecy,” in his *History of the Cosmopolite* (1815), and in *Biography and Miscellany*.

⁶⁰ Lorenzo Dow, “Hint to the Public, or Thoughts on the Fulfillment of Prophecy in 1811,” in *Biography and Miscellany*, pp. 16-21.

of foreign intrigues and Jesuit spies. His "Prophecy Concerning America" applies Isaiah 18 to the New World. He sees the beginnings of the process by which God—

"will cause the standard and principles of liberty to be set up, as they were first set up in this country, and afterwards in France and South America; and he will cause these principles to be diffused among all the nations of Europe, destroying all their established order and system of oppression . . . (as they are beginning to do in England at this time, and as they will shortly do in Germany, Italy, Spain and other countries,) which will cause them to *gnaw their tongues for pain* within a few years, under the operation of the fifth vial now pouring out." ⁶¹

3. STONE BEGINNING TO SMITE IMAGE.—Dow denounces the [Un]Holy Alliance and their designs on America.

"The ten kingdoms of Europe will be in the full exercise of their power and authority, when *the stone* destined to destroy them *is cut out without hands*, and these kingdoms will '*agree, and give their power and strength unto the beast, until the words of God are fulfilled*;' or, in other words, till the kingdom of Christ is set up on the earth. Under the next vial, the three evil spirits go forth to unite and strengthen the cause of kings and priests." ⁶²

These three evil spirits he sees as Magog (Russia), popish countries, and England. ⁶³ He expects America to be God's instrument to bring in, or at least prepare for, the millennium on earth through spreading the principles of freedom and true religion, which he implies will be the stone kingdom now beginning to smite the image (divine right of priests and kings), preparatory to the mountain kingdom of God to come. ⁶⁴ In the later period Dow seems to be more the prophet of American freedom than the prophet of righteousness, and the forerunner of the wave of "no popery" agitation in the United States that expressed itself in so many political struggles and even acts of violence in later decades. ⁶⁵ His was an erratic voice on the far-flung fringes, but was widely heard withal.

⁶¹ Lorenzo Dow, "Prophecy Concerning America," *Biography and Miscellany*, pp. 199, 200.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 199; "Hint to the Public," in *Miscellany*, pp. 24 n, 29; and "Progress of Light and Liberty," p. 192, in the same volume.

⁶⁵ Charles Coleman Sellers, *Lorenzo Dow, The Bearer of the Word*, pp. 244, 247, 248.

2300 Years Become New Point of Emphasis

I. Basic Prophetic Principles Become Axiomatic

Through the passage of the centuries certain fundamental interpretations of prophecy came to be accepted generally, by careful expositors, as established, sound, and true—and therefore came to be regarded as more or less standard and axiomatic. These included the year-day principle and the consecutive historical outlines of Daniel. Through all the variations of related exposition some of these main interpretations continued to be recognized as established, and from them emerges a new emphasis on certain prophetic fulfillments in the early nineteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic, with the pattern quite pronounced. The most important feature of all was the new emphasis now being placed on the 2300 year-days.

II. Fundamental Principles Considered Established

First let us survey the progressive application of the time-honored year-day principle to the various prophetic periods, culminating in the terminus of the 2300-day prophecy that will be the new focal point of attention in the subsequent chapters. By the nineteenth century certain fundamental prophetic interpretations had been practically taken for granted, having been held by the great majority of Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant expositors alike through the centuries—for instance, the four world powers of Daniel 2 and 7, interpreted as Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome, followed by the

divided nations of Europe. And there is likewise the 70 weeks of Daniel 9 as weeks of years, "times" standing for years, and "kings" for kingdoms.

By the time of Jerome (A.D. 420) the feet and toes of the metallic man of Daniel 2 and the ten horns of Daniel 7 were commonly applied to the breakup of Rome, and Daniel's Little Horn was believed to be the same as Paul's Man of Sin, the Beast of John's Apocalypse, and the Antichrist. And in the book of Revelation the seven seals were understood as the seven eras of the Christian dispensation, the woman of chapter 12 as the true church, the dragon as pagan Rome, the Beast of Revelation 13 as the coming Antichrist, and the 1000 years of Revelation 20 as the period of coming millennial bliss. Most of these persisted amid the grave departures of Tichonian-Augustinian exposition that almost compassed the permanent overthrow of the historical prophetic interpretation.¹

Now observe, in rapid summarizing retrospect, *some two thousand years of cumulative application of the year-day principle* presented in documented detail in Volumes I to III of *Prophetic Faith*:

1. The Jews first applied this principle to the 70 weeks as years, as the period covering, approximately, the duration of the second Temple.²

2. This basic application of the year-day principle to the 70 weeks, taken over by the Christians, has since been almost universally accepted, with the "weeks of years" marked off for the Jews, and leading up to the atoning death of Christ the promised Messiah, at His first advent.³

3. Next, Jewish expositors from the eighth to the seventeenth centuries likewise applied the year-day principle to the 1290, 1335, and the 2300 days, as well.⁴

¹ See summary in *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 455-461.

² See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 173, 200 (for later development see Vol. II, pp. 201, 208, 211, 213, etc.)

³ See Vol. I, pp. 456, 457.

⁴ See tabular chart, Vol. II, p. 194.

4. Then Joachim of Floris, about 1190, was the first Christian writer to apply the year-day principle to one of these longer time periods—the 1260 days of Revelation 12.⁵

5. The Joachimite followers, or Spirituals, soon extended the principle to include the 1290, 1335, and 2300 year periods.⁶

6. Such pre-Reformation writers as De Lyra and Brute (fourteenth century) similarly applied the year-day principle to the 1260, 1290, and 1335 year periods.⁷

7. Finally, in 1440, Nicholas of Cusa became the oft-cited authority for the 2300 days as years from Persia, extending from about 559 B.C., to some time before 1750.⁸

8. Next, outstanding Reformation writers similarly applied the year-day principle to the 1260, 1290, and 1335 years.⁹

9. Then, practically all seventeenth and eighteenth century Old World post-Reformation expositors continued to use the 1260, 1290, and 1335 year periods, and increasingly included the 2300 years under the principle.¹⁰

10. The post-Reformation recognition of the four world powers—of Babylon, Persia, Grecia, and Rome, the ten divisions of the Roman fourth power, and the Little Horn, Antichrist, Beast, Babylon, and Harlot of Revelation 13 and 17, as the Papacy, was virtually universal. Similarly accepted were the seven churches, seals, and trumpets, covering the Christian Era, the dragon as pagan Rome, the woman in white as the true church, and the woman in scarlet as the apostate church. And by now the “five months,” or 150 years of the Saracens, and the 391 (or 396) years for the Turks were commonly recognized, with France as the “tenth part” of the “city” to “fall away” from Rome, and the closing of the 1260 years of papal spiritual supremacy beginning to be seen as ending with

⁵ See Vol. I, pp. 700, 712 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, chaps. 29-31.

⁷ See Vol. II, pp. 156, 157.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 133, 135.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 528-531.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 784, 785. (The charts appearing in Volumes I to III afford a composite panoramic view of the amassed evidence that makes the data easy to see and evaluate.)

events growing out of the French Revolution. The vials, either in progress or yet to be poured out on the Papacy, and the millennium to follow the second advent were all considered established—except with a small but growing group who placed the second advent *after* the millennium.¹¹

11. And to all this Old World testimony on fundamental application were now added the paralleling, independent American writings of Colonial and early national days up to 1800. The essential unity between Old World and New World exposition was remarkable, as a comparison of their summarizing tables will disclose. Variance was usually over minor points and nonessential details. In general, premillennialism still prevailed in North America, although toward the end of the eighteenth century postmillennialism made considerable progress.¹²

III. Dual Shift in Prophetic Emphasis Marks Nineteenth Century

Around the turn of the century, however, two remarkable yet closely related shifts in study and emphasis occurred in the field of prophetic interpretation—a shift of interest from Daniel 7, with its 1260 years, over to Daniel 8 and the great 2300-year period; and second, from Revelation 13 to Revelation 14.¹³ Observe these in greater detail.

I. CHANGE-OVER FROM DANIEL 7 TO DANIEL 8.—During the first four centuries, Rome as the fourth world power—the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, and Macedonian having already passed from view—was the focal point of contemporary prophetic interest in the expositions of Hippolytus and other early Christian interpreters. In the next century the spotlight shifted to the ten horns as the ten barbarian kingdoms in the territory of old Rome, as stressed by Sulpicius Severus and Jerome. Then,

¹¹ See tabular charts, Vol. II, pp. 784-787.

¹² See summary, Vol. III, pp. 252, 253.

¹³ See Vols. I and II. These were quite apart from that brief focusing of attention upon the falling away of revolutionary France from his historic support of the Papacy, and the exile of Pope Pius VI in 1798.

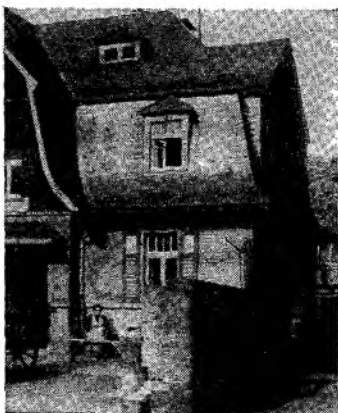
in the late medieval period and the great Protestant Reformation era, the penetrating beam of clear recognition and declaration played upon the eleventh horn, or Little Horn, as the Papacy—an identification that had become established since Eberhard of Salzburg, about 1240. This was declared by Wyclif, Luther, Knox, and many others, and was now taken as axiomatic among all Protestants.

The allotted time of the Papacy's special spiritual domination—the 1260 year-days—became the next point of sustained interest. Beginning a full century before the French Revolution, men like Cressener, Fleming, Newton, and others looked for that period to end about 1800, or shortly before.

Then, following the captivity of Pope Pius VI, in 1798, there was wide recognition on both sides of the Atlantic of the fulfillment of the close of the fateful 1260 years. (See Volume II.) That left only the closing events of Daniel 7 yet to be accomplished—with the awesome judgment scenes at the end of the world.

And now came the remarkable shift of immediate interest and study from Daniel 7 over to Daniel 8 and the 2300-day prophecy. Among varying interpretations there arose—not only in Britain and Europe, but extending down into Africa and even over into India, and especially here in America—some threescore of earnest students of prophecy, in various denominations and language areas, sounding this new note, *that the 2300 year-days would end around 1843, 1844, or 1847*, though they differed as to just what would then take place. And a thousand pulpits in Britain alone, we are told, echoed this contention, with scores in North America declaring the same. Never had there been such a chorus since prophetic interpretation began.

And following 1836, hundreds of other clergymen and lay preachers in North America took up the note, and an even greater chorus of learned and respected voices rang out in the New World that arrested the attention of the entire populace, though with conflicting results, as we shall see.



Left: Petri's Home at Seckback

Here He Wrote a Succession of Expositions, Presenting the Seventy Weeks as the Key to the 2300 Years



Right: Petri's Church in Germany

Here He Expounded the Prophecy of the 2300 Years and Its Timing, Pointing to 1847

2. PARALLELING SHIFT FROM REVELATION 13 TO REVELATION 14.—Paralleling this, the emphasis shifted from Revelation 13 and the ten-horned beast power—the fourth, or Roman, beast of Daniel 7, in its later phase—interpreted as either the Papacy or the secular empire supporting it (with the same allotted 1260 years, ending with the stroke of the sword by the French). Study and emphasis transfers over to Revelation 14, with its flying angel announcing the judgment hour of God and the impending second advent and the harvest of the earth.

IV. Relationship of the 2300 Years and the 70 Weeks

More than a century after Tillinghast of England had, in 1654, designated the 70 weeks as a lesser period within the greater one of the 2300 days, Johann Petri, Reformed pastor

of Germany, in 1768 had put forth, apparently for the first time in history, the proposition that the 70 weeks are the *first part* of the 2300 years, both periods beginning together 453 years before Christ's birth, the longer period therefore ending probably about 1847. The key date was Christ's baptism at the age of thirty at the end of the 69th week.¹⁴ But it was not until the nineteenth century was under way that there was any widespread acceptance of this principle.

Next, it is surely more than a coincidence that "J. A. B." (evidently JOHN AQUILA BROWN) of England and WILLIAM CUMMINS DAVIS of South Carolina should publish independently, within a few months of each other, two strikingly similar datings for the 2300 years, based on the principle of the simultaneous beginning of the 70 weeks with the longer period.¹⁵

J. A. B. started with 1843, as the ending of the 1260 Mohammedan calendar years from the Hegira (actually A.H. 1260, ending in January, 1844). Terminating the 1260 and 2300 years together, like Faber, he computed by subtraction the beginning of the longer period at the decree of Artaxerxes I (Longimanus), in 457 B.C., thence *ending* his 70 weeks with the crucifixion at its close, which he fixed as A.D. 33.¹⁶

Davis, however, started with Christ's baptism at the age of thirty, and the cross in the *midst* of the 70th week, in His 34th year, thus ending the 70 weeks in A.D. 37. Then he figured back by subtraction to get his beginning date, in 453 B.C., from thence reaching 1847 as the end of the 2300 years. But he said that these dates should be keyed to the actual birth year of Christ, not an arbitrarily placed Christian Era. This was basically the method of Petri, and he arrived at the same end date.

¹⁴ See Vol. II, pp. 715-717, 784, 785. Later Hans Wood, layman of Ireland (1787), followed by William Hales (1799), had likewise begun both periods together, but employed a different scheme, based on ending the 70 weeks in A.D. 70. (Vol. II, pp. 719, 720, 784, 785; Vol. III, p. 334.)

¹⁵ J. A. B. published in England in November, 1810; Davis in America in January, 1811. How long each had been studying this question prior to initial publication we shall probably never know. On J. A. B. see Vol. III, pp. 291, 292 (also pp. 404-408); on Davis, see Vol. III, pp. 393-395.

¹⁶ See Vol. III, p. 290.

No. 127.] NOVEMBER, 1910. [No. 11, Vol. IX.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNICATIONS

CONTACTS FROM THE COMMUNISM-
BORN IN THE FIRST POSTALITY
SUBJECTS TO INDIA.

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RV3 4685
D28 THE
MILLENNIUM.

A SHORT SKETCH ON THE LIFE AND DEATH

✓
ANTICHRIST

COMPREHENDING.

1. A true calculation from the prophecy of Daniel.
2. This account compared with St. Paul, St. John, and the history of Rome.
3. An explanation of the fifth, sixth, and seventh Vials, as fulfilled in the reformation from popery, the revolution of France, and the progress of Bonaparte, and the troubles of Europe.
4. A prophetic account of the last diabolical persecution of the church, taken from Rev. xix.

Written in January, 1841

By the Revd. WILLIAM C. DAVIS

Pastor of Hullock's Creek, and Salem Churches, South-Carolina

SALISBURY: (M.C.)

PRINTED BY GOUNIE AND CRIDDE

1813

(Left) Anglican "J. A. B[rown]'s" Article, Printed in London, in November, 1810, Matched by Tractate (Right) by Presbyterian William C. Davis of South Carolina, Issued in January, 1811

These views, transcending religious and geographical boundaries, appeared in Continental Europe, Britain, Africa, Asia, and North America. They include writers of Jewish,

¹⁷ See tabular chart in Vol. III, pp. 744, 745.

Catholic, and Protestant background and faith. And in the Protestant world they were embraced by both Established and Nonconformist groups—Anglican, Lutheran, Congregational, Presbyterian, Reformed Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and soon other upspringing denominations—as in America, the Christians and Disciples. Never had there been such a widespread interest in a given prophetic epoch.

V. Davis—First American to Begin Periods Jointly

In January, 1811, almost simultaneously with the first English writer to begin the 70 weeks and the 2300 years together (from 457 B.C.), Davis of South Carolina wrote his exposition beginning these periods jointly, 453 years before the birth of Christ. In this he disregarded the true beginning of the Christian Era, and keying the chronology, like Petri, to the baptism of Christ at the age of thirty, as 30 A.D. And soon after J. A. B. and Davis a number of treatises appeared following one or the other of these datings approximately. Here in America such expositions began to spread all the way from the South Carolina frontier to New England and out through the Mississippi Valley.

WILLIAM CUMMINS DAVIS (1760-1831), prominent Presbyterian clergyman and teacher of South Carolina, therefore holds a unique place in the line of early nineteenth-century American prophetic expositors. Trained for the ministry at Mount Zion College,¹⁸ Winnsboro, South Carolina, licensed to preach in 1787, and ordained in 1789, he served the Nazareth and Milford churches, near Spartanburg, until about 1793. Then he went to

¹⁸ This Southern "Log College," on the frontier of South Carolina, was headed by a Presbyterian, a graduate of the College of New Jersey, who patterned it after that institution. Davis was both student and tutor, in 1785-86, when the college opened in a 20 by 25 foot log cabin (soon enlarged by another cabin and frame structure). Life in this primitive school was austere. Awakened by the blast of a horn at daybreak, calling them to "rise, perform their ablutions and dress," the students were soon summoned to roll call and prayers, after which they went to their studies, and then to breakfast at eight. Then followed studies from nine to twelve and from two to five. In 1787 a "more stately college edifice" was started. Various Presbyterian clergymen were trained here, including Davis, who finished with the first class. (George Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, pp. 504-507; F. D. Jones and W. H. Mills, editors, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina Since 1850*, pp. 345, 346.)

Olney, North Carolina, and in 1803 was for a time a missionary among the Catawba Indians.¹⁹

Davis held prominent positions in his denomination. He was a member of a "standing commission" of the Synod of the Carolinas (1791), which acted in a judicial capacity.²⁰ He was a "commissioner," or delegate, to the General Assembly in 1804, 1808, and 1810, and was a member of its standing committee on missions from 1805 through 1808.²¹ Local historians describe him as eloquent, "a notable minister," and "a brilliant man given to metaphysical speculation,"²² though some of them naturally called him "erratic," in view of the fact that he later wandered from the denominational fold. He was also known as a gifted revivalist.²³

In 1806 Davis became the second pastor of the Bullock's Creek Church near Sharon, York County, South Carolina. This was the seat of a well-known classical school that had supplied students for Mount Zion and other colleges.²⁴ At Bullock's Creek he wrote his first treatise of six hundred pages, *The Gospel Plan; or, A Systematical Treatise on the Leading Doctrines of Salvation*, printed in 1809, at both Philadelphia and Boston.

Dissatisfaction with some of his statements, however, beginning as early as 1807, resulted in charges of unorthodoxy. In 1809 his own presbytery, refusing to place him under cen-

¹⁹ G. Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 506, 546, 605, 667; F. D. Jones and W. H. Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 749; E. H. Gillette, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, vol. 1, pp. 356, 366; vol. 2, pp. 55, 73; Sprague, *Annals*, vol. 4, p. 122.

²⁰ G. Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 684. It is interesting to note that the "moderator" of this commission was Samuel E. McCorkle, also an expositor of prophecy (see p. 62), with whom Davis was a colleague in the Concord presbytery while he was pastor at Olney.

²¹ See *Extracts From the Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1803-1811).

²² E. H. Gillette, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 366; F. D. Jones and W. H. Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 507, 518.

²³ Major William Hay says he would compare favorably with Jonathan Edwards of New England. (J. B. O. Landrum, *History of Spartanburg County*, p. 46.)

At the Fair Forest sacramental meeting in May, 1802, five people fell under the conviction of sin during his Saturday sermon, and forty or fifty more in the revival that followed, lasting until Monday. Unlike the Kentucky revival, says the account, there was no undue urging by the ministers, no breach of decorum and good order. "Not an irrational or unscriptural expression was to be heard." A number of unlikely young men were converted. "Every one present felt that it was a mighty display of the power and grace of God." (E. H. Gillette, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 88.) He also participated in a camp meeting in July, 1802, within the bounds of the Nazareth congregation, where he preached, according to an eyewitness, "one of the most popular orthodox gospel sermons that I ever heard." (Ebenezer Cummins, Letter, printed in James Hall, *A Narrative of a Most Extraordinary Work of Religion*, p. 41.)

²⁴ F. D. Jones and W. H. Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 518, 565; G. Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 514, 515.

sure, requested that the synod dissolve it. He appealed to the 1810 General Assembly, which condemned as contrary to the confession of faith eight doctrines set forth or implied in *The Gospel Plan*. Accordingly, in April, 1811, he was suspended by his new presbytery, and formally deposed the following October. But Davis, feeling that he was already prejudged, withdrew in 1810 rather than stand trial.²⁵

A glance over the eight points under censure, as preserved in the *Extracts From the Minutes* of the 1810 General Assembly, gives the impression that, judged by today's orthodoxy, Davis was less a heretic than a theological hairsplitter and revivalist contending against some of the implications of strict Calvinism. But he was undeniably out of line with rigid Presbyterian orthodoxy of his time in that region. However, a large part of Davis' Bullock's Creek flock followed him, forming an Independent congregation, to whom he ministered, except for a few years in Tennessee, until 1829. About a dozen neighboring congregations split off at the same time, or were established later, together forming the Independent Presbyterian Church, largely congregational in form of government. It lasted until 1863, when it joined the Southern Presbyterians.²⁶

But it was in January, 1811, *before* his suspension, that Davis wrote his epochal pamphlet, *The Millennium*.²⁷ He also wrote *A Solemn Appeal to the Impartial Public*, and *Lectures on Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (published posthumously), as well as producing a *Catechism*. There is also a copyright record of a seven-volume *Lectures on the New Testament*, that he was preparing in 1820.²⁸ At least the first volume seems to

²⁵ Sprague, *Annals*, vol. 4, pp. 122, 123. Ms. records of Concord Presbytery (Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat, North Carolina), vol. 1, pp. 299, 304, 332, 333, 400; F. D. Jones and W. H. Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 334, 518.

²⁶ F. D. Jones and W. H. Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 518, 565, 566, 507, 334, 577; sketch in *Constitution and Form of Government of the Independent Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*; McClintock and Strong, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, vol. 12, p. 257; Sprague, *Annals*, vol. 4, pp. 122, 123; Robert E. Thompson, *A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States*, p. 159.

²⁷ *The Millennium, or A Short Sketch on the Rise and Fall of Antichrist*, first published at Salisbury, North Carolina. (Facsimile of title page on p. 211.) It evidently proved popular, for it was reprinted at Cambridge, South Carolina, in 1813; Frankfort, Kentucky, in 1815; and Lexington, Kentucky, in 1817. Even more significant, there was a British reprint in Workington, England, in 1818.

²⁸ *American Imprints Inventory No. 38, Supplemental Check List of Kentucky Imprints*,

have been published. In 1827 he again published *A Treatise on the Millennium*, this time a full-length book, at Yorkville (now York), South Carolina.

Davis is noteworthy as the first *American* writer, so far as has been ascertained, to begin the 2300 years and the 70 weeks synchronously. Furthermore, his later *Treatise on the Millennium* (1827) reaffirmed his initial faith in the commencement of the millennium about 1847. His 1818 English reprint influenced certain British prophetic expositors, notably Archibald Mason, Presbyterian minister of Scotland.²⁹ And Davis later influenced Joshua L. Wilson, prominent Presbyterian clergyman and moderator of Ohio, who preached on prophecy in 1828. Davis was referred to by Samuel M. M'Corkle in 1830.³⁰

Although it is barely possible (though improbable) that Davis saw J. A. B.'s article before writing his pamphlet in January, 1811, neither his dates nor his reasoning can be attributed to J. A. B., and he covers much more ground. Davis, the Presbyterian, quite probably wrote out his convictions and arranged for their publication in South Carolina before he had any access to Anglican J. A. B.'s article. This would mean that two men—Brown of England and Davis of America—were writing out similar pioneering convictions at approximately the same time. Here is the Davis postulate. It will be given in some detail.

VI. 70 Weeks Clue to 2300-Year Terminus in 1843

I. YEAR-DAY PRINCIPLE APPLIED TO 1260 DAYS.—Davis cites Ezekiel 4:6 for the principle of "a day for a year," in prophecy, applying it thus in 1811:

"Consequently 1260 days are 1260 years, and 42 months are 42 times 30 days, which is 1260. Also a *time* is a year, or 360 days, the Jewish year;

1788-1820, pp. 79 (item 876), 127 (973). For references to the first volume of the *Lectures*, see *A Treatise on the Millennium*, p. 85.

²⁹ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, p. 402.

³⁰ For these two writers, see pp. 227, 237 of this volume.

times are two years, 720 days; *half a time, or the dividing of time*, are six months, or 180 days, all which added together make 1260."³¹

2. MILLENNIUM FOLLOWS CLOSE OF 2300 YEARS.—Proceeding from the 1260 years, Davis next quotes Daniel 8:13, 14, and then defines the "cleansing of the sanctuary":

"It must be evident that '*to the cleansing of the sanctuary*,' means, to the commencement of the Millennium, when the true worship of God will be restored to the church. It is also evident that the 2300 days, are 2300 years, and consequently the end of these 2300 years must close the reign of popery."³²

To him, the cleansing of the sanctuary involved the restoration of the true worship in the church, and a restoration of the true basis of that worship, which had long been lost, perverted, or cast down.

3. 70 WEEKS ARE FIRST PART OF 2300 YEARS.—On the 70 weeks in relation to the 2300 years, he continues:

"We are to take special notice, that these 70 weeks are the first part of the 2300 years. Also, we are to notice that these 70 weeks were to be fulfilled on the Jews, before the Gentiles were connected with the church; therefore they relate solely to the Jewish nation exclusively of the Gentiles."³³

This South Carolina teacher adds that the 70 weeks are to make "the atonement of the cross," "to introduce the gospel dispensation, founded on the atonement actually made," to seal or "accomplish or fulfil the types of prophecies concerning the Messiah," and to anoint the Most Holy or Holy of Holies ("to attest the divine mission of the Messiah").³⁴

4. CRUCIFIXION IN MIDST OF 70TH WEEK.—He outlines as "three parts" of the 70 weeks the "seven weeks or 49 years for rebuilding Jerusalem"; then the 62, "to the time when he [Christ] should be publicly inaugurated, which was at his baptism, when he was thirty years old"; and finally His "cruci-

³¹ William C. Davis, *The Millennium, or, A Short Sketch on the Rise and Fall of Antichrist* (1811), p. 3.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 5.

fixion in the middle of" the third division, the final week, or 7 years. The confirming of the covenant "with Abraham" means the "establishing of the gospel with the chosen remnant of the Jews, who should be the first fruits of the gospel kingdom."³⁵

Causing the sacrifice and oblation to cease clearly meant "nullifying the rites and ceremonies, and typical worship of the Jews, and introducing the gospel worship in their room." Thus "the abrogation of the Jewish types, and the commencement of the ordinances, and worship of the gospel, was to take place in the middle of these last 7 years," at Pentecost, with "only three years and an half, after the day of Pentecost, to close the 490 years to be fulfilled on the Jewish nation."³⁶ Then, after speaking of the giving of the gospel to the Gentiles at the end of the period, he asks his readers whether his exposition be not "perfectly correct."³⁷

5. 70 WEEKS END IN 37; BEGIN IN 453.—Since Christ was baptized when He was thirty years of age, and "was crucified in his 34th year," Davis asserts:

"Daniel's 70 weeks, or 490 years, comes exactly to the thirty-seventh year of Christ. So that Daniel's 490 years, overrun the Christian aera 37 years. We must therefore take the 37 years from 490, and the remainder is 453 [years], and will coincide exactly with the birth of Christ. There cannot possibly be any mistake in this calculation, (if I have only set down the right figures; which can easily be rectified if I have not) unless the Christian aera be not exactly to the time date of the birth of Christ."³⁸

6. FOUR-YEAR ERROR PROBABLE IN CHRISTIAN ERA.—Since he reckons "according to the scripture date," that is, the year of the birth of Christ, Davis says:

"If there be an error in my future calculation [of the end of the 2300 years], it must be an error in the vulgar aera not being correctly fixed to the time of the real birth of our Saviour. I know that it is generally thought that the vulgar aera is four years too late. If so, it will only bring

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10. The qualifying proviso of his closing sentence is to be noted.

on the Millennium *four years sooner than I calculate* because I have to calculate by the vulgar aera when the scripture date ends.”³⁹

Here Davis really implies that the terminus should be in 1843 instead of 1847 (thus agreeing with J. A. B.), although from his “closest calculation” from Daniel he is inclined to prefer a one-year discrepancy, which would put the millennium one year *later* (1848).⁴⁰ But he proceeds with his calculation on the ordinary A.D., or “vulgar aera,” basis.

7. BEGINNING OF 70 WEEKS TO DESTRUCTION OF POPERY.—

Davis shows that the 2300 years begin together with the 70 weeks and extend to “the cleansing of the sanctuary, which evidently means ‘till the purging away of Popery.’” Describing the Medo-Persian ram and the Grecian he-goat of Daniel 8, he identifies the notable horn as Alexander the Great, and the “exceeding great” horn as the Roman Empire, which “is carried on thro’ the kingdom of popery until it is destroyed.” Thus, he observes, “this vision comprehends the 2300 years, beginning in the reign of the Medes & Persians, and extending to the downfall of Popery.”⁴¹

Contending that the 490 years “must comprehend the reign of the Persians from the time of the going forth of the decree to rebuild Jerusalem,” and “the time of the Grecian empire,” and “also a considerable part of the Roman empire,” he adds:

“It is plain that the 2300 years also must begin at the same time, extend through all those empires, to the close of the empire of Popery; because the state of those very kingdoms are explained by the Angel under this very vision, . . . so that the very design of the 70 weeks, was evidently to designate that first part of the vision, which would last until the calling of the Gentiles.”⁴²

8. CALCULATE BEGINNING AND END FROM MIDDLE POINT.—

Davis then gives “the grand clue” to his whole calculation:

“1. The whole vision from the first to last contains 2300 years. But

³⁹ *Ibid.* (Italics supplied.)

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* He does this by reckoning the 1260 years from “the rise of the Pope” to the end of the 2300. This would begin in 587, but, he says, church history puts it in 588. His tabulation shows this. (*Ibid.*, p. 12.)

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

it is impossible by the most accurate dates we have in history, to find the beginning of those years. 2. We can find exactly where the 70 weeks ended, and then we can calculate exactly either backward or forward, and so from a middle point we can ascertain with mathematical exactness both the beginning and the end, and can find precisely both the rise and fall of the Pope."⁴³

Below this he puts it in tabular form, thus: $490-37=453$ before Christ's birth; and $2300-453=1847$, "the end of the vision." Such is his formula.

9. 1260 YEARS DATED 587 TO 1847.—The same tabulation seeks to locate the dating of the 1260 years in this wise: $1847-1260=587$, the year of the rise of the pope. Finally, beginning with 453 years to the birth of Christ, adding 587 (to the rise of the pope) plus 1260 more (to the pope's downfall), the grand total is 2300 years. Then he adds the caution that this is the Scripture date, "one year later than the vulgar aera," therefore it ends in 1848, or at least at the close of 1847.⁴⁴

10. HUNDREDS OF EXPOSITORS MISSED THE CLUE.—Appealing to his readers not to accuse him of arrogance, or to consider his calculation as the "venture of a vain, or a productive imagination," a sally of wit, or a bold conjecture, he urges that the fact that "hundreds of great and good men" have overlooked the clue, is not valid basis for its rejection now. Then he cites the episode of Columbus and the egg. Thus:

"None of the gentlemen around the table could make it stand on its end, 'till Christopher gave it a tap on the table, and showed them how, and then they could all do it easily. . . .

"The only reason why divines have been so bewildered on this subject, is because they have totally overlooked Daniel's 70th week, so accurately stated, and consequently had no number to direct their calculations."⁴⁵

11. CATASTROPHE EXPECTED 36 OR 37 YEARS FROM 1811.—Making allowance for the probable inaccuracy of the Christian Era, Davis presents this startling conclusion: "We must expect

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

that, long looked for catastrophe, to take place at this very given time, according to prophecy, 36 or 37 years from this date."⁴⁶ And from 1811, the date of publication, that would be 1847 or 1848.

VII. The Prophetic Symbols of Revelation 13

I. BOTH BEASTS OF REVELATION 13 SYMBOLIZE PAPACY.—In Section II, further discussing Antichrist from Paul and John, Davis says that—

"Antichrist was to rise in the very period which embraced this account of Daniel, and that the exact date of Daniel designated the seventh form of the Roman government, when the sixth head was mortally wounded, and the empire divided into ten (or several) kingdoms."⁴⁷

He asserts that Paul, in 2 Thessalonians 2, uses "covert language, that the persecuting power of Rome might not be exasperated to greater rigor in persecuting the church for predicting the downfall of the glory of the Roman Empire." The civil Roman Empire hindered the rise of the ecclesiastical Man of Sin, and "when the imperial government is taken from the Romans, the Pope will appear, and set up his blasphemous government over the church." The Man of Sin would therefore rise "out of the church, and not out of the civil department," when Rome lost her government. So Davis concludes, "This fixes the rise of the pope in the period which comprehends the precise date of Daniel."⁴⁸

In Revelation 13 the seven heads of the beast from the sea are familiarly interpreted as forms of government—kings, consuls, dictators, decemvirs, military tribunes, emperors, and the exarchate of Ravenna. The ten horns are the several kingdoms into which the empire is divided: "Italy, Spain, Portugal, England, France, Germany, etc." The imperial sixth head was wounded. The healing began when, during the seventh form of government, "the Bishop of Rome rose to the dignity of

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 14.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

universal Bishop," and was complete when the pope became a temporal prince and "the seat of government was restored to the city of Rome."⁴⁰

2. DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO SYMBOLS.—Davis sees the second beast as the "dignified state, hierarchy, and secular power of popery," with two horns—the pope's "two swords," or "his temporal and spiritual authority"—rising at the time of the donation of the papal states under Pepin of France.

"Thus the little horn, as Daniel says, (Dan. vii, 8, 24.) subdued three horns, or kingdoms, Italy, Ravenna, and Pentapolis, which ever afterwards were claimed as St. Peter's patrimony, and belonged to his successor in the Roman See, or papal chair."⁴⁰

Thus he distinguishes between the two beasts: the first as the pope rising as Universal Bishop, and the second as the pope putting on his two horns in 755. But the first beast came up during the time of the mortal wound, that is, between 566 and 755.⁴¹

Such were Davis' clearly expressed convictions, published in 1811 on the South Carolina frontier.

VIII. Davis' View of Last Things

A brief glance at the other positions set forth in this 1811 book must suffice. He emphasizes his belief that the year 1847 will mark "the downfall of popery, and the dawn of the church's glory." He understands that Daniel's thirty years (to complete the 1290 years) are to be added to 1847, for "extirpating the relicks of Antichrist." The Papacy had distorted the gospel and its provisions. Then there are 45 years more (the 1335 years) for the calling of the Jews—though not necessarily involving their literal restoration to Palestine—and the spread of the gospel to the world, with the full glory of the millennium by 1922.⁴² He even put his view into verse:

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

"In forty seven we may hope
 To find the world without a Pope;
 When thirty more expel the evil,
 We'll find the world without a Devil;
 Add three years more and forty two,
 We'll find the world without a Jew:
 The Pope, and Devil, known no more;
 Until the thousand years are o'er;
 And Jew and Gentile now the same,
 Rejoice to wear the Christian name:
 The glorious dawn of forty seven,
 Will introduce new earth and heaven." ³³

Davis understands the fifth vial as operative from the Reformation onward through the French Revolution, and under the sixth vial (now being poured out) he expects the Turks (the kings of the East) to invade Italy and desolate Rome. And the dragon, beast, and false prophet he considers as perhaps the devil (or Napoleon), the pope, and Mohammed. He identifies Apollyon with Napoleon, not yet king of the Mohammedans, but one who soon could be. In any event, he sees Napoleon as ending the fifth vial and beginning the sixth by opening the way for the kings of the East. Davis hopes England and America can escape disastrous entanglement. But in the final crisis, under the seventh vial, the whole kingdom of Satan will be destroyed, along with the total desolation of Rome and Antichrist. With the devil bound, "the gospel will purge away the relics of popery, and go on to call in the Jews." ³⁴

The Two Witnesses are the remnants of the faithful, preaching the true doctrine during the papal 1260-year reign. But the three-and-one-half year-days of Revelation 11 are yet future, he says, as also the earthquake-revolution when the dead church rises. The first woe, during the Mohammedan empire, was from 622 to 734. And the second woe, he believes, with the prophesied 391 years, extends from 1453 to 1844, or the beginning of 1845. This, it may be recalled, was the view of a number

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 39-48. Although hoping for America's safety under the sixth plague, he remarks forebodingly (p. 46. note) that American slavery may "call down the vengeance of heaven upon us, if God should mark iniquity."

in both Europe and America. The third woe, the seventh trumpet, and the seventh vial, Davis believes, will last two years, climaxing in the bloody and final battle that will cleanse the sanctuary. And the third angel of Revelation 14, he understands, warns against the unfaithful, and offers promises of assurance to those who keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.⁵⁵ That, in brief, was Davis' view.

In his longer *Treatise on the Millennium*, issued sixteen years later, Davis repeats many of these points, and refers to his former calculation of the date 1847-48, but deals chiefly with the nature and duration of the millennial kingdom of Christ on earth. Now, arguing at length for the widely held post-millennial view of a spiritual reign and two figurative resurrections, he actually puts the literal, personal, visible second advent and general resurrection with the judgment at the end of 360,000 years.⁵⁶

IX. "Robertson" Pamphlet—Indiana Reprint of Davis

Another pamphlet on prophecy, coming from a western outpost, was a tractate published in 1826 at "Lawrenceburgh, Ia. [Indiana],"⁵⁷ signed "Th. R. Robertson, Professor of the Greek, Hebrew, Natural History, and Moral Philosophy." It is a verbatim reprint from W. C. Davis' 1811 pamphlet. Nevertheless this publication bears witness to the extent of the keen interest in Bible prophecy in general and in the prophetic time periods of Daniel and the Apocalypse in particular, especially the terminal point of the 2300 years.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-55.

⁵⁶ William C. Davis, *A Treatise on the Millennium*, pp. 112-136.

⁵⁷ Back in 1826, "Ia." was the abbreviation for Indiana, as Iowa did not become a state until 1840. The pamphlet was "printed for the [anonymous] publisher by D. Culley." Gregg and Culley, publishers of the newspaper *Indiana Palladium* at Lawrenceburg. (See *History of Dearborn and Ohio Counties, Indiana*, p. 180.)

⁵⁸ This is approximately the first third of Davis' 1811 *The Millennium*. The figures in the text referring to the interval between the time of publication and 1847 are revised to fit the date of this reprint. The master table is identical. The rest of the Davis treatise is omitted, leaving out the poem, the sections on the return of the Jews, the historical origin of the pope and the church, and Mohammed, also the discussion of the seven vials and the career of Napoleon. (The portion reprinted is covered in sections 1-12 under Davis.)

Whether "Robertson" was a pseudonym, under which the Davis pamphlet was reprinted by some admirer to increase circulation in the West, or a simple piece of printer's piracy,

There is, of course, no way of knowing just how many were merely preaching orally and locally on the prophecies. And on the Western frontier printed editions were small, and there were no large libraries where such items were preserved. But the wide geographical distribution of the American expositors who got into print indicates the far-flung interest regarding inspired prophecy, and especially the intriguing time prophecy of Daniel 8:14. These included Davis in South Carolina, with his "Robertson" reprint in Indiana, Campbell in Virginia, an anonymous writer in Pennsylvania, Wilson in Ohio, M'Corkle in Tennessee, Scott in New York, and Burwell in Canada, whose writings we have; together with others such as A. J. Krupp of Philadelphia, David McGregor of Maine, and Charles Wheeler of West Virginia, of whose names and teachings we read; and some whose writings we have not thus far found.

These, added to the large and aggressive group of British and Continental expositors (discussed in Vol. III) whose products had penetrated all parts of North America, show the really amazing number of pens soon attempting to discern the intent of this specific 2300-year Bible prophecy at this time. Yet this was only the faint prelude to a great chorus of voices soon to break forth in the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century.

X. Widespread Expectancy of Crisis About 1844

There was clearly a widespread expectancy of some event of great importance to take place about the year 1844. And it was commonly thought that this development would lead into, or be followed soon after by, the millennial period. This anticipation, based upon varying calculations and premises, was advanced by men of widely different persuasions. Some followed the now familiar pattern of the usual prophetic calculation of these great time periods. Others had rather odd or

or perchance a straight act of plagiarism, cannot be determined at this writing. No record of a teacher of that time named Robertson has been found, though most diligently sought. But the pamphlet was published and circulated, and extended the influence of Davis' views.

unusual ways of calculation—but nevertheless emphasized 1844 as an impending turning point in human affairs. An example in this latter category is JOHN GEORGE SCHMUCKER (1771-1854),⁵⁹ pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Yorktown, Pennsylvania, in *The Prophetic History of The Christian Religion* (1817). To him a crisis was coming in 1844, with the millennium due to begin about 1850.⁶⁰ There are doubtless others, whose writings have not yet come to light, who would augment the growing chorus. The year 1843, or 1844, was increasingly the focal point of interest and expectation.

⁵⁹ JOHN GEORGE SCHMUCKER was born in Germany, coming to America with his parents when only four. Trained for the Lutheran ministry, he filled various pastorates in Pennsylvania and in 1820 helped to found the General Synod of the Lutheran Church. He was first president of their Foreign Missionary Society and was also president of the Pennsylvania Ministerium for a time. In 1825 he received the degree of D.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in recognition of his achievements.

⁶⁰ Somewhat like Joseph Mede, Schmucker confined the seven seals to the first four centuries, which witnessed the spread of Christianity, the decline of paganism, and the corruption of Christianity. The seven trumpets begin, he held, with the barbaric invasions of Rome and the resultant scenes of desolation. And they included the Vandals and Alans under "Genserich." The fifth trumpet was the Mohammedan-Saracenic torment, and the sixth the Turks and Tartars.

The pure woman is the Christian church, the dragon was the pagan rulers and priests of Rome. The Beast from the sea is the Papacy, also called the great whore, with the beast from the earth as the Jesuits. The vials, he believed, began to be poured out in post-Reformation times, and on into the French Revolution. And the flying angels include Bengel. But the great crisis comes in 1844, he thought, with the "end of the line of kings," a revolt in the Catholic states, the pouring out of the vials, great judgment scenes, and the ascension from the bottomless pit. The binding of Satan, Schmucker anticipated, would take place about 1850. (Based on tabular chart inserts in his *Prophetic History*.)

70 Weeks Considered Key to 2300 Years

I. Prophetic Exposition Engages the Finest Minds

Prophetic interpretation crossed all denominational lines and embraced men of all faiths. Nevertheless, many—perhaps a majority—of the expositors of note in these earlier decades seemed to be of the Presbyterian-Congregational order. This may be accounted for, not because of anything inherent in these particular faiths, but simply because in those days the Presbyterians generally had a better-educated and more widely read ministry. This in itself fostered thoughtful investigation and seemed to favor sound, progressive exposition.

This simple fact runs squarely across the ill-conceived concept of many that the study of prophecy was largely the engrossing hobby of the erratic and the pet indulgence of the untrained mind, and is a field to which the mind reverts in the abnormal times of war and distress or economic disaster and panic. On the contrary, if there be one conclusion borne out by the full facts—as constantly disclosed in Volumes I to III, and thus far in Volume IV—it is that the prophetic expositors of the centuries have included many of the most highly trained and balanced and progressive and orthodox minds of the years. This was particularly true of the founding fathers of the various faiths.

Moreover, many of these prophetic interpreters have been skilled educators as well as clergymen, and historians as well as theologians—well-informed men, trained in careful investi-



WIDELY SCATTERED EXPOUNDERS STRESS APPROACHING PROPHETIC CLIMAX

(Left) Presbyterian Moderator Dr. Joshua L. Wilson of Ohio; (Center) Presbyterian Educator David McGregor's Oak Grove Academy at Falmouth, Maine; (Right) Baptist Pastor Dr. Robert Scott of New York State—Three in Far-flung Line of Interpreters Prior to Miller, but Holding Similar Views, Found Not Only in North America but Throughout Britain and Continental Europe, and in Asia, Africa, and South America as Well, and Even Australia

gation, and used to logical reasoning and analysis. These investigators and preachers and writers on prophecy were clearly not drawn from the ranks of the eccentric, ignorant, or untrained, though there are a few freaks, of course, as in every field of endeavor. Instead, they embraced the finest and most godly and balanced minds of the centuries, including the nineteenth. Take Moderator Wilson for example.

II. Moderator Wilson—Anticipates Cleansing of Sanctuary in 1847

DR. JOSHUA L. WILSON¹ was a prominent frontier Presbyterian minister and sometime General Assembly moderator, of Cincinnati, Ohio. More than six feet tall, and somewhat resem-

¹ JOSHUA LACY WILSON (1774-1846) was born in Virginia. His father was a physician and his mother a minister's daughter. His stepfather was the first Presbyterian minister to enter Kentucky. And the books with which Joshua early became familiar were, significantly enough, the Bible, Watts's *Hymns*, and the Westminster *Shorter Catechism*. Though religiously inclined, he nevertheless drifted into worldly vices, but at twenty-two was soundly converted. After attending the Kentucky Academy, at Pisgah, Wilson taught school and "read divinity" under James Vance, near Nashville, was licensed to preach in 1802, and ordained in 1804. His first churches were at Bardstown and Big Spring. Having gained the reputation of being a valiant "contender for the truth," he was called in 1808 to the First Presbyterian Church of the rising frontier town of Cincinnati, Ohio, where he ministered for thirty-eight years, until his death.

An assiduous student himself, he taught Greek and Latin. He assisted in founding Cincinnati College in 1819, where he was professor of moral philosophy and logic for several

bling Andrew Jackson in appearance, Wilson was aggressive and decisive, and a vigorous promoter of moral and religious welfare. (Portrait appears on p. 227.) He fostered Sunday schools, Bible societies, and libraries. Wilson was an outspoken Old School Calvinist, and was constantly in controversy. He opposed the New School theology and "Plan of Union," and accused Lyman Beecher, the newly appointed president and professor of theology of Lane Seminary, of heresy in a trial before the Presbyterian Synod of Cincinnati, in 1835. Wilson helped to prepare a memorial (in 1834) against the "prevalence of unsound doctrine and laxity in discipline," and signed the "Act and Testimony" of 1835, setting forth the Old School view. He was a member of the Old School convention in 1837, and moderator of the Old School General Assembly in 1839. He wrote numerous pamphlets and newspaper articles against Methodism, Deism, and Roman Catholicism, and founded the Calvinistic journals, *The Pandect*, in 1828, and *The Standard*, in 1831.² He was also a conspicuous expositor of prophecy, as we will now note.

1. REPEATS NOTABLE SERMON IN FOUR STATES.—In 1828 Wilson preached a remarkable sermon at the First Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati, on "The Sanctuary Cleansed," based on Daniel 8:14. It made such a deep impression that, by request, it was repeated in substance in three churches in Philadelphia in 1831. Then it was later repeated, likewise by request, both in Wheeling, West Virginia, and Louisville, Kentucky. This attests the deep and widespread interest in the theme. This initial sermon of 1828 was therefore given orally in four States—Ohio, Pennsylvania, (West) Virginia, and Kentucky—before going into print in Ohio in 1833. And these six oral presenta-

years, and from which he received the degree of D.D. in 1823, and Ph.D. in 1837. He was also the first chairman of the Board of Trustees of Lane Theological Seminary, likewise at Cincinnati, from 1828-1830. He was a hard worker, frequently preaching several sermons in a single day. Indeed, his eyes were affected by his excessive studying, it being his custom to rise at 3 A.M. He suffered much, and in later years was at times obliged to preach in a sitting posture.

² The Joshua L. Wilson Papers form a part of the Durgett Collection in the Library of the University of Chicago. In these the MS. of Wilson's "Memoirs" is found.

tions were made during the period of Wilson's most prominent connection with Lane Theological Seminary. He was thereafter chosen as moderator in the Presbyterian Church in Ohio. Its importance calls for a fairly full resumé here.

This particular discourse, Wilson states, was not preached from full notes. But now, in 1831, he "has written it out—and he gives it to the Church with his fervent prayers, that those who read may understand."³ In the printed collection of sermons it is preceded by another sermon—No. XV, "The Sanctuary Polluted," for which Wilson chose the text, "Her prophets are light and treacherous persons: her priests have polluted the sanctuary, they have done violence to the law (Zeph. iii. 4)." This, Wilson contends, was accomplished by the priests "perverting the ordinances of the Lord's appointment and uniting with the Prophets in 'doing violence to the law.'"⁴ Noting the various uses of the term "sanctuary," in Scripture, Wilson applies it to the church, and contends that "*the sanctuary* in its prophetic and evangelical import, signifies *any place* in the Church of God, where His people are allowed to offer to Him public and social worship."⁵

Then follows the corollary that "to *pollute the sanctuary*, in any period of the Church, means to corrupt the word and ordinances of divine appointment."⁶ Maintaining that "the *Sanctuary* has been, and still is, *polluted* by the professed ministers and professing people of God," Wilson sketches the "corruptions of Israel" and its tragic condition when Jesus was on earth, and the false teachers of the apostolic age, then the age of heresies, particularly Arianism and modern heresies. Then, touching upon the "tyrannical, idolatrous, and intolerant *power Antichrist*," Wilson declares that such "ministers in the church of God and God's professing people, have, from age to

³ Joshua L. Wilson, Note to Sermon XVI, "The Sanctuary Cleansed," in *Original Sermons*; by Presbyterian Ministers in the Mississippi Valley, pp. 308, 309.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sermon XV, "The Sanctuary Polluted," p. 262.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁶ *Ibid.*

age, *polluted* the SANCTUARY, corrupted the word, institutions, discipline, and worship of God's house!"⁷

After warning against adding to or taking from the Word of God, Wilson brings this first sermon to this impressive close:

"I stand before you in solemn and trying circumstances. If I am true and faithful, and you neglect the great salvation, I shall save my own soul; but you must perish. If I am a blind guide, and you are led by my false counsel, we must perish together. Such is the state of the Presbyterian church *now*, that no man can be indifferent, no tongue can be silent, no hand idle. It remains yet to be seen whether we, as the *polluted sanctuary* of God, shall be *cleansed*, or whether, when the *sanctuary* is cleansed, we shall be swept away with 'the besom of destruction.' *Solemn thought!*"⁸

2. CHURCH TO BE CLEANSED AT TIME APPOINTED.—Everything to this point is but prefatory to the main discussion, published as "The Sanctuary Cleansed." The text chosen was Daniel 8:14: "And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." First, Daniel's concern over the pollution of the sanctuary is stressed, as the result of the corruption of the worship of God, and the emblem of long desolations in the future. The prophet's solemn meditation, anxious inquiry, and fervent prayers are noted, and then the divine assurance received through the "visions of God." Wilson takes as axiomatic the threefold proposition—

"that the *sanctuary* means the church of God, or visible kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, on earth; that the church has been greatly corrupted in all ages, by her own professed ministers and members; and that her purification will take place at the time appointed by Jehovah."⁹

This last, Wilson takes to mean that "she shall enjoy a season of transcendent purity, peace, and prosperity on earth."

3. SUCCESSION OF KINGDOMS ENDS IN GOD'S KINGDOM.—To this end he recites the inspired predictions of the "time of blessedness" for the triumphant church on earth after the cleansing of the sanctuary, drafting upon the predictions of

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 267-275.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Sermon XVI, "The Sanctuary Cleansed," p. 283.

Solomon, David, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Joel, Zechariah, and Malachi. The testimony of the vision of Daniel 2 is then adduced, consummated by the kingdom of God:

"Nebuchadnezzar's dream, embracing the existence, duration, and destruction of a great, bright, and terrible image, commenced with the head of gold, and ended with the stone cut out of the mountain, without hands, which became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth—meaning a kingdom set up by the God of heaven, which should triumph over all opposition, and stand forever."¹⁰

4. THE CLIMAX OF DANIEL 7, 8, AND 11.—Similarly, "Daniel's vision of the four beasts and little horn ends in the people of the saints of the Most High possessing this kingdom"; likewise the line of Daniel 11 culminates in the overthrow of the willful king—"Napoleon"—in agreement with which view he cites British Edward Cooper's *Crisis*, and the vision of the ram and the he-goat in Daniel 8, which "ends in the cleansing of the Sanctuary."¹¹

5. TIME OF TROUBLE BEFORE CLEANSING COMPLETED.—All these and other prophecies, Wilson contends strongly, point cumulatively to the future "predicted glory to the church." The "Christian world" is held to be the "*sanctuary polluted*," which "must be cleansed before the day of blessedness." This means that "the Ministry must be purified," the church must be purified in her beliefs, and every member will "know, love, and obey the truth."¹² But shortly before the purifying process is completed, we are to expect a day of uncommon trouble. In Wilson's vivid language, "Before Isaiah was permitted to dip the pencil of peace in the rainbow of mercy, he was commanded to brandish the forked lightnings and hurl the thunders of heaven."¹³

Then Christ's great prophecy is presented, beginning with

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 285.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 285. Cooper's treatise (see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 537-539) was reprinted just two years before, in 1827, at Cincinnati—Wilson's home town—from a London original (first edition, 1825). Cooper ends the 1260 days in 1792, the beginning of "the time of the end," and he ends Daniel 2, 7, and 11 with the time of blessedness at the beginning of the millennium about 1867.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 286-292.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

the destruction of Jerusalem and leading on to the day of His "power and GREAT GLORY," describing deep distress of nations, with perplexity—utterly beyond all past "wars, famines, earthquakes, pestilences," and "unparalleled in extent and diversity."¹⁴

6. 70 WEEKS FIRST PART OF 2300 YEAR-DAYS.—Now follows the crucial question, "*When shall the sanctuary be cleansed?*" The answer given by Wilson is clear and explicit. Applying the year-day principle to the 2300 days, Wilson observes that in "prophetic computation" we must count "a day for a year." And he adds, significantly, that "the conclusion of the calculation will differ from our dates just as much as the Scripture date differs from the common or vulgar chronology." This is to be particularly noted, for, like many others, he disregards the 4 B.C. factor in his calculation. Wilson expressly declares that the 70 weeks (to the calling of the Gentiles) form the first segment of the 2300 years. Also (like Davis) he felt that the 1260 years form the last part of the 2300 days.¹⁵

7. CLUES FROM DAVIS, "ROBERTSON," AND WOLFF.—In a frank footnote Wilson acknowledges indebtedness to "William C. Davis, of South Carolina, Th. R. Robertson, of Indiana, and Wolff the Jewish Missionary"—all of whom fixed upon 1847 as the terminus—for "pointing out a clue by which I can arrive at certainty as to the time of the cleansing of the sanctuary." Wilson observes that for the year 1847, Davis expects the "commencement of the Millennium"; the supposed "Robertson," "the downfall of the Pope"; and Wolff, "Christ's personal appearance in Jerusalem."¹⁶ On the contrary, Wilson held, as we shall see, that it involved the cleansing, or purification, of the

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 295. In common with some others, Wilson here applies the "generation," of Luke 21:25-33, to the "progeny or race of the Jews" that were not to pass away until the fulfillment. In a footnote he adds: "*Generation*—Gr. *genea*; Lat. *progenies*; Eng. *progeny*, or *race*." (*Ibid.*, p. 295 note.)

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 296. Wilson says that the prophetic days are "Jewish years" of 360 days, but his figures (p. 297) indicate solar years in fulfillment—the seventy weeks, 453 B.C.-A.D. 37; and the 1260 days A.D. 587-1847.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 297. On Wolff, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, chap. 24. Davis, and the "Robertson" reprint (which Wilson obviously mistook for an independent work) are already covered in the preceding chapter.

Christian church and the overthrow of Antichrist. So his were independent conclusions.

8. 70 WEEKS WERE CUT OFF FOR JEWS.—The 70 weeks were “determined” for “thy people and thy holy city,” the Jewish church. Paraphrasing Davis, he defines, “to finish the transgression and make an end of sin,” as the “atonement of the cross”; the sealing of the vision is to fulfill the prophecies concerning the Messiah; and the anointing of the Most Holy—actually the inner sanctuary refers here to the anointing of Messiah. So Wilson concludes, borrowing Davis’ words: “Thus we plainly see that the ‘seventy weeks’ were to continue till the close of the Jewish dispensation,” and adds for emphasis, “and no longer.” The three divisions were: The 7 weeks or 49 years, to rebuild Jerusalem; the 62 weeks, or 434 years, till the public inauguration of Messiah; and the final “one week,” in the midst of which Messiah was cut off.¹⁷

Fortifying his position “that the 70 weeks was the beginning of the 2300 days,” Wilson summarizes two reasons from Davis and adds a third: (1) “The angel gave the explanation of these weeks as a clue to the interpretation of the whole vision, which was to extend till the cleansing of the sanctuary”; (2) the 70 weeks reach back from Rome, through Greece to Persia, to designate the first part of the vision; (3) because the angel considered both as one vision—to be for many days.¹⁸

9. COUNTS BACK FROM END YEAR TO A.D. 37.—Wilson’s entire argument was based on Davis’ premise that the whole vision was 2300 years in length, and that the 1260 years of Antichrist’s reign end with this period, but that it is impossible to find a clearly obvious beginning year or to determine independently which of three decrees—of Cyrus, Darius, or Artaxerxes—should be used. He therefore counts back from A.D. 37, which he takes as the demonstrated end of the inter-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 297, 298.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

related 70 weeks of years. He presents Davis' computation, stated in somewhat expanded form, in Table I:

	<i>"Years</i>
"Daniel's 70 weeks, each 7 days, a day for a year	490
These ended A.D. 37: Messiah being inaugurated A.D. 30; cut off in the middle of the last week, A.D. 33½; the gospel preached to the Jews 3½ years—end the Jewish dispensation, A.D.	37
Subtract 37 from 490—leaves	453
before the Christian era; the time of the decree to build again Jerusalem.	
Subtract 453 from 2300, the whole time of the vision, and you have the end A.D.	1847" ¹⁹

He similarly reproduces the rest of the tabulation, fixing the rise of Antichrist in 587, 1260 years before 1847, and reiterates Davis' observation that "we must not conclude that the Bible has given us descriptions and numbers for nothing."²⁰

10. ANTICHRIST IDENTIFIED AS BISHOP OF ROME.—Then Wilson gives his own reason "why the cleansing of the sanctuary and the downfall of Antichrist form a synchronism." We are to look for Antichrist not "*out of the church, but in the church, sitting in the temple of God.*"

"This antichristian power *was to rise* within the limits of the Roman empire, after pagan Rome was taken out of the way, (Dan. vii. 24; com. 2 Thes. ii. 7;) *was to arise* within the church, with all 'deceivableness of unrighteousness,' (2 Thes. ii. 10;) and *was to fix* the seat of ecclesiastical domination in the city of Rome. Rev. xvii. 9. 18."²¹

Wilson then plainly identifies and names Antichrist as "the Bishop of Rome," arising "after the downfall of the Western Empire," "amidst the ruins of that mighty power," and "in the very seat and throne of the Caesars."²²

11. TESTIMONY OF MIDDLE AGES SCHOLARS CITED.—Wilson's wide reading and research and his accurate familiarity with

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

²² *Ibid.*

the earliest recorded recognitions of the identity of this power are revealed in his reference to three noted men appearing in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. He cites the remarkable speech (at the Synod of Rheims, in A.D. 991) in which "Arnulphus, Bishop of Orleans, speaking of John XV," said that the pope, if destitute of charity, was "Antichrist, sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself that he is God." Wilson also cites Berengarius, in the eleventh century, who "called the Church of Rome *the seat of Satan*, an Apocalyptic name of Antichrist." And finally, he tells of Bernard of Clairvaux, who asserted that "the beast of the Apocalypse had seated himself in the chair of St. Peter."²¹

12. CLEANSING ANTICIPATED ABOUT 1847.—Next, after alluding to the witness of the Reformers on the pretended Vicar of Christ as the Antichrist, Wilson says, "The cleansing of the sanctuary is not accomplished till the downfall of Antichrist is complete." Then comes this impressive declaration of belief: "This event, so long the subject of prophecy and promise, of prayer and expectation, must take place within a period less than twenty years."²² (Preached in 1828, this would mean before 1848.) But in a footnote to this 1833 printing Wilson adds: "14 years, if the Bible date and the vulgar date agreed."

13. EXTENDS 1290 AND 1335 YEARS BEYOND 2300 TERMINUS.—Wilson appeals to all to "watch and pray." And if the time seems too short for so much to be accomplished before the sanctuary is cleansed—the destruction of popery, "intemperance, Sabbath-breaking, slavery, freemasonry, idolatry, war, and all erroneous creeds," he avers this will not be man's work, but God's. And the church shall witness His "fiery indignation against his enemies."²³ Adopting the reasoning of many contemporary expositors, Wilson refers to two time periods which

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 303, 304. On Arnulf, Berengarius, and Bernard, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 540-543, 648-651, 632-642, respectively. (Wilson seems to make Bernard apply the name Antichrist to the pope, whereas he actually applied it to an antipope, the rival of Innocent II.)

²² *Ibid.*, p. 304.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 304, 305.

he believed would extend beyond the close of the 2300 years—the 1290 and 1335 years, which he declares, “both begin with the commencement of the reign of Antichrist [587],” and adds:

“The first extends beyond the time of the cleansing of the sanctuary, 30 years; the second extends beyond these, 45 years more. These two periods together make 75 years, which, added to the 1847, the time when the sanctuary shall be cleansed, carries us down to the year 1922, for the day of blessedness, or rather the dawn of the Sabbatical thousand years of the world.”²⁶

But Wilson assumes that in this seventy-five years “the progress of the gospel will be attended with very signal and rapid effects,” and adds:

“Its light and truth will go forth conquering and to conquer. Papists, infidels, Jews, and nominal Christians must all yield to its divine energy, or be broken in pieces, like a potter’s vessel.”²⁷

In any event, time and further events clearly extend *beyond* the close of the 2300 years in 1847.

14. ADMONISHES PREPARATION FOR DAY OF GOD.—After declaring, “All nominal Christians must turn to God, or be suddenly destroyed by Jehovah’s vengeance,” Wilson utters a solemn admonition to prepare to meet God, as he appeals to the surrounding evidences in the political and ecclesiastical world, such as truth fallen in the street, the “drying up of the great river Euphrates—the Ottoman empire,” famines, earthquakes, pestilence, destruction, all speaking in the ears of this generation. Then he calls upon all to protest the “corruption of the church and the impieties of the state” and the sinister efforts to “elevate to honor and influence the ministers of Antichrist.” Appealing to the church to put away her iniquities that “she may not be swept away in the day of God’s vengeance,” Wilson closes with the admonition, “Let us wait in expectation of the approaching day of our Lord.”²⁸

It must have been a tremendously solemn discourse, coming

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 305, 306.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 307, 308.

from a man of such prominence, learning, and power in the pulpit. Little wonder it was given six times in four States within a relatively short space of time! It was clearly another of the earlier American counterparts of the slightly antecedent Old World emphasis on the approaching end of the 2300 years, soon destined to take on amazing force and volume.²⁹ It is apparent that not only was prophecy regarded as an integral part of the Word of God, and its study and exposition deemed proper and profitable, but it was enjoined as an inseparable part of a well-rounded ministry by this prominent Presbyterian minister.

III. Premillennialist McCorkle of Tennessee—Ends 2300 Years in 1847

But such an exposition was not limited to one religious group or geographical section. The Southern accent is again heard in the earnest voice of SAMUEL M. McCORKLE,³⁰ or M'Corkle, of Tennessee, premillennialist layman of the Disciples group, whose brother was a minister of that faith. Although not a trained clergyman, he was very well read, and a clear thinker and writer. And he gave forceful utterance to deep, Bible-based convictions, because he "dare not keep silent." In his *Thoughts on the Millennium* (1830) he stoutly maintained the "almost entirely novel" idea that the Bible teaches a cataclysmic end of the age, immediately *preceding* the millennium—not the fondly expected gradual world betterment achieved by human endeavor, but "prodigious events and mighty revolutions." The prophet Daniel, pointing with the finger of inspiration to events leading almost to the end of time, tells of "four distinct beasts, or kingdoms [from Babylonia onward], which should rise." And out of the fourth an Antichristian dominion should arise whose downfall, with the millennium,

²⁹ In the closing footnote, in the printed form, Wilson appeals to any to point out mistakes discoverable in his presentation. (*Ibid.*, p. 309.)

³⁰ Biographical data lacking.

will bring events for which comparatively few are looking.³¹ So to this he now calls attention.

1. M'CORKLE CALCULATION BASED ON DAVIS' POSITION.—At the outset M'Corkle frankly states that the opinions he advances are not original with him, but that he is "preserving, in the main, the opinions of an ingenious and learned friend [evidently William C. Davis]³² from going down to oblivion." He expresses the conviction that the 2300 years, when the sanctuary will be cleansed, will expire within 17 or 18 years from the date of writing. (From 1830 that would be 1847 or 1848—Davis' dating.) This is therefore "a subject of the greatest importance to the present generation."³³ We should all be confessing our sins, he admonishes, and searching the Bible concerning this question.

2. 70 WEEKS END IN A.D. 33; 2300 YEARS IN 1847.—Daniel 9:24, 25 explains the vision of the 2300 year-days. The 70 weeks of years are the first 490, "cut off" from the 2300 years for the Jewish nation, alluding to Messiah's death in the midst of the 70th week, leaving $31\frac{1}{2}$ years to A.D. 37. So 453 years of the vision were fulfilled before Christ's birth, leaving 1847 years of the 2300 after Christ's birth. Then, reasons M'Corkle, since Antichrist is to be destroyed at that time—after his 1260-year reign—subtract 1260 from 1847 and you have A.D. 587, about the time when John, Bishop of Constantinople, and Pelagius (II), Bishop of Rome, assumed the title of "universal Bishop," with resultant strife between the two.³⁴ In this passage he follows Davis closely,³⁵ and quotes him directly on the next page.

This date (587 or 588) M'Corkle connects with the rise, amid the ten horn-kingdoms, of the Little Horn of ecclesiastical Rome, which is the same as the Man of Sin, Antichrist, the

³¹ Samuel M. M'Corkle, *Thoughts on the Millennium*, pp. iii, 5, 6.

³² He obviously follows Davis on the dating of the 2300 years, but not on his post-millennialism, for M'Corkle is a strong premillennialist.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 7. (He mentions the standard four kingdoms of prophecy on p. 12.)

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

³⁵ On Davis see pp. 212-223.

healed continuation of the political Roman Beast of Revelation 13, and the "mother of harlots." At this time the "woman," or visible church, flees into the wilderness for the 1260 years, and the Two Witnesses are clothed in sackcloth. If, he reasons, Antichrist's reign began in 587, it will end in 1847, at or before which time mankind may expect "the sorest judgments." The unfolding of this whole story, he holds, establishes our faith in inspired prophecy.³⁶

3. **STONE HAS NOT YET SMITTEN IMAGE.**—A cluster of events are associated by M'Corkle: The second advent, the fall of Antichrist, the vials or plagues, the sitting of the judgment, and the beginning of the millennial kingdom. Then the blood of the saints will be avenged on Babylon. M'Corkle sharply challenges the popular idea of "being wafted into the Millennium by a gentle gale, or by the gradual and imperceptible flow of time." No, he contends, the present dispensation will close with the "mighty crush of thrones." And as the Jews rejected the first advent, so will the Gentiles reject the second. "The Jews fell on the stone and were broken; the stone is to fall on the Gentiles and grind them to powder." M'Corkle twice flatly declares that the little stone has not yet smitten the image on the feet. He was a decided premillennialist.³⁷

4. **CATACLYSM PRECEDES MILLENNIAL PEACE.**—M'Corkle says that Protestantism "is governed by laws in the very image" of mystical Babylon, "exercising all the power of the first beast, or government," in connection with which he mentions the various human tests, creeds, and standards of Antichristian fabrication. The Jewish priesthood expected Christ to establish a temporal kingdom. Likewise, many modern ministerial watchmen are fast asleep, and "nothing short of the midnight cry" will awaken their flocks. Protestantism has drunk from the cup of the wine of Babylon, and has been befuddled by sectarianism.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-15. On the Little Horn M'Corkle quotes "Scott's F.[amily] Bible," one of his favorite reference works.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 19, 20, 23. It is also interesting to note that he speaks of the future "midnight cry" announcing the premillennial second advent. (*Ibid.*, p. 17.)

And Babylon, he contends, the Mother Church, has daughter churches. His implications are quite plain.³⁸ As to the millennium, he sees a time of trouble before the new order of priesthood ministering in the cleansed sanctuary—the church in a new form—will evangelize the world, yet—

“the Christian world looking forward with pleasing anticipation of a joyful millennium at hand—sailing with the gentle flow of time into a haven of sweet repose, . . . [ignoring an] intervening vortex which will engulf a large portion of the present professors of Christianity.”³⁹

5. SECOND BEAST OF REVELATION 13 IS PROTESTANTISM.—

The book of Revelation is a history of the church to the end of time, M'Corkle maintains, beginning with the seven seals, which take us from the (1) introduction of Christianity, down through (2) early pagan persecutions, (3) the civil establishment of the church, (4) consequent corruptions, (5) ecclesiastical persecutions (the reign of popery), (6) the church rolled together as a scroll and removed, and finally (7) the descent of the New Jerusalem, or the millennium, which he thought is to last 360,000 or 365,000 years.⁴⁰ M'Corkle makes the trumpets parallel the seals, with quite unusual applications, such as Origen as the star Wormwood, and the pope as having the key to the bottomless pit.⁴¹ But he is clear that the dragon is pagan Rome, and the woman in white, clothed with the sun, is the true church—with the earth helping the woman in the Reformation. M'Corkle's most startling statement is perhaps this: “In the 13th chapter we have the Catholic and Protestant Churches brought to view and contrasted, under a figure of two beasts.”⁴²

The first symbolic “beast,” or government, arises out of the sea (the Roman Church). Its seven heads are seven forms of government, and the ten horns are the ten kingdoms into which Rome was divided (this is avowedly derived from Scott);

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-29; cf. p. 64.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 30.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-41.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-46, 52, 53.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

to it the pagan Roman dragon gave his "power, his seat, and great authority." In contrast, the second beast, from the earth of Protestantism, is not blasphemous, not armed with persecution, not charged with the blood of the saints. Yet it speaks as a dragon. It makes an image—through creeds, standards, and discipline, and enforces the marks of sects and parties.⁴³ Thus M'Corkle, the Christian layman, departs sharply from the popular view. He presents a more recent interpretation, destined to develop later, that seems to flourish among American, Bible-only, antisectarian groups. This feature will be noted as it develops.

6. LAST PLAGUES AND MILLENNIUM STILL FUTURE.—M'Corkle sees all vials, or plagues, as in the future. This too is an innovation. The first is on the non-Catholic "earth"; the next two on the Roman church. The fifth will involve the "seat of the Beast," or literal Rome; and the sixth the Euphrates, possibly Turkey. Revelation 17 and 18 pertain to the Catholic Church (and her daughters). For the beast, its heads and horns, he cites Scott for the standard views. Chapter 20 includes the binding of Satan, and the thrones of judgment, the literal resurrection of the martyrs, on to the final general resurrection and judgment at the end of the millennium. To him the New Jerusalem is the new, recommissioned church under the resurrected martyrs, during the millennium. This is not the heavenly state.⁴⁴

7. PRESENT WORLD AWAITS DESTRUCTION.—A series of articles entitled "Signs of the Times," written by M'Corkle, appeared in Alexander Campbell's *The Millennial Harbinger* in 1833 and 1834. These were assembled into a ninety-page pamphlet, likewise called *Signs of the Times*, with a foreword by Campbell. At the very outset M'Corkle affirms: "I do firmly believe (from prophecy and 'the signs of the times') the world

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-57. (See his definitions of beast, sea, earth, etc., on p. 36.) As for the sectarian marks, even the name "Christian" he finds connected with the sectarian spirit. (*Ibid.*, p. 66.)

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-72.

to be approaching the most eventful period, the most important crisis, ever known since time began.”⁴⁵ His objective in writing is clearly stated:

“We purpose showing from the signs of the times, from prophecy, from reason and analogy, that the present moral administration,—the dispensation committed to the Gentile church,—is drawing to a close —has become corrupt—is never to be renovated—is to go into dissolution —is to be swept with the ‘besom of destruction’—is to be rolled together like a useless scroll, with all its appendages, and laid aside, before the introduction of the Millennium, or Christ’s universal reign.”⁴⁶

Grievous disappointment, he adds, awaits the world. Its fate is vastly different from the glowing utopia popularly anticipated. From this he dissents in no uncertain terms. Thus we read:

“The syren song of peace and safety will soon be exchanged for the mighty crush of thrones, the rolling of the heavens together as a scroll, and the vials of the wrath of Almighty God, without mixture, poured out on corrupted Christianity.”⁴⁷

To M'Corkle the seals portray the history of perversion in the church down to the climactic last days, when the days of Noah are repeated. The fifth, ending about 1847, is the reign of Antichrist, or the Papacy, for the 1260 years. The Papacy is likewise called the Little Horn, the Babylon of the Apocalypse, the woman in scarlet, who has made all nations drink of her intoxicating wine and whose daughter churches are all contaminated. With this is contrasted the pure woman, in white, who fled into the wilderness. But the church is not to come out again; she stands in direct antithesis to the heavenly Jerusalem, which is to come down from God. Thus he attacks the prevalent postmillennialist view that the present church is to become glorified and bring in the millennium by human endeavor. The kingdom of God on earth is to be introduced by the literal first resurrection of the martyrs, who will reign on earth. Noth-

⁴⁵ S. M. M'Corkle, *Signs of the Times*, p. 2.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

ing less than an overpowering miracle, he says, will convert the Jews.⁴⁸

8. 1847 THE JOINT ENDING OF TWO PERIODS.—Daniel's outline of empires and sweeping Little Horn apostasy in the church ends with a judgment scene. This comes, he says, when the 1260 years end. Then, in Daniel 8, comes the cleansing of the sanctuary at the close of the 2300 years. Here M'Corkle repeats, in substance, his previous outline of 1829—the 70 weeks of years, reaching to the cutting off of the Messiah in the midst of the 70th week, with the end of that last “week,” falling in A.D. 37. Then, by subtracting 37 from 490, he locates the starting point 453 years before Christ's birth, with the remaining 1847 years of the 2300 reaching their climax in 1847. Then, by subtracting the 1260 years from their common ending in 1847, one is taken back to 587, about which time the church elected a Universal Bishop, with the Bishop of Rome reigning ever since at Rome, the acknowledged seat of Antichrist. So, he concludes, the long and bloody reign of Antichrist will end about 1847.⁴⁹

9. PREMILLENNIAL, LITERAL, VISIBLE RETURN OF CHRIST.—Christ will come, and dominion be given Him over all peoples, nations, and languages at least a thousand years before the end of time, at the fall of Antichrist. Nothing less than a literal, visible coming will convert the Jews. This M'Corkle expands at length. Two classes will await the second advent. Those who have heard and obey the gospel will receive their reward, and those who have heard and disobeyed will be judged according to their works. But he distinguishes this from the final judgment before the “great white throne.”⁵⁰ That, in rapid brush strokes, is M'Corkle's outline portrayal of the prophecies. He is another in the lengthening list of expositors of the 2300 days as years, who now end them around 1843, 1844, or 1847. And his is the voice of a layman from Tennessee, a militant champion of premillennialism.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 76.

IV. Reid—Ends 2300 Years Within the Generation

Yet another expositor was ROBERT REID,⁵¹ Reformed Presbyterian minister of Erie, Pennsylvania, who confined himself to a generality. His time placement of the 2300 years is a bit different, but nevertheless is similar. For years he expounded the prophecies to his congregation, holding that there is "no kind of knowledge more beneficial" to the church than prophecy.⁵² At first he followed the general pattern of Bible commentary expositors, but he came to believe that papal Babylon, the "mother of harlots," was not alone in her apostasy as Antichrist, and that some of the same principles and practices which had produced the great historical departure had been "insinuated" into Protestantism.⁵³ It was his conviction that "the sanctuary of God" had been "horribly polluted," and must be cleansed. The threatened judgments of God were soon to be poured out. "The time is short," he asserted, "the work is great, and we have all need to be 'up and doing.' " He recognized, however, that his views were in direct "contradiction to the prevailing current of religious opinions" of many, and would meet opposition.⁵⁴

1. DANIEL 7: SUCCESSION OF EMPIRES TO JUDGMENT.—Holding to his thesis that the millennium will "be introduced by terrible and tremendous judgments,"⁵⁵ Reid begins with the four world powers of Daniel 7—the Chaldean, Medo-Persian, Macedonian, and Roman—with Rome's division followed by the papal Little Horn, or "Roman antichrist," whose special reign of power would be for 1260 years. (But in most Protestant sects, he adds, there is likewise a power that asserts its authority

⁵¹ ROBERT REID, A.M. (1781-1844), for 32 years pastor of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Erie, Pennsylvania, was born in Ireland. Coming to America in 1798, he was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1805, then studied theology at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of New York City. He was ordained in 1812, and served as chaplain in Perry's fleet. Reid was celebrated locally as a theologian, Bible preacher, and writer. He had a critical knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, and for 25 years (1819-1844) was president of the Erie Academy, serving also as special instructor. In addition to certain devotional books and *The Seven Last Plagues*, here noted, Reid was author of *The Reign of Truth and Righteousness About to Commence* (1824); and *Episcopacy Weighed in the Balance of the Holy Scripture and Found Wanting* (1841).

⁵² Robert Reid, *The Seven Last Plagues; or, The Vials of the Wrath of God*, preface, pp. iii, vi.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. iv.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-9.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

against God's laws and ordinances.) This prophetic period would be followed by tremendous scenes of judgment, involving the casting down of the thrones of Antichrist, or political despots, and the destruction of all false elements of religion—this latter being paralleled in Revelation 19. Then the kingdom passes to the saints, who will govern the earth when other governments are overturned and reorganized according to the principles of the gospel, and Jesus will rule the hearts and minds of men during the millennium.⁵⁶

2. ANTICIPATES SANCTUARY'S CLEANSING "ABOUT 1850."—Daniel 8, Reid holds, "proves to a demonstration, that *the last end of the indignation* is fast approaching, and so near at hand, that the man of middle age may live to see it; and that before this generation shall pass away, *the sanctuary shall be cleansed.*"⁵⁷ In this prophecy, beginning with Persia, is described the same great spiritual apostasy, Roman and Protestant—the exceeding great horn being identical with the Little Horn of Daniel 7, the power of Daniel 11:31 ff., and both beasts of Revelation 13. Reid then declares his belief that the sanctuary will be cleansed "about the year 1850."⁵⁸

3. SANCTUARY TO BE CLEANSED FROM POLLUTIONS.—Reid insists that the power of human authority in the church, upholding error and false worship, the great "antichristian power of Rome," has lasted almost 1260 years. It seeks to "prescribe laws for the church," and to introduce ordinances and regulations "for which they cannot show authority from his word." But "God will cleanse his sanctuary ["his church"] by the torrent of his judgments" from "every kind of pollution"—and, he insists, that "cleansing shall commence in no very distant period from the time in which we live."⁵⁹ In fact, he believed that the time of cleansing would be some "23 years"

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xiii, xiv, 29-44.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. xiv, 45-51, 68, 147.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

from the time of writing (1827), 2400 years after the rise of Persia, which he places in 550 B.C.⁶⁰

But Reid goes on to explain:

"By 'the cleansing of the sanctuary' we are not to understand the commencement of the Millennium. It is the removing of antichristian defilement."⁶¹

4. **BEGINS 70 WEEKS WITH ARTAXERXES.**—The prophecy of Daniel 9 demonstrates that Jesus is the true Messiah, proved by His being "cut off" after 69 weeks of years from the decree of Artaxerxes Longimanus, not from Cyrus or Darius. Through the death of Christ (which crucifixion date he places in A.D. 33, "in the first year of the seventieth week"), atonement for iniquity was made, eternal righteousness brought in, and the sins of the Jewish nation sealed up.⁶² Reid then parallels the apostasy of the Jewish church, just before the first advent, with that of the Christian church preceding the second advent, and again declares, concerning the timing, that just as certainly as the 70-week prediction was fulfilled, so "God will bring tremendous judgments on the world, and cleanse his sanctuary from abominations, about the year 1850."⁶³

5. **PUTS MILLENNIUM 45 YEARS AFTER CLEANSING.**—On the basis of the 1335 year-days of Daniel 12, Reid puts the millennium forty-five years after the close of the 1290 years, and cleansing of the sanctuary. He charges the Antichrist with polluting the sanctuary and taking away the "daily." And this parallels the prophesying of the Witnesses in sackcloth for the 1260 years. He expounds Michael as the Son of God, and avers that the great time of trouble comes just before the judgment.⁶⁴

6. **PAGAN ROME FOLLOWED BY PAPAL PERIOD.**—Turning next to the Apocalypse, which he understood to be the comple-

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 51. Reid was one of the very few American expositors to follow the supposed "2400" reading of the erroneous Septuagint printing, and dates the period from the time of the vision—a variant position found among some in Britain—but without connecting it with the 70 weeks. (See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 744, 745; also chap. 20.)

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. xiv, 67-72.

ment of Daniel's prophecy, Reid deals with the seals and trumpets, following Mede's scheme. The seals extend to Constantine, he holds, and the seventh seal embraces the trumpets. The first four trumpets represent the barbarian incursions on Rome, the fifth the Mohammedan scourge, and the sixth the Turkish woe—its 391 years reaching from 1281 to 1672. This trumpet he ends in 1823 (31½ years after the end of the 1260 years of the Two Witnesses, and 30 years before the end of the Beast's 1260 years).⁶⁵

In Revelation 12 the "woman" is the church, in her "wilderness" retreat, where she fled from the pagan Roman dragon. The Beast of Revelation 13 is ecclesiastical, or papal, Rome, arising in the sixth century, with its increasingly blasphemous pretensions. The ten horns, both on this beast and that of Daniel 7, are the accepted ten divisions of Rome. Rising in power and presumption it became the "Man of sin," marked by idolatry and empty ceremonies, and making war upon the saints for 1260 years. The first beast represents chiefly the Roman church-state establishment, and the second beast ecclesiastical Rome, especially the papal clergy. The "image" is the pope. The name from which his number is computed is the oft-cited *Lateinos*, with the "mark" as the token of its authority. And all of this Reid would extend to any church which shows these characteristics.⁶⁶

7. PREACHING OF THE THREE ANGELS YET FUTURE.—In Revelation 14 the first flying angel signifies a class of ministers going forth in the spirit and power of Elias, showing how the world has departed from the true worship of God. The second message announces "the fall of error and deception." Under the third message the standard is raised and the trumpet sounded clearly against the worship of the Beast and his image—first submission to Rome, and then to error and

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. xv, 95-112, 149.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xvi, xvii, 157, 158, 176-199.

corruption in any church. "The accomplishment of this prophecy is yet future," Reid asserts, "but it is fast hastening on."⁶⁷

Then comes the succession of God's final judgments—the seven last plagues, contained in the third woe, or seventh trumpet. This follows the sixth, poured out on the Euphrates flowing by Babylon, representing spiritual Babylon or the Church of Rome, and all churches that follow her example. And Armageddon is "a series of sudden calamities" by which God will "cut off multitudes of his enemies."⁶⁸ Reid's treatment of Revelation 17 to 22 was reserved for a later volume, which apparently was never written.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. xvii, 202, 212-221.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xviii, pp. 261-305.

Prophecies Dominate Debates and Periodicals

I. Campbellite Founder Declares for 1847 Terminus

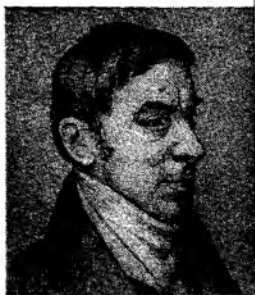
Before entering upon the discussion of the later periodicals which stress the prophecies, we shall note Alexander Campbell's prophetic exposition in his books as well as in his editorials in *The Millennial Harbinger*.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL,¹ dynamic founder of the Disciples of Christ, migrated to the United States in 1809, joining his father's reform movement. He ultimately settled at Bethany, Virginia, where he was licensed to preach, his first sermon being delivered in a grove. By 1812 he was persuaded that immersion was necessary, and both he and his congregation were rebaptized by immersion. In 1827 he was "excluded" from fellowship with the Baptists, and organized a separate body in the South—the Disciples of Christ—declaring against all creeds and taking the Bible only as his rule of faith.²

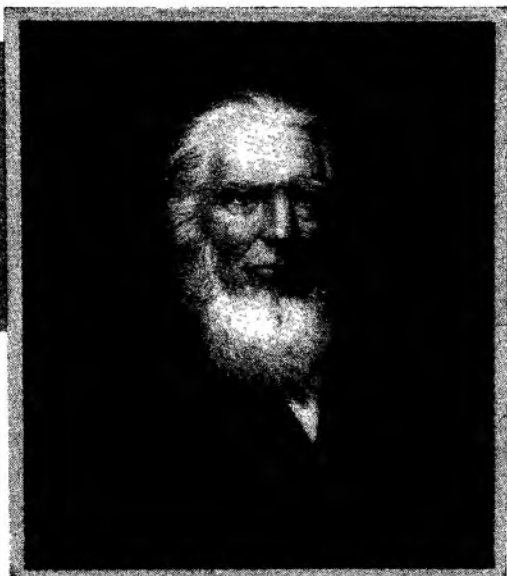
In order to disseminate his opinions Campbell started the *Christian Baptist* in 1823, which in 1830 became *The Millennial Harbinger*. This he conducted under the latter title until 1863. In 1840 Campbell founded Bethany College in Virginia,

¹ ALEXANDER CAMPBELL (1788-1866) was born in old Ireland. He received his education first in the academy of which his father was principal, and then at the University of Glasgow. Early impressed with the importance of religion, he joined the church and prepared for the Independent Presbyterian ministry, spending his days studying the Bible and the classical languages. The family was influenced by the Haldane brothers, Scottish Independents, whose accomplishments in Geneva have previously been noted, and who were deeply interested in prophecy in relation to the second advent. (See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 439, 440.)

² Portrait appears on p. 250.



Prophecies Employed
to Overthrow Agnostic
Positions of Robert
Owen, Scottish Free-
thinker (1829)



Alexander Campbell, Founder of the
Disciples Church, or Christians



Prophecies Prove Pa-
pacy Is Antichrist,
Despite Catholic
Bishop J. B. Purcell's
Contentions (1839)

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL USED PROPHECIES IN WINNING DEBATES

and remained its president until his death. About 1830 he became an ardent believer in the imminent millennium. He began to travel more, and spread his principles northward, even penetrating Canada. Campbell published about sixty volumes, including a hymnal restricted to hymns with a Biblical basis. And he issued a translation of the New Testament in 1827, supporting the Baptist position on *baptizo*.

Campbell engaged in numerous public debates—including one with William McCulla in 1823, on Christian baptism, and another in 1829 with Robert Owen,³ Scottish freethinker and deist, on the truths of Christianity. This was open to the public and attracted large audiences, and later was widely read in published form. Finally, in 1837, Campbell debated with the noted Roman Catholic archbishop J. B. Purcell on "The Infallibility of the Church of Rome." These discussions added materially to Campbell's growing reputation. For years this debate, in its printed form, was regarded as the best available

³ Owen had sought to establish a freethinking community in New Harmony, Indiana, in which all forms of religion would be barred.

expression of the opposing systems and a sound presentation of the Protestant viewpoint. Possessing the ardent temperament of a reformer, Campbell was characterized by personal energy and pugnacity. He was usually up at 3 A.M. pursuing his studies. Of good presence, he had a powerful and sonorous voice, and was energetic and forceful in speech. Large audiences gathered constantly to hear him.

I. FIRST ADVENT AT PREDICTED POINT IN ROMAN RULE.—

The debate between Campbell and Owen, on "The Evidences of Christianity," took place in Cincinnati in April, 1829, the year following Joshua L. Wilson's notable sermon on "The Sanctuary Cleansed," preached in the same city. Presenting the prophecies as one of the supreme evidences of the inspiration of the Bible and the verity of the Christian faith, the morning session of April 18 ended with Campbell presenting the prophetic declaration of the place and time of Jesus the Messiah's birth. Passing over the discussion as to where He was to be born, we find Campbell stressing the point that Christ was to come before the decay of the second temple and before the lawgiver had departed from Judah, while Rome was still in its glory. And most significant of all, He would come at the prophesied end of a definite number of years.⁴

2. FOUR WORLD-POWER DOMINIONS DEPICTED.—The afternoon session opened with Campbell's presentation of Daniel 2, extending from the "time of the Chaldean or Assyrian monarchy down to the end of time." In this he held that the "four great pagan empires are most accurately defined." He then adds:

"The golden *head* of the image which the King saw, was avowed by Daniel to be the Chaldean dynasty—the silver *shoulders* was the Medo-Persian dynasty—the brazen *body*, the Macedonian empire—and the iron *legs*, the Roman empire. These were the only *four* empires of the Pagan world which attained to universal dominion—they all had it for a time—they were all pagan empires, and exactly delineated in this image."⁵

⁴ Alexander Campbell, *Debate on the Evidences of Christianity . . . Between Robert Owen . . . and Alexander Campbell*, vol. 2, p. 71.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Dating the several empires, Campbell ends Rome in A.D. 476, and shows how Christ was born in the days of the Caesars. Then he notes the subsequent efforts to build up great empires, such as the attempt by Napoleon, but which have all been aborted.⁶

3. CONNECTS 70 WEEKS WITH 2300 DAYS.—Coming to the date of Messiah's birth, he adduces the 70 weeks as evidence, and quotes Daniel 9:24-27. Then follows this impressive statement:

"When I have made another extract from Daniel we have all the data before us. Chap. viii. 13. The question there proposed is, 'How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?' 'And he said to me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.' " ⁷

4. EXTENDS 70 WEEKS FROM 453 B.C. TO A.D. 37.—Proceeding immediately to the exposition, Campbell cites Ezekiel: "I have appointed one day for a year." He then comments, "As we find in symbolic language one day stands for a year, we are at no loss in coming to the following conclusions"⁸—concerning the close of the 70 weeks:

"Seven weeks make forty-nine years—sixty-two weeks make four hundred and thirty-four years—and in the middle of the week he [Christ] was to establish the New Institution; that is three and a half or four years more. From the going forth of the decree to rebuild Jerusalem to the baptism of Jesus was four hundred eighty-three years—his ministry was three and a half years, or the middle of one week; then he was cut off. And in half a week, that is, three and a half years more Christianity was sent to all nations. This completes the seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years of Daniel."⁹

In their application to history Campbell says:

"Now, from the birth of Jesus till the general proclamation of the gospel was about thirty-seven years—which, subtracted from four hundred and ninety, makes the nativity of Jesus four hundred and fifty-three years from the commencement of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, which occupied

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 73. See also J. J. Haley, *Debates That Made History*, pp. 95, 96.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 74.

seven weeks, that is, forty-nine years. Daniel then fixes the time of the nativity; the commencement of the kingdom, or confirmation of the covenant."¹⁰

5. CLEANSING OF CHURCH DATED FOR 1847.—However, Campbell does not end his sentence with the delimitation of the 70 weeks, but adds immediately, what is of far-reaching significance, in the light of the now somewhat similar positions by numerous other expositors on both sides of the Atlantic:

"... and the ultimate cleansing of the sanctuary, or purgation of the Christian church from antichristian abominations. This last event was to be two thousand three hundred years from the aforesaid date. That is, from the birth of Jesus about eighteen hundred and forty-seven years."¹¹

Having now made the connection with the 70 weeks as the first segment of the 2300 years, and with a brief definition of the predicted "cleansing of the sanctuary," of the "purgation of the Christian church from antichristian abominations," about A.D. 1847, Campbell returns to the 70 weeks thus:

"But all that lies before us now is the fact that Daniel gives the whole time intervening from the rebuilding of Jerusalem, after its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, till the birth of Jesus."¹²

6. SEPTUAGINT SPREADS KNOWLEDGE OF COMING MESSIAH.—Campbell then makes this unusual observation:

"So general was the knowledge of it [the birth of Messiah], through the Septuagint version of the Jewish scripture, then read through the Roman empire, that the expectation became general, that at this time some wonderful personage was to be born, who would put the world under a new government. This singular fact shows that the prophecies concerning the time in which the Messiah should be born were so plain in the estimation of all who read them, as to preclude all doubt as to the time of the appearance of the Messiah."¹³

Those who heard this famous debate declared that "Mr. Campbell's defence of the Christian religion was overwhelming in its conclusiveness."¹⁴

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.* It might well be noted that in Haley's *Debates That Made History*, all reference to the section on the 70 weeks and the 2300 years was deliberately omitted, either as of insufficient interest or unworthy of discussion.

¹³ *Ibid.* (On the Septuagint evidence, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 169-180.)

¹⁴ W. T. Moore, *Comprehensive History of the Disciples of Christ*, p. 338.

7. FOUR WORLD POWERS OF DANIEL 7.—The classic *Debate on the Roman Catholic Religion*, January 13-21, 1837, between Alexander Campbell and Archbishop J. B. Purcell, likewise held at Cincinnati and taken down by reporters, had as its fourth proposition: "She [the Church of Rome] is the 'Babylon' of John, the 'Man of Sin' of Paul, and the Empire of the 'Youngest Horn' of Daniel's Sea Monster."¹⁵ Here the prophetic exposition of Campbell rises to heights of logical clarity and convincing power seldom surpassed. The throbbing intensity and conviction can be felt even in the written report.

In opening his remarks on this proposition, Campbell notes the effectiveness of symbols as types of ideas and how a single glance at an illustrated object will often be more effective than the perusal of an entire volume. He then plunges into the symbolism of Daniel 7. He pictures the first three savage beasts portrayed—the lion, bear, and leopard—as the tyrannical governments of Assyria, Medo-Persia, and Grecia, and the dreadful fourth monster, with ten horns, "portrays the Roman empire in those fortunes connected with the principal figure in the group."¹⁶

8. LITTLE HORN IDENTIFIED AS PAPACY.—Contending that the horns symbolize kingdoms, Campbell asserts that "the Roman empire was first partitioned between ten kings or states, after the irruption of the northern barbarians." After suggesting that the three uprooted horns were the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the state of Rome, Campbell comes to the Little Horn. Coupling (1) the prophesied uprooting of the three obstructing horns, to (2) the wearing out of the saints, and (3) the changing of times and laws, Campbell exclaims, "These three never met in any beings save in the popes of Rome."¹⁷

9. LITTLE HORN'S PERIOD IS 1260 YEARS.—As to the three

¹⁵ Alexander Campbell and John B. Purcell, *A Debate on the Roman Catholic Religion*, pp. viii, 224.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 224, 225.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 226, 227.

and a half times, or "in all, *forty-two* months, or one thousand two hundred and three score days,—the product of forty-two thirties," Campbell says:

"Of all this, and of one day being given for a year, there is no controversy among Catholics or Protestants. The continuance of the empire of the LITTLE HORN is therefore predestined to twelve hundred and sixty years."¹⁸

10. TEN-POINT INDICTMENT INCRIMINATES ROME.—Campbell then makes this clean-cut ten-point summation of the evidence, and offers this ringing challenge:

"1. It is a beast, or empire, or power, that grew out of the Roman beast.

"2. It rose after the empire was divided into *ten* kingdoms.

"3. It was a *new* and *different* power, sagacious and politic—with human eyes—an eloquent, persuasive, and denunciatory power.

"4. It supplanted and displaced *three* of the original states of the Roman empire or of the ten kingdoms into which it was at first divided.

"5. It assumed more than any other empire. It uttered great things and its look was more stout (daring) than its fellows.

"6. It made war not against sinners, like other empires—it made war *against saints*.

"7. It prevailed for a long time against them. It '*wore out the saints*.'

"8. It presumed to change *times and laws*. How many fasts, and feasts, and saints, and new laws, and institutions has this power set up!

"9. It had power to hold in subjection all saints, and to lord it over them for a long time.

"10. It was to be *consumed*, gradually wasted as the Protestant Reformation has been wasting its power and substance for three centuries—and is yet finally, suddenly and completely to be destroyed. Can my learned opponent find all these characteristics and circumstances in any other power or empire in the history of all time!"¹⁹

11. BEAST AND LITTLE HORN ARE IDENTICAL.—Turning swiftly to the Apocalypse, Campbell marshals the evidence of pagan Rome (the dragon) giving his power, seat, throne, and authority to the Papacy, with the apostle John stressing the same number of horns and the same time period. Like various others, Campbell says the Papacy is also the beast from the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

earth. And the number of the beast's name is 666—perhaps *Lateinos*, or *He Latine Basileia* (the Latin empire), citing Irenaeus. This power, Campbell avers, is the same as Daniel's Little Horn—persecuting, bloody, borrowing its Pontifex Maximus from the pagan Rome, as well as its purgatory, priests and priestesses, and lustral water. The evidence, he insists, “requires me to identify this beast with the Roman church or with the Little Horn.” And he adds, “This definitely and clearly marks out the Roman Institution as that to which the 13th chapter of the Apocalypse and the 7th chapter of Daniel refer.”²⁰

12. GREAT HARLOT SAME AS MAN OF SIN.—Then the great Harlot of Revelation 17 is discussed, with her golden cup and gaudy garments, “spiritually called Babylon, literally Papal Rome.” But this symbol, Campbell contends, is the same as Paul's unfigurative Man of Sin, or Son of Ruin, of 2 Thessalonians 2—the literal interpretation of the symbols of Daniel and John. Its stealthy, secret growth, its concealment till the ten horn-kingdoms appeared, its exaltation of himself as a god to be worshiped, are noted—with the assumed titles of Universal Father, Holy Father, His Holiness, Sovereign Pontiff, Successor of Peter, Vicar of Christ, Lord of Lords, and Lord God the Pope.²¹

It is seated in the church of Christ, holding to the great facts of the Christian faith but making them of none effect by its tradition. It is the Lawless One, to be consumed by the Spirit of the Lord's mouth—the same fate as is in store for Daniel's Little Horn. Then, summing up the Little Horn's growth, Campbell makes this impressive portrayal—indicating his concept of A.D. 606 as the time of papal maturity:

“He was an embryo in Paul's time. (The mystery of iniquity doth already inwardly work.) He was an infant in the time of Victor I., 195. He was a bold and daring lad in the time of Constantine the Great. A sturdy stripling in the days of Leo I., when auricular confession came in. He was nineteen years old in the days of Justinian's code; and a young

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 228, 229.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 229-231.

man full twenty-one, when Boniface III. received from Phocas the title of Universal Patriarch or Pope, A.D. 606. He was twenty-five when Pepin and Charlemagne gave him political power and glory, A.D. 760: and at full prime, or at thirty-five, when Gregory the Great took the crown from the emperor Henry and gave it to Rudolphus. He had reached his grand climacteric in the days of Wickliff, and Luther gave him a mortal thrust, which introduced into his system that chronic consumption under which he has ever since lingered. But it remains for John the apostle, and last prophet of the church, to declare his last agony and final overthrow."²²

13. PAPAL HISTORY SKETCHED BY INSPIRED HAND.—Rising to the heights of a great challenge and a matchless opportunity, he summarizes it all, including the perfect harmonization of the incriminations of Daniel, Paul, and John, and adds:

"However gradual, for a time, the consumption and decay of her strength and glory, she will die a violent death; for all the witnesses attest that a sudden and overwhelming destruction awaits her."²³

Such, solemnly declares Campbell, is its "origin, its history, and its doom in the Old World, as sketched by the finger of God." And he ends the proposition with this incisive challenge:

"In the history of all time, no person will ever find any one subject in which so many—nay, all the grand characteristics of this prophetic tyranny, so clearly, literally, and harmoniously meet as in Papal Rome."²⁴

The significance of this able presentation, and its representative character, deepen when it is remembered that this was more than the quiet personal meditation of an individual writer. It was a representative oral presentation before an intensely interested and mixed audience of Protestants and Catholics, in the hurly-burly of the forum platform, by the head of a growing Protestant body²⁵ in a classical debate with the most noted Roman Catholic archbishop of the West of the time. And that the Catholic representative's reply was weak and evasive is equally significant. This exposition therefore assumes uncommon importance.²⁶

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 231, 232.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 234. Again it should be noted that in Haley's *Debates That Made History* there is likewise omission of the discussion of Proposition IV, on the prophetic aspect, as not a vital or valid part of the Protestant argument.

²⁵ The 1936 membership of the Disciples of Christ was 1,196,315. (*Religious Bodies*: 1936, vol. 2, part 1.)

²⁶ That Campbell sustained his reputation is indicated by the fact that a resolution

14. CAMPBELL SEES APPROACH OF MILLENNIUM.—Not only in his debates, but also in his editorials through the years, we find Campbell discussing prophetic subjects, especially the millennium. He accepted articles setting forth varying views, even those of the Millerites, but he expressed his own position in no uncertain terms. (His writings on the millennium will be included in connection with the general survey of *The Millennial Harbinger* in the section following.)

In these editorials he avoided setting dates, but a biographer says that "as he advanced in years he became possessed of a conviction that the year 1866 would, in some way usher in that period."²⁷ But in 1862 he definitely dated the millennial reign on the basis of the 6,000-year theory (evidently 2,000 years after the birth of Christ). He reckoned it 134 years from the close of 1862 (i.e., 1996), with the new earth state introduced a thousand years later, at the resurrection, which he dates 1,133 years from 1863.²⁸

II. *Millennial Harbinger*—Forum for Prophetic Discussion

Pronounced and continuous emphasis on prophecy appears in Campbell's forty-eight-page monthly, *The Millennial Harbinger*, issued from Bethany, Virginia, and starting in 1830. Widely read by the members of doubtless the fastest growing and most aggressive of the newly founded religious bodies that looked to Bible prophecy as a guiding star, it must be surveyed for its coverage of the prophecies.

1. MILLENNIUM THE GOAL OF THE AGES.—*The Millennial Harbinger* carried on the editorial masthead the text of Revelation 14:6, 7. It was further evidence of the increasingly common conviction, at this time, that this symbol of the flying

was passed at the close of a public meeting, recognizing it as one of the ablest defenses of Protestantism of the time. (Thomas W. Grafton, *Alexander Campbell, Leader of the Great Reformation of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 161; also W. T. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 339, where the action is recorded.)

²⁷ Thomas W. Grafton, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

²⁸ Alexander Campbell, "The Pentateuch," *The Millennial Harbinger*, July, 1862, pp. 319, 320; "The First Day of the Week and the First Day of the Universe," *The Millennial Harbinger*, April, 1863, p. 159.

angel of Revelation 14 represented a last-day message, designed to restore the everlasting gospel, which was now to be proclaimed in fullness to mankind everywhere. And various groups believed it embraced their own activities in particular.

The *Harbinger* was "devoted to the destruction of Sec-tarianism, Infidelity, and Antichristian doctrine and practice," with the object of "the development, and introduction of that political and religious order of society called THE MILLENNIUM." This was believed to be "the consummation of that ultimate amelioration of society" proposed in the Bible. In its opening issue it begins to deal with the fulfillment of the prophecies leading to the millennium.

Starting with the basic four empires—of Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome—contributor Walter Scott deals next with the present "remains" of the ten kingdoms of Europe and then the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, which "is here become a vast mountain, and fills the whole earth." He describes the apostate papal church—Babylon, Mystery—arrayed in purple and scarlet, and "mounted upon her imperial beast," with her golden cup in hand to intoxicate the nations; her offspring, the Inquisition; also French atheism, Daniel's presumptuous king who "shall come to his end." All these things, he says, "have passed in review to the Christian of the 19th century." And another sign is the growth of the antisectarians in the United States.²⁰

The August, 1830, issue began a series signed "Daniel," entitled "Prophecies." The anonymous writer enunciates the sound principle that "the Prophecies have never been well understood until near the times of their accomplishment, and seldom more than the prominent outlines until actually accomplished." His outline declares that the Jews will return to their own land, be attacked by their foes, be converted in one day when the Lord Jesus will descend upon Mount Olivet. He adds that a great earthquake will shake the earth from pole to pole,

²⁰ *The Millennial Harbinger*, January, 1830, pp. 34, 35.

destroying the cities of the nations and all the wicked. Then Christ will judge the Man of Sin, raise the dead saints, and usher in His millennial reign on earth.³⁰

2. M'CORKLE ENDS 2300 YEARS IN 1847.—In the second volume the editor summarizes the impressive exposition of Samuel M. M'Corkle, the Disciple layman previously noted,³¹ first published at Nashville. Many of his thoughts, Campbell says, are "very good." After noting M'Corkle's dating of Anti-christ's period, the editor approvingly summarizes:

"Making the cleansing of the sanctuary 2300 days, or years, from the going forth of the decree to rebuild Jerusalem, and subtracting therefrom the 490 years determined or counted on the Jews, he makes the birth of the Messiah 453 years from the rebuilding of the city and temple; thus leaving 1847 years since the birth of the Messiah for the fulfillment of the 2300 years. This calculation makes the year 1847 the time of the commencement of the Millennium."³²

3. TWO-HORNED BEAST INVOLVES REFORMED CHURCHES.—The 1260 years of the papal Antichrist's reign, which M'Corkle begins in 587 (from Pelagius, bishop of Rome), are likewise believed to extend to 1847, when tremendous judgments will accompany the slaughter of this Man of Sin, whose downfall synchronizes with the second coming of Christ, as well as with the beginning of the millennium, when the kingdom of God will be given to the saints, the New Jerusalem set up, and a new priesthood (in the "new heaven") commissioned. M'Corkle bluntly calls the churches Babylon and "harlots." And the "priesthood" he dubs "blind leaders of the blind, self ordained, or ordained by antichristian hands." Furthermore, he holds that the second beast of Revelation 13 represents the reformed, or Protestant, churches, that actually "have got the power of the 'first beast,' " but will be engulfed in the impending time of trouble. Then will follow the millennium (365,000 years).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, August, 1830, p. 375.

³¹ See p. 237 of this volume.

³² Alexander Campbell, "The Millennium" (a review of S. M. M'Corkle, "Thoughts on the Millennium"), *The Millennial Harbinger*, April, 1831, p. 165. (Campbell had previously taken essentially the same position.)

The seven seals, he holds, portray the history of the church in seven distinct periods—(1) the introduction of Christianity, (2) pagan persecutions, (3) Christianity established by creeds and civil power, (4) corruptions following their establishment, (5) papal persecutions, (6) judgments preceding the millennium, and (7) the new Jerusalem set up. The trumpets are a “kind of review,” under different imagery. The Two Witnesses are the Word and the Spirit. The everlasting gospel signifies a new dispensation, to be introduced with the millennium, or the new heaven and earth. The seven vials are held to be still future, and the False Prophet is the clergy of the Catholic and Protestant churches. Campbell observes that M'Corkle seems to lean heavily on Scott's commentary.³³

After expressing certain criticisms and reservations, Campbell makes this strong declaration:

“But yet the pamphlet is well worthy of a perusal, not only on account of the many truths uttered on the present state of things, but because it awakens attention to one very plain and interesting subject of prophecy, viz. that Christendom is to be the theatre of the most tremendous calamities and sudden disasters, terminating in that unexampled earthquake, which is to destroy the monarchies, hierarchies, and all the bastard progeny of the Mother of Harlots, which, like the frogs of Egypt, pollute every synagogue, fireside, and closet in the land; and all this as preliminary to the commencement of the reign of a thousand years.”³⁴

Finally he adds:

“A reformation, we rejoice to know, has always been proclaimed before the cup of indignation has been poured out. And, bless the Lord! this voice is heard in our land. Therefore, ‘Come out of her, my people, that you partake not of her sins, and that you receive not of her plagues:’ for unless you reform you shall also perish.”³⁵

4. CAMPBELL NOTES CROLY AND FABER POSITIONS.—Then in the May issue, Campbell notes “Croly on the Apocalypse,”³⁶ and quotes without comment from his Introduction, which epitomizes George Croly's position on the seals, trumpets, and

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 167.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

³⁶ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 544-548.

vials.³⁷ In the December number Campbell inserts a quotation from Faber on the prophecies, who ends the 1260 years in 1866, to which are added the thirty additional years (of the 1290), and the forty (i.e., forty-five) more (of the 1335)—or a total of seventy-five years—which bring him to about 110 years from 1831. A quotation from the *Columbian Gazette* shows that prophecy was even discussed in the newspapers of the day.³⁸ It might be added that *The Millennial Harbinger* is often argumentative in style and belligerent in tone, with many discussions and not a few debates—the latter often involving the editor.

5. CAMPBELL DISCUSSES SUNDRY SYMBOLS AND SIGNS.—In Campbell's "Historic Prophecy," in two editorial installments (March and May, 1832), he presents the results of his own investigations in prophecy.³⁹ The fiery, or red, dragon, with its seven heads, is pagan Rome with its seven forms of government; the woman is the church; the man child is Christ. The ten-horned beast from the sea is Rome (the fourth beast of Daniel), with the seven heads listed and the ten horns identified. The two-horned beast is an ecclesiastical power, a pseudo teacher and false prophet, the horns being "the corrupted priesthood, whether Papal or Protestant."⁴⁰ Then, in the September and October issues, Campbell begins a discussion of the intent of the prophetic symbols, and quotes from a pamphlet representing the contemporary British advent awakening—J. A. Begg's *Twelve Short and General Reasons* for a literal premillennial second advent.⁴¹

Another series, in volume 4, of ten articles on the "Signs of the Times," by S. M. M'Corkle, begins in February, 1833. There are also discussions of prophecy in an editorial series on the "Everlasting Gospel," beginning in the same issue. And

³⁷ *The Millennial Harbinger*, May 1831, pp. 216-219.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, December, 1831, p. 555 [i.e. 565].

³⁹ *Ibid.*, March and May, 1832, pp. 130-134, 214-219.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 214-219.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, September, 1832, pp. 433-438. On Begg, who will also be noted later, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 560-564.

September, 1834, opens yet another series, on "The Millennium," by a "Reformed Clergyman," in answer to M'Corkle. Volume 6 (1835) for March, has an editorial on "The Last Days," in reply to "J.B." And starting in May another extended series appears from S. M. M'Corkle, "a Layman," as a rebuttal to the "Reformed Clergyman," and in volume 7 (1836) there are the latter's replies to "our invincible lay brother, M'Corkle"—and other articles on prophecy, as "Letters to a 'Reformed Clergyman,'" by "D.A."

6. DATING OF DANIEL'S TIME PERIODS.—The "Second Series," volume 1 (1837), now has, under the heading "Prophetic Department," a series called "The Prophecies," by the "Reformed Clergyman." Number 11 of this series discusses the year-day principle (based on Numbers 14:34 and Ezekiel 4:4-6). The 70 weeks of Daniel 9 are set forth as extending from the seventh year of Artaxerxes to the crucifixion.⁴² Number 12 of this series of a dozen articles on "The Prophecies" discusses Daniel's 1260, 1290, 1335, and 2300 year periods. The various involvements of the 1260 years (the Little Horn's war on the saints, the holy people scattered, the dragon persecuting the Woman, and the Two Witnesses in sackcloth) are all recognized as being identical in time.

And in this same article the "Reformed Clergyman" is inclined to agree with Campbell's position in the famous debate with Robert Owen—namely, placing the 2300 years from 453 years before the birth of Christ to about 1847 years after it, although he refers to others who end them at other times.⁴³ He likewise discusses the various dates for the 1260 years, citing 529-533 for the beginning and 1789-1793 for the close, but noting 606 and 722 as well. For the 1290 years he adds 30 years more to about 1820, the 1335 years extending to 1865-1866. The dates 1847 and 1866 are, he finds, hard to decide between for the end of the 1260 years, but he is more inclined to 1847,

⁴² *Ibid.*, June, 1838, pp. 273-275.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, July, 1838, pp. 321-324.

because he can terminate "all the *times* of Daniel and John" there.

7. CAMPBELL REVIEWS THREE THEORIES OF MILLENNIUM.—In volume 5 of the new series (1841) Campbell launches an array of editorials on "The Coming of the Lord," running through the volume. In the first he discusses three theories of the millennium: (1) James Begg's—stressing literal Israel's return to their own land, with Christ reigning in Jerusalem probably 365,000 years, the Man of Sin destroyed by the pre-millennial advent, and the first resurrection (of the saints); and a brief apostasy following the millennium; then the general resurrection and judgment; (2) William Miller's—a general conflagration, the destruction of the wicked, and the resurrection of the dead saints and the transformation of the living at the advent, followed by a new dispensation of the new heavens and new earth, an immortal reign, the first segment of which is a thousand-year day of judgment between the two resurrections, beginning in 1843 (or 1847, as some reckon it); and then (3) the popular postmillennialist (Protestant theory)—the greatly enlarged prosperity of the church, marked manifestations of the Spirit, with the Jews converted and the Gentiles brought in, with Christianity diffused, crime and wars ceasing, the land becoming fertile and the climate mild, and the animal creation more prolific, with the coming of Christ not until its *close*; and then the grand conflagration, followed by the new heavens and earth.⁴⁴ In the fourth installment he discusses the two resurrections, of soul and of body respectively.⁴⁵

8. CRITICAL REVIEW OF MILLER'S POSITIONS.—In 1842 the editorials continue on "The Coming of the Lord," quoting from the *Signs of the Times* on the Millerite view, and from the positions taken by the first General Conference of the Millerite leaders, particularly Henry Dana Ward's much-publicized address on the millennium.⁴⁶ In the March issue Campbell

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, January, 1841, pp. 8-10.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, March, 1841, pp. 100-104.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, February, 1842, pp. 42-45, 55-59.

refers to that "excellent Baptist brother, Elder William Miller, of New York."⁴⁷ He then proceeds to give his reasons for disagreeing with these views. In volumes 6 and 7 (1842 and 1843) there is heavy discussion of the main Millerite positions on prophecy, critically reviewing Miller's time arguments. He discusses each of the seven time periods employed by Miller in connection with the year 1843—the 6000 years, 2300 years, "seven times," and the 1260, 1290, and 1335 year periods, as well as the 391 years. Pointing out, logically, that the certainty of the year of terminus depends on the certainty of the year of commencement, he by now dissents from the principle of the 70 weeks as the first part of the 2300 years. This, of course, was a repudiation of his former positions.

Campbell calls Miller an "amiable enthusiast and pious expectant of the world's end in 1843."⁴⁸ In April, Campbell calls it a "gratuitous assumption" to call the earth the "sanctuary" and its destruction the "cleansing." The July issue contains editorial No. 25 in the series on the second advent—so far interest and agitation in the year "1843" are obviously keen—but the October editorial ends the series by disavowing the Whitbyan spiritual millennium.

9. SHARP DECLINE IN PROPHETIC DISCUSSION.—However, when we come to 1844, there is a sharp decline in prophetic discussion in the *Harbinger*. And there is a marked change of editorial policy. In fact, the only conspicuous item on prophecy in the entire volume is "The Pope Demonstrated to Be the Little Horn"—a reprint of the substance of a treatise by Prof. Louis Gaussen, of Geneva.⁴⁹ This classic, with its inconcealable identification marks, was translated from the French, and first appeared in the *New York Observer*.⁵⁰ And Campbell states that the positions held are virtually the same as his own.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, March, 1842, p. 97.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, February, 1843, pp. 49-58.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, September, 1844, pp. 394-405.

⁵⁰ On Gaussen see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 687-700, where his points are summarized.

III. Philadelphia Writer Focalizes Periods on 1844

Several numbers of a curious thirty-two page periodical called *Watchman of the Night and Millennial Morning* appeared in 1833 at Philadelphia. The sponsor, or producer, concealed his name under the pseudonym, "A Voice From Pennsylvania."⁵¹ Repetitious and poorly written, it nevertheless stresses the imminent, personal, literal, second advent of Christ, the impending establishment of the kingdom of God, the importance and meaning of prophecy, and the blighting mystery of Babylon.

The preface declares that the paganism retained in papal Babylon has permeated the various churches in Christendom, with their man-made creeds.⁵² The advent hope is declared to be at low ebb, but the signs of the times are nevertheless clear and manifest—celestial signs, conditions in the religious world, and the approaching terminus of the last of the prophetic time periods. The drying up of the Turkish Empire, or "River Euphrates," is under way,⁵³ this "expulsion of the Turkish power" beginning with the time of the end.⁵⁴

1. THE FOUR EMPIRES AND THE 1260 YEARS.—The familiar pattern of the four monarchies of Daniel 7—Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome—with the papal Little Horn the same as the Beast and the Babylon of the Apocalypse, appears repeatedly.⁵⁵ The first beast of Revelation 13 is papal Rome, and the two-horned beast is his accomplice. And the climax and hope of the grand outline of prophecy is the second advent of Christ. The dominance of the papal power—for 1260 years, or 42 months—is based on "a day for a year,"⁵⁶ ending in the French Revolution, with the outpouring of the first vial. The 1260 years are placed, beginning under Justinian, somewhere

⁵¹ Title page, vol. 1. Possibly it was A. J. Krupp, noted by Miller as of Philadelphia.

⁵² *Watchman of the Night and Millennial Morning*, vol. 1, p. iv.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-17.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-32. J. A. Brown is cited on the seat of the dragon. (Page 48, note.)

between 527 and 533, but preferably the latter, and so terminating in 1793.⁵⁷

2. PALESTINE THOUGHT TO BE THE SANCTUARY.—Referring to the 2300 years,⁵⁸ reaching to the cleansing of the sanctuary (Palestine), this Pennsylvania "voice" gives this caution:

"The sanctuary of Palestine shall be finally cleansed, in 1847 sacred—1843 or 44 modern year, which many suppose to be the time of the Advent. But in this let us not be too positive, remembering that before the midnight cry, the parable of Christ implies, that even the wise virgins will conclude that he tarrieth, and become drowsy and sleeping; though they afterwards shall know."⁵⁹

3. PLAGUE VIALS TO BE POURED OUT BY 1844.—This Philadelphia writer believes the pouring out of the seven vials is progressing:

"We now live under the winding up period of the fifth, the middle period of the sixth, and the preparatory period of the seventh vial, and under the time of the end terminating in 1844."⁶⁰

4. 1260 YEARS OF WITNESS (A.D. 533 TO 1793).—His views on the Two Witnesses and the 1260 years are succinct:

"The witnesses—their sack-cloth period commenced first in 533, and after 1260 years, terminated 1793, in the French Revolution; the 40 years wilderness period thence ended 1832, in the expulsion of the Ottomans, when the 12 years, i.e. '*the time of the end*' commenced; which again will carry us to the Advent, 1843 or 44."⁶¹

But he places the resurrection of the Witnesses just before the advent, still set at 1844. He also acknowledges indebtedness to Newton, Bengel, Wesley, Irving, and Stilling, and he says that his initial conviction (back in 1818) that the 2300 years might end about 1843 or 1844 has "been confirmed since by able commentators." He specifically mentions J. A. Brown, who had previously (1823) set the 2300-year terminus for 1844.⁶²

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-41, 49. Keith and Irving are cited on the dating. Mention is also made of the calculation of Rome from 584-1844. (Pages 41, 44.)

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 95.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 99.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 118, 119. On Brown, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 404-408.

5. REGARDS 666 AS YEARS (1177 TO 1843-44).—The time of the end he considers as a brief period, from 1832 to 1844, and the “666” as years, possibly 1177 to 1843 or 1844.⁸³

6. DATES 2300 YEARS FROM 456 B.C TO A.D. 1844.—This unidentified writer, possibly A. J. Krupp, dates the 70 weeks from 456 B.C. to the death of Christ in A.D. 33 or 34; and consequently he expects the advent, at the close of the 2300 years, in 1844,⁸⁴ as surely as the death of Christ occurred on the very year predicted. His is an odd note, sometimes off pitch, yet fairly in tune with the majority on the chorus of contemporary voices concerning the speedily approaching end of the 2300 years.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 120.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Medley of Voices

Swell Prophetic Chorus

Now let us turn to other examples of prophetic interpretation in the 1830's that are somewhat off the beaten track. One is a colorful feminine figure—a world traveler and “1847” enthusiast—who put her exposition into verse as well as prose. Another is a reprint of a former Catholic priest's summary of church history from the prophetic angle, of interest in that period of violent anti-Catholic agitation in America, when numerous periodicals used apocalyptic language in denouncing the Catholic Church.

I. Harriet Livermore—Expects World's Climax in 1847

One of the most colorful figures of this period was the brilliant and beautiful, but erratic, HARRIET LIVERMORE¹—“pilgrim,” preacher, author, and world traveler. She is fascinatingly, though somewhat satirically, depicted in John Greenleaf Whittier's *Snow-Bound*:

¹ HARRIET LIVERMORE (1788-1868), daughter of a judge (later U.S. Senator), and friend of many of the elite of Washington, was born in Concord, New Hampshire, receiving an excellent education. While in the Byefield Female Seminary, she frequented the home of Judge Minot and became a social belle in influential circles. In 1811 she taught school at East Haverhill, Massachusetts, where she was a periodic visitor to the parents of John Greenleaf Whittier, who in turn immortalized her in verse. After her lover died from yellow fever, Harriet turned from her life of vanity to religion, for sanctuary from the sorrows of life. A zealous reader of religious literature, she soon began to write. Not satisfied with her Episcopalian confirmation in childhood, she joined the Congregational Church in 1818. In 1824 she published *Scriptural Evidence in Favor of Female Testimony*, because public preaching by a woman was then looked upon as ludicrous, improper, and un-Scriptural. In 1825 she joined the Baptists and became active as a Sunday School teacher. In the same year she abandoned teaching and entered upon a lifework of evangelism, assuming the title “The Pilgrim Stranger.”

"And under low brows, black with night,
Rayed out at times a dangerous light.

"Since then what old cathedral town
Has missed the pilgrim's staff and gown,
What convent-gate has held its lock
Against the challenge of her knock!"

The first woman ever to speak publicly within the walls of the U.S. Congress, Miss Livermore four times² called upon the President and lawmakers to repent, turn to the Lord, and flee from the wrath to come. "The judgment cannot miss Washington," she asserted. Senator George U. Briggs, formerly governor of Massachusetts, who heard her at the Capitol in 1832, stated that there were "few better models of correct speaking," and that she was "the sweetest singer I ever heard."³ She also spoke in the legislative halls of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

She preached everywhere—among the Dunkards, Episcopalians, and Methodists, as well as to unfortunates in asylums and prisons, and on the waterfront. Press reports were commendatory. The *Southern Literary Messenger* (1840) declared her sway over audiences in Richmond to be akin to that which moved Oberlin under Charles G. Finney.⁴

In 1831 she became a firm believer in the second advent. Years later, when she became acquainted with the Millerites, she was much perturbed over their not sharing one of her fondest beliefs—the literal restoration of the Jews.⁵ In 1832 she made a six-thousand-mile tour of the "Western wilderness," preaching to the Indians, thinking they might be the lost tribes of Israel, as did Joseph Wolff, from whom she derived her beliefs on the advent.⁶

Each time she went to Europe—in 1836, 1839, 1845, and

² On January 8, 1827 (with President John Quincy Adams and his Secretary of State, Henry Clay, among her auditors), also in 1832, 1838, and 1843—under Andrew Jackson's, Martin Van Buren's, and John Tyler's administrations. (Rebecca I. Davis, *Gleanings From Merrimac Valley*, p. 16.)

³ S. T. Livermore, *Harriet Livermore, the Pilgrim Stranger*, pp. 82, 151-156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 141.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 111.

⁶ On Wolff, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 461-481.

1852—she also visited Jerusalem.⁷ In Egypt she compared notes with Bishop Gobat, likewise a student and preacher of prophecy.⁸ She was a colorful and really remarkable, though unpredictable, woman of high caliber. She was distinctly an enthusiast, and quite temperamental, not a close, logical thinker, but a magnetic speaker. Ever traveling and preaching, she exerted an unusually wide influence.

1. LAST-DAY FULFILLMENTS CENTER IN 1843-1847.—In a series of booklets called *Millennial Tidings*, Numbers I to IV (published in Philadelphia and Cincinnati, 1831-1839), and other books bearing on prophecy, Miss Livermore taught the personal second advent of Christ in 1843 or 1847 (based on Daniel 8:14), to stand upon the Mount of Olives, and to reign personally in Jerusalem.⁹

2. MILLENNIAL VIEWS AND ANTICHRIST.—Christ's personal reign will be preceded by the overthrow of Antichrist and the binding of Satan. Sometimes Antichrist is the Mystery of Iniquity, the "false church," the counterfeit of Christianity; at other times it appears to be a malign individual—the "vile" person of Daniel 11, Paul's Man of Sin, and the Beast.¹⁰ And like Wolff, Miss Livermore believed the Indians might be the lost tribes of Israel.¹¹ She held that the drying up of the Euphrates refers to the Ottoman power. The warning is being heralded insistently to the church, "Behold the Bridegroom cometh."¹²

3. "SEVEN TIMES" FROM 677 B.C. TO A.D. 1843.—Miss Livermore cites *The Morning Watch*, of London, on chronological prophecy. The "seven times" of the Gentiles—with 360

⁷ S. T. Livermore, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 90, 91.

⁸ On Gobat, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 485-487.

⁹ Harriet Livermore, *Millennial Tidings*, No. I (2,000 copies 1831), pp. 3, 28, etc., No. II (1832), pp. 14, 15, 61; No. IV (1839), p. 4. No. III was issued in 1838 and was addressed to the Indians. (See S. T. Livermore, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-111.) These were largely the reflection of the British advent writers, especially of Wolff, Cuninghame, Irving, Drummond, and McNeile, the Albany Park Conference, and *The Morning Watch*, etc., are cited in the pages of these four numbers, and their teachings presented.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* (II), pp. 22, 38; (IV), pp. 42, 55, 58.

¹¹ *Ibid.* (II), pp. 91-106.

¹² *Ibid.* (IV), pp. 17, 18.

days to a prophetic "time," or 2520 year-days in all—are possibly the length of Israel's degradation, from the captivity of Manasseh in 677 B.C., on to A.D. 1843, when Jewry should flourish again.¹³

4. 2300 YEARS FROM 457 B.C. TO A.D. 1843.—The 2300 years, beginning jointly with the 70 weeks, from the decree of Artaxerxes in the time of Persia, she ends with the future restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem. Then follows this key paragraph from *The Morning Watch*:

"The decree of Artaxerxes for restoring the Jewish polity is given at length in the viith chapter of Ezra, and it was issued in the seventh year of that monarch's reign, which was the year A.C. [B.C.] 457. From which if we reckon the 2300 days, according to prophetic analogy, a day for a year, we shall find that this period also terminates in A.D. 1843, when, without presumption, we may hope that the sanctuary will be cleansed and the kingdom be restored to Israel."¹⁴

She speculates on the Jubilee, or year of release, as possibly falling around the same time.¹⁵

5. COUNCIL OF LAODICEA AND ANGELIC WARNING.—The book of Revelation, Miss Livermore declares, was excluded for a time from the canon of Scripture, by the church of the fourth century, which also changed the "ordinance" of the Lord's day. (The footnote reads: "In the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 360.") The spirit of Antichrist, she holds, was manifest in all this. Then she affords an unusual word on the great apostasy, not mentioned by any other prophetic writer at this early date. This early Council of Laodicea, she says, is marked by "the two notable evidences of usurpation and blasphemy (rejection of the Apocalypse, and alteration of the Sabbath time,) resulting from that council."¹⁶

¹³ *Ibid.* (IV), p. 15. On *The Morning Watch*, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* (IV), pp. 16, 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* (IV), pp. 28-33.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* (IV), pp. 84, 85. Twice the author makes reference to this act of the "Apostate church," after she had lost her first love. In the other instance, she declares the church "played the harlot with the state," changed the ordinance * [The footnote reads: "I mean the Sabbath"], and broke the covenant of her Lord." (*Ibid.*, No. II, p. 34.) It should be added that she was not a Seventh Day Baptist.

She does not explain further at this time.

Noting God's special message to the seven churches of the Apocalypse, Miss Livermore again refers to Laodicea:

"They have violated the law of God, by profaning His holy things; and have hid their faces from the Great and Glorious Sabbath of the Lord. These things have they done, and the Lord kept silent a long time."¹⁷

But Christ's instruction to Laodicea, she adds, is to open the door of the heart, in response to which He will come in. Then the solemn voice rings out, "Babylon is fallen," and the prophesied warning of Revelation 14:9-11 is uttered by the third angel. Such, she adds, constitutes God's "strange act."¹⁸

Miss Livermore looked with apprehension to the new year, 1844,¹⁹ for the destruction of Antichrist (the "eleventh horn" of Daniel 7 and the "Beast" of Revelation 13) occurs before the second advent and the resurrection of the righteous.²⁰ Aware of the different dates suggested for the advent, between 1847 and 1866, she looked with anticipation to the former, but recognized the existing element of uncertainty.²¹

II. Prophetic Themes Are Put Into Verse

Her 180-page book of verse, *The Harp of Israel* (1835), is replete with prophetic themes, though it does not excel as poetry. It had a prefatory letter addressed to the Honorable Elias Boudinot, fellow student of prophecy.²² One of these, "Watchman, What of the Night," notes the portentous signs of the times:

"From east and west, from south to north,
Portending signs appear;

* * *

Is foul perdition's Son disclosed,
'The Beast'—'The man of sin?'

¹⁷ *Ibid.* (IV), p. 86.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* (IV), pp. 87, 88.

¹⁹ Harriet Livermore, *The Counsel of God, Immutable and Everlasting* (1844), p. 2. Among the subscribers for this volume appear the names of Presidents John Quincy Adams and John Tyler, and Secretary of the Treasury J. C. Spencer, and many other notables in Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, including five ministers and two newspapermen.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79.

²² Harriet Livermore, *The Harp of Israel*, p. 3. On Boudinot, see pp. 164-168.

"Is Armageddon soon to be
The battle ground of hell?" ²³

Jericho becomes a type, with its seven angels, seven trumpets, and seven ages. The millennium is likewise put into verse, and the "Times of Restitution," and even the year-day principle and the Year of Jubilee.²⁴ And the second advent is a recurring note.²⁵ The impending fate of Antichrist is likewise portrayed:

"But, O thou mighty man of sin,
When Heaven opens, then the King
Rides forth in mighty vengeance drest,
He'll pluck thee from thy dwelling place." ²⁶

Her "Song of Triumph" is honeycombed with prophetic terms.

"As saith prophetic story,
When Christ goes forth to war,
Against the wrathful nations
That dare invade His land,
And set 'Abomination'
The harlot she must fall,
To fiery lakes be driven,
False prophet, beast, and all." ²⁷

Her "Millennial Hymn" continues the prophetic strain:

"Hail! Messiah's second coming,
Riding on a brilliant cloud;

.

In the air His banner streaming,
Hark! the trumpet sounding loud,
Wakens saints to meet Him.

"Hear His voice, like many waters,
Sounding o'er the earth abroad,
Gather now my sons and daughters,
Mine elect, as saith the Word.
Martyrs rise to meet Him." ²⁸

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

And the last poem, "Search the Scriptures," ends the sustained note. A few more lines from this feminine voice must suffice:

"Yea, Holy Jesus! in the sacred page,
Thy testimony rings from age to age;
Of Thee did Moses write, and prophets sing,
Their glorious Antitype, their heavenly King—
Thy Advent first to suffer, love to die,
Thy resurrection and ascent on high;

"Thy Mediatorship at God's right hand,
Thy second coming to the holy land;
Thy reign, Millennial! O, the rapturous sound!
When saints are glorified, and Satan bound—
And last of all, Thy solemn judgment seat,
Where small and great, where Greek and Jew must meet:
Who wake not in the resurrection first,
Must then awake, and meet their Judge, the Just!"²⁹

III. Anti-Catholic Literature Also Draws on Prophecy

The anti-Catholic agitation of the turbulent thirties and the "roaring forties" was keen, especially now that it was linked with growing apprehension over the heavy stream of immigration, which provided the bulk of this large Catholic increase, along with French Catholics from Quebec, and the incident of the Louisiana Purchase.³⁰ Anti-Catholic literature began to multiply. And Catholic "associations" in Europe, formed to promote missions in America and for the "Propaganda of the Faith" over here, were regarded as plots against American democracy. Lyman Beecher's *Plea for the West*, in 1835, was really a plea to save the West for Protestantism. This was followed by numerous books and periodicals warning of

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

³⁰ This was a carryover from Colonial days. Only in Maryland had Catholics been welcome in those early times, for, with the arrival of the Puritans, Calvinistic Protestantism was stamped indelibly upon the early English colonies. The Quakers, Baptists, and other Nonconformists settled in compact groups. And the German Pietists, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and French Huguenots were all wary of the Catholics. However, through the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, religious liberty was assured—one Catholic, Charles Carroll, signing the Declaration. At the time there were only thirty thousand Catholics in a population of four million. But by 1810 there were seventy-five thousand Catholics, or one per cent of the total population, while in 1840 they numbered a million, or five and a half per cent—with the percentage steadily on the increase, and now these gains were watched closely.

Catholic danger. Even Samuel F. B. Morse, inventor of the telegraph, was an anti-Catholic writer.

A series of anti-Catholic papers, mostly short-lived, was established to meet the threat envisioned—*The Protestant* (1830-1832), *Reformation Advocate* (1832), *Protestant Vindicator* (1834-45?), *Priestcraft Exposed* (1828-29), *Anti-Romanist* (1834), *Downfall of Babylon* (1834-37), already noted, and various others. These productions continued on into the forties. Protestant-Catholic debates like that of Campbell-Purcell in Cincinnati (1837), were quite the order of the day.³¹ And many pulpits became forums for discussion, like those of Presbyterian Lyman Beecher of Cincinnati and Boston, and Protestant Reformed William C. Brownlee of New York City. Though alleged Catholic immorality was one of the favorite popular arguments, along with tales of horror in the convents—like Rebecca Reed's *Six Months in a Convent* (1835) and Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures* (1836)—prophecy was constantly invoked and continuously expounded.

I. FORMER PRIEST IDENTIFIES ROMAN "ANTICHRIST."—One example of such constant recourse to Bible prophecy was the weekly (later biweekly) called *The Downfall of Babylon, or, the Triumph of Truth Over Popery*, published in New York City from 1834 to 1837 by SAMUEL B. SMITH, a former Catholic priest.³² At the top of page 1, Revelation 14:6-8 was quoted in full, with a woodcut of the Vatican realistically toppling into the Tiber.³³ The larger portion of the issue of August 8, 1835, was on the "Mark of the Beast"—the Beast ever being the "Church of Rome." And *Lateinos* is taken as the name yielding

³¹ See pp. 249-258.

³² SAMUEL B. SMITH, of Quaker background, was born in Pennsylvania. After his father's death he was befriended by Roman Catholics, and became a convert to that faith. A Catholic bishop took an interest in him, and arranged for him to teach in a Catholic school. He was then sent to a Parisian seminary to study for the priesthood, and taught English in a Parisian college. After ordination he served as a priest for fourteen years. He then came to Detroit, where the evil lives of his parishioners appalled him. Begging them to reform, he was himself defamed. At last, disillusioned by the un-Scriptural positions of the Roman Church, and disgusted with the low moral tone prevalent, he retired from the priesthood, was converted to evangelical Christianity, and became editor of *Downfall of Babylon* and author of *The "Image of the Beast"* and other books.

³³ Through Nov. 21, 1835; the verses continued somewhat longer.

the mystical number, "666." The "beasts" in the Revelation relate to "one and the same power," namely, the papal Anti-christ.³⁴

The seven-headed beast, this article contends, is the Latin church on the seven hills. The woman of Revelation 17, with the golden cup, is similarly the papal hierarchy of the Church of Rome, and its head. The writer believes the hour is not far distant when the kings of the earth shall bewail her, when they see her destruction. The editorial of August 29, 1835, "On the Downfall of Babylon," warns against the "Man of Sin" and "Son of Perdition," also called the "mysterious Woman." So, according to prophecy, it is a "hermaphrodite, who is both male and female." The ten horns on the beast symbolize the ten kingdoms—which have already begun to hate her.³⁵ So it is apparent that, while there were all types of expositors, there was one common or general Protestant identification of Anti-christ at this time.

Smith's first book, *Renunciation of Popery* (1833), abounds with similar expressions from the Apocalypse that were universally applied by Protestants to the Papacy—such as Mystery of Iniquity, the symbolic "woman" sitting on the seven hills, and the abomination of desolation—and he speaks of the "throne of the beast," sounding the call to "Come out of her my people," that is, out of Great Babylon.³⁶

2. IMAGE OF THE BEAST IS SECTARIANISM.—The title of another of Smith's books, *The "Image of the Beast,"* is of course, a phrase taken from the prophecy of Revelation 13:14. Smith first defines the Beast rising out of the sea as the "corrupt church of Rome," the Man of Sin, the church of Antichrist, seated in the city of Rome. It is likewise the mystery woman on the scarlet colored beast. There she sits, at the zenith of her glamorous power, stained with blood and robed in pomp and

³⁴ *The Downfall of Babylon*, Aug. 8, 1835, p. 154.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, pp. 166, 167.

³⁶ Samuel B. Smith, *Renunciation of Popery*, pp. 3, 16, 22, 10, 31, 41, 13, 14, 17, 18.

splendor. In her hand is a golden cup with its "sacred mysteries." And the telltale number, "666," is yielded by this Latin kingdom. It became the Mystery of Iniquity when church and state were united under Constantine. The ten horns of the beast are the divided ten kingdoms of Europe, nevertheless subject to the pope.³⁷

But the "Image of the Beast," formed by the Beast from the earth, is also an ecclesiastical power, though a different one from the Papacy. This Smith believed involved Protestant sectarianism. And the two horns he interpreted as civil and religious liberty. This power is the "mirror" in which the image of the Beast is "reflected." Nominalism, he warned, is taking the place of genuine spirituality in Protestantism. (2 Tim. 4; Matt. 24:12.) And the various signs of the times (such as repetition of the days of Noah) are all about us. But Christ will come before the millennium, with the new earth following after.³⁸

3. "PROTESTANT VINDICATOR" PERMEATED WITH EXPOSITION.—Running all through this type of literature was the continuing strand of prophetic interpretation—predictions of the Papacy's rise, its history, and its final doom, based on the Inspired Word. The New York weekly, (The American) *Protestant Vindicator* (1834-1845), edited by William Craig Brownlee, is heavily sprinkled with expositions relating to Rome. These appear in extended articles, short notes, and frequent allusions. The first 38 numbers of volume 2 carry a text, under the periodical's name reading, "Who is like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him?" On June 29, 1836, this journal became the organ of the newly organized American Society to Promote the Principles of the Reformation.

The October 7 issue (in vol. 2) contains "The Dragon and the Beast," signed "D.G."—the dragon of Revelation 12 being pagan Rome, and the first beast of Revelation 13, the

³⁷ Samuel B. Smith, *The "Image of the Beast,"* pp. iii, 13-16.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 18, 19, ff.

Papacy. The editorial for December 30 touches on the Beast, False Prophet, and Man of Sin, or Son of Perdition, and his "mysterious period of 1260 years." The March 16, 1836, issue lists the marks of Antichrist, gleaned from Daniel 7—thinking to change times and laws, and from 2 Thessalonians 2, exalting himself above God.³⁹

The *Vindicator* for May 11 and 25, 1836, deals with the "Scriptural Predictions" referring to the Papacy. The June 8 number reprints a discussion of "The Fifth Trumpet" as Mohammedanism—the locusts being "the *wandering tribes* of Arabia"—and its 150 scourging years from A.D. 612 to 762. The June 29 issue quotes extensively from the Waldensian treatise *Concerning Antichrist*, with its vivid description of Antichrist's predicted rise, identification, and fulfillment.⁴⁰

July 6 continues with the "Sixth Trumpet"—the Turks destroying the empire in the East—with the 391 years as either 1063-1453 or 1281-1672. And with this was the Mohammedan power as the "little horn" of Daniel 8, "the other 'little horn,' being the *Papacy*" of Daniel 7. July 20 discusses the papal persecutions—the woman of Revelation 17, drunk with the blood of saints. August 17 presents "The Anti-Christian Apostacy" of Revelation 18—Babylon and her coming plagues. And finally, on September 7, John Wesley is quoted on the Papacy, with his "standard Methodist" interpretation of the symbols of 2 Thessalonians 2 and Revelation 13, 17, and 19, culminating with Babylon's fall.

Volume 3 continues in the same way. November 2 starts off with "Antichrist Is Come." February 22, 1837, tells how "most commentators" make the "earthquake" of Revelation 11 the French Revolution, dating the 391 years of the Turk perhaps from 1453 to 1844. Here is the statement: "It is therefore probable, that within ten years, about 1844, the Turks will be driven from Europe!"⁴¹

³⁹ *Protestant Vindicator*, vol. 2, nos. 7, 19, 24 (unpaged).

⁴⁰ On the Waldenses, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, chaps. 34, 35.

⁴¹ *American Protestant Vindicator*, Feb. 22, 1837, p. 82.

The January 25, 1843, issue begins a series on "The Apocalyptic Beasts." The artist pictures the leopard beast from the sea, with its seven crowned heads, one of them, significantly enough, having upon it the identifying triple crown of the pope. Here the first beast of Revelation 13 is portrayed as Rome in its pagan empire form and in its divided condition in ten kingdoms. The second beast is the same as the Little Horn of Daniel 7. And this Little Horn is, "by the consent of all sound expositors, the symbol of the pope."⁴² Such interpretation was well-nigh universal in this special category of writings.

4. EDITOR BROWNLEE APPLIES PROPHECIES TO PAPACY.—William C. Brownlee,⁴³ editor of *American Protestant Vindicator*, and minister of the Collegiate Protestant Reformed Church of New York City, in his *Letters in the Roman Catholic Controversy* (second edition, 1834, 360 pp.) addressing the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, declares that "the rise and reign of a singular POWER [that is, of the "Roman church"] are graphically delineated" in Daniel 7—predicting the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and pagan Roman empires, with the papal Little Horn arising among the ten horns of Rome. In Revelation 13, John portrayed the Beast from the sea as the pagan Roman power that first persecuted the church—the same as Paul's hindering power of 2 Thessalonians 2:7, after whose removal (in the time of Constantine) the Papacy would be revealed. The "another beast," from the earth, the papal power described by John, or Babylon the Great, also by Paul as the Man of Sin, appeared after the falling away, or apostasy from the Christian faith.⁴⁴ Then Brownlee asserts:

⁴² *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1843, pp. 122, 123.

⁴³ WILLIAM CRAIG BROWNLEE (1783-1860), Presbyterian and then Protestant Reformed minister, was born in Scotland. After receiving an M.A. with honors from the University of Glasgow, he studied theology, and was licensed to preach by the presbytery in 1808. Coming to this country, he became pastor of the Walnut Street Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, then rector of Queen's College Academy, and professor of Latin and Greek at Rutgers. He was then made one of the pastors of the Collegiate Protestant Reformed Church of New York City, continuing there until 1848. He was well known for his opposition to Roman Catholic aggressions, often incurring personal danger. He was likewise the uncompromising foe of Unitarianism and Universalism. He edited several journals and wrote various books. His D.D. was from the University of Glasgow. He was an Orthodox Calvinist of strong convictions, a clear and finished speaker, extemporaneous in style, and with a strong Scotch brogue.

⁴⁴ W. C. Brownlee, *Letters in the Roman Catholic Controversy*, Letter XXXIII, p. 320.

"To the Roman hierarchy is the descriptive prophesy [sic] wholly applicable and to it alone. Hence *the Roman church is that impious Man of Sin, and arrogant Son of perdition, spoken of by Paul.*"⁴⁵

5. PROPHETIC OVERTONE CONSTANT IN "PROTESTANT BANNER."—*The Protestant Banner* should also be mentioned—"Set for the Defence of the Truth." Edited by J. F. Berg and published in Philadelphia, volume 1 (1842) has an article on the "Signs of the Times" maintaining that the "Beast" of the Apocalypse is "without doubt" the papal power.⁴⁶ The issue of August 19 treats on "The Marks of Antichrist," its gross departure from the faith, and its allotted 1260 years. An editorial on September 16 deals with "The Doom of Antichrist," Babylon the mystery woman, *Lateinos* yielding the identifying "666," and the Beast of Revelation 13 as identical with the Little Horn of Daniel 7—and its terrible destruction impending.⁴⁷ The prophetic symbolism is the constant overtone heard all the way through its discussions, shaping its policy, and determining its goal.⁴⁸

6. "PROTESTANT MAGAZINE" CITES PROPHECY CONSTANTLY.—*The Protestant Magazine* (volume 1, number 1, dated September, 1833), published in New York City, by C. C. P. Crosby, likewise had frequent articles on the prophetic symbols of the Papacy—the Little Horn, Beast, Babylon, and the like. The February issue began a series on the signs of the times, Antichrist, and even on the coming battle of Armageddon. Another issue had an article entitled "Inspired Descriptions of the Papacy."⁴⁹ So again we see that prophecy was the undergirding of this particular type of literature.

IV. Catholicism's Attempt to Counter Protestant Interpretation

In the midst of the resounding chorus of Protestant interpreters, practically all of whom applied the composite picture of

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 324, 325.

⁴⁶ *The Protestant Banner*, July 15, 1842, p. 134.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1842, p. 161.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1842, pp. 7, 43, etc.

⁴⁹ Such as vol. 1, no. 5, for December, 1833; vol. 1, no. 8, for April.

Antichrist (the Little Horn, Man of Sin, Beast, Babylon, and Harlot) to the Papacy, one plaintive Roman Catholic voice was heard—one lone demurrer, in the form of a British volume reprinted several times in America, *The General History of the Christian Church, From Her Birth to Her Final Triumphant State in Heaven*. And even that was authored under a pseudonym! It was written by Roman Catholic CHARLES WALMESLEY,⁵⁰ bishop of Bath (in West England), and first published about 1776 under the pen name "Signor Pastorini." It was "chiefly deduced from the Apocalypse," and was designed to parry the uncomfortable pressure of the almost universal Protestant application of prophecy and to divert its incriminating finger from insistently pointing to the Roman church as Antichrist.

Its general thesis was that the Revelation presents seven ages, in the paralleling seals, trumpets, and vials,⁵¹ and that Protestantism had radically missed the intent. But even "Pastorini" was in general agreement with them in that he too declared, "The times [of the last things] are fast approaching"—pointing to about 1825 as the time of the final overthrow of his future Antichrist. Though Pastorini's work is in the form of a verse-by-verse commentary, it omits sections and skips back and forth through the book of Revelation in order to maintain his sequential treatment of the seven grand periods. At the end is the complete book of Revelation, with page references to the discussion of each verse.

I. PAGAN PERSECUTIONS END; SATAN BOUND.—Pastorini's First Age covers the opening centuries of the Christian Era, up to the time that Constantine put a stop to the "ten" pagan

⁵⁰ CHARLES WALMESLEY (1722-1797) was educated at the English Benedictine College of St. Gregory at Douai, and received his D.D. from the Sorbonne. With high scientific attainments in the field of astronomy and mathematics, he was consulted by the government on the British calendar reform of 1752. He was prior of St. Edmunds at Paris, then on duty at Rome, made bishop of Rama in 1756, and of York in 1763, and finally of Bath. In 1890 he consecrated John Carroll as first bishop of the United States. His defensive commentary on the Apocalypse first appeared in England in 1771, with nine editions in all. It was translated into French, Latin, German, and Italian, with five English reprints in America. Faber exposed its absurdities in his *Sacred Calendar*.

⁵¹ Charles Walmsley (Signor Pastorini), *The General History of the Christian Church*, Introduction, p. 10.

persecutions. The "beast" mentioned in chapter 15, he says, "stands for idolatry and heresy," and the image of the beast represents idols or heresy. So Christianity triumphs at the close of this opening period.⁵² The woman of Revelation 12 is the church, and the dragon is Satan. The child represents the Christians, and a literal $3\frac{1}{2}$ years ("times") is the "utmost period" of any one pagan persecution. Satan was "bound" (Revelation 20) in the seventh century, as an angel casts him into confinement until the time of Antichrist in the latter days of the world.⁵³

2. PAGAN BABYLON FALLS; "STONE" FILLS EARTH.—The Second Age, according to Pastorini, from 320 onward, pertained to the Arian heresy with its disputes and contentions—including conflicts with the Goths and Vandals.⁵⁴ The Third Age, beginning in 406, witnessed the barbarian invasions from the North—Odoacer and the Heruli, Alaric and the Goths, and Attila and the Huns. This is when Rome, the "fourth empire" of Daniel 2, began to crumble and the fourth, or Roman, beast of Daniel 7 was divided.⁵⁵ But Pastorini links this with the punishment of the inhuman harlot of Revelation 17—likewise declared to be *pagan* Rome, the great "city" of the seven hills, which are named—"purple" being the imperial color, stained with the "scarlet" of the Christian martyrs.

And the beast that carried her is likewise pagan Rome. The seven heads are seven pagan emperors—with Antichrist as the seventh, only in the last days, for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. The ten toes are the ten divisions—Goths, Huns, Alans, Vandals, Saxons, Burgundians, Franks, Heruli, Suevi, and Quadi, of the fifth century—reigning for an "hour" with the pagan beast. Their hating of the harlot, and burning her with fire, follows, for they soon despoil her. So by the sixth century "Babylon" (pagan Rome) falls, the stone smites the image on the feet and becomes

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 23-58.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-72.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-84.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-98.

the world-filling mountain (Daniel 2), and the saints take the kingdom (Daniel 7).⁵⁶

3. MOHAMMEDAN DEPREDATIONS; PROTESTANT LOCUSTS SPREAD.—The Fourth Age, he holds, covers the rise and wide depredations of Mohammedanism, beginning about 622, involving the Saracens and Turks, as well as the Greek schism, up to the ruin of Constantinople in 1453. Thus men learn that the Most High rules. (Dan. 4:14.)⁵⁷ The Fifth Age was the revolt of the Protestant Reformation—from about 1525 onward. Luther was the “fallen star” that opened the bottomless pit, darkening the air with obscuring smoke, and the “locusts” were the Reformers spreading over the earth, and resulting in all kinds of Protestant sects, as well as killing and destroying Catholics. But their power was limited to “five months,” or 150 years (as with the 490 years to the Messiah), from 1525 to 1675.⁵⁸

4. MOHAMMEDANISM IS LITTLE HORN; NAME YIELDS “666.”—The Sixth Age, still future, is marred by dreadful disasters—fulfilling the signs of Matthew 24 and Luke 21, just as were seen before the destruction of Jerusalem, and attended by false prophets and seducers. These will “dissolve the fabric of the world” before the second coming of Christ. The Roman Empire had held back the appearance of both Mohammedanism and Antichrist. (2 Thessalonians 2.) Moreover, Mohammedanism is the persecuting little horn of Daniel 7, coming up among the ten kingdoms or provinces.⁵⁹

The hour, day, month, and year, he holds, indicates a *point*, not a period, of time. But the Roman kingdom has now been completely shattered. Antichrist, a single heinous man, a Mohammedan prince, has not yet appeared, but soon will. It is this future Mohammedan's name that yields the mystic “666.”⁶⁰

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-116.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-186.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 224-226.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-135.

All other time periods were regarded as literal.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 226-253.

5. ANTICHRIST'S FINAL DEPREDACTIONS FOR $3\frac{1}{2}$ YEARS.—Beginning his depredations at Jerusalem, this devouring beast and raging tyrant (Antichrist) sets out to ravage the earth. He tramps down the whole world. (Dan. 7:23.) He does according to his will. (Dan. 11:36.) He is the Man of Sin and Son of Perdition. This is the time of trouble such as never was since the nations began—the $3\frac{1}{2}$ “times” or years. Then Pastorini adds solicitously:

“There can then be no real doubt, that the term of Antichrist’s persecution is confined to three years and a half, or 1260 days, and not extended to 1260 years, as some moderns have pretended, with a view of calumniating the Catholic church.”⁶¹

The “tenth part” of the city that falls is a tenth part of Jerusalem, brought about by an earthquake. Now is Babylon (or pagan Rome) fallen, fallen—which “can be no other than Constantinople, the imperial city of Antichrist.”⁶² Now the mystic “stone,” which began to smite the legs and feet of the statue (which represents the Roman Empire, and established Christianity upon its ruins), completes its work by the destruction of Constantinople.⁶³

6. NEW JERUSALEM THE TRIUMPH OF THE CHURCH.—With the Seventh Age the seventh seal is opened, and the seventh trumpet sounds, proclaiming that the kingdoms of the world are become the kingdom of Christ. Time is no more; eternity is here. The seventh vial is poured out, and the “fabric of the world is unhinged, and falls to pieces. All is confusion, wreck and ruin.” The Son of God appears on the great white throne. The general judgment takes place. The heavenly sickles gather in the wheat, and the grapes for the winepress. So the history of the church is brought to its triumphant close as eternity begins. The New Jerusalem is established, which is simply the

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

final triumph of the church. That is Roman Catholicism's attempted answer to Protestant interpretation. But its diversionary purpose was too obvious, and it exerted little influence. Protestantism had long since abandoned the Augustinian theory of the millennium.

Now let us return to another Protestant interpretation and to the insistent interest and emphasis on the approaching close of the 2300 years.

V. Founder of Christadelphians a Constant Expounder

DR. JOHN THOMAS,⁶⁴ founder of the small Christadelphian sect, organized about 1848, and distinctly outside the orthodox ranks, had for some time been highly active in prophetic exposition. Coming to the United States from England in 1832, he began in 1834 to publish *The Apostolic Advocate*, later issued as *Advocate for the Testimony of God* (1837-39), with prophetic connotations. He at first joined the Disciples, who were likewise diligent students of prophecy,⁶⁵ but broke with them when he became "convinced by a study of the Bible that the cardinal doctrines of the existing churches correspond with those of the apostate church predicted in Scripture."

Thomas' societies of converts took no distinctive name until the outbreak of the Civil War. "Christadelphians" was then selected in 1864, when they claimed military exemption as conscientious objectors. They looked for the return of Christ to reign as king over all the earth from the throne of David in the Holy Land, during the millennium.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ JOHN THOMAS, M.D. (1805-1871), son of a dissenting Baptist clergyman, was born and educated in London. After finishing his medical course at St. Thomas Hospital he taught anatomy. Already he had become exercised over the question of innate immortality before coming to America in 1832. He practiced medicine in Philadelphia and Richmond in 1834-35. Through acquaintance with Evangelist Walter Scott he joined the Campbellite Baptists, and was associated with Alexander Campbell. But they clashed over baptism, and he soon left them to form the Christadelphians, or Brethren in Christ (sometimes called Thomasites). He was editor of *The Apostolic Advocate* (1834-37), then *Herald of the Future Age* (1845-47). Returning from a trip to England, he published the *Herald of the Kingdom* (1851-61). He was a voluminous author in the field of prophetic interpretation, one of his earliest works being *The Apostasy Unveiled* (1838). Others were *Anatolia, Elpis Israel* (several eds.), *Eureka* (3 vols.), *Anastasis, The Roman Question, Chonikon Hebraikon, The Book Unsealed, Immortality*. He again visited England, in 1860, gaining many converts. His sermons were chiefly on prophecy.

⁶⁵ See in this volume under Alexander Campbell and *Millennial Harbinger*.

⁶⁶ The name stems from the belief that in Christ all are brethren. Their congregations

The Apostolic Advocate sets out to proclaim "the Ancient Gospel and the Original Constitution of Things as proclaimed and appointed by the Apostles," against the clamor of sectarianism.⁶⁷ In its pages are discussions of the prophetic symbols. The issue for November, 1837, begins with "Remarks on Prophecy." This presents the Historicist view of Revelation—the Beast is the Roman Empire, the heads are the successive forms of government, the eighth of which is papal. The horns are the ten divided kingdoms, to come after John's day. The composite form is reminiscent of the earlier beasts of Daniel—Babylonia, Persia, Grecia,—and its lion's mouth shows it to be the antitype of Babylon the Great. The dragon is Rome down to the breakup into ten kingdoms.⁶⁸

The Little Horn of Daniel 7 is the two-horned beast and image of Revelation 13—the ecclesiastical tyranny that uses the kingly horns to enforce its penalties. This lion-mouthed beast rages 42 months—or $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, 1260 days or years—after the bishop of Rome became a temporal prince, but the period of the treading of the Holy City by the Gentiles began earlier.⁶⁹ Elsewhere the 1260 years "of the Holy Alliance between Church and State in all countries" are dated tentatively from 587 to 1847, or possibly from 606 to 1866. And Protestantism is also "an anti-christian politico-religious system, a true daughter of its Harlot Mother." Most of Thomas' books were written after 1850, and so do not fall within the scope of this study.

VI. Discordant Notes Heard in Prophetic Chorus

Two unusual though markedly different religious groups should at least be mentioned in passing, for both had recourse to extra-Biblical writings, claimed as inspired, as authority

are called "ecclesias," to "distinguish them from the so-called churches of apostasy." They have no ordained ministers, no church edifices, and no general organization. They reject the doctrine of the Trinity, hold the Holy Spirit to be an "Effluence," and baptize by immersion only. They disbelieve in a personal devil, believe the eternal punishment of the wicked is annihilation, not torment, and hold to the nonresurrection of those who have never heard the gospel. Hell is the grave, not a place of torment.

⁶⁷ *The Apostolic Advocate*, May, 1834, p. 1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* (*The Advocate*), November, 1837, pp. 220-223.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 259, 260.

for certain of their beliefs and practices. One group was the Shakers, clustered in a dozen communities, who also were millennialists, as they conceived it, and cried out a certain warning concerning Christ's second coming.

The other was Mormonism, or the Latter-day Saints, who likewise sought to cite prophecy to sustain their unusual positions. But, as both of these lie outside the purview of our fundamental study, we pass them with this brief reference.

Meteoritic Showers Seen as Heralds of Advent

As we have already seen, as the nineteenth century dawned and many expositors were proclaiming mankind's entry into the predicted "time of the end," there was definite interest on both sides of the Atlantic in the prophesied signs of that approaching second advent, and the millennium. Already in Colonial times some had seen in the sixth seal (Rev. 6:12-17) a sequence of three distinct events to come—a great earthquake, an unprecedented darkness, and an unparalleled falling of the stars. These, they felt, were all to be so conspicuously evident as to constitute tokens of the latter times and of the approaching advent.

I. Lisbon Quake and Dark Day Regarded as Harbingers

Thus, as previously noted, the great Lisbon earthquake of November 1, 1755, was regarded by many in both the Old World and the New as the initial sign of the impending last times, stipulated under the sixth seal, which would come just before earth's climax. There were, for example, "A.B." in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of London, and twenty-one noted English clergymen who preached thereon on the commemorative fast day, of February 6, 1756, as well as Thomas Prentice, Charles Chauncy, Jonathan Mayhew, and others in New England.¹

¹ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 674-677; Vol. III, pp. 187-193.

But under the same sixth seal the darkening of the sun was likewise looked for, and the famous "Dark Day" of May 19, 1780, experienced in North America, was similarly proclaimed in various contemporary sermons as a token of the latter days—for example, by Deacon Gatchel of Marblehead and Joshua Spalding of Salem.² Spalding³ stressed a predicted series of signs (recorded in Joel, Matthew, Mark, and Luke) to come *before* the restitution of all things, but *after* the terrible "tribulation" as precursors of the imminent second coming of Christ.⁴

Spalding mentions having "seen wonderful and alarming phenomena of darkness of the sun and moon"—obviously the Dark Day of May 19, 1780—and other signs, such as the northern lights. He quotes a bit of verse—

". . . meteors⁵ from above,
Portentous, unexampled, unexplained,
Have kindled beacons in the skies."⁶

1. "FALLING OF STARS" SPECIFICALLY ANTICIPATED.—In England, away back in 1697, THOMAS BURNET (1635-1715), Anglican clergyman, in a work on religio-scientific philosophy, had spoken of the coming falling of the stars of Matthew 24:29:

"The last Sign we shall take notice of, is that of *Falling Stars*. *And the Stars shall fall from Heaven*, says our Saviour, Matt. 24.29. We are sure, from the nature of the thing, that this cannot be understood either of fix'd Stars or Planets; for if either of these should tumble from the Skies, and reach the Earth, they would break it all in pieces, or swallow it up, as the Sea does a sinking ship; and at the same time would put all the inferior universe into confusion. It is necessary therefore by these Stars to understand either fiery Meteors falling from the middle Region of the Air, or Comets and Blazing Stars. No doubt there will be all sorts of fiery Meteors at that time; and amongst others, those that are call'd *Falling Stars*; which, tho' they are not considerable singly, yet if they

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 211, 212, 233.

³ JOSHUA SPALDING (1760-1825), called the "day-star" of returning premillennialism, was born in Connecticut and received his M.A. from Dartmouth in 1786. He studied theology under Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins, but came to repudiate their postmillennialism. He was licensed to preach in 1782 and "settled over" the Tabernacle Church at Salem in 1785. (*Ibid.*, pp. 230-235.)

⁴ Joshua Spalding, *Sentiments Concerning the Coming and Kingdom of Christ*, pp. 14, 15, 18-22.

⁵ "Meteors" then meant various atmospheric and celestial phenomena—even hail or snow—not necessarily shooting stars. See the quotation from Burnet following.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

were multiplied in great numbers, falling, as the Prophet says, as *leaves from the Vine, or figs from the fig-tree*, they would make an astonishing sight."⁷

Here in America, in 1762, EDMUND MARCH (1703-1791), able Congregational minister of Massachusetts, and Harvard M.A., referred to these last-day signs:

"If we could find the Signs in the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Stars; particularly the sun dark[e]ned, the Moon withholding her Light, and the Stars of Heaven fallen, we should be ready perhaps to think of the Coming of the Son of Man just at hand: For upon the Earth is Distress of Nations, with Perplexity, the Sea and the Waves roaring."⁸

And Elias Smith, Christian Connection minister and editor, as we have already observed, having spoken of the spectacular darkening of the sun on May 19, 1780, said of the predicted falling of the stars as the next event, "We may expect them soon."⁹

2. GORTON: SUN DARKENED; STAR SHOWERS FOLLOW.—Another nineteenth-century personal witness of the darkening of the sun on May 19, 1780, who was likewise watching for the falling of the stars, was BENJAMIN GORTON,¹⁰ merchant and president of the village trustees of Troy, New York. A firm premillennialist of the literalist type, Gorton wrote *A Scriptural Account of the Millennium*, in which he describes the Jews returning to Palestine in unbelief, rescued from the attack of the surrounding nations by the personal appearance of Christ, and thereupon being converted. Christ destroys Gog and Magog, raises the saints, and transforms the living into the condition of unfallen Adam. Under His personal rule all nations will participate in the ceremonies of Ezekiel's temple—complete

⁷ Thomas Burnet, *The Theory of the Earth*, book 3, vol. 2, pp. 98, 99. He thinks, however, that this refers chiefly to numerous comets appearing simultaneously.

⁸ Edmund March, *Divine Providence . . . Visibly Engaged in Fulfilling Scripture-Prophesies*, p. 32. (See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, p. 202.)

⁹ See pp. 179-185.

¹⁰ BENJAMIN GORTON (1758-1836) was born in Connecticut, joined the militia in 1776. Rising to Lieutenant Colonel in the Commissary division, he was entrusted with getting ammunition to the forces. In 1791 he opened a store in Troy, and was very active not only in civil but in religious affairs, helping to establish both a Presbyterian and an Episcopal society in Troy. He published *A Scriptural Account of the Millennium* (1802), *Primitive Christianity Revived* (1804), *A View of Spiritual, or Anti-typical Babylon* (1808), and *Plain Dealing With Calvinism* (2d. ed. 1811).

with its sacrifices, its flowing river, and its tribal division of Palestine. At the close of the thousand years the nations, deceived by Satan, revolt and perish in the final fire. At this instant the general resurrection and judgment take place, followed by the new heaven and new earth, with the New Jerusalem.¹¹

In a manuscript he wrote of "a remarkable darkness at Fishkill, also in Connecticut and Rhode Island."¹² In a published work of 1808 he expands this: "Now let us examine if this is not the generation," he says, in which those literal signs (Matt. 24:29, 32-34; Luke 21:25; Acts 2:19, 20; Joel 2:30, 31) begin to take place, and proceeds:

"The sun was remarkably darkened in 1780, 28 years last May. In Providence, Rhode-Island, it commenced in the forenoon, so that the cows returned from pasture as at evening, and fowls went to roost; candles lighted in order to see to do business; and many people much disturbed in their minds for the event.

"At Conway, Massachusetts, they dined by candle-light; and farmers were obliged to leave their sowing, and other work, in the field, for want of light. At Fishkill, New-York, in the afternoon business was, in part, laid by, by reason of darkness; all appeared to be tinged with a yellow hue. This appears to be the first particular sign spoken of apparent to the natural eye immediately: the second is that of the moon's turning to blood, this I have not seen, but, from information, I have reason to believe it did take place between 2 o'clock and day break in the morning of the same night after which the sun was darkened, which was said to appear as a clotter of blood; and it is the more probable, as that night, before the moon appeared, was as dark, in proportion, as the day, and of course would give the moon an extraordinary appearance—not suffering her to give her light."¹³

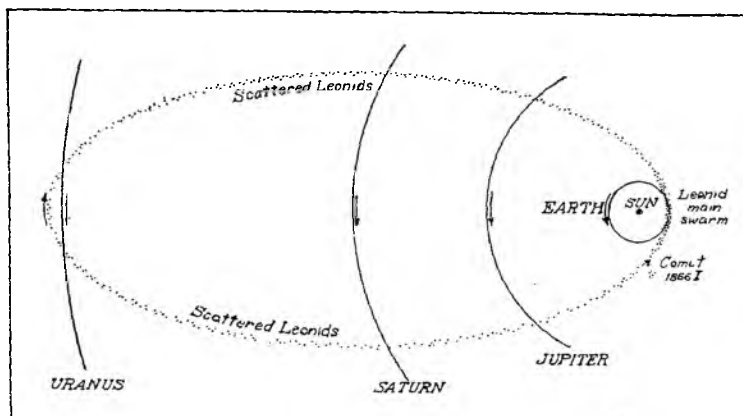
He immediately states, "The next in course, it seems, is the falling of the stars from heaven," and adds accounts (from Richmond, Virginia, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Raleigh, North Carolina, and Saratoga County, New York) of the slight meteoric shower of April 20, 1803¹⁴—a much smaller display

¹¹ Benjamin Gorton, *A Scriptural Account of the Millennium*, pp. 205-211.

¹² Quoted in Adelos Gorton, *Life and Times of Samuel Gorton*, p. 225.

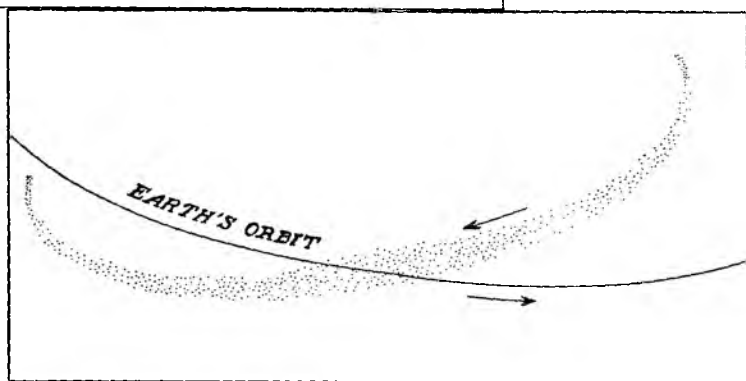
¹³ Benjamin Gorton, *A View of Spiritual, or Anti-typical Babylon, With Its Downfall Exhibited. . . . The Certainty of the Near Approach of the Great and Terrible Day of the Lord*, pp. 73, 74.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-80. This was an unusual shower of the April meteors now known as the Lyrids. See Appendix B.



The Vast "Race Course" of the Leonid Meteors in the Solar System

Celestial Crossroads, Where the Earth Annually Cuts Through the Leonid Highway



COURTESY OF "THE TELESCOPE," OCT., 1934

ORBITAL PATH OF THE LEONID METEORS

(Upper) The Giant Stream of the Leonid Meteors Moves in an Ellipse That Touches the Earth's Orbit at One End, and Passes Slightly Beyond the Orbit of the Planet Uranus at the Other. These Meteors Require Thirty-three Years to Complete Their Circuit. The Denser Portion of the Meteor Stream (the "Main Swarm") Is So Elongated That It Takes About Three Years to Pass a Given Point. Therefore the Earth, in Its Annual Circuit, Cuts Through the Denser Part of the Stream Several Years in Succession; (Lower) Earth's Orbit Cuts Obliquely Through the Leonid Stream, Requiring Several Hours to Complete the Journey

than the great November shower which, thirty years later, was to attract worldwide attention and turn the minds of many to prophetic fulfillment.

II. Cluster of Star Showers at Time Expected

Just as many were pointing out definite events in nature as evident heralds of the sixth seal and of the "time of the end," and were expectantly awaiting further developments; and just

as a great revival in the study of prophecy was definitely under way—at this very time the unparalleled shower of “Leonid” meteors burst over North America on November 13, 1833. These came at the peak of a series of lesser but spectacular November showers in Europe and West Asia (1831-1839),¹⁵ and came to be interpreted by many as a fulfillment in the prophetic sequence.¹⁶ Thrice in less than a century (1799-1868) the great Leonid stream of meteors swung its dense swarm of cosmic particles athwart earth’s path in an unparalleled series of great meteoric showers, giving different parts of the globe outstanding displays of celestial fireworks. But one of those displays so far surpassed the others as to go down in history as *the* great star shower, that of 1833—and in popular reminiscence merely as “the falling of the stars.”¹⁷

III. Matchless 1833 Spectacle Unsurpassed in History

According to astronomers, the meteoric shower of the night of November 12/13, 1833, was the most remarkable of its kind on record. The noted contemporary observer, Denison Olmsted, professor of astronomy at Yale, who collated all the available data, called it “an exhibition of the phenomenon called SHOOTING STARS, which was probably more extensive and magnificent than any similar one hitherto recorded.”¹⁸

¹⁵ For a description of this series of Leonid showers and an explanation of these and other periodical meteors, see Appendix B.

¹⁶ Those who regarded the 1833 falling of the stars as the outstanding fulfillment of the prophecy often spoke of other showers—of 1799, 1832, etc., or 1866 and 1867. And some came to contend that these “celestial signs” predicted by Christ as latter-day signals to men were not logically to be confined just to the Western world; that a single fulfillment—even though the most conspicuous one—would not necessarily seem to exhaust the prophetic specifications. It was pointed out that the fact of these signs being actually seen in both the Old World and the New merely strengthened them as worldwide signs heralding the “time of the end,” and that the use of natural means was not incompatible with a divine purpose. It was the *timing* in relation to the 1260 year-days and the sixth seal that was stressed.

¹⁷ The scientific observations of that 1833 shower led eventually to the discovery that shooting stars were not, as had been commonly believed, local atmospheric phenomena, but small, dark, cosmic particles flashing briefly into incandescence generated by the friction of the final plunge from empty space into our denser atmosphere. It also led to the astonishing discovery that the Leonids and other periodic meteors come from swarms, or streams, of small particles traveling in vast elliptical paths in our solar system, paths which periodically intersect the earth’s orbit. “If the Earth crosses this path strewn with meteoric material, the Earth is sprinkled, or, in other words, we have a meteoric shower.” (Clyde Fisher and Marian Lockwood, *Astronomy*, pp. 89, 90.) The word *shower* is used in the technical sense of an unusual number of meteors belonging to a group, not necessarily a spectacular “rain” of shooting stars all at once as we have in the comparatively rare “great” showers.

¹⁸ Denison Olmsted, “Observations on the Meteors of November 13th, 1833,” *The American Journal of Science*, January, 1834, p. 363. For other astronomers’ accounts, see

"A modern Harvard astronomer" describes it thus:

"In the early morning of November 13, 1833, the people of the United States were waked by early risers to turn out and see the stars fall. And fall they did—silently, singly, in bursts and sheaves, tiny ones and balls like the moon. All the observers saw that the meteors darted away from a single point in the sky [in the constellation Leo]; the meteors 'were like the ribs of a gigantic umbrella.' So plain was this that two quite amateur observers made sketches, . . . so far as we know the only drawings of the phenomenon that have survived."¹⁹

Beginning about midnight, the meteors came more frequently, until they were described as being thick as snowflakes,²⁰ just before dawn blotted out the sublime spectacle. The sky was "literally ablaze," as "in a few hours more than a billion shooting stars appeared over the United States and Canada alone."²¹ This "rare and wonderful display" of "terrible magnitude"²² was seen in nearly equal splendor and duration from Canada to Mexico, from mid-Atlantic to the Pacific.²³

The American Indians in the West were so impressed by it that various tribes used it as "a milestone in their calendars."²⁴ In these calendars, as, for example, among the Dakota tribes, the winter of 1833/34 was designated in picture writing by some symbol of a star shower, and called the winter when "the stars fell," "it rained stars," or "the stars moved around," the "storm-of-stars winter," and similar names.²⁵

Simon Newcomb, *Astronomy for Everybody* (1st ed.), p. 280; W. J. Fisher, "The Ancient Leonids," *The Telescope*, October, 1934, p. 83; Clyde Fisher and Marian Lockwood, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

¹⁹ W. J. Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 80. These cuts first appeared in *The Old Countryman*, interesting New York weekly, for Nov. 20, 1833, and were then quickly reproduced in various journals and newspapers, such as *Mechanics Magazine* (November, 1833), and *The New York Journal of Commerce* (Nov. 27, 1833). Fisher tells us (p. 80) that one of *The Old Countryman's* editors, Henry J. Pickering (who gave a really Biblical exposition of the phenomenon over his initial, as noted later), personally, as an observer of the star shower, superintended the drawing of these wood cuts.

²⁰ Fletcher G. Watson, *Between the Planets*, p. 118.

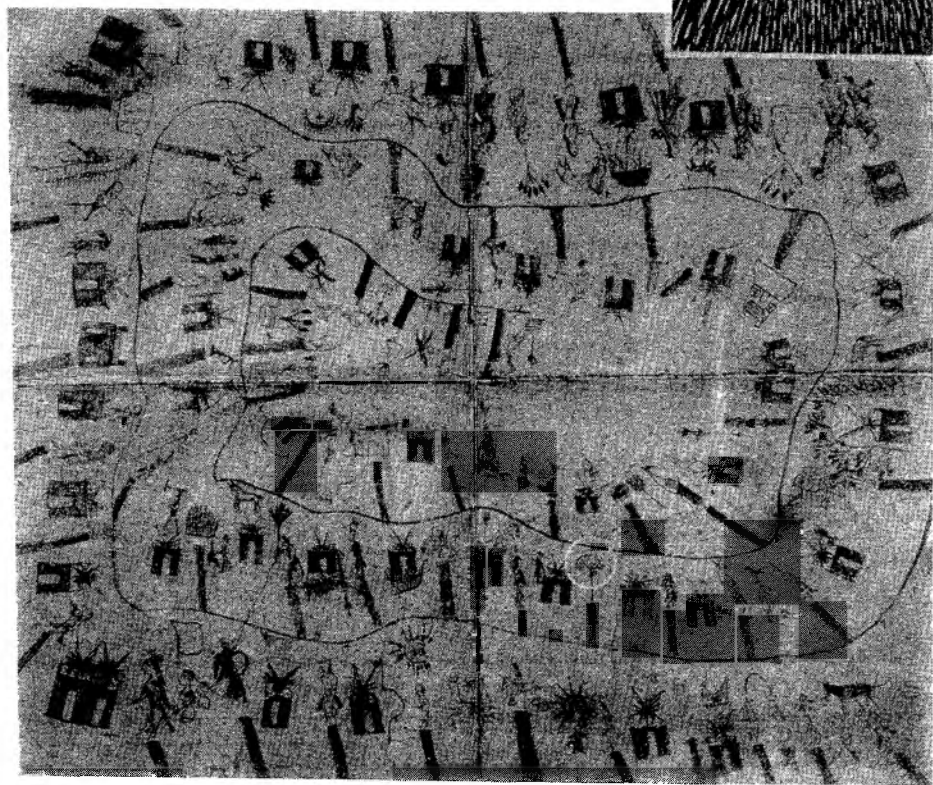
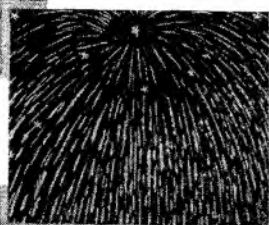
²¹ Peter M. Millman, "The Falling of the Stars," *The Telescope*, May-June, 1940, p. 57. Estimates for the number visible at one place vary from 10,000 to 200,000 an hour. The only actual count would indicate 34,000 an hour as the display was already ceasing, two hours after the peak. (Charles Olivier, *Meteors*, p. 25.)

²² Alexander C. Twining, "Investigations Respecting the Meteors of Nov. 13th, 1833," *The American Journal of Science*, July, 1834, pp. 337 ff., 351.

²³ Denison Olmsted, *Letters on Astronomy*, p. 349.

²⁴ Clyde Fisher and Marian Lockwood, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

²⁵ Garrick Mallery, "Picture-Writing of the American Indians," in *Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution* (1888-89), plate XX (between pp. 266 and 267), pp. 289, 320, 723; James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," in the same Bureau's *Seventeenth Annual Report* (1895-96), pp. 260, 261; Leslie Spier, *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River*, pp. 138, 139 (also pp. 15, 16).



COURTESY, BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

With the general population of the country "the falling of the stars" was an occasion of awe—tinged with delight or fear, as the case might be. Many gathered in groups in churches, schoolhouses, and homes. Some dropped to their knees to pray; others ran to neighbors to confess wrongs. On this "night of restitution," as it was also called, stolen things were suddenly returned. Many felt sure the day of judgment was at hand. And many devout students of the Word believed God had written in the sky.

IV. Regarded as Sign of the Latter Days

Various observers who described the great 1833 meteoric shower regarded it as a forerunner of the last day. Let us now examine some extracts from contemporary prophetic applications.

1. EDITOR OF "OLD COUNTRYMAN" PRONOUNCES IT "HARBINGER."—Henry J. Pickering,³⁶ New York editor, said of the sixth seal:

"We pronounce the raining fire which we saw on Wednesday morning last [Nov. 13] an awful type, a sure forerunner, a merciful sign, of that great and dreadful day which the inhabitants of the earth will witness when the sixth seal shall be opened.

"That time is just at hand described not only in the New Testament but in the Old; and a more correct picture of a fig tree casting its leaves when blown by a mighty wind, it was not possible to behold.

"Many things now occurring upon the earth tend to convince us that we are in the 'latter days.' This exhibition we deem to be a type of

³⁶ HENRY J. PICKERING (d. 1839), editor of *The Old Countryman*, a New York City weekly, from 1831-35, had been a printer, and was foreman of the *True American* office at Trenton, New Jersey, at the time of his death in a yellow fever epidemic. He was lauded as a man of great ability and integrity.

← INDIAN ANNUAL CALENDARS NOTE 1833 STAR SHOWER

(Upper) In Long Dog's Winter Count the Year 1833 (Circled) Indicated by Falling Stars (Upper Yanktoni Tribe). The Dating by Years Is From 1800, Painted on a Buffalo Hide. (Lower) Set-t'an Annual Calendar (Kiowa Tribe), With the Same Event Chosen for the Year. Both Are Native Drawings; (Inset) Only Surviving Contemporary Drawing, by "Mr. Pickering," Editor of *The Old Countryman*, Which Shows the Divergence Point, of Radiant, From a Common Center. (Reprinted in *Mechanic's Magazine* for November, 1833)

an awful day fast hurrying upon us. This is our sincere opinion; and what we think, we are not ashamed to tell."²⁷

2. DOUGLASS SAW IT AS TOKEN OF THE TIMES.—FREDERICK DOUGLASS,²⁸ noted colored orator and journalist, but still a slave in 1833, saw it as a sign of the times and later wrote:

"I witnessed this gorgeous spectacle, and was awe-struck. The air seemed filled with bright descending messengers from the sky. It was about daybreak when I saw this sublime scene. I was not without the suggestion, at that moment that it might be the harbinger of the coming of the Son of Man; and in my then state of mind I was prepared to hail Him as my friend and deliverer. I had read that the 'stars shall fall from heaven,' and they were now falling. I was suffering very much in my mind. . . . I was looking away to heaven for the rest denied me on earth."²⁹

3. EPISCOPALIAN CLERIC VIEWS AS SIGN OF LAST DAYS.—Dr. Henry Dana Ward, well-known Episcopalian clergyman of New York (to be noted later), after observing the scene of the starry firmament breaking up, as it were, and the stars falling like flakes of snow, wrote immediately to the editor of *The New York Journal of Commerce*:

"We felt in our hearts, that it was a sign of the last days. For, truly, 'the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken by a mighty wind.'—Rev. 6:13. This language of the prophet has always been received as metaphorical. Yesterday it was literally fulfilled. The ancients understood by *aster* in Greek, and *stella* in Latin, the smaller lights of heaven. The refinement of modern astronomy has made the distinction between *stars* of heaven, and *meteors* of heaven. Therefore, the idea of the prophet, as it is expressed in the original Greek, was literally fulfilled in the phenomenon of yesterday, so as no man before yesterday had conceived to be possible that it should be fulfilled."³⁰

Ward stressed the exact fulfillment of the apocalyptic prediction:

²⁷ *The Old Countryman* (New York), Nov. 20, 1833; cited widely, as in the *New York Star*, and *Portland Evening Advertiser*, Nov. 26, 1833. *The New York Journal of Commerce* observes editorially (Nov. 23), "The Editor of the *Old Countryman* makes a very serious matter of the 'Falling Stars'."

²⁸ FREDERICK DOUGLASS (1817-1895), born a slave, escaped in 1838 and settled in New Bedford, Massachusetts. In 1847 he founded *The North Star* at Rochester, New York, and in 1870 *The New National Era*, at Washington, D.C. He was U.S. Marshal, then Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, and United States minister to Haiti, 1889-91.

²⁹ Frederick Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, p. 117.

³⁰ *The New York Journal of Commerce*, Nov. 14, [i.e. 16], 1833, p. [2], dated Nov. 15. For Ward as the author, see *Signs of the Times*, Oct. 11, 1843, pp. 62, 63.

"And how did they fall? Neither myself nor one of the family heard any report; and were I to hunt through nature for a simile, I could not find one so apt to illustrate the appearance of the heavens as that which St. John uses in the prophecy, before quoted. 'It rained fire!' says one—Another, 'it was like a shower of fire.' Another, 'it was like the large flakes of falling snow, before a coming storm, or large drops of rain before a shower.'

"I admit the fitness of these for common accuracy; but they come far short of the accuracy of the figure used by the prophet. 'The stars of heaven fell unto the earth;' they were not sheets, or flakes, or drops of fire; but they were what the world understands by the name of 'Falling Stars;' and one speaking to his fellow in the midst of the scene, would say; 'See how the stars fall;' and he who heard, would not pause to correct the astronomy of the speaker, any more than he would reply, 'the sun does not move,' to one who should tell him, 'the sun is rising[.]'

"The stars fell 'Even as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind.' Here is the exactness of the prophet. The falling stars did not come, as if from several trees shaken, but from one: those which appeared in the east fell toward the East; those which appeared in the north fell toward the North; those which appeared in the west fell toward the West, and those which appeared in the south (for I went out of my residence into the Park,) fell toward the South; and they fell, not as the *ripe* fruit falls. Far from it. But they *flew*, they *WERE CAST*, like the *unripe* fruit, which at first refuses to leave the branch; and, when it does break its hold, flies swiftly, *strait off*, descending; and in the multitude falling some cross the track of others, as they are thrown with more or less force.

"Such was the appearance of the above phenomenon to the inmates of my house. I walked into the Park with two gentlemen of Pearl Street, feeling and confessing, that this scene had never before figured to our minds by any book or mortal, save only by the prophet."³¹

Ward then said:

"In this narrative I have spoken not of causes,³² but of appearances, and the appearances according to the impression they made on men. . . . No Philosopher or scholar has told or recorded an event, like that of yesterday morning. A Prophet of 1800 years ago foretold it exactly, if we will at the trouble of understanding stars falling, to mean falling-stars."³³

4. MANY SEE CORRESPONDENCE WITH PROPHETIC FORECAST. —*The New York Journal of Commerce* (November 27, 1833)

³¹ *Ibid.* It is noteworthy that *The New York Journal of Commerce* in its issue of November 27 repeated part of the foregoing statement from Ward.

³² Ward said in the concluding paragraph, "Natural causes undoubtedly produced this phenomenon."

³³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 14 [16].

quoted a report from the *Columbia Spy* that many thought the last days had arrived, and that in the neighboring township a clergyman reported a large prayer meeting attendance that night. The *Republican*, of York, Pennsylvania (November 13, 1833), said editorially, "Some refer these things to the 'falling stars' spoken of in Revelation." A correspondent from Bowling Green, Missouri, was forcibly "reminded of that remarkable passage in the Revelations, . . . calling to mind the 'fig tree, casting her untimely figs when shaken by a mighty wind,' " ³⁴ as was likewise the clergyman-scientist Dr. Thomas Milner. ³⁵ And Elijah H. Burritt said later that the fiery scene "suggested to some the awful grandeur of the image employed in the Apocalypse, upon the opening of the sixth seal, when 'the stars' of heaven fall." ³⁶

Thus various laymen and clergymen alike recognized it at the time as a sign of the approaching end, just as other men had, on the basis of prophetic depiction, looked forward to and predicted its appearance. Many, feeling that the 1833 falling of the stars had met the full demands and descriptions of prophecy, were constrained to say that we have indeed entered the "last days." ³⁷

³⁴ Quoted in Olmsted, "Observations," *The American Journal of Science*, January, 1834, p. 382.

³⁵ Thomas Milner, *The Gallery of Nature*, p. 14.

³⁶ Elijah H. Burritt, *Geography of the Heavens*, p. 163.

³⁷ For an example of a prophetic expositor outside the United States who saw this meteor shower as a prophetic sign—José de Rozas, prominent jurist of Mexico—see p. 308 of the present volume.

International Character of Emphasis

I. Worldwide Emphasis Develops for 1843-1847

The new focal point of prophetic study and concern—the terminus of the 2300 years, leading to the cleansing of the sanctuary, whatever that might be, to occur around 1843, 1844, or 1847—had now reached the proportions of an international quest. The caliber of these expositors and their geographical spread are noteworthy. Aside from British writers whose works were read and reprinted in America, writers in various lands sounded the same note—in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, India, Africa, Western Asia.¹ There were now many who contended for these terminal dates in published works in both the Old World and the New, apart from that far greater number who merely preached them orally but never went into print. Let us call the roll. Let us go first to Mexico, to the south.

II. Mexican Magistrate's Remarkable Time-prophecy Interpretation

Dr. José María Gutierrez de Rozas (1769-1848), one of Mexico's distinguished jurists, was trained at the Seminary

¹ It will be recalled from Volume III that many in the Old World, outside of Britain, looked to 1843, 1844, or 1847 as the great climactic hour. In France there was Gausson; in Germany there were Kelber, Sander, and Richter; in Holland, Heintzpetter; in Switzerland, Nicole; in India, Bishop Wilson; in Abyssinia, Bishop Gobat; and throughout Asia, Wolff, in addition to the numerous expositors in Britain and America. These names bring before us the distinctly international, yes, the really worldwide agitation on this new focal point of interest and investigation. This is of particular interest and significance. These expositors are all dealt with in *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III.

College in Mexico, serving for a time in different teaching capacities. After a brilliant scholarship record at law school, he passed his lawyer's examination in 1791, and in 1824² became a member of the Mexican Colegio de Abogados (Lawyer's College or Guild). He practiced in both the civil and criminal divisions of the Territorial Court of Mexico, and was knighted by the King of Spain in 1803. He was also appointed consultant to the Infante Don Pedro.

Significantly enough, in 1804 De Rozas was made defense attorney for the prisoners of the tribunal of the Inquisition, and in 1816 was appointed fiscal lawyer of the Inquisition's finance department. In 1814 he was also made director of the important Monte Pío de Aíniimas, a large national institution. And beginning in 1820 he was Regidor and Custodian of Minors, and in 1821 became a member of the Court of Mexico.

After the fall of the Inquisition, De Rozas held an honored place in the court of Emperor Iturbide, and was decorated with the cross of the Imperial Order of Guadalupe. In 1837, just after Texas broke away from the Mexican domain, he became minister of the Supreme Tribunal of War and Navy, and in 1839 was made judge of the Supreme Court of the Federal District. He died in 1848, the very year of his defense of Lacunza.³ So it was evidently as defense counsel for the so-called heretic prisoners of the Inquisition that he became familiar with dissentient literature, which evidently interested him in Scripture study. The twenty-volume De Vencé Bible, with its extended "Dissertation on the Scriptures" in the first volume, may have started him on the study of prophecy, and prepared his interest for the study of Lacunza on the second advent.

² In 1824 De Rozas is first listed in the College of Lawyers' roster as an Honorary Minister and Interne; in 1837, as duly Accredited Minister of the Supreme Tribunal of War and Navy; and 1839 and 1840, as Magistrate of the Superior Tribunal of the Federal District of Mexico. (*Lista de los Individuos Matriculados en el Ilustre y Nacional Colegio de Abogados de Mexico*, for the years named.)

³ Biographical data based upon the collaborative research of Charles R. Taylor in the Archives of the Department of National Defense and *Archivo General de la Nación*, as well as the Supreme Court of the Federal District, the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church files, the National Museum, and the National Economics Library, all of Mexico City. Photo-stats in Advent Source Collection.

1. FAMILIAR WITH DISSENTIENT LITERATURE AND LACUNZA.

—In 1834 De Rozas wrote with remarkable clarity and at considerable length on the imminent second advent of Christ and the approaching end of the age, as disclosed through prophecy. Although an avowed Roman Catholic, as late as 1848 he published a treatise entitled *Disertaciones Crítico-Teológicas Sobre las Doctrinas de Juan Josafat Ben-Ezra* (Critical Theological Dissertations on the Doctrines of Juan Josafat Ben-Ezra),⁴ that is, Manuel Lacunza. This he wrote under the pseudonym, "A Mexican Theologian." In this sixty-eight-page work, De Rozas makes vigorous defense of Lacunza's fundamental thesis on the imminence of the second advent of Christ in glory and majesty—which called for much courage. In this De Rozas contended that Lacunza was a good Catholic, that he was simply misunderstood, and that his treatise should not have been put on the Roman *Index Prohibitorum*.⁵

This study of Lacunza's work was probably the occasion for De Rozas' interest in the advent. But his own extensive nineteenth-century venture into the time prophecies of Daniel finds no parallel in Spanish-speaking America, or in Catholic Europe for that matter. It is unique, and quite noteworthy. De Rozas' main theological contribution, however, was written fourteen years prior, in 1833-1834, when active as a jurist, and was published in 1835 at Toluca, Mexico. It was a treatise of 235 pages, entitled *Consulta a los Sabios, Sobre la Aproximación de la Segunda Venida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo* (Consultation With the Wise Men About the Nearness of the

⁴ Original in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁵ De Rozas supported Lacunza's proposition of following a literal interpretation of Scripture in every case where it is not obviously a symbol (pp. 18-20), and held that a literal interpretation is needed as the foundation for any allegorical exposition or spiritual interpretation (pp. 22, 23). He declared Lacunza did not violate the accepted teachings of the Fathers, since the Fathers were not all in agreement (p. 38). He upheld Lacunza's charge that there is an almost total forgetting of study of Scripture among the priests (pp. 47-49), and approved the former's comparison of the Jewish priests' mistaking Christ's first advent, as Catholic priests were now mistaking His second advent (pp. 59-63). Lacunza also believed Antichrist to be, not an individual, but a moral body of men, quoting with approval another author on this point (p. 63). And De Rozas concluded by saying, "Would that, like this wise author, all priests would bind themselves in the study of the Holy Bible!" (p. 68). On Lacunza, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 303-324. Lacunza's *La Venida del Mesías* was printed at least twice in Mexico.

Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ).⁶ The title page simply states it to be "by a Mexican Magistrate." But in an approving foreword (dated October 23, 1834), by a friar of the Carmelite Convent of Mexico City, assigned to report on it, the author is identified as "Magistrado Rozas." And he is later also spoken of as a "theologue." Unfortunately, only meager biographical data is thus far available. Hence we do not yet know the occasion for his interest and activity in the field of prophetic interpretation.

2. INDIFFERENCE TO PROPHECY FATAL TO JEWS.—Commending the study of prophecy, De Rozas avers at the outset that the Jews failed to recognize Christ as Messiah because they were "careless" in regard to the signs of the times and the prophecies and in "computing the weeks of Daniel," for which neglect Christ reproached them.⁷ De Rozas holds that the grand terminus of prophecy, yet to come, is found in Matthew 24:14—that when this gospel of the kingdom is preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, then the end will come.⁸ But Christ's coming "as a thief" does not preclude the study of prophecy. De Rozas contends that St. Peter, St. John, and St. Paul all teach the coming of Antichrist, whose appearance seemed to be fulfilling in atheism—which he held was even worse than Mohammedanism—and in other isms.⁹ As to the two advents, which he stresses as does Lacunza, the first was for our redemption, but the second coming will overthrow Antichrist.¹⁰

3. YEAR-DAY PRINCIPLE APPLIED TO 70 WEEKS.—De Rozas proceeds to enunciate a set of eight fundamental principles of interpretation. First, the punishment of the Jews, and the destruction of Jerusalem, was to be followed by the "times of

⁶ Originals in University of Monterrey Library, Mexico, and in New York Public Library.

⁷ Translated from José de Rozas, *Consulta a los Sabios, Sobre la Aproximacion de la Segunda Venida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo*, p. 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

the Gentiles," or the $31\frac{1}{2}$ times of Antichrist. Next, he establishes the year-day principle for the "weeks of years," of determined time, on the principle enunciated in Ezekiel 4:6, and specifically applies it to the 70 weeks of years, as well as to the 1260 years.¹¹ He expressly states that the weeks of Daniel—

"did not denote, in that number, weeks of days, but weeks of years, as had been said before to Ezekiel, that he was given days for years. Thus it is here, that, as they cannot be forty-two common months of days, they are forty-two months of years, or as many years as there are days in forty-two months; as they were in Daniel as many years as seventy weeks contain of days."¹²

4. 2300 DAYS LIKEWISE HELD TO BE YEARS.—De Rozas' second principle is that the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 are actually 2300 years, and that the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, frequently alluded to, were simply a type of the longer period of years. And this long period leads to the destruction of Antichrist. Here is his statement:

"It should not be doubted that 2300 years will pass until the time and end of the Antichrist, according to the prophecy of Daniel; but the prophet does not tell us here when those years had to begin to be counted."¹³

5. DANIEL 9 UNLOCKS MYSTERY OF DANIEL 8.—But De Rozas immediately introduces the beginning of the period of the 70 weeks of Daniel 9 as the key to unlock the timing of the longer period.

"Then the angel Gabriel comes the second time in chapter 9 to give him more knowledge of that vision which had held him in horror, and thus Daniel recognizes it in verse 21. . . . The angel Gabriel begins it [the explanation] by saying in verse 24, 'Seventy weeks . . .' Thus there are to be 2300 years that pass; and now St. Gabriel is going to explain in detail, telling Daniel when those years must begin to be counted."¹⁴

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 37. In support, Dr. de Vencé's *Disertaciones de la Biblia*, previously printed in Mexico, is cited. The Spanish edition of the French work by Abbé de Vencé, titled *Biblica de Vencé*, with notes, was published in Mexico in 1820. In the Paris original, *Sainte Bible en Latin et en François, avec des notes littérales, critiques et historiques, des Prefaces et des Dissertations* (Holy Bible in Latin and in French, with literary, critical, and historical notes, prefaces and dissertations), Paris, 1772, expounds the time period of the "antichristian Empire" of Daniel 7:25. De Vencé uses the expression, "taking the days for years," (Vol. 11, p. 220.) Similarly, under Daniel 9:25, on the 70 weeks and their component parts, which he dates from Artaxerxes Longimanus, the first "69 weeks" have the explanation, "that is to say 483 years." (*Ibid.*, p. 234.) This too was a Roman Catholic work.

¹² De Rozas, *Consulta*, pp. 39, 40.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-66.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-66.

6. CROSS IN A.D. 33; 2300 YEARS END ABOUT 1847.—The first $691\frac{1}{2}$ weeks of the 70 weeks of years, De Rozas holds, lead to the crucifixion of Christ in March, A.D. 33, in the "midst" of the 70th week. And as De Rozas was writing in March, 1833, only $131\frac{1}{2}$ years were then lacking, according to his contention, till the close of the 2300 years about 1847. Thus:

"Four hundred eighty-six and one-half years of the $691\frac{1}{2}$ weeks until the death of our Redeemer, which was the month that is equivalent to our March of the year 33 of the Christian Era; and 1800 from then until March of 1833 in which I am writing, make $2286\frac{1}{2}$ years; $131\frac{1}{2}$ are lacking for the 2300 of the prophecy."¹⁵

7. DATES 70 WEEKS FROM ARTAXERXES IN 454 B.C.—The definiteness and accuracy of it all astonished him, and its coincidence with his previous year-day computations gave him confidence that he had made no error.¹⁶ Moreover, De Rozas dated the 70 weeks from Artaxerxes' command to rebuild Jerusalem, which he placed in 454 B.C. This too, we may well note in his own words, which include reference to the 1290 years.

"From the birth of Joseph, which was 1744 years before the Christian Era, until the order of Artaxerxes which Nehemiah secured in 454 before the same era, in order that Jerusalem might be rebuilt, when the seventy weeks of Daniel began to be counted, 1290 years passed, well prefigurative of those which in the Christian Era are given for the treading down by the Gentiles of that city, which later will take another form."¹⁷

De Rozas sought to tie the various lesser prophetic time periods to different events, often quite arbitrarily. He was groping after their time placement. But he was clear in concluding that the last of the time prophecies would end "about the middle of this nineteenth century of the Christian Era."¹⁸ No one, unless the Lord reveals it to him, said De Rozas, can ever state a fixed time, because Christ promised to "shorten the days."

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

8. EXPECTS END OF THE AGE BETWEEN 1843 AND 1849.—

The third principle concerned the twice-mentioned "3½ times," the 1260 years, and the 1290 year-days as the time of persecution by Antichrist.¹⁹ And a second time, he lays down a measuring rod from A.D. 33 to about 1847, his favorite terminal date.²⁰ His fourth principle was the 6,000-year theory of the history of the world, leading to the seventh thousand years of rest.²¹ But he adverts again to his dating of the 70 weeks from 454 B.C.

Our Mexican jurist-theologian is not very clear on the outline prophecies, such as the four beasts of Daniel 7, though the notable horn on the symbolic goat of Daniel 8 he considers indicative of Alexander. But he believes that the four symbols cover the Christian Era, and embrace Antichrist, "the vision filling the time between the two advents of our Lord Jesus Christ, which were the object of the prophecies of Daniel."²² Again and again he computes that the crisis of the Christian Era will come between 1843 and 1849.²³ But his attempts to elucidate the Apocalypse are feeble and sketchy, and quite incomparable to his grasp of the time periods of Daniel. The length of the Christian Era is proved in many ways, he says.

"I do not know if I have overloaded too much this picture of the prophetic figures; but I have wished to put down as many as I found, in order that although some may be removed by some uncertainty of history, or diversity of chronology that each one may follow, or an error of mine, which is too easy in my ignorance (and more, when I am writing between illnesses, anxieties of spirit which are inescapable in our days, and anguishes of time for my other serious occupations), many indisputable ones may still remain which solidly establish my intention: and it is not something impossible that God for that very reason may have put down many, knowing well that there would be a tendency of humanity to divide itself and stray in opinions on all points; for only in those [points] of the true religion, for the special distinction of this, Infinite Wisdom had determined to give us the light necessary for a total certainty. All that is written in

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-90.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 152, 154, 155, 160, 162.

the Old Testament is a prefiguration of that which God had determined and was to fulfill in the Law of Grace."²⁴

There are many irrelevancies throughout De Rozas' treatise, in calculations of the number of years from this event to that, and the seeking of interrelationships between Old Testament and New, but always there is an attempt to find whether they accord with some prophetic time period, and especially with his favorite date of 1847, or thereabouts.

9. FALLING STARS AND OTHER SIGNS HARBINGERS OF END.—The peak of De Rozas' series of arguments is that the contemporary signs of the times—earthquakes, wars, pestilences, famines—all indicate the approaching end of the world.²⁵ Most striking of all is his stress upon the great meteoric shower of November, 1833, seen all over Mexico, which was recorded in the press, and which he personally observed. This he declared to be an unmistakable harbinger of the end. Here is his argument.

As a celestial sign heralded the first advent, so the second advent would doubtless likewise be announced by "miraculous celestial signs." A luminous sign of a cross in the heavens was allegedly seen by Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, about 1842 years after the exodus of Israel from Egypt (p. 155); therefore, perhaps "at an equal date of the Christian Era [1842] the end would arrive," similarly heralded by celestial signs.²⁶ And the historian Josephus, an eyewitness, says that before Jerusalem was captured by Titus he saw over Jerusalem, throughout an entire year, a comet in the form of a sword; and that a bright light seemed to enshroud the Temple for a half hour about nine o'clock one night during the Feast of Unleavened Bread. De Rozas then—and at that time he was a supreme court jurist—adduces as latter-day evidence the spectacular meteors of

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-159; also alluded to on p. 187.

²⁶ His timing is highly interesting, according approximately with the expectation of scores of Protestant expositors in the New World and the Old (as seen in Volume III, and further developed here in Volume IV).



MEXICAN JURIST CITES STAR SHOWERS AS HARBINGER

(Left) Title Page of José de Rozas' "Consultation" Published at Toluca, Mexico, in 1835, Impressively Citing the Prophecies to Indicate Approaching End of Age. Spectacular November 13, 1833, Star Shower Cited as Seen All Over Mexico

November, 1833, with their "tails of light," recorded in various parts of Mexico. Here is his statement:

"But I should not omit, since now I am writing, that which in this month of November of 1833 we have seen. On the 12th [morning of the 13th] in the early hours there was seen something like circles [balls] of fire that flashed through the air, leaving a trail of light wherever they went. Thus it is described by those who saw it in Toluca, and in its environs in all directions even for many leagues. It is public and notorious that the same meteorics were seen in Mexico [City] and even as far as Puebla. I have read letters of the same thing in San Luis Potosí and its surroundings; the same is affirmed of Guanajuato and León. I also know about it from some who were traveling near Queretaro; the same notice has come from

other parts; many remain from whence it has been impossible [for news] to arrive; and in the papers there have been letters from Monterrey that say the same."²⁷

Then De Rozas repeats his definite convictions that *only at the time of fulfillment* of the "prophetic enigmas" is there understanding. In contrast to the first coming of our Lord at His earthly sojourn of about thirty years, some 1800 years ago, the second advent now draws near—the "great day of the Lord," long heralded by the prophets, when the heavens shall pass away, and the earth and its works be burned up.

10. REMARKABLE EXPOSITION FOR A ROMAN CATHOLIC.—It is to be remembered that De Rozas was ever a Roman Catholic, believing in the doctrines of the Roman church and holding that Protestantism was schismatic—represented by the woe-features of the trumpets, and particularly indicated by the locusts of the fifth trumpet.²⁸ The great apostasy, foretold by the apostle Paul, depressed him. Nevertheless, he believed that Antichrist will be conquered as Christ comes the second time and subdues and punishes him; then prophetic time will be no longer, for the prophecies will be fulfilled, and we will marvel at their exactness and at the wisdom of God as well as His omnipotence.²⁹ The second advent is near, he insists. There are two advents in the holy faith. Then he states his understanding of the purpose of prophecy, and his own purpose in writing:

"Under these solid principles, and being, as I am, well convinced that God does not give special understanding of the enigmatic prophecies (excepting rare cases and persons whom He wishes to instruct by revelation) except when the fulfillment arrives or is very near, in order that men may prepare themselves, may recognize first of all divine mercy, and then may admire divine wisdom; I shall not enter into formal discussions of how the earth is to remain in the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ: I am only proving that this is drawing near. I believe that my proofs corroborate each other mutually, and are very coincident as to time."³⁰

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156. A footnote adds that similar news of the meteoric shower later came from almost every part of the Mexican Republic, and also from the United States.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 205.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 225-232.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

Such is the truly remarkable exposition coming from a Roman Catholic jurist-theologian in Mexico in 1834—two years before William Miller's first book—and astonishingly like the numerous Protestant time-prophecy computations prior to Miller, based on the interlocking 70-week and 2300-year prophecies, with the cross in A.D. 33 in the midst of the 70th week, and the longer period ending about 1847. And he was always ringing the changes on the imminence of the advent. The concurring of these voices must have been more than coincidental, for they appeared in many lands. But none is more interesting or significant than that of De Rozas, the Catholic Mexican magistrate, on the approaching end of the 2300 years.

Now let us go north to Canada to the Protestant Burwell.

III. Burwell (Canada)—Also Ends 2300 Years in 1847

1. EXPOUNDS SYMBOLS OF APOCALYPSE EFFECTIVELY.—A missionary to Canada from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, ADAM HOOD BURWELL,³¹ introduces his comprehensive exposition of prophecy with a study of "Scripture Symbols." The seven churches typify "the church universal in its seven ages," "from Pentecost till the Day of the Lord." The seven seals expand this prophetic history, as do also the seven trumpets and the seven vials—all ending "together in the great day of wrath, and the coming of the Son of Man." The seven churches cover the "whole nominal church." The seven seals, trumpets, and vials relate some to the east, some to the west, some to political, and some to ecclesiastical affairs, with others referring to heresies. Under the seventh trumpet the harvest of the earth is gathered, the winepress is trodden, the last vial is poured out, and the king-

³¹ ADAM HOOD BURWELL (c. 1790-1849) was born in England. He came to Canada in 1831, and was stationed first at Nicolet, in Lower Canada, going thence to Bytown (now called Ottawa), and later on to Kingston in Canada West. He was author of two Upper Canada imprints—*Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, and *A Voice of Warning*, both issued in 1833. It is in the latter that his prophetic faith was clearly set forth.

doms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, who reigns forever.

In common with many others, Burwell applies the first of the seven vials to the "plague sore of atheism, which fell upon France, and spread thence over Europe."³² The disastrous part played by the Papacy is definitely noted, and the "Mohammedan little horn" of Daniel 8:9, 10, that acted as a scourge on the church. The "earthquake," of the sixth seal, is a symbol of "political revolution," specifically that of the French Revolution.³³ This indicates the scope.

2. SYMBOLS OF DANIEL AND PROPHECIES OF CHRIST.—The four world powers of Daniel 2 and Daniel 7 are interpreted as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Graeco-Macedonian, and Roman. Rome's tenfold division (the ten toes and the ten horns) is brought about by the northern invasions. The smiting by the Stone—the kingdom of God—³⁴ is the coming death blow to all kingdoms. And Burwell refers to the "premonitory signs" of the establishment of that kingdom, in Matthew 24 and Luke 21, really based on Daniel, which Christ admonished all students of the prophetic Word to understand. These signs, Burwell asserts, have had remarkable fulfillment "within the last half century."³⁵

3. FOUR EMPIRES END BY CLOSE OF 2300 YEARS.—Burwell solemnly charges Christendom with neglect, and even "wilful ignorance," of the inspired counsels of God that foretell His impending judgments. He stresses Christ's admonition to watch and pray, thus to escape the coming destruction. He rebukes those blind ecclesiastical "leaders" of the spiritually blind who occupy the vital place of "watchmen," but who treat Christ's words with contempt and teach the people to disbelieve the prophecies of our Lord.³⁶ (Evidently his expositions did not have a hearty reception in Canada.) Burwell presses the Master's

³² Adam H. Burwell, *A Voice of Warning and Instruction, Concerning the Signs of the Times, and the Coming of the Son of Man, to Judge the Nations, and Restore All Things*, p. 4.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-8.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9, 26-31.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

question, When the Son of Man cometh shall He find faith on the earth—concerning His second coming? And he replies, No! they will largely be gathered together to make war with the Lamb when He comes to execute His fearful judgments on the wicked. Men commonly call it “presumption” to attempt to know the time of fulfillment of prophetic signs and prophetic periods.³⁷ Then he solemnly introduces this time element:

“The period of time within which it is to be executed upon ‘all the nations’ comprehended within the great Image and the four monarchies, is bounded by the ending of the 2300 days of Daniel.”³⁸

It will have been observed that a large number of both Old World and New World expositors now base much of their chronological emphasis upon this mystic number as a common denominator for their calculations. It is an emphasis that is to become progressively more pronounced. And now, into this over-all setting, Burwell ties the work of the papal “Mother of Harlots,” who calls herself a prophetess and poses as an infallible teacher, who has made the nations drunk, spiritually, and upon whom the plagues are soon to fall, and from whose midst men are admonished to flee.³⁹

4. INTERPRETS “CHRONOLOGY OF PROPHECY” IMPRESSIVELY. —Burwell next turns to the “Chronology of Prophecy.” The 70 weeks of years for the Jews contain “internal marks” by which “its commencement and end” could be definitely determined by the Jewish church before the Messiah made His appearance—though the year of His birth was not foretold, only that of His cutting off and the “duration of His public ministry.” Moreover, there was a general expectancy at the time of Christ’s birth that He would soon appear. The Jews should have been aware, Burwell affirms, of what they were doing when they rejected and slew Him.

But they had failed to heed the prophecies of Moses, Isaiah, David, Micah, and Daniel—concerning the Messiah’s

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

predicted character, parentage, place of birth, acts, and sufferings, time of death, and resurrection. Even His title—the “Son of Man”—which He uniformly used, was given in advance. Such was the perfection and completeness of prophecies rejected by the Jews at His *first* advent.⁴⁰ Burwell then contends that the period of Daniel’s 2300 years similarly reveals the time when Christ, as Messiah, will come to the world the *second* time. John does not repeat that crucial date, which stands on record, but defines and delimits the papal period within which the Little Horn would do its exploits. Under the symbol of the woman fleeing into the wilderness, John said the church was to be under persecution for 1260 year-days, or three and a half prophetic times. This period Burwell dates from Justinian, in 533. And the “earthquake” at the close, comes at the French Revolution, 1260 years later.⁴¹

5. TWO JUDGMENTS BOUND THE MILLENNIUM.—Burwell declares that there are “two judgments,” “separated from each other by the whole period of the Millennium, though by many they are frequently confounded.”⁴² The events of the latter days crowd upon each other in quick succession. The last things are ushered in by the last trump, the smiting by the stone, the pouring out of the last vial, and the setting up of the stone kingdom. The sixth vial, which dries up the Euphrates, involves the Turkish power, which has been loosed to scourge the apostate church.⁴³

6. 70 WEEKS THE KEY TO THE 2300 DAYS.—Seeking the beginning of the 2300 years, Burwell turns to the 70 weeks, dated from the decree of Artaxerxes, with the Messiah “cut off” in the midst of the 70th. The dating, he says, is best obtained “by counting back from the year of our Lord 37, the conclusion of the 70th week,” to “453 B.C., the true date of the beginning of the great prophetic period, a part of which was numbered

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24. (See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I. p. 147.)

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 33.

off by The Wonderful Numberer [viii. 13, margin]." By deducting 453 from 2300, "the remainder is 1847." Then the sanctuary will be "cleansed"; the "Image smitten by the stone, ground to powder, and scattered before the wind; and the fourth beast 'destroyed, and his body given to the burning flame.'"⁴¹

The kingdom will then be given to "the people of the saints of the Most High"; and to make room for that kingdom, the Image and the Beasts and the Scarlet Whore must all be judged and destroyed."⁴² Such is the dramatic, cataclysmic close to human affairs presented by this author.

7. FUNDAMENTAL FALLACY OF WORLD BETTERMENT.—Burwell is much exercised over the alarming apostasy found in Christendom—a rationalism that makes light of the writings of the prophets and the apostles and advocates a new type of barren literature "adapted to the times." He refers to it as a "mournful exhibition of human folly." The expectation of a "Universal and Permanent Peace" is a thing God has never promised in this sinful world. It is Satan's scheme of "drawing away the minds of men from the hopes and promises of the Kingdom, and of rivetting their affection on the present world. . . . It teaches man to look upon himself as his own peace-maker, instead of directing his longing eyes to his absent Lord, the Prince of Righteousness and Peace."⁴³ Fond dreamers vainly imagine they can tame the devil and his angels, and release the world from its bondage under corruption and reduce the race to obedience to the gospel.

8. DISASTROUS LESSON OF THE JEWS.—Burwell cites the ending of the period of the 2300 year-days as the surest means of "ascertaining that we are near the 'time of the end.'" Of the calculation of this period he adds, "That a day is here set for a year I hardly need attempt to prove."⁴⁴ But Christian

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-90.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

peoples are no more interested generally in the closing events of the 2300 years than were the Jews in the closing circumstances of the 70 weeks that so greatly affected them. And as the Jews rejected the evidence of the prophecy concerning the Messiah, so there are many who reject the closing events of the prophecy of the 2300 years. Yet the end-events of the 2300 years, and the second advent, are infinitely more stupendous than those ending the 70 weeks and the first advent. Mankind may know the concluding year of the 2300 just as verily as the Jews could have known the end-year of the 70 weeks.⁴⁸ Such is his heavy indictment. And then he asserts:

"God judged the Jews, destroyed their city, and sent them into a long and painful captivity until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled, because, refusing to understand the prophecies, they knew not the time of their visitation by their King, and rejected him. And so also the mighty destruction about to fall upon Christendom will come because of the same evil heart of unbelief in refusing to believe the prophetic word declaring these things."⁴⁹

"The Gentiles are now enacting a like scene of unbelief, reversing the tragedy, and rejecting him in his second coming: for now that the time draws nigh in which he shall smite the great Image, and destroy the beastly wicked powers, and cast out Satan, and purify all nature, and purge away the sin of men in the flesh, and establish his righteous and everlasting kingdom on the ruins of the wisdom and works of Satan and of Man, the great majority disbelieve the prophecies, and mock and ridicule the notion of his coming at all within any given time cognizable by man; for which cause he will come upon them unawares, and with tenfold severity in comparison of his treatment of the Jews."⁵⁰

9. MAKES 1847 THE GREAT FOCAL POINT.—Burwell concludes by repeating that "the year 1847 is the farthest point of time to which the prophecy will allow us to carry the completion of the period" of the 2300 days.⁵¹ So he concludes:

"And 453 before Christ to 1847 after Christ . . . make up the great period of 2300, at the end of which all these will have been fulfilled, and the kingdom of the Son of Man begun."⁵²

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 41.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 42.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 207 (cf. p. 43). This he deduces by taking A.D. 37 as the end of the 70 weeks—3½ years after the crucifixion.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 209.

Such is the insistent note sounded by Burwell of Canada in 1835. Next, we go to New York State.

IV. Scott (Baptist)—Crisis Approaching in 1843-1844

DR. ROBERT SCOTT,³³ physician as well as minister, was a devoted friend of John Wesley. He was one of that band of earnest young men dubbed the Holy Club, and was one of a hundred clergymen who in 1784 signed "The Deed of Declaration," which laid the foundation of the Wesleyan Church. Prophecy had long had a vital place in Scott's thought and action. His expressed reasons for coming to America were three-fold: (1) to be assured of religious liberty, (2) to be assured of civil liberty, and (3), what is particularly significant, to find an asylum from trouble.

"I thought I saw from Scripture prophecy that the time was at hand when all those kingdoms which sprang from the Roman monarchy and had been subject to Papal Jurisdiction would undergo great calamities by the pouring of the Vials—and that this country [the United States] would probably prove an Asylum during the troubles."³⁴

In 1810 he produced a *Chronology, From the Creation of the World, to the Year . . . 1810*. In 1816 he issued *An Antidote for Deism, or, Scripture Prophecy Fulfilled*. And in 1834, the year of his death, he published his *Free Thoughts on the Millennium*. (His portrait appears on p. 227.)

1. FINAL CHAPTERS OF PROPHECY AWAIT FULFILLMENT.—He divides prophecy into five categories—regarding persons, cities, families, nations, and the kingdom of Christ. The infidels'

³³ ROBERT SCOTT (1760-1834), born in Norfolk, England, of Anglican ancestry, received a liberal classical education at Oxford, specializing in Greek and Hebrew. From 1782-1798 he served as pastor, successively, at Norwich, Grimsby, and Gainsborough, then of Nottingham and Horncastle—for at that time Methodist preachers were expected to move yearly. But as a result of his studies in Greek and Hebrew he became perturbed over the matter of baptism. This, and the death of Wesley, led Scott to leave England for America in 1794. In the New World Scott opened a school, whose various pupils later became men of distinction, one being Robert Colgate. Later Scott was offered the presidency of Colgate University, but declined for health reasons. Uniting with the Baptist Church, he began preaching the Baptist faith in his schoolhouse. In 1821, at the age of sixty, he was ordained and made pastor of the Rhinebeck, New York, Baptist Church. He neither asked for, nor received, any compensation for his preaching. Oddly, he wrote his own funeral sermon two years in advance.

³⁴ *One Hundred Twenty-Fifth Anniversary (1821-1946) of the First Baptist Church, Rhinebeck, N.Y.*, p. 6.

zeal to "free" men from the "shackles of superstition," and the "restraints of revealed religion," contending for "the all-sufficiency of reason" as a guide, open the floodgates to vice and immorality. The conflict is vital, and Scott holds that the "standing miracle" of Bible prediction, God's peculiar prerogative, could only come from "a BEING of infinite knowledge."⁵⁵ The detailed prophecies of Christ's origin, His life and death, together with its exact timing, have all been meticulously fulfilled. Scott begins the 70 weeks at the third of four possible decrees—the seventh year of Artaxerxes (citing Prideaux). And as the prophecies regarding Jerusalem were fulfilled in detail, so the predicted mountain kingdom of Christ in rebuilt Jerusalem is to fill the whole earth in the latter days.⁵⁶ But that is not all.

2. FOUR WORLD POWERS FOLLOWED BY ROME'S BREAKUP. —The four empires of Daniel 2 and 7 begin with Babylon, but chapters 8 and 11 begin with Persia. Expositors are confused over the persecuting power of the latter part of Daniel 11—whether it be Antiochus, the Turks (as in Mede), the Papacy, France (as Faber), or the Roman Empire. Scott at that time applied the prophecy to Antiochus, to whom he assigns the 2300 evenings and mornings as only 1,150 actual days. But following the Babylonian, Persian, and Grecian empires, the ten-horned fourth beast was the pagan Roman Empire and the ten horns its later division into kingdoms. The same is represented by the pagan dragon followed by the first beast of Revelation 13, and paralleled by that of Revelation 17. The 1260 prophetic "days" are clearly years, and the two witnesses are clustered in Piedmont and Britain. The woman in the wilderness is the true church, which has no fellowship with the "whore of Babylon."

Scott stresses the quest for soul liberty, asserting that toleration is not liberty. In the line of the four kingdoms, Western Rome ends in division into ten kingdoms, which was

⁵⁵ Robert Scott, *An Antidote for Deism*, pp. 5-9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-18, 35-39.

accomplished in part by Alaric and his Goths, Genseric and the Vandals, and Odoacer and others. The ten kingdoms are listed as the toes of the image and the ten horns of the beast. The three horns plucked up were the Heruli, Ostrogoths, and Lombards.⁵⁷

3. WOE TRUMPETS AND THEIR TIME PERIODS.—The Little Horn of Daniel 7 is the Papacy, beginning “as a temporality” in its 1260-year period dated from A.D. 606. And as the downfall of Western Rome was accomplished by the first four trumpets, so the Eastern was overturned by the fifth and sixth trumpets. Mohammedanism also started on its period of imposture in 606. The fifth trumpet is the Saracen conquests, with its “five months” or 150 years, extending from 606 to 756, and setting up of its kingdom in Spain. The onslaught of the Turks is intended by the sixth trumpet, beginning with their entrance into Nicomedia on July 27, 1299.

So the 391 “prophetic years” (of Revelation 9:13-16) are from 1299 to 1690, when the siege of Vienna was raised. The seventh trumpet begins perhaps in the time of the American Revolution—the first government to be established with complete separation of church and state, and liberty of conscience established by solemn compact. Thus, he says, the kingdoms of this world have started to become the kingdoms of our Lord.⁵⁸

4. HAVE ENTERED LAST PHASE OF PROPHECY.—Most of the seven vials are yet future; hence their course of fulfillment must still be conjectural. But we have entered “upon this part of scripture prophecy.” The first vial begins with the French Revolution, the fifth will be darkness upon the “seat of the beast”—either Rome, the seat of the papal two-horned beast, or “civil darkness” of the beast empire; and the sixth will pertain to the Turkish Empire. Armageddon will see the great destruction, under the outpouring of the seventh vial, and

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 72, 79-93, 40-42, 111-116.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-122. In his 1834 work he dates the 150 and 391 years at A.D. 622- and 1299-1691. (See his *Free Thoughts on the Millennium*, pp. 14, 15.)

then comes the time of harvest. It is the time of the mountain phase of the stone kingdom, and the millennium.⁵⁹

5. PROTESTANTS MAKE IMAGE OF PAPAL BEAST.—The great falling away, or departure from the faith—in 2 Thessalonians 2:3-12, 1 Timothy 4:1-3, and 2 Timothy 3:1-5, as well as 2 Peter 2:12—eventuated in the Papacy. The dragon is pagan Rome, and the ten-horned and two-horned beasts are the Roman Empire and the Papacy. The mystery of iniquity is the “man of sin in the papal chair,” and was already working in apostolic times through pastors grasping for power.⁶⁰ The Reformers refused obedience to the see of Rome. But, in making a union of church and state, some Protestant churches, like their mother, the “whore of Babylon,” who is drunk with the blood of saints, have also made an image to the Beast.⁶¹

6. GENERAL EXPECTANCY OF THE MILLENNIAL STATE.—Scott's important *Free Thoughts on the Millennium; or Grand Sabbatical Year of the World* (1834), was written after fifty years of intensive study of the Word. Here he earnestly contends for literal exposition, and decries the frequent practice of “spiritualizing plain prophecies,” which device led the Jews to reject Jesus as Messiah (referring Isaiah 53 simply to the Jewish nation), and has led many Christians today to reject the literal second coming of Christ for a “spiritual resurrection and a spiritual millennium.” But will the world be thus converted to the Catholic or to the Protestant faith? How will all the sects become one? All the Christian sects will attempt to convert the Jews. As the fulfillment of any prophetic period “seems to draw near,” Scott declares, the minds of men become “anxiously inquisitive” concerning it. And so at this very time there is “a general expectation that the Millennial state,” is “near at hand.”⁶²

7. SECOND ADVENT AS LITERAL AS FIRST.—But during

⁵⁹ Robert Scott, *An Antidote for Deism*, pp. 123-130.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-138.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 94.

⁶² Robert Scott, *Free Thoughts on the Millennium*, pp. 3-5.

Christ's long absence many have forsaken the founding principles of the church, and perverted its practices. There is great need of the Master's return. And Scott observes:

"As the first coming of Messiah was foretold in plain literal language, we may well conclude that his second coming, and the glory that shall follow, will be literally fulfilled also."⁶³

Then, after quoting various Old Testament Scriptures, he adds:

"I think no man can doubt but that a second coming of Messiah is foretold in these scriptures. Add to this that in the New Testament, saints are directed to look for his appearing—to wait for it, to love it, and to pray for it—which all in effect foretell the same.—His second coming being fully proved."⁶⁴

Scott contends that before the second coming of Christ the "great river Euphrates" (Mohammedanism—Persia and Turkey) must be dried up, the Jews from the West and "scattered Israel from the East" will return to Canaan, divide the land, build a temple, and worship the God of Israel (not Christ). Armageddon will impend as the "great army comes up from the North Country." Then suddenly Christ will appear, seen by every eye, and in one rotation of the earth will raise the dead saints, change the living saints, and catch them up to Him in the air. Then He will descend with ten thousand of His saints to stand upon the Mount of Olives. And the effect of Jesus' personal, visible coming will be to convert the children of Israel; He will destroy the attacking armies, sit on David's throne in Jerusalem, and rule the twelve tribes through the twelve apostles. Thus will be brought about the millennial blessedness foretold.⁶⁵

8. 70 "WEEKS" TO A.D. 33; 2300 YEARS TO 1843-1844.—Scott now comes to the crucial question, "*When* shall these things be?" And he answers succinctly: After the falling away

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11.

and the rise of the ten-horned and the two-horned beasts, and the binding of the dragon. Then he turns to the prophecy of the 70 weeks of years of Daniel 9, from the command to restore and rebuild Jerusalem. This he begins with the seventh year of Artaxerxes, "A.M. 3547" (which would be 458/7 B.C. according to Ussher's A.M. dating); thence 490 years lead to the death of Christ in A.M. 4037, or "the year 33, according to the computation." Then comes the next remarkable conclusion:

"If the 2300 days may be reckoned from the same period, A.M. 3547 [458 1/7 B.C.], they will end A.M. 5847, answering to A.D. 1843 or 1844, when the Jews from the West may begin to return, carried home by the ships of Tarshish."⁶⁶

9. 666 YEARS FROM 1177 LEAD TO 1843.—Turning next to the time prophecies of the ten-horned and the two-horned beasts, and the number of the beast, Scott figures the "666" (of Revelation 13:8) as years, from 1177, when Pope Alexander III brought Emperor Frederick Barbarossa to submission and made him the pope's vassal. Scott adds: "If to this period we add the number 666, which is said to be the number of the beast, we arrive at the year 1843."⁶⁷

10. TIME PERIODS SHOW THAT DAY IS AT HAND.—Then, at the end of the 1335 year-days, foretold near the close of Daniel's book of prophecy, Daniel was assured he would "stand in his lot," at "the time of the first resurrection." Those days are to be "reckoned from the taking away of the daily sacrifice." Could that be from the time the Mohammedans built a mosque where the Temple of Solomon had stood? If to the conjectured date A.D. 660 we add the 1260 and 1290, we arrive at 1920 and 1950; and if to the same year we add the 1335, we come to 1995, or A.M. 6999 (he obviously means 5999), after which, evidently, the traditional 6000 years will end and the seventh thousand years will begin—the grand Sabbatical year.⁶⁸ By carefully

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14. Scott adds that if reckoned from the 20th of Artaxerxes they would end in A.D. 1859 [sic].

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.

observing the guiding stars of prophecy, he adds, one sees more than beauty; the skilled astronomer and navigator can calculate the approximate time of the night, and know when day is at hand. The lesson is obvious.

11. LAST EVENTS SOON TO BE FULFILLED.—Scott then adds a few points: The dragon of paganism, which as pagan Rome gave his persecuting authority over to the ten-horned and two-horned beasts, is to be bound *before* the millennium in those countries where the gospel may not now be published.

"The binding of the Pagan Dragon may imply such a change in those countries; as that a door may be opened for the admission of the Gospel. If this shall take place at the end of the time, times and half, then will this binding of Satan (the adversary) take place 75 years before the Millennium; and end the same period of time before the great white Throne is erected. In which period the Devil being loosed out of prison goeth forth to deceive the nations in the four corners of the earth."⁶⁹

The three unclean spirits like frogs coming out of the mouth of the dragon (paganism or skepticism), the beast (the Papacy), and the false prophet (Mohammedanism) are their missionaries sent out to gather them together for the battle of the great day.

Such was the mature conviction of this highly trained Baptist minister and successful educator. The cumulative volume of voice after voice, speaking in similar vein in various denominations, states, and countries, could not be without significance or effect.

V. Wolff Proclaims Advent Faith to American Congress

One of the most intriguing characters from abroad ever to address the assembled Congress of the United States was JOSEPH WOLFF (1795-1862), world traveler, linguist, and missionary herald of the second advent.⁷⁰ Of Jewish birth, Catholic education, Protestant Episcopal persuasion, and naturalized

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20. (Seventy-five years is the difference between the 1260 and 1335 years.)

⁷⁰ A full discussion of Wolff appears in *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 461-481. Brief mention must suffice here.

British citizenship, he was a student of prophecy and representative of the London Society to Promote Christianity among the Jews. His fame as a missionary for eighteen years on three continents had preceded him, and he spoke to crowded gatherings during his short stay in this country, including addresses to the legislatures of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. His was another unique and penetrating voice in the far-flung ministerial chorus of heralds of the approaching second advent of Christ, as based on prophetic time calculations.

Along with the standard views of the four world powers of Daniel 2 and 7, with the kingdom of God soon to be established at the destruction of the papal Antichrist, he taught Christ's second advent in 1847, according to the prophecy of Daniel 8:14—the cleansing of the sanctuary at the close of the 2300 year-days, which period he believed would end in 1847.⁷¹ Coupled with this, he stressed the signs of the last times. And this he heralded everywhere—to Jew, Bedouin, and Christian alike, including his American audiences.

Ex-President John Quincy Adams, then in the House of Representatives, upon whose motion the hall was opened to Wolff in 1837, called him “one of the most remarkable men living,”⁷² and declared an earlier address of Wolff to be one of the most “profound, closely-reasoned, and convincing” to which he had ever listened.⁷³

“Joseph Wolff, Missionary to all the Nations,”⁷⁴ as he signed himself, declared his faith not only to Congress and the clergy of Washington, but also in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, proclaiming “the coming glory, and personal reign of Jesus Christ, upon the throne of His father David, . . . His humiliation upon Calvary, and His future glory at Jerusalem, when His feet shall stand upon the Mount of Olives.”⁷⁵

⁷¹ Joseph Wolff, Letter in *Monthly Intelligence of the Proceedings of the London Society*, December, 1830, pp. 181, 182; also his *Researches and Missionary Labours*, pp. 258, 262, 263.

⁷² *Congressional Globe*, Dec. 18, 1837.

⁷³ *The National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), Dec. 16, 1837.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1837.

⁷⁵ *The Missionary* (Protestant Episcopal), Dec. 30, 1837, p. 207.

Joseph Wolff's colorful life and work received much space in *Israel's Advocate*,⁷⁶ as well as in the public press, so his story was well known, and the public had knowledge of his teachings and travels. The full story appears in Volume III.

VI. Rogers Reprints Leading British Advent Awakening Expositions

Note must here be taken of a most extensive and systematic American reprinting of the cream of the writing on prophecy that had originally appeared in the British Advent Awakening between 1813 and 1838. Publisher ORRIN ROGERS,⁷⁷ of Philadelphia, issued five volumes in most unusual semimonthly periodical form, called *The Literalist*.⁷⁸ This was between 1840 and 1842, after the British Advent Awakening had passed the crest of its activity. The very name employed disclosed its avowed purpose—to advocate the *literal interpretation* of prophecy, in order to counter the spiritual resurrection, spiritual advent, and spiritual millennium views in popular vogue in this country and in Europe.

The set was composed exclusively of complete reprints of treatises ranging all the way from 15 to 312 pages, by such well-known British figures as Lewis Way, William Cuninghame, William Anderson, Matthew Habershon, Joshua W. Brooks,

⁷⁶ *Israel's Advocate*, devoted to "the restoration of the Jews," was the American counterpart of *The Jewish Expositor* (official organ of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews). Launched in 1823, at New York, it was sponsored by The American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews. This society, founded in 1820, was affiliated with like societies in Britain, Germany, and throughout the Continent. In the proceedings of the American Society in 1826, the Honorable Jonas Platt was elected president, and the vice-presidents included "His Excellency John Quincy Adams, President of the United States," along with the Honorable S. V. S. Wilder, the Honorable Steven van Rensselaer, together with Jeremiah Day, president of Yale, James Carnahan, president of Princeton, and Eliphalet Nott, president of Union College.

⁷⁷ ORRIN ROGERS (fl. 1837-53), Philadelphia bookseller and publisher, was a descendant of James Rogers of New London, whose brother John founded the Rogerenes. No biographic data have been found except entries (1835-1894) in the Philadelphia city directories. In 1835 Rogers was listed as an "agent," evidently of insurance, and from 1837 to 1841 as bookseller, stationer, and publisher at the same address until 1843. In 1841 and 1842 his name appears on the imprint of the city directory, and in the back of the 1841 issue a full-page ad lists *The Literalist* among his current publications. In 1842 he seems to have started a weekly religious newspaper, *The Philadelphia Repository*, which continued as *The Christian Repository* until 1852. His bookselling business seems to have been discontinued after 1844.

⁷⁸ Because of separate title pages and paging, *The Literalist* might appear to be a collection of separately published works bound together. But it was issued as an actual semimonthly periodical. Its numbers each contained an arbitrary number of pages, disregarding the beginning and ending of the individual works, as shown by the continuous signature numbering.

Hugh M'Neile, Gerard T. Noel, Edward Bickersteth, John Cox, William Thorp, Joseph D. Sirr, and others, advocating the premillennial second advent, the kingdom of Christ, the prophecies, the first resurrection, the millennium, Israel, the destiny of the earth, expectations of the church, our Lord's prophecy, chronological prophecy, and the coming Bridegroom. Thus the best of British prophetic exposition commingled effectively with the rising tide of American exposition and was widely circulated and liberally cited or quoted by American writers on prophecy.⁷⁹

The teachings of these noted British premillennialist expositors are treated in Volume III of *Prophetic Faith* and will not be repeated here. But their fundamental premillennialism was so much akin to the leading Millerite positions that they were at first favorably publicized in the early issues of *Signs of the Times* in 1840, before the distinctive Millerite literature had been developed. They were not, however, affiliated therewith.

The sum total, therefore, of the indigenous American writings on prophecy that we have already surveyed, and now of these added British reprints—in addition to the later really astonishing volume of Millerite books, tracts, and periodicals soon to be discussed—represents an unprecedented circulation of expositions on prophecy. Otherwise well-informed people of today are not usually aware of their extent, or even their existence; for these writings, intensively discussed at the time, are largely ignored in the histories and biographies of the period.

A part of our task is to recapture faithfully and fairly the story of one of the most powerful motivating influences upon the people of America in those crucial decades. That will be developed in Part II.

⁷⁹ This reprinting development, it should be observed, was quite apart from the vast literature production of the Millerites, just then beginning, and from various individual reprints of British works preceding the systematic Rogers plan. It would be interesting to know the relation of Rogers and his *Literalist* to the already mentioned *American Millenarian and Prophetic Review*, of New York (for which Rogers was an agent), which likewise publicized British writings. See pp. 327-329.

VII. Premillennial Position of the "American Millenarian"

Another Protestant journal, launched in New York City in 1842 and edited by ISAAC P. LABAGH,⁸⁰ aggressively presses the Literalist view of prophecy. Its name reveals its scope—*American Millenarian and Prophetic Review*. It carried extensive editorials, and quoted American expositors like Edward Winthrop (Episcopalian), of Cincinnati, George Duffield (Presbyterian), of Princeton, and Stephen Tyng (Episcopalian), of Philadelphia. But it leaned heavily on British Advent Awakening writers like Bickersteth, Brooks, Cox, Begg, Pym, Irving, Anderson, White, and Charlotte Elizabeth, several of whose productions had just been reprinted by Orrin Rogers of Philadelphia, in his *Literalist*.⁸¹

Labagh, having at first fraternized with the Millerites, now opposed them. But he deplored the bitter animosity of some toward them, and deprecated the trial and expulsion of certain clergymen because of holding the "millenarian" faith.⁸² This journal maintained that we are in the latter days, when the premillennial second advent is near. Moreover, it cited Brooks, of England, on the angel with the everlasting gospel now flying, with emphasis on its message of the *judgment hour as now come*.⁸³

True to its name, the *Millenarian* undertakes to discuss the three theories of the millennium—(1) the Augustinian Catholic theory of a past millennium popularized for Protestants by Grotius and Hammond; (2) the spiritual millennium (the Whitbyan postmillennial theory); and (3) the "millenarian" (premillennial) position of the early church, revived

⁸⁰ ISAAC LABAGH, of whom we know little, had written articles for the Millerite papers. (See initial volume of *Signs of the Times* for 1841—Jan. 15, p. 157; Feb. 1, pp. 162-164; Feb. 15, pp. 171, 172; March 1, p. 178.) But his Literalist views on the restoration of the Jewish people, temple, and worship during the millennium were not shared or welcomed by Miller. Hence his new periodical. This journal is discussed here rather than in Part II because, like *The Literalist*, it represents a group distinct from the Millerites.

⁸¹ The American writers are discussed in this volume; the British interpreters are found in *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III. Rogers is listed as an agent for the *American Millenarian*.

⁸² *American Millenarian and Prophetic Review*, June, 1843, p. 12; September, pp. 56-59.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, June, 1843, p. 2; July, 1843, p. 24.

in post-Reformation times, and still held against a rising opposition by a great many in Europe and America unaffiliated with the Millerites.⁸⁴

In various articles we find the outline prophecies portrayed, with Rome as the fourth world empire broken up into ten kingdoms, and the millennial reign of Christ to be established in the latter time of these divided kingdoms, and after the reign of the Antichristian (evidently papal) Little Horn of Daniel 7, and after Armageddon, and the destruction of the Beast and false prophet.⁸⁵

The signs of the times show that transcendent event to be drawing nigh; the "times of the Gentiles" are running out—equated with the "*definite time*" of Daniel 8:14—at the end of which comes the approaching cleansing of the sanctuary connected by Labagh with the restoration of Israel and Judah to their own land. The 1260 years, the 42 months, and the 3½ times are "*the same in point of time,*" and constitute the "time of the power of the papacy," or the oppression by the twofold papal and infidel Antichrist. Ecclesiastical signs, the increase of knowledge of prophecy, and apostasy in the church are emphasized.

The 1290 years are supposed by many to end in 1823, and the 1335 in 1868. (In consequence, the 1260 years must be dated by them as ending in 1793, and so evidently beginning in 533.) The latter events, they hold, of Daniel 11 are fast fulfilling, the vials are being poured out—the third, fourth, and fifth already having been poured by Napoleon on the papal nations—and the sixth in progress, soon to dry up the river Euphrates or Turkish power. On the other hand, the gospel is going to all nations through missionary and Bible societies. So the end of this dispensation, they believe, is not far distant.⁸⁶

The first resurrection, Labagh maintains, is literal, that

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, June, 1843, pp. 33-37, and succeeding editorials. (On Whitbyanism, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 651-655, 805-807.)

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, September, 1843, p. 54; November, 1843, pp. 91, 92, 82-84.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, December, 1843, pp. 109-112.

of all the righteous at the second advent, when the righteous living will be translated and caught up to meet their Lord in the air, thence to reign with Christ a thousand years. Then follows the full argument on the restoration of the Jews, of the Temple, and even of the sanctuary sacrifices at Jerusalem.⁸⁷ The new heavens and the new earth—only partly restored to paradisaical conditions during the millennium—will be completely renovated at the end, after the loosing of Satan for a little season, the last resurrection, and the final judgment.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, January, 1844, pp. 113-128.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, February, 1844, pp. 134-143

Conflict Centers Around Millennialism

I. Duffield—Declares Premillennial Advent Scenes Impend

In this intensive restudy of prophecy, one of the influential western expositors was GEORGE DUFFIELD,¹ scholarly Presbyterian minister for thirty years in frontier Michigan. He was an independent thinker, a ceaseless searcher for truth, and a careful investigator of the foundations of inherited theology. He was actually brought to trial—as were various other Presbyterian leaders of the time—because he had broken away from the earlier strict Calvinism. He was also an Historicist in prophetic exposition, and thus differed from the contemporary post-millennial and spiritualizing schools of interpretation.

Professor Moses Stuart of Andover Theological Seminary ridiculed Duffield's *Dissertations on the Prophecies Relative to the Second Coming of Jesus Christ* (1842) in an attack similar to his assault on the Millerite positions on prophecy and the millennium. And on many points Duffield's position was somewhat akin to theirs. But Duffield answered Stuart effectively in *Millenarianism Defended; A Reply to Prof.*

¹ GEORGE DUFFIELD, D.D. (1794-1868), was for twenty years pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and for thirty years was with the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit, Michigan. He was born in Pennsylvania, of Huguenot descent, was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, with further training at the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. He early showed a love of learning, and was a constant student to the end of his days. He was a man of great energy and strong conviction, and served as a trustee of the University of Michigan. He was also an abolitionist. (*A Sermon on American Slavery*, 1840.) His trial before the presbytery in 1830 was generally looked upon as a violation of Duffield's constitutional privileges under Presbyterian polity. Even the press took up the cudgels in his behalf. The atmosphere was tense in the crowded galleries, for the public was charmed by his eloquence and scholarship.



PROPHETIC INTERPRETERS APPEAR IN ALL FAITHS

(Left to Right) Dr. George Duffield, Presbyterian Pastor of Pennsylvania and Michigan; Protestant Episcopal Bishop John P. K. Henshaw of Rhode Island; Isaac T. Hinton, Baptist Pastor of Chicago and St. Louis; and Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, Episcopalian Rector of Philadelphia

Stuart's Strictures (1843). He points out the absurdities, as well as the dilemma, into which Stuart's positions had led him, and gives specimens of Stuart's illogical statements and his unfairness in discussing others' positions, along with his evasions of vital principles and factors.² He also challenges Stuart's position that the millennium is simply an "expansion" of the present "Evangelical Dispensation."³

After riddling Stuart's argument (derived from Porphyry), that the fourth beast of Daniel 7 is simply divided Greece, and the Little Horn is Antiochus Epiphanes, and other expositions,⁴ he admonishes Stuart to read the Bible a "little more attentively,"⁵ and points to Dr. Whitby as the source of Stuart's postmillennialism. Let us note Duffield's simple, positive positions.

Duffield was not associated with the Millerites; yet in November, 1840, upon reading the newly established *Signs of the Times*, he wrote at length to J. V. Himes, stating that he himself had studied prophecy for many years, and was strongly

² George Duffield, *Millenarianism Defended*, p. 37.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-127.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

persuaded of the error of the postmillennial view. While he differed from Himes on the matter of the precise "time," he said:

"The publication has given me pleasure. I bid God-speed to every judicious effort to awaken attention, and to spread, before a slumbering church and world, the tokens of our blessed Saviour's approaching return to earth."⁶

Duffield delivered a series of remarkable discourses on prophecy in 1841-1842, publishing them in 1842. In his well-documented discourses, revealing wide reading and research, he appeals to his readers to put away "pre-conceived opinions" and study this vital question: Does the millennium introduce an entirely "new dispensation," brought on by the personal, visible second advent of Christ; or is it now in progress, destined to expand merely through moral and political means—especially the preaching of the gospel and missionary endeavor—till all human corruption is overcome, every system of superstition and idolatry is prostrated, and truth, peace, and righteousness established without miraculous intervention? However, on the latter procedure, the past provides little hope for the future, he observes pointedly. Only prophecy gives the true answer;⁷ so to prophecy he turns.

1. CERTAIN POPULAR OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.—After answering several popular objections, Dr. Duffield deals with the contention that some "have become deranged or fanatical" through the study of prophecy. He admits that certain weak temperaments, predisposed in the direction of a breakdown, may have been injured by such study. But he adds that the same would be true of application to business, literary, or scientific pursuits, and makes this pointed observation, well worth remembering:

"For one Austin, or Irving, or others, whose derangement and fanaticism have shown themselves on the subject of the study of the

⁶ *Signs of the Times*, March 1, 1841, p. 179.

⁷ George Duffield, *Dissertations on the Prophecies Relative to the Second Coming of Christ*, pp. v, vi.

prophecies, we can point to ten or more, whose business and literary and scientific pursuits, have rendered them insane. The truth is, some minds and temperaments are incapable of close and assiduous application; but does it therefore follow, that study and business must be abandoned by all? This objection is exceedingly frivolous."⁸

And to the charge that premillennialism is a "novelty," he rejoins with the declaration that such was the universal belief of the early church and of post-Reformation times; and that, on the contrary, it is the theory of a millennium consisting of the universal triumph of the gospel among all nations for a thousand years *before* the second advent, which is itself a novelty, being of but recent origin.⁹ So the Unitarian allegorizes, the German Neologist philosophizes, the Swedenborgian spiritualizes, and the mystic seeks recondite theological connotation—and all such miss the plain, obvious intent of prophecy.¹⁰

The literal interpretation is sanctioned by the example of the patriarchs, the prophets, and apostles. And the prophets' communications were so understood by their contemporaries, Duffield maintains. Origen's Neo-Platonic, mystical philosophy proved a curse to the church of the third century and onward,¹¹ and became the means by which the bishop of Rome in time ascended his lofty throne, sitting as the Man of Sin in the temple of God.¹² The figures of prophecy are not metaphors, Duffield holds, but symbols—a woman symbolizing a church; a lascivious woman, yielding to the embrace of the kings of the earth, a polluted or apostate church; seas, masses of people; an earthquake, a revolution; the drying up of a river, a drying up of population, revenue, and supports; a beast, an empire; horns, separate kingdoms or divisions, and the like.¹³

There is frequent reference to able and well-known prophetic expositors of the Old World Advent Awakening—Cunninghame, Brooks, Bickersteth, Fry, M'Neile, Noel, Cox, Sirr,

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 39. On Austin and Irving, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 30. Daniel Whitby was the originator, about 1706; see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 651-655.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-46.

¹¹ On Origen see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 310-324.

¹² George Duffield, *Dissertations*, pp. 66-76, 93-95.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 129.

Habershon, Hooper, Hawtry, Pym, and Begg. And there is wide acquaintance with older prophetic writers back over the centuries. Many of these British and American interpreters are grouped in clusters, and some are segregated as to religious affiliation—Church of England, Dissenter, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian.¹⁴ Other groupings are according to periods or geography. Duffield had mastered the historical background to an outstanding degree.

2. DISSENTS FROM POPULAR "SPIRITUALIZED" MILLENNIUM. —He dissents from the "spiritualizers," who believe the millennium is nothing more than a "highly-prosperous state of the church," to be "introduced through the gradual diffusion of light and knowledge," by means of missionaries, Bibles, tracts, and other instrumentalities employed for that purpose. During this period, they say, Satan is restrained, the Jews throughout the world converted, the church enjoys astonishing influence, all wars cease, the nations are confederated for peace, civilization is carried to the highest plane, and the entire globe transformed into Edenlike prosperity. Then, at the close, Satan is again loosed to produce a defection from the millennial provisions and truth, and the apostate nations conspire for the destruction of the "camp of the saints." Then, according to such, the Lord rains down fire from heaven to destroy them all, *and the second personal advent of Christ occurs*, with the resurrection of the dead, the final judgment, and the dissolution of the globe by fire—and finally the new heavens and the new earth, which will be the saints' inheritance forever.¹⁵

Others, says Duffield, look for a fearful crisis—a time of trouble, growing out of conflict between truth and error, and tyranny and liberty, with terrible judgments and signal interpositions of Providence. William Miller and his associates are dubbed "spiritualizers" because they "allegorize" the return of the Jews, and are criticized because they place the resurrec-

¹⁴ See pp. 163, 258, 259.

¹⁵ George Duffield, *Dissertations*, pp. 153-155.

tion of the dead and the renovation of the globe by fire at the *beginning* of the millennium.¹⁶

3. DANIEL'S OUTLINE FROM BABYLON TO THE JUDGMENT. —Three chapters (7 to 9) are devoted by Duffield to tracing the variations and vicissitudes of the millennial doctrine through the centuries. He contends that the second advent will be "pre-millennial," and cites the outline prophecies as proof. The prophecy of Daniel 7, for example, reaches from Daniel's day to the "times of restitution," when the everlasting kingdom is given to the saints. Following Babylonia, Medo-Persia, and Macedonia comes Rome, the fourth world power, which is divided into the ten kingdoms. Then an eleventh power, rising in their midst, eradicates three, displays "prodigious sagacity," and makes lofty pretensions. The ten kingdoms are the Vandals, Suevi, Alans, Burgundians, Franks, Visigoths, Anglo-Saxons, Heruli-Turingi, Ostrogoths, and Lombards.¹⁷

The pope arises among them, and in 533 is declared by Justinian to be head of all the churches, thus putting the empire under his spiritual dominion. This was embodied in the Code of Justinian. And in 606 Phocas confirms the grant, but by that time the ten kingdoms had become subject to the papal sway. The Heruli, Ostrogoths, and Lombards being eradicated, St. Peter's patrimony was carved out of the subjugated dominions. Thus the vision extends to the judgment day, the destruction of the Little Horn's power, and the establishment of the dominion of the saints. Some allegorize it all, as merely divine judgments on the Papacy. But the judgment is literal, he holds, the advent is literal, and the destruction of the Papacy and the worldly empires is literal.¹⁸

The Little Horn is the same as Paul's Man of Sin, he maintains, coming up after the hindering or withholding Roman Empire gives way. But this power is destroyed by the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 146, 158.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 277-280, 385.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 281-290.

brightness of the glory of the second advent. This is likewise described by John the revelator in the great harvest and vintage scene of Revelation 14. And this is before the millennium.¹⁹

4. JUDGMENT NOT CONFINED TO 24-HOUR DAY.—Duffield is careful to affirm that this day of judgment is not limited to a twenty-four-hour day, or even to a very short time. Rather, it is a judicial process. Moreover, the first resurrection is not the general, or promiscuous, resurrection. Interestingly enough, he does not believe this to be a short judicial investigation, but one that runs through the millennial period.²⁰

5. VARIOUS SIGNS OF APPROACHING ADVENT.—The time, or “season,” of Christ’s coming is *before* the millennium, according to Daniel, Paul, and John alike. And the signs of His coming are numerous, including:

1. *Great increase of knowledge* (Daniel 12:4)—investigation and close, diligent study of the sealed book of prophecy. It will be a season of great light and religious knowledge. The minds of men have already been remarkably turned to prophecy in the early decades of the nineteenth century. This is also true of all Biblical study. It is pre-eminently the day of the Bible and tract society, the Sabbath school, missionary society, and religious association. Duffield was therefore able to add with force, “It is at this day remarkably fulfilled.”

2. *Great luxury springing from increased wealth* (James 5). The pursuit of wealth is unparalleled. Great corporations, combinations, and monopolies have heaped up treasures.

3. *Perplexity and trouble* (Luke 21:26). There will be a time of unprecedented trouble, men’s hearts failing them for fear.

4. *Great peace plans and preparations.*

5. *Profound slumber on the part of the church*—sleep as at midnight, in the parable of the foolish virgins. Many minis-

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 295-325.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 365-367.

ters cannot be induced to study the question of the second advent, and those who do are by some accounted eccentric. Skepticism and rationalism are permeating the church. Peace is the cry—no avenging God to alarm—universal salvation—civilization advancing! And many are laboring in the confident expectation that the multiplication of human agencies will lead into the millennium.²¹

6. CHRONOLOGY OF VARIOUS TIME PERIODS.—The ending of the prophetic time periods is another evidence. The 1260 years of papal spiritual supremacy is the primary measuring rod, though there is uncertainty as to its exact placement. The dates 533, 538, 606, and 756 have all been put forth as the opening year for the 1260-year period, and conjointly for the 1290, 1335, and 2300 years as well—the 1290 extending thirty years beyond the 1260, and the 1335 seventy-five years beyond the close of these same 1260 years of papal domination. The 1260 years would therefore end in 1793, 1798, 1866, or 1910, although he does not so specify. Nevertheless, a definite time period is involved, like Noah's warning of 120 years until the Deluge.²²

And the "seven times" of the Gentiles, or the 2520 years, could be dated from 731 B.C. (Shalmanezzer's invasion); 722 B.C. (when taken the second time); 714 B.C. (when Sennacherib invaded Judea); 708 B.C. (when his army was destroyed); or 677 B.C. (when Esarhaddon destroyed the kingdom of Israel). 2520 years from these dates would therefore terminate between 1780 and 1834-1844, preparing the way for the final catastrophe of the nations.²³

7. 1843-1847 REGARDED AS IMPORTANT POINT.—And the 2300 years may possibly be dated from the edict of Cyrus (536 B.C.), or Darius Hystaspes (518 B.C.), or the 7th of Artaxerxes (457 or 456 B.C.), or the 20th of Artaxerxes (444-432 B.C.). The

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 368-381.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 385-387.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

end of the 2300 years would then bring us to 1764, 1782, 1843, 1856, 1866, 1868, respectively. William Miller, Duffield adds, has chosen the third—457 B.C.—with the ending in A.D. 1843. But, Duffield remarks, he “has not proved his assumption to be correct.”²⁴ Nevertheless, he adds:

“We can descry with sufficient distinctness the general period or season during which the grand event will take place, so that we cannot be more remote from it, at the furthest assignable date, than one hundred and seventy-five years. We may be, and most probably are, much nearer, and although we cannot but condemn the confidence with which it is asserted that next year will be the period, as do Mr. Miller and many others, yet we believe that somewhere from 1843 to 1847, will be marked by very clear and decided movements in God’s providence, tending to shape the character of approaching political commotions, and to affect the interests of the Jewish nation, and of the church and the world, which shall render it a marked epoch, and prove that we are advanced one stage nearer to the time of the end.”²⁵

This is a rather remarkable statement. The chronology, or timing, is not challenged, simply different events are anticipated.

“The time of the end, or the end of the times, that is, the season during which the great periods of chronological prophecy run out, and the great things so long predicted will transpire, is described to us as characterized by very strong and marked signs, and particularly signs in the heavens.”²⁶

These signs were in the sun, moon, and stars, and on earth famines, pestilences, and earthquakes. These celestial signs are visible symbols, which God himself “hangs out in the heavens” to predict the coming consummation.”²⁷

8. “TIME OF THE END” CLEARLY MARKED OUT.—In chapter 13 “The Seasons and the Signs of Christ’s Coming,” Duffield has this remarkable summation:

“Ever since the French Revolution, the peculiar signs, both moral and political, which it is predicted shall mark the time of the end, have been developing. In a few words, the nations of the earth are rearing the

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 388, 389.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 403.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 403, 404.

standard of infidelity; Popery is propagating its abominations; the Ottoman Empire is wasting away; the Gospel is extensively propagated, and has been preached in nearly every nation on earth; the Bible has been translated into more than one hundred and fifty languages; an extraordinary movement has been made in favor of the Jews; the world is sunk in fatal security and indifference, and laughs at the thought of danger; a large portion of the church, like the foolish virgins, has fallen asleep; the spirit of despotism has forged fresh chains to enslave the minds of men, and to oppress the nations of the earth; the preparation is making for a great and fearful crisis; the kings and rulers of the earth are leaguings and conspiring together, and becoming involved more and more in their ambitious schemes and enterprises; and the Lord is sealing his people, pouring out his Spirit, and gathering in his elect. Verily we must be blind indeed, if we cannot discern the signs of the times."²⁸

9. 1260 YEARS PROBABLY ENDED IN 1792.—Duffield then concludes:

"The judgment of the Ancient of Days, for aught we can tell, may have already begun to sit in Heaven, and the signs in the sun, moon and stars, distress of nations, &c., may soon be transferred to earth. Already we hear the roaring of the sea and waves; the breaking forth of popular commotions; men's hearts begin to fail them through fear, in looking after those things to come upon the earth; and the powers of the political heavens, or constitutions of governments, begin to shake. All these things have been transpiring, in greater or less activity, ever since A.D. 1792, when, very probably, the twelve hundred and sixty years ended, and the seventy-five years, for the time of the end, commenced; and if so, then lift up your heads, ye saints, for your redemption draweth nigh. The Lord's coming in the clouds of heaven is fore-signified by all these things, and is even at the doors."²⁹

That is the position of Duffield, contemporary of Miller—with entry upon the "time of the end" since the French Revolution, or more specifically A.D. 1792, when the 1260 years probably ended.

II. Crandall—Anticipates End of Periods in 1868

Another clergyman, A. L. CRANDALL, of West Troy, New York, in 1841 wrote *A Brief Explanation of the Book of Revelations, in Chronological Order*. The Apocalypse, he held,

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 406.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

presents "a regular series of events, from the time of writing, to the end of time"—in the seals, trumpets, and vials. Christ Himself opens the seals, all light for the guidance of our fallen world coming through Him. Crandall's interpretation is not so well thought out and consistent as some, often reverting to earlier positions, by that time largely superseded. Other points are quite clear. The seals, he thinks, are confined to the first four centuries, and the close of the empire in the fifth. The Papacy arose out of the ruins of Rome, in 533, under the decree of Justinian, which made the pope the head of all the churches. And he does not begin the trumpets until 606 or 756.³⁰

1. 1260-YEAR PAPAL TRIUMPH, 533-1793.—The 1260 years, he believes, extend from 533 to 1793, at the close of which long period the church came out of the "wilderness" and threw off her sackcloth. And the end of that twelve-century period was marked by the beginning of the great missionary era, which was simultaneous with the French Revolution and the attempt to overthrow the temporal power of the pope. The two periods—the reign of the Papacy, and the Witnesses in sackcloth—therefore correspond. The break-up of the empire prepared the way for the exaltation of the pope at its beginning. The third trumpet is thought, by Crandall, to be the papal inquisitors. During the fourth trumpet Mohammedanism also spread far and wide and moral darkness surged over the world. The fifth trumpet, Crandall thinks, is again Rome dealing out the tortures of the Inquisition during the prophetic "five months." The sixth trumpet pertains to the Ottoman Turks, and their 391 years (predicted in Revelation 9:15) was from 1281 to 1672, on the same year-day principle.³¹

2. 3½ YEARS OF WITNESSES' DEATH, 1793-1797.—The 3½ year-days of the slaying of the Two Witnesses (the Bible and

³⁰ A. L. Crandall, *A Brief Explanation of the Book of Revelations, in Chronological Order*, pp. 7-17, 101, 102.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-32, 102, 103. Here he follows Scott.

all true Christians) was from 1793-1797. The 1260 days, and the alternate forms of 42 months or $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, are of course years. (Dan. 7:25; Dan. 12:7; Rev. 12:6; 13:5.) The Papacy is the designated Antichrist, Little Horn, and Beast. The earthquake was the French Revolution. And at the end of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ year-days, the Witnesses revived their testimony, as the Bible and Missionary societies began to be formed.³²

3. THE DRAGON, CHILD, BEAST, AND MESSENGERS.—The 1260 years are rather commonly understood as from 606 to 1866, Crandall observes. But 533 to 1793 seems better to meet the specifications. In Revelation 12 the woman is the true church and the male child is Christ. The great red dragon is of course pagan Rome, but the man child is to "rule all nations with a rod of iron." In Revelation 13 the first beast is the Papacy, and the second is believed to be the papal Inquisition. The "666" are years. In Revelation 14 Crandall oddly reverts to Reformation times teaching, that the first angel was the Waldenses, the second, heralding Babylon's fall, is the message of the Lollards and Hussites, and the third is the message of Luther.³³

4. 1335 AND 2300 END TOGETHER IN 1868.—Daniel 9 presents the 70 weeks of years, reaching to the first advent of Christ, and the 2300 years are to the cleansing of the sanctuary in the latter days. All the remaining periods of Daniel may be thus dated: The 1260 (533-1793), the 1290 (533-1823), and the 1335 (533-1868). And the 2300 years, it seems to Crandall, likewise reach from 432 B.C. to A.D. 1868.

"If this calculation should prove correct, then at the end of twenty-seven years from this time (1841) [that is, 1868] events will take place to answer the two descriptions. Daniel 8; 14, Then shall the sanctuary be cleansed; and Daniel 12; 12, Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and thirty-five days."³⁴

5. SEVEN VIALS PRECEDE THE MILLENNIUM.—The vials

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 36-44, 103.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-55, 104.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-62.

clearly come between the close of the sixth trumpet and the beginning of the millennium. And seven vials relate to evils to fall on the persecutors, and nearly all is still future. The fifth will be on the *seat* of the Beast. And the drying up of the Euphrates, under the sixth, involves the return of the Jews to the Holy Land. The seventh is universal war. The American Jewish Society was formed in 1820, he adds.³⁵ And mystical Babylon is, of course, the papal church. Revelation 17 is her general description, and chapter 18 presents her utter ruin.

6. MILLENNIUM, RESURRECTION, AND ADVENT SPIRITUALIZED.—The thousand years of the millennium should, according to Crandall, begin in 1868. The physical world remains, but with marked alterations and improvements. The "chain" that binds Satan is the influence of the church. The first resurrection, at the beginning of the millennium, is not a literal resurrection. Souls, he contends, never die, so they can never be literally raised. And Jesus Christ does not personally visit our world during the millennium. Moreover, Crandall continues, the length of the period is not merely a thousand years, but many thousands of years. But Satan is loosed at its close. Then fire comes down from God, which is the final judgment and conflagration. Revelation 21 and 22 introduces the reign of glory and light for eternity. The stone cut out of the mountain becomes the mountain and fills the whole earth.³⁶ So here, again is the extreme form of spiritualization of the millennium, or postmillennialism in its logical form. Now we turn again to the other side.

III. Tyng—Endorses "Bible Companion" Prophetic Exposition

Prophecy was inwrought into nearly every Bible study volume of the day, for at this time prophecy was regarded as a vital part of Scripture. Thus the pocket *Bible Companion* was designed for Bible class, family, and personal study, as an

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-72, 105, 106.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-100, 106.

inexpensive substitute for the large and costly commentaries. It was reprinted in America with a hearty Introduction by the well-known Episcopalian clergyman, DR. STEPHEN H. TYNG, SR.,³⁷ of Philadelphia, and carried his clear endorsement. (Portrait appears on p. 331.) In the analysis of the book of Daniel this covering statement appears:

"His [Daniel's] predictions are the most extraordinary and comprehensive of all that are found in the prophetic writings: for they include the general history of the world, as well as that of the church of God under the Jewish and Christian dispensations, from the period in which he lived to the final consummation of all things; and he alone, of all the prophets, foretold the exact time when the Messiah should appear and finish the great work of human redemption."³⁸

Two of Daniel's special features are given as: (1) "The prediction of four universal empires, the rise and fall of which Daniel describes, and the division of the last, which was the Roman, into ten kingdoms;" and (2) the "seventy weeks of years, or 490 years, reckoned from the seventh year of Artaxerxes," when "Ezra was commissioned to restore the Jewish polity," to "A.D. 33, in the very month and year in which Christ suffered for us." Thus Tyng helped to popularize the misconception that Christ died at the *end*, instead of in the "midst," of the 70th week of years.³⁹

Discussing the "prophets" in general, the *Companion* says these writings pertain both to the church and to "the several empires and nations of the world, down to the end of time," as they were or will be connected with the church of God and with the unfulfilled portions "attended with obscuri-

³⁷ STEPHEN HIGGINSON TYNG, SR., S.T.D. (1800-1885), was one of the great preachers of the Episcopal Church. He was born in Massachusetts, graduated from Harvard in 1817, then studied divinity under Bishop Griswold. In 1829 he became rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, attracting large crowds. Thoroughly Protestant, he was the acknowledged leader of Evangelical Episcopalianism, as opposed to High Church and ritualistic innovations, and particularly the Tractarian Movement of the High Churchmen. He strongly supported Sunday school unions, educational and missionary societies, and opposed slavery. In 1833 he became rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Philadelphia, and editor of the *Episcopalian Recorder and Protestant Churchman*. From 1845 to 1885 he was rector of St. George's in New York City. He was an outstanding figure and had a commanding personality, with few equals as an orator. Daniel Webster declared him to be the "greatest American pulpit orator," rising to heights of impassioned eloquence seldom surpassed, and moving his hearers like a wind-swept sea. He was author of some twenty-five important works. He received the degree of S.T.D. from Jefferson in 1832 and Harvard in 1851.

³⁸ *The Bible Companion*, part 1, p. 91.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 93.

ties," which time alone, and fulfillment, can remove.⁴⁰ In the analysis of 2 Thessalonians, two points are made: The end of the world was not at hand in Paul's day, but "must be preceded by a great apostacy, in which the 'man of sin' would ruin many, and sink himself into perdition"—and identifying it as "the prophecy respecting the Romish antichrist, under the characters of 'the man of sin,' 'the son of perdition,' and 'the mystery of iniquity.'"⁴¹

This finds its fulfillment in "the succession of popes, with the Romish priesthood," the corruption of Christian doctrine, the worship of angels, saints, and the host, the selling of pardons and indulgences, the exalting of itself to receive worship and assume authority over kings, the deposing of kingdoms at pleasure, the sitting in the temple of God, and the assuming of the titles of God. Bishop Newton is cited for detailed application.⁴² Paul's prediction, in 2 Timothy, of the great "declension and apostacy" to mar the Christian faith, is noted, and also that in 2 Peter, the coming of false teachers and the scoffers who would ridicule the "expectation of Christ's coming."⁴³ The book of Revelation, it says, "has of late years awakened much attention, and many students have set themselves to find a coincidence between its prediction, and events now taking place in the world," with "apparent success" it adds, citing *Croly on the Apocalypse* and Keith's *Signs of the Times*.⁴⁴

The *Bible Companion* has a large section on fulfilled prophecies—concerning the Arabs, Jews, Judea, Idumea, Egypt, Nineveh, and Babylon. There is also a corresponding portion on "Unfulfilled Prophecy"—the establishment of Christ's kingdom, the great day of God, the preaching of the gospel to all nations, the increase of knowledge of the plan of God, the flying angel hastening to every nation, and the establishment

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 85.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 55.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 63. Croly and Keith are covered in *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 544-548, 622-626.

of the mountain of the house of the Lord in the top of the mountains. All these and others will be "perfectly fulfilled."⁴⁵

The little treatise includes a terse "Index to the Symbolic Language of the Bible." Thus, "Appolyon" means the Mohammedan powers by which the Christian churches of the East were oppressed, citing Revelation 9. "Adultress, or Harlot," is an apostate church (Revelation 17). "Beast" is a heathen power (Daniel 7), and also the "papal antichrist" (Revelation 13, 17). "Day" stands for "a year" in prophecy (Revelation 11, 12). "Earthquake" means a political revolution. "Gog and Magog" are infidel nations in the last days. The "harvest" is the end of the world, and a "horn" is a royal power (Daniel 7). "Image of gold, silver, brass, and iron"—here are the "four universal monarchies" (Daniel 2). "Moon" stands for the Jewish ecclesiastical state, and "mountain," the kingdom of Christ's church (Dan. 2:35). A prophetic "week" is seven years, and 70 weeks of years, 490 literal years. "Winds" represent general destruction (Dan. 7:2), and "woman," the church—of Christ or of Antichrist (Revelation 12, 17).⁴⁶

Near the close is a chronological index of "principal events" in A.M. and B.C. time, giving 538 B.C. as when the first world empire, Babylon, gave way to Persia; 330 B.C., when the second, Medo-Persia, was suppressed by the Grecian; 65 B.C., when the third, or Grecian, power is followed by the Roman fourth world power.⁴⁷ So this little pocket *Bible Companion*, introduced to the American laity by Dr. Stephen Tyng, turns out definitely to be a compend on prophecy, in which prophecy is recognized as an inseparable part of Bible study.

IV. Bishop Henshaw—Champion of Genuine Premillennialism

Another stalwart premillennialist volume on prophecy appeared in 1842, by JOHN P. K. HENSHAW,⁴⁸ first Protestant

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, part 2, pp. 80-108.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-123.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-143.

⁴⁸ JOHN PRENTISS K. HENSHAW (1792-1852) was born in Connecticut, graduating from

Episcopal bishop of Rhode Island. The chapters were first given orally as Sunday evening sermons at St. Peter's Church, Baltimore, Maryland, and were published the year before he became bishop. They were put into book form expressly to stimulate faith in this "neglected" truth. Henshaw had no connection with the Millerites, though many of his positions were virtually identical with theirs. The prefatory note declares Henshaw is simply advocating the views of the early Fathers, many of the Reformers, Joseph Mede (the noted reviver of pre-millennialism), and modern Church of England divines like Bickersteth, M'Neile, Melvill, Dodsworth, and Noel.⁴⁹ (Portrait of Henshaw appears on p. 331.)

Henshaw challenges the popular contention of a spiritual or figurative second advent. Instead, he avers, Christ will come personally, visibly, and literally, amid the terrors of the last day. He will come in the clouds of heaven to establish His kingdom, and this second coming will be no less literal and real than His first advent.⁵⁰ Here are his explicit words:

"I cannot believe that all the glorious things written in the sacred volume about the Messiah's kingdom upon earth are fulfilled in his spiritual reign over the hearts of believers, or in any state of the church which we are likely to behold under the operation of existing causes. I cannot believe that all the striking predictions relating to the sudden and overwhelming destruction of false systems of religion and antichristian powers, the restoration of the Jews, and the splendors of the new Jerusalem, —the Millennial reign of Christ with his saints, and the creation of a new heavens and a new earth, are to be fulfilled by the slow process of converting Jews and Gentiles, as it is now progressing under human instrumentality."⁵¹

Again he says explicitly:

Middle College, Vermont, in 1808, with graduate work at Harvard. He joined the Protestant Episcopal Church and became a zealous worker, serving several congregations. In 1812 a religious awakening at Bristol, Rhode Island, developed under his ministry, although he was not ordained until 1816. Thereafter, for twenty-six years he was pastor of St. Peter's Church at Baltimore, making it the center of wholesome influence. He received a D.D. degree in 1830. In 1843 he became bishop of Rhode Island, meanwhile serving as rector of Grace Church. He was author of numerous works, including one on the second advent, and his scholarly *The Four Gospels: Translated From the Greek Text of Tischendorf*, which was well known at the time.

⁴⁹ On these expositors see *Prophetic Faith*, Vols. I to III.

⁵⁰ J. P. K. Henshaw, *An Inquiry Into the Meaning of the Prophecies Relating to the Second Advent of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, pp. 5-26.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 31.

"As he [Christ] really and visibly ascended, so shall he really and visibly descend. He shall come in like manner as he was seen to go into heaven. He shall appear as 'King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.' He shall set up his universal dominion 'from sea to sea, and from the river to the end of the earth.'"⁵²

As to the time, no man knows the day or hour. But from antecedent signs we may know when our redemption draweth nigh. Christ's statement—that "this generation shall not pass"—means, according to Henshaw, that the Jewish nation, or generation (*genea*), would not pass away, or cease to exist, before His second advent.⁵³

1. MOHAMMEDANISM'S TWOFOLD SCOURGE FORETOLD.—Not only was the great papal apostasy foretold in prophecy, but that of Mohammedanism as well, as the scourge of idolatrous Christendom. Under the fifth trumpet the Saracens, under the symbol of locusts, tormented men for five "prophetic months," or 150 years, from 612 to 762, according to Faber. And the "Euphratean horsemen," or Ottoman Turks, were loosed for an hour, day, month, and year—according to the prophetic manner of reckoning, with 360 days to a "prophetic year"—or a total of 391 years, which extended from 1261 to 1672, citing Scott. And now the great river Euphrates, symbol of Turkey, is being dried up.⁵⁴ There was, in fact, general concurrence of view upon this point.

2. PAPAL APOSTASY FOLLOWS ROMAN RESTRAINT.—Moreover, the Man of Sin, sitting in the temple, or church of God, is clearly not an atheist, but is a professedly Christian power. And its time, Henshaw thought, was from the year the Emperor Phocas conferred upon the bishop of Rome the title of "Universal Bishop," in 606, when the restraining Pagan Roman Empire had been removed. Thus the "falling away" of Paul's day became the great Antichristian apostasy of the centuries.⁵⁵

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-47. This view was held by many current expositors.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-66.

She is "spiritual Babylon." And, he adds, "Her doom is written by the pen of inspiration."⁵⁶

3. ANGELIC MESSAGE PREPARATORY TO ADVENT.—The true church, or "the woman" "in the wilderness," embraced the Waldenses of medieval times, which were the forerunners of the great Reformation church. And the three successive angels of Revelation 14 prepare the way for the coming of the Son of Man, to reap the harvest of the world. Some believe these angelic messengers to be the work of the Bible and Missionary societies. In any event, they are the means of preparation God is using.⁵⁷

4. LAST-DAY SIGNS FULFILLING ALL ABOUT.—The predicted last-day schisms and heresies and infidelity and atheism are fulfilling before our eyes. The trends and departures are here. Soon the command will be given, "Thrust in the sickle and reap, for the harvest of the earth is ripe."⁵⁸ A scoffing world and a slumbering church affords another sign. The advent will come as in the days of Noah—suddenly, unexpectedly, to the consternation of the unprepared. It will be a day of wrath and terror. The Man of Sin will be destroyed, and the Beast and false prophet cast into the bottomless pit.⁵⁹

The world is fast preparing for this consummation. The two harvests are before us—the wheat for the garner of God, the grapes of wrath for the vintage. The work of converting the heathen goes forward with augmented power. It is just as with the Jewish feast of Ingathering—it did not come until the harvests were gathered. The outpouring of the Spirit upon all flesh is before us. Great revivals will come. Anglican Bishop Daniel Wilson⁶⁰ of India is interestingly cited.⁶¹

5. REJECTS UN-SCRIPTURAL SPIRITUAL MILLENNIUM.—Ac-

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-80.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-99.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-110.

⁶⁰ On Wilson's important exposition of the prophecies, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 617-622. He also taught that the 2300 year-days would end in 1847.

⁶¹ J. P. K. Henshaw, *op cit.*, pp. 136-161.

According to many the millennium will not be a new dispensation; it will scarcely differ from present conditions—only in the enlargement and extension of truth and the church. According to such, the millennium will be the reign of the *church*, not of the *Lord*. Henshaw rejects the concept of a state of growing peace and holiness for a thousand years before the second advent. Such, he avers, is utterly irreconcilable with Scripture. Henshaw also rejects the concept of a spiritual resurrection, held by Scott and others. The millennium is not simply a revival of primitive piety, induced by human endeavor. It involves divine interposition.

The millennium will be introduced by the destruction of the Man of Sin, the overthrow of the enemies of the Lord, the restoration of the Jews, and the literal resurrection of the dead—who are to live and reign with Christ during the thousand years. And the living saints will be changed, transfigured. Then will follow the renovation of the earth, and the New Jerusalem will come down from God out of heaven, as the new metropolis of Messiah's kingdom. The one somber shadow over the scene is Satan's brief loosing at the millennium's close, shortly before his destruction, along with that of the wicked.

Thus Protestant Episcopal Bishop Henshaw comes squarely to grips with the "spiritual millennium" theory, first advanced by Daniel Whitby, and afterward advocated by Hammond and Scott in England, and by Hopkins, Dwight, Bogue, and others in America,⁹² until it had become the majority view, especially in the city pulpits. But premillennialism is still militant in the hands of various stalwarts.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 215.

Premillennialism Rallies Stalwart Defenders

I. Winthrop—Outspoken Champion of Premillennialism

EDWARD WINTHROP (1811-1865), minister of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church of Cincinnati, and later of St. Paul's in Norwalk, Ohio, was previously professor of sacred literature in the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary of Lexington, Kentucky, and author of three books on prophecy—*Lectures on the Second Advent of Messiah* (1843), *Letters on the Prophetic Scriptures* (1850), and *The Premium Essay on the Characteristics and Laws of Prophetic Symbols* (1853). The last-named work received first award in a competition announced by the editor of the *Theological and Literary Journal*, and promoted by about forty-eight clergymen of note from Rutgers, Dartmouth, Princeton, Williams, Amherst, and Richmond colleges, and from widely scattered prominent pastorates. Three prominent men served as judges—Bishop Charles P. M'Ilvaine of Ohio, and Doctors John Forsyth and Alexander T. M'Gill of Princeton.

I. CHRIST COMING IN PERSON, POWER, AND GLORY.—Winthrop is another of those stalwart, outspoken defenders of premillennialism who declared that they were standing in the breach that had been made in the last-day wall of sound Biblical teaching. Certain modern divines, he contended, have left "the old paths of the primitive church" and have introduced such theories as Whitby's "new hypothesis" of an un-Scriptural

"spiritual millennium in the personal absence of the Bridegroom, even of our Lord Jesus Christ." But Winthrop maintains that the second advent will not merely take place "spiritually," nor simply "providentially." Nor is it at the death of each individual. Christ will return personally in power and visible glory. He will probably be seen, first by saints and then by sinners. Though we do not know the precise time, His advent will be *premillennial*—not at the close of the millennium.¹

This was the belief of the early church Fathers, he added, and of such Church of England contemporaries as M'Neile, Noel, Bickersteth, and others. The destruction of Antichrist, preparatory to the millennial age, will be affected by "the personal presence and coming" of Christ. (2 Thessalonians 2.) Daniel presents this destruction in chapter 7. And John tells of the seven vials of wrath to be poured out previous to the thousand years. The harvest is to be reaped and the vintage gleaned before the reign of Christ. The world continues on in a state of wickedness up to Messiah's appearance. Both wheat and tares grow together until the harvest.²

2. FIRST RESURRECTION IS LITERAL AND BODILY.—Again, the first resurrection of the bodies of the saints—literal, not figurative—takes place at least a thousand years before the final judgment on the wicked. The resurrection of Daniel 12:1, 2, of the sleepers in the dust, is contemporaneous with the overthrow of Antichrist, and is therefore premillennial. The resurrected saints are changed and glorified. This doctrine of the resurrection is the key that unlocks many difficult scriptures.³

3. SIX LEADING SIGNS OF THE TIMES.—In discussing the outstanding signs of the times, Winthrop lists six: (1) General disbelief in the personal and premillennial coming of the Son of man as the avenger of the elect; (2) prevalence of scoffers

¹ Edward Winthrop, *Lectures on the Second Advent of Messiah*, pp. 87-95. The developing rapture theory is involved in his two manifestations in the second advent (for which he cites *The American Millenarian* for 1842), and he tentatively allows for a future personal Antichrist also, and other points of the modern Futurist system. (*Ibid.*, pp. 91, 92, 151, 163 and note.)

² *Ibid.*, pp. 95-107.

³ *Ibid.*, part 2, lecture 3, pp. 129 ff.

saying, "Where is the promise of his coming?"; (3) present aspect of the world accords with Scriptural description of the last days—the wicked do wickedly, there is unprecedented licentiousness, lawlessness, infidelity, political and ecclesiastical upheavals, growth of Catholicism; (4) increase of knowledge of the prophetic scriptures, and general expansion of knowledge, communication, and transportation; (5) the gospel preached as a witness to all nations, not however that all the world will be converted until the millennium; and (6) the decline of the Ottoman Empire, which for twenty years has been steadily dwindling.⁴

Winthrop concludes by summarizing the testimony of the early church on the principles of premillennialism. He cites pseudo-Barnabas, Papias, Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Epiphanius, and, in contrast, the allegorizing mode introduced by Origen, and shows that the doctrine of a spiritual millennium, previous to the second, personal advent, is a novelty of modern times.⁵

4. HOLDS STANDARD VIEWS ON DANIEL 7.—Winthrop's views on the outline prophecies were those of the standard Historical School. They are presented in a later work—Rome as the fourth world power, the civil rulers of Daniel's ten kingdoms equating with the ten horns of the Beast, with the Little Horn as the pope, to be destroyed just before the millennium—and this brought about by the second, personal, visible advent of Christ from the clouds of heaven. (Rev. 1:7; 1 Thess. 4:16, 17.) The ten-horned and two-horned beasts of Revelation 13 are Rome in civil and papal forms, Western Rome being divided into ten Romano-Gothic horn kingdoms—originally the Vandals, Suevi, Visigoths, Alans, Burgundians, Franks, Saxons, Ostrogoths, Lombards, and Heruli. And the seven heads are forms of government—kings, consuls, dictators, decemvirs, tribunes, pagan imperial, and "false-christian imperial," with

⁴ *Ibid.*, lecture 6, pp. 229 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, lecture 7, pp. 259 ff. On all these characters see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I.

the eighth the "decem-regal" or ten-kingdom form that was eventually united under the spiritual headship of the Papacy. The Beast's 1260 years are nearly run out, and the Man of Sin, the Papacy, is the same as the Little Horn and the head of the two-horned beast.⁶

Winthrop is aware of E. B. Elliott's dating of the 1260 years from 529-533 as a "primary beginning," and from 604 to 608 as a "secondary and complete beginning," thus providing the same 75-year difference between the two as between Daniel's 1260 and 1335 years; but he says most writers date it from 606. And the "666" stands possibly for *Lateinos*—the Latin church, Latin worship, Latin rites, Latin Scriptures, and Latin edicts and decrees.⁷ Babylon, the harlot sorceress, is the papal hierarchies (and any Protestant hierarchies of the ten kingdoms that are corrupt at the advent). The drying of the mystic Euphrates pertains, he believes, to the masses of people sustaining the mystical Babylon, and not the wasting away of the Turkish Empire; but preparing the way for the fall of the nationalized hierarchies.⁸ It is a modification of the standard Historical School interpretation.

II. Hinton—Firm on Historical Interpretation

The influential English-born Baptist clergyman, ISAAC TAYLOR HINTON,⁹ attracted large audiences in his Chicago church in the 1830's, and again in St. Louis in 1842, with his lectures on the prophecies, which were published by request in 1843. Hinton's 375-page exposition, *The Prophecies of*

⁶ Edward Winthrop, *Letters on the Prophetic Scriptures*, pp. 113-118, 122-128, 132, 133, 135, 139-141. He seems to make "Antichrist" embrace both beasts—civil rulers and ecclesiastical hierarchies. (*Ibid.*, pp. 68, 84.)

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 143-147.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-165.

⁹ ISAAC TAYLOR HINTON (1799-1847) was born at Oxford, England, his father being pastor of the Open Communion Baptist Church at Oxford, and conducting a Baptist school as well. For a time Isaac was a printer at Oxford and in London. In 1832 he came to the United States, where in time he served in four important pastorates—Richmond, Chicago, St. Louis, and New Orleans. In Chicago he was pastor of a kind of community church, chiefly Presbyterian and Baptist. Then the financial panic of 1837 obliged him to teach school for a time, until called to St. Louis. In 1843 Union College of Schenectady, New York, conferred upon him the degree of M.A. In 1844 he transferred to New Orleans. While in Chicago he wrote a sizable *History of Baptism, Both From Inspired and Uninspired Writings*.

Daniel and John, Illustrated by the Events of History (1843), was a learned, sound, and comprehensive work. He cited the expositions of the great post-Reformation interpreters like Mede, and Sir Isaac and Thomas Newton, and used the condensed materials of nineteenth-century British writers like Bicheno, Faber, Croly, and Keith, whose essential unity upon the fundamentals of prophecy impressed him, but he had no affiliation with the Millerites. Prophecy, Hinton noted, "has engaged the attention of minds of the highest order of piety and intelligence since the period of the Reformation."¹⁰ (Portrait of Hinton appears on p. 331.)

He follows the plan of direct quotation, with documentation. And there is much discussion of Romanism, for "the writings of Daniel and John are a picture gallery of Romanism."¹¹ Not only is "History the key to Prophecy, but Prophecy is no less a key to the philosophy of history," and Daniel and John are "chronological" prophecies, presenting a "complete chain of events." Yet these are almost entirely in symbol.¹²

1. STANDARD HISTORICAL VIEWS OF DANIEL 2 AND 7.—The structure of prophecy, Hinton held, is built around the four great empires of the prophetic outline—the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman—and finally the fifth empire, Christ's kingdom, or the church, first persecuted and finally triumphant.¹³ Here are details: Daniel 2 and 7 are parallel prophecies, the three ribs in the mouth of the Persian "bear" being Lydia, Babylon, and Egypt. On the four divisions of Alexander's empire—Macedonia, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt—he makes an extended citation from Lardner to sustain his position. And Syria and Egypt are declared to be the kings of the North and South, in Daniel 11—north and south of Judea.¹⁴ Hinton emphatically denies the Antiochus Epiphanes theory of Porphyry, declaring:

¹⁰ Isaac Taylor Hinton, *The Prophecies of Daniel and John, Illustrated by the Events of History*, p. v.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 34, 46, 173, 343, 345, 359, 360.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-59.

"Nothing can be clearer than that the gold, the silver, the brass, the iron, and the clay, are designed to cover the history of the world in all its successive ages."¹⁵

2. PAPACY SEEN IN MANY SYMBOLS.—The Little Horn of Daniel 7 is not Antiochus but the Papacy, arising out of the divisions of Rome (the ten kingdoms being listed according to Machiavelli, Mede, Lloyd, and Isaac Newton).¹⁶ The first beast of Revelation 13 is the Roman Empire, both pagan and Christian, and the second beast is the Papacy, just as the dragon of Revelation 12 is pagan Rome, and the seven heads are its seven forms of government. The Papacy is also the "willful" king, the Man of Sin, the Antichrist, and Babylon (whose daughters are all national established churches.)¹⁷

3. ENDS 70 WEEKS IN A.D. 33.—It is under Rome that the 70 weeks of years ended—probably extending from Artaxerxes to A.D. 33. But again Hinton dissents, this time from Miller's position that the 70 weeks are the first part of the 2300 years. The two beasts of Revelation 13 are the secular and ecclesiastical aspects of the papal Roman Empire. The woman in scarlet likewise symbolizes the Papacy, upborne by the Western Roman Empire.¹⁸

4. TIES 2300 YEARS TO MOHAMMEDAN POWER.—The Mohammedan power, Hinton holds, appears in both Daniel 8 and Revelation 9, and is also found in Daniel 11. And the "five months" of the Saracenic locusts ($5 \times 30 = 150$) in Revelation 9:5, represent 150 years, and are from 612, "when Mohammed first began to propagate his imposture," to 762.¹⁹ This involves the 2300 year-days, or twenty-three centuries, at the close of which ends the trampling the sanctuary underfoot by Turkish

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27. Elsewhere he adds emphatically, "The reference cannot be to Antiochus Epiphanes."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 227, 232-237. The Little Horn of Daniel 8, however, he applies to the Moslems. (*Ibid.*, pp. 86, 87.) Hinton avers that the preterist Moses Stuart, of Andover, errs in restricting most of Daniel and Revelation to the times of Antiochus and of Nero. He even goes so far as to say that Stuart, who leaves out "a hundred historic facts referred to in the symbols of Daniel and John," has really "earned a Cardinal's hat" because of his ingenious help to Romanism—by eliminating it from prophecy.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 232, 240-284.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 190.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90, 110, 111.

Mohammedanism. As the ram and he-goat are symbols in this chapter, so this long time period introduced "must be regarded as symbolical, and interpreted as years."

Hinton does not, however, agree with the Millerites that these 2300 years end in 1843, or that their close brings the destruction of the world by fire. Cleansing the sanctuary is, to him, not synonymous with gathering out the tares in the day of harvest and the destruction of the wicked by the consuming fires of the last conflagration. It must be the antithesis of its defiling. The Horn (of Daniel 8), the Mohammedan power, has polluted the sanctuary—either the Christians or the Holy Land. At the end of the period—date uncertain, but probably 1820—he believes the dissolution of the Mohammedan power will occur, typified by the drying up of the Euphrates, which has already begun.²⁰

5. REMARKABLE AGREEMENT ON TURKISH POWER.—The Turk's special time of power—the hour, day, month, and year of Revelation 9:15—is "one of the most singular chronological calculations contained in the prophetic writings." This period of either 391 or 396 years terminated, said Hinton, either in 1672, with the victory of the Turks over the Poles, or 1453, with their capture of Constantinople. He refers to the remarkable agreement among expositors on the identity of the Turkish power for the sixth trumpet.²¹ (On this see tabular chart, pp. 1124, 1125.)

6. MILLENNIUM TO BE A GRADUAL PROCESS.—Hinton sees 1793 as the end of the 1260 years (evidently from Justinian's decree), and the beginning of the end of the Papacy. The destruction is to be completed at the end of the 1335 years in 1866, when the authority of Christ as king will be acknowledged in the world. On the millennial reign of Christ, Hinton is not dogmatic, but expects it to be literal and personal, with the saints resurrected at the beginning, and the progressive resur-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-126; cf. p. 186, note.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-152.

rection and judgment of the wicked and the conversion of the world extending throughout the period.²² So Hinton, the Baptist, accords with Presbyterian and Protestant Episcopal expositors on many points, though differing on some.

III. Seventh Day Baptist Expositor Is Postmillennialist

One Seventh Day Baptist clergyman entered the prophetic lists, "Elder"²³ ELIAS A. BURDICK, M.D.,²⁴ of New York State, who read his exposition before a group of Baptist ministers in 1843. This was reported in the *New York Baptist Register*, and was afterward published in pamphlet form, called *An Essay on the Millennium*. (The present discussion is based on the 1852 revised edition.)

I. STONE HAS NOT YET SMITTEN PROPHEPIC IMAGE.—Like many other postmillennialists, Burdick championed the standard view of Daniel 2 and 7—namely, the four beasts, the Chaldean, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires, with the subsequent divisions of Rome, and the papal Little Horn, that is still opposing the "rise and progress of Christ's kingdom." But the saints will take over universal dominion. Christ's present stone kingdom is to overcome and destroy all opposing powers and literally fill the earth. Burdick continues, "It is in vain to say, this prophecy has been fulfilled in any general spread of the gospel—past or present." The stone has not yet become the mountain. And he explains that the image will be destroyed by the stone before it becomes the mountain. Burdick also, looking for the return of the Jews, observes that we are still in the "times of the Gentiles," which are not yet completed.²⁵

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 233, 359-375.

²³ For the use of the term "Elder," see p. 87.

²⁴ ELIAS A. BURDICK (1797-1870) was ordained to the Baptist ministry in 1825, serving at Otego, Boonorth, and Holesville, New York. About 1840 he embraced the Seventh Day Baptist faith, starting a church at Dayville, and was later pastor at Richland and other churches in New York State. Inasmuch as his ministerial work was "without expectation of earthly reward," he practiced medicine (which he had previously studied), residing at Albion in his later years. He was scholarly and resourceful.

²⁵ Elias Burdick, *An Essay on the Millennium*, pp. 8-10.

2. HOLDS TO 365,000-YEAR "MILLENNIUM."—Burdick applies to the millennial period the prophecies and promises of the earth being subdued and restored, "thus preparing many millions for the more glorious kingdom above." With Satan's influence removed, Christianity will prevail.²⁶ He begins a figurative millennium with a figurative resurrection. As to "the rest of the dead," he adds that "while the character and energies of the martyrs will live in the saints, the characters and actions of the wicked will not appear again in the earth till the end of the thousand years, when Satan shall be loosed." Then follow the general resurrection and judgment.²⁷

Burdick inclines to an extended millennium of "365,000 years"—so as to enable the earth to be subdued and cultivated, and thus "bringing forth millions and millions and preparing them for glory." Then Christ's victory will be glorious. Prior to the millennium comparatively "few" will have been saved, whereas on the whole, comparatively "few will be lost." He adds: "That the second personal advent of Christ, is not to be expected till after the Millennium, has already been made to appear."²⁸

3. LIVING IN TIME OF FLYING ANGELS.—Bishop Newton is cited for the seals, the trumpets (embraced in the seventh seal), and the vials (embraced in the seventh trumpet). The three unclean spirits are now preparing for the pouring out of the seventh vial upon mystic Babylon as the first object of God's wrath, followed by the destruction of God's enemies.²⁹ Then he makes this clear statement:

"We also live, no doubt, in the day of that angel of mercy who is flying in the midst of heaven having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, just before the fall of Babylon. This period, probably, commenced with immortal Cary [sic]—the pioneer of eastern missions."³⁰

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26. (On Thomas Newton, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 684-687.)

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

This worldwide spread of the gospel, he adds, will be followed by the cry, "Babylon is fallen," to be heralded by "an angel having great power," whose "mighty voice" will roll out over the earth. And he adds significantly:

"Who knows but what it is the light of this period just beginning to dawn upon the world, by which all Europe is discussing the question of the union of Church and State, . . . the chief corner stone of Babylon's power; which, when removed, will leave the whole fabric to fall."³¹

4. **BABYLON IN HER FINAL ROLE.**—"Babylon" is not expressly defined, but the context seems to indicate papal Rome. The Man of Sin is scattering the power of the holy people, through the sects more or less adopting the "institutions of the man of Sin"—mixing truth and error in different proportions, and each contending with the other. But Babylon's corruptions will be known through her fall. The term "fall" does not mean her final destruction, at the millennium, but her losing her hold on the civil arm; then God's people must come out. This fall Burdick expects at the end of the prophesied 1260 years of papal Rome, which followed the fall of hindering pagan Rome (2 Thessalonians 2), in the time of Constantine. The period would thus end in the Reformation of the sixteenth century; but for Antichrist's culminating rise and completed fall he leans to the years 606 to 1866 as the probable timing.³² So the postmillennial pattern is much the same, although somewhat colored by denominational affiliation.

IV. Local Freewill Baptist Conference Endorses "1843"

In 1842 a group of sixteen clergymen in New Hampshire went on record by formally adopting a series of eight forthright resolutions on the prophecies. They met in the Freewill Baptist Meetinghouse, of Pittsfield, September 21, 1842, in response to a published call printed September 14 in their church paper, the *Morning Star* of Dover. At the stated time this local assembly

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 27-30.

of ministers met in conference to investigate the issues in the current controversy over the prophecies, induced by the published strictures of two well-known clerics—one of whom was Prof. Moses Stuart—directed against the widely held Historical School of interpretation. After three days of careful study these Freewill Baptist ministers made their report, which was formally adopted. This recorded group “opinion of the conference” was so comprehensive and so completely in line with the convictions of many individual expositors of various other faiths which we have been surveying that we here quote them in full. They are compact and pointed:

1. STANDARD VIEW ON DANIEL 2.—“1st. That the four parts of the image seen by Nebuchadnezzar in his dream, and the four beasts seen by Daniel in his vision, represent the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman Kingdoms.”

2. STONE KINGDOM NOT ESTABLISHED IN EARLY CENTURIES.—“2d. That the Kingdom of God is to be set up during the divided state of the Roman Kingdom, *in which state it was not* when Christ commenced his ministry.”

3. LITTLE HORN NOT ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.—“3d. That the term *man of sin* used by Paul, 2 Thess. 2d chap. 3d verse, and the term *little horn*, used by Daniel in the 7th chap. of his prophecy, refer to one and the same thing; and that as that man of sin, *had not been revealed* A.D. 54, when Paul wrote his Epistle to the Thess. and that as *Antiochus Epiphanes, died B.C. 167, 218 years before Paul wrote the above epistle*, the terms, man of sin and little horn *cannot refer* to Antiochus Epiphanes.”

4. 2300 YEARS TERMINATE IN “1843.”—“4th. That the term 2300 days in Dan. 8:14, is used to designate 2300 years in the accomplishment of the events referred to. That the 70 weeks of Dan. 9:24, are the first part of the same, and that the entire vision terminates in the year of our Lord 1843.”

5. SANCTUARY TO BE CLEANSED IS PALESTINE.—“5th. That the sanctuary to be cleansed, Dan. 8:14, means Palestine, or the land of promise.”

6. NO MILLENNIUM BEFORE WORLD’S END.—“6th. That the 7th chap. of Daniel teaches plainly that the little horn there spoken of will make war with the saints and prevail against them until Jesus Christ appears personally at the judgment of the great day; consequently that there can be no millennium prior to that day. And that the parable of the wheat and tares in Matt. 13th chapter, teaches as plainly the sentiment that there can be no millennium prior to the end of this world.”

7. STUDY QUESTION OF ADVENT IN 1843.—“7th. That we recommend to our brethren a candid and prayerful examination of the subject of the second advent of Jesus Christ, A.D. 1843.”

8. PROPER TO PREACH JUDICIOUSLY ON SUBJECT.—“8th. That it is *safe and right* for all Christian ministers who believe that the second advent of Christ will take place A.D. 1843, to preach or lecture upon the subject of the second advent at such times and places as they deem proper, provided nevertheless that such discourses do not interfere with their regular pastoral duties and conformity to the vows under which they are placed to the several denominations with which they stand connected.”³³

Then, having adopted the series, the conference instructed the officers to sign and forward it to the *Morning Star* and *Signs of the Times* for published record. The signatures are of Peter Clark, chairman, and Jesse Meader, secretary, and are dated September 26, 1842. And this, be it remembered, was the voice of a Freewill Baptist group, not that of an individual minister, and therefore having greater weight and significance.

V. President Junkin—University Expounder of Prophecy

Many early American college presidents of different religious persuasions—of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Queen’s, or Rutgers—were prominent interpreters of prophecy.³⁴ President Dwight of Yale was a noted expositor at the dawn of the nineteenth century. And now in the fourth decade we find other college presidents expounding prophecy, this time farther west and south. One was George Junkin, D.D.,³⁵ Presbyterian divine of note, and president of three colleges—in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Virginia.

The occasion for Junkin’s lectures on *The Little Stone and the Great Image* (1844) was the sharp resurgence of Roman Catholicism around 1834 and his belief that until “the purple veil is lifted by the prophetic hand,” its “hideous deformity”

³³ *Morning Star* (Dover, New Hampshire), Oct. 12, 1842, p. 99. (Italics in the original.)

³⁴ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, Part I.

³⁵ GEORGE JUNKIN (1790-1868) was graduated in 1813 from Jefferson College in Pennsylvania. He was soundly converted, pursued the study of theology, and was ordained in 1818. From then on to 1830 he served as pastor, teacher, and editor. He was president of Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, from 1832-1841; of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, from 1841-1844; and of Washington College, Lexington, Virginia, from 1848-1861. Upon the secession of Virginia, however, Junkin left Washington College, and his home and property there, returning North. His life compassed an amazing amount of work. His preaching record alone surpassed that of most pastors. At the same time he built up colleges, participated in church court trials, held a professor’s chair and an editor’s desk, and was author of numerous works. How he found time for all his accomplishments, his associates could not understand. He was exceptionally well informed, a keen logician, and an effective debator. He published six volumes.

cannot be understood and avoided. So he followed the "track of the beast," and "traced the chain of dependent causes" back over the course of prophecy to ancient Babylon. He determined to lay the results before his students at Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania, which he did in 1836. Four years later he presented the same studies to the German Reformed Church of Easton. He gave them a third time, after 1841, in the form of thirty-five consecutive lectures, to the students of Miami University, in Oxford, Ohio.³⁶

1. PROPHETIC HISTORY OF THE WORLD.—President Junkin believed the prophecies of Sacred Scripture constitute a system linked to the eternal throne. Here is his fundamental thesis:

"We have in the Bible an extended system of prophecy, containing a history, written by the infallible Author of revelation, of the four great despotic monarchies—the Babylonish, or Assyrio-Chaldaic, the Medo-Persian, the Graeco-Macedonian, and the Roman. Parallel with this, and connected occasionally, there is another history—that of the Church of God. These prophetic histories are complete and consistent in themselves."³⁷

So he begins with lecture 2, on Daniel 2, with the history of the four great monarchies and of the fifth, and the church of God throughout the history of the four empires. To this he couples lectures on the four beasts of Daniel and on the Persian ram and the victorious Grecian goat of Daniel 8. Into these outlines are merged the 1260 year-days of religious apostasy with which he ends the 2300 years in A.D. 1866, when the church, or the sanctuary, is to be cleansed from papal and Mohammedan apostasy.³⁸

2. PAPAL HORN AND ITS TIME PERIOD.—Lecture 9 identifies the Little Horn of Daniel 7. "Our position is, that the little horn of the fourth beast is the Papal hierarchy, . . . the ecclesiastical, political power, that stupendous, complex despotism, which has trodden under foot the nations for so many

³⁶ George Junkin, *The Little Stone and the Great Image*, pp. vi-viii.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 73.

centuries." And its 1260 days are years, just as the 70 weeks, unto Messiah's cutting off, are 490 common years. The 1260 years were, he thought personally, from Phocas in 606 to 1866. But at the same time he was cognizant of the popularity, among various contemporary British writers, of the years 533 to 1793—from Justinian to the French Revolution.³⁹

3. MOHAMMEDAN HORN, LOCUSTS, AND TIME PERIODS.—Dr. Junkin sees the Mohammedan power in the little horn of the Grecian goat (Daniel 8), with the same period, 606-1866.⁴⁰ For the Christian Era before 606 he turns, in lecture 10, to the Apocalypse. He surveys the early church in its struggle with the dragon of imperial Rome, seated in the seven-hilled city. In lecture 12 he discusses the seven-sealed scroll opened by the hand that was nailed to the cross for our redemption. This scroll "runs down to the end of time, and the judgment day." The seals are confined by Junkin to the early centuries, with the seventh divided into seven parts—the seven trumpets—and the seventh trumpet, including the seven vials, followed by the millennium. The first four trumpets include Alaric and the Goths, Attila and the Huns, and Genseric and the Vandals.⁴¹

The fifth trumpet unfolds the Saracenic conquests—the Mohammedan "locusts" with their "five months" of prophetic time, or 150 years of tormenting from 612 to 762. The sixth trumpet, or second woe, indicates the Ottoman Turks. Their hour-day-month-and-year period, or the 391 years and 15 days of Revelation 9:15, he extends from 1281 (the capture of Cutahi) to their last conquest (of Kameniec) in 1672.⁴²

4. TWO BEASTS ARE TWO PHASES OF ROME.—Junkin identifies the two witnesses as the ministers and people of the true church during the 1260 years of papal oppression.⁴³ The great red dragon is pagan and papal Rome; the woman clothed

³⁹ *Ibid.*, lecture 9.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, lecture 8.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 142-147.

⁴² *Ibid.*, lectures 17, 18.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, lecture 20.

with the sun, the true church; and the child, her converts during the Reformation. The wilderness embraces the American colonies, providing refuge for the Huguenots from France, the Scottish refugees from Holland, the English Independents, and the Scottish and English Presbyterians.⁴⁴ The first beast of Revelation 13 is tied in with the beasts of Daniel, rising from the "ocean of human population." The ten-horned beast is the Roman civil power. The seven heads are its forms of government, and the ten horns the "civil kingdoms of the Western Roman Empire." The two-horned beast is the Roman church with its twofold clergy, which followed the former. *Lateinos* provides the "666."⁴⁵

The three angelic messengers of Revelation 14 he identifies as (1) the Waldenses, (2) the Protestant Reformation declaring the fall of Babylon, (3) the bearers of future but imminent warnings against the divine right of kings, state religion, and the papal image of the secular beast.⁴⁶

5. WOMAN IN SCARLET CLEARLY IDENTIFIED.—The first four vials he connects with widespread infidelity, the French Revolution, and Napoleon; the fifth with the end of the "Roman" Empire in Europe, and the deadly wound of 1814. The sixth is the current drying up of the Turks to prepare for the restoration of Israel. The unclean spirits are believed to be the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Jesuits. The great judgment scene, depicted in Daniel 7:9-15, is matched with the events of Revelation 17. There the woman is clad in scarlet, the favorite color of papal Rome. She governs the animal that upbears her, and her name is Mystery. The proposition that this "mother of harlots" is the Roman Catholic Church is "so perfectly demonstrated" that the denial of it can be regarded in no other light but that of the "most abandoned effrontery."⁴⁷

6. MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS DISCUSSED.—With the 1260-year

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, lecture 23.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, lectures 24, 25.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, lecture 26.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, lectures 27-29.

period of the Papacy and Islam, Dr. Junkin ties in Daniel 11 and 12, and the increased knowledge to shine on prophecy in the latter times. Notice is also taken of the Literal School placement of "Israel's depression" as advocated by Bickersteth⁴⁸—the "seven times," or 2520 years, calculated as from the captivity of Manasseh (677 B.C.) to 1843. The king of the North, Junkin says, is the papal Antichrist, in alliance with the nations of Europe, including Russia (Rosh, etc.). The king of the South is an Anglo-American Protestant confederation.⁴⁹

7. MILLENNIUM AND SATAN'S BINDING SPIRITUALIZED.—The weakest of all of Junkin's exposition is his mystical treatment of the millennium. He contends that the second advent is personal and literal, postmillennial, at the end of the world, to destroy the tares and cast them into the furnace.⁵⁰ The angel that binds the devil is the body of spiritual ministers, Jew and Gentile, whom God will raise up, who by world evangelism will seize Satan, as it were, bind him in chains, and thrust him into the abyss of his own restricted place for the thousand years.⁵¹

8. RESURRECTION SPIRITUALIZED; WORLD RESCUED FROM SATAN.—Harmonizing with this, the first resurrection is declared spiritual—"a revival of religion which brings back, as it were, the spirit of the long-since-beheaded martyrs." It will be "like life from the dead." The rest of the dead "revived not." So the ministry rescues the world from the domination of Satan. They are to bind the devil—"to chain the spirit, to curb the licentious passions, to bring the self-will of man under the power of law." Satan is thus localized and prevented from roaming abroad.⁵² Such was Junkin's concept of the millennium.

⁴⁸ On Bickersteth, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 647-652.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, lecture 32.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, lecture 33.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 303-308.

Scholarly Treatises Stress Expectancy of Times

I. Ramsey of Philadelphia—Ardent Presbyterian Premillennialist

Still another advocate of the imminent second advent of Christ was Dr. WILLIAM RAMSEY,¹ pastor of the Cedar Street Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, and former missionary to India. Like scores of other earnest ministers at that time, he delivered a series of forceful addresses on "unfulfilled prophecy" that aroused city-wide interest. Out of this came a book entitled *The Second Coming of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in Power and Great Glory Before the Millennium* (1841), an autographed copy of which he sent to the "Rev. Wm. Miller:—With the kind and Christian regards of his Brother in Christ. [Signed] William Ramsey, Philad'a, Feb. 4th, 1843."²

But Ramsey, it should be added, was in no way associated with William Miller and his group. In a sermon (March 10, 1844) on the millennium, he expressed his emphatic disagreement from their views "as to the time, . . . also as to the Jews

¹ WILLIAM RAMSEY, D.D. (1803-1858), was born in Pennsylvania, graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1821, and Princeton Theological Seminary in 1826. He was ordained by the Huntingdon presbytery in 1827, and soon entered mission service in India, under the A.B.C.F.M., from 1830-1835, where he lost his wife and only son. Returning to this country, he was pastor of the Cedar Street (Philadelphia) Presbyterian Church until his death, during which time some eight hundred were converted and added to the church. He received his D.D. degree from the University of Delaware in 1854. Vigorous of mind and independent of thought, and with good judgment, he was conspicuously a lover of truth. He was remarkably well versed in ancient and modern languages. Ramsey was a deep Bible student, often studying until two or three in the morning, and often spending hours on his knees—the secret of his power. Men's multiplied opinions weighed little with him in comparison with a single clear text of Scripture. The prophecies especially were his comfort and stay.

² Albert C. Johnson, *Advent Christian History*, p. 116.

and the order of events."³ Ramsey also wrote *Thessalonica, or the Model Church*. In his forthright treatise on *Spiritualism a Satanic Delusion, and a Sign of the Times* (several editions, 1856 and on), he described spirit manifestations as the trickery of Satan's emissaries, and prophesied departing from the faith and giving heed to seducing spirits as a prelude to the millennial period.

1. APOSTOLIC AND MODERN MISCONCEPTIONS.—Deploring the failure of the church at large to study the unfulfilled prophecies, Ramsey declared in his lectures that prophecy has in all the ages been "the grand instrument in the hand of God of cheering the Church in the midst of her darkest hours, and in her deepest distress." Beginning with Adam and Noah, Ramsey continued on through patriarch, prophet, and apostle. It was prophecy that started off the infant church on her mission, and sustained her in the heroic early centuries, as well as later in the Reformation Era. So, in the summer of 1840, Ramsey's series of lectures to his deeply interested parishioners stressed the premillennial return of Christ in power and glory—though "well aware that the sentiments expressed in the discourse do not agree with the popular opinion." Nevertheless, he held that the cry was going forth, "Behold! the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him." But, he added, while the wise and foolish both slumbered and slept, the Lord would come.⁴

The Jewish church mistakenly looked for the Messiah to come in glory and majesty instead of in humility. Yet the prophets had foretold the Messiah's trial and rejection, His bruising and death, and His brief sojourn in the grave. So today many Christians reject or spiritualize the predictions of Christ's second coming in transcendent power, glory, and majesty—to destroy Antichrist, to bind Satan, and to reign with

³ William Ramsey, *The Millennium and the New Jerusalem Contrasted*, p. 7.

⁴ William Ramsey, *The Second Coming of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in Power and Great Glory Before the Millennium* (1841), Preface, pp. 5-7. (This was published by Orrin Rogers, who reprinted the British Advent writings.)

His saints. Ramsey then outlines seven vital points: (1) Christ will return again; (2) He will return visibly and bodily; (3) His advent will be sudden and unexpected to both church and world; (4) it will be in great glory; (5) this was the hope and expectation of the early apostolic church; (6) the day and hour cannot be known by us; and (7) His return will take place *before* the millennium.⁵

2. SIGNS OF TIMES INDICATE ADVENT NEAR.—Ramsey then presents an array of proof texts and prophetic promises for each point—such as Acts 1:9-11; Hebrews 9:28; 1 Corinthians 11:26; John 14:1-3, 18, 28; Revelation 1:7; 2 Timothy 4:1; et cetera. He discusses the prophecies of Matthew 24, the great image of Daniel 2, symbolizing the kingdoms of the world which will be crushed to powder, and the parallel prophecy of Daniel 7, with the fourth beast consumed by the burning flame. But the “times of the Gentiles” must first be fulfilled, the gospel carried to all nations, and the time of great tribulation come. The signs of the times will declare it. The days of Noah are to be repeated, Christ’s coming is therefore compared to an overwhelming deluge of fire (2 Peter 3:9), in the midst of the world’s busy activities and prideful plans. He will appear suddenly, unexpectedly, and alas! disastrously to those who are unprepared.⁶

3. ANTICHRIST MUST FIRST BE DESTROYED.—Many mistakenly look for a spiritual coming, irrespective of its direct conflict with Bible prophecy. The early church, he says, looked for her returning Lord. But soon, pride and worldliness and ambition took possession of her, and a hierarchy and a fatal apostasy developed. The “falling away” took place and the Papacy arose and waxed powerful and persecuting. But it will be destroyed at the second advent, in its civil and ecclesiastical form, by “the spirit of his mouth.”⁷ Antichrist must first be destroyed before the millennium; therefore the second advent

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51.

is premillennial.⁸ By this designated power Ramsey evidently means the Papacy, for it is to be destroyed in like manner as the Man of Sin; and he says expressly:

"It will be evident to all that the '*Man of Sin*,' '*Son of Perdition*,' or '*Wicked*' of Paul, is the same as the '*Beast*' of Daniel, and the '*Babylon*' and '*Scarlet-coloured*' woman of John, which go by the general name of *antichrist*."⁹

In Revelation 14 the symbolic flying angel, with the everlasting gospel to preach to all the world, is followed by another angel declaring, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen." And the destruction of "that Wicked" one, by the brightness of the Lord's return, takes place before the binding of Satan. With most others, Ramsey looked for the restoration and conversion of the Jews. This he places before the millennium, in connection with the second advent. His fourth evidence is the prophetic parables of the advent—those of the pounds, the ten virgins, and the talents, and the fifth is the expectation of the early church.¹⁰

Paul tells of the great apostasy that will come before the second advent, and the final acts of the Mystery of Iniquity. The early church was mistaken in the time and the order of events. Hence the faith of the early church was overthrown. Of contemporary times he adds:

"The signs of the times will tell us that the time is near, very near; but, that day and hour is known to none of the human family. God has told us that certain things will take place before the great day of the Lord shall come,—from these we may learn that the day is nigh at hand."¹¹

Ramsey's sermon of March 10, 1844, was of similar intent and importance. He distinguished the eternal, new-earth state from the intervening thousand years—the fifth dispensation—during which he expected the Jewish Temple to be restored

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 78, 83.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85, note; cf. p. 84.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-86 ff., 105 ff., 117 ff. Ramsey's acquaintance with previous and contemporary writers on prophecy is abundantly attested—as he cites Justin Martyr, Lactantius, the Bishop of Lincoln (Robert Grosseteste), Mede, Goodwin, and Sir Isaac Newton. And of nineteenth-century British expositors he refers to M'Neile, Cuninghame, "Ben Ezra" (Lacunza), and Brooks. Ramsey says of the *Literalist* American reprints: "A valuable collection of Essays, or [on] the subject of Christ's Advent, and kindred subjects, and which is worthy the careful and prayerful perusal of every Christian, and especially of Christian ministers." (*Ibid.*, p. 127. note.)

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

and Israel and Judah to have priority among a still mortal race, under the reign of Christ and the resurrected saints and martyrs. While he decried attempts to set the time of the Lord's return, he nevertheless held that soon the "times of the Gentiles" would expire, the kingdoms of the world would be overturned and become the kingdoms of our Lord, Satan would be bound, and the world be filled with the glory of God. Ramsey consistently held that Christ will return *personally*, at the *first* resurrection, a thousand years before the second.¹²

II. Episcopalian Shimeall—Advent in 1847; Consummation in 1868

Another vigorous premillennialist was RICHARD CUNINGHAM SHIMEALL,¹³ rector of St. Jude's Episcopal Free Church of New York City. He was remarkably well read, as concerns past prophetic expositors, not only of early church and Reformation days but of post-Reformation times—men like Brightman, Burnet, Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, Tillinghast, and Fleming, as the generous documentation of his book attests. In fact, he had unusual acquaintance with the whole history of prophetic interpretation down to the more recent writings of Faber, Bicheno, and Prideaux. Nor was he connected with William Miller and his associates, but was intimately acquainted with early nineteenth-century British Advent Awakening expositors like Cuninghame, Habershon, Brooks, Bickersteth, Frere, Irving, Hooper, Pym, Keith, Noel, Thorp, and M'Neile, whom he cites.¹⁴

I. EXPECTS SECOND ADVENT IN A.D. 1847.—One can see

¹² William Ramsey, *The Millennium and the New Jerusalem Contrasted*, pp. 3-7, 16-18. (Cf. his *Second Coming*, pp. 61-63, 86 ff., 115, 116, 128-137.)

¹³ RICHARD C. SHIMEALL (1803-1874) was born in New York, graduated from Columbia in 1821, then the Protestant Episcopal General Theological Seminary in 1824, and was ordained in 1824. He was founder and first pastor (1842-49) of St. Jude's Episcopal Free Church, on Sixth Avenue, near Fourth St., New York City. While their church home was being built, the congregation met in the large chapel of the New York University. In 1853, after Shimeall's day, the church merged with that of St. John the Evangelist. Following ten years with the Protestant Episcopal Church, Shimeall united for a time with the Dutch Reformed body, and finally the Presbyterians. A profound Biblical scholar, he was thoroughly versed in Greek and in Oriental languages. He adopted the views of the English millennialists, and was author of a dozen works—from 1842 onward.

¹⁴ On the interpreters cited by Shimeall, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vols. II and III.

the source from which Shimeall derived, or at least confirmed, his position on the 1260, 1290, 1335, and 2300 days; he seems to follow William Pym, British expounder, especially. But the first four British expositors named, dated the 2300 years from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1843 (or 1844), while the second four terminated them in 1847—placing the 70th week with the crucifixion in the *midst*, in A.D. 33—and all of them began the 1260 days in 533, and ended the 1335 in 1867 (or 1868). Along with several of these British expositors, Shimeall considered the 1847 ending of the 2300 years to mark the second advent, but looked to 1868 as the beginning of the millennium,¹⁵ thus differing sharply from the Millerites, whom he opposed vigorously.

2. BEGINS 1260, 1290, AND 1335 TOGETHER IN A.D. 533.—In common with hundreds of other investigators, Shimeall was tremendously interested in the “times and seasons,” and profoundly believed that time was waxing late. In his *Age of the World* he first deals with the foibles of atheist, infidel, and antiquarian, and the various specious philosophies of life and creation, revealing his remarkably extensive reading. Going beyond Faber’s theory that the six days of creation were six long periods of time followed by the seventh—the present age—he reduces all these periods to exactly six thousand years each, 36,000 years, with the seventh the supposed period of God’s “rest” from the creation of Adam and Eve to the millennium.¹⁶

Coming to Lecture 1 on the age of the world, he discusses the question of profane and sacred chronology, or divisions of time, the “golden chain of measurement” of the present age. He deals with Julian and Gregorian time, the Jewish year, the “ante-diluvian solar year,” et cetera, the Hebrew versus the Septuagint chronology, et cetera. After tracing a Biblical chronology to the Babylonian captivity, he turns to prophetic time numbers.

¹⁵ Richard C. Shimeall, *Age of the World* (1842), pp. 241, 242, 222, 223; see also his *Prophecy, Now in Course of Fulfilment* (1844), pp. 40-46. For Pym, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 570-577.

¹⁶ Shimeall, *Age of the World*, “Introductory Essay,” secs. 3, 4 (see Faber’s *Treatise on the . . . Dispensations* for his theory).

As remarked, in common with many nineteenth-century British and not a few American interpreters, Shimeall takes 533 as the joint beginning year for the 1260-, 1290-, and 1335-year periods, and therefore ends the 1260 in 1793 and the 1335 in 1868. He looks to 1847, the end of the 2300 days, as a year of crisis, and the beginning of important events. But his eyes were fixed upon 1868 as the time of the great consummation. The year-day principle is axiomatic in all of his prophetic calculations.¹⁷

3. PAPAL LITTLE HORN CLEARLY IDENTIFIED.—The four beasts of Daniel 7 clearly symbolize Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome, with the Little Horn as the Papacy, which was to try God's people severely. The coming stone of Christ's kingdom is to break in pieces all nations. The ram and he-goat, and the little but expanding horn in Daniel 8, are Persia, Grecia, and Mohammedanism. And the 2300 year-days, and the 70 weeks of years of Daniel 9 have, he holds, a "common commencement"—the 490 years being cut off from the 2300 as a "season of mercy to the Jews," and lead to the cutting off of the Messiah for the redemption of man. The longer period, he believes, extends from 453 B.C. to A.D. 1847—the cleansing of the sanctuary and the restoration and re-establishment of the Jews in Palestine. The papal Little Horn of Daniel 7 (which is the same as the ten-horned Beast of the Apocalypse) and the Mohammedan Little Horn of Daniel 8 both last $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, and "666" is applied alike to *Lateinos*, *Romiith*, and *Vicarius Filii Dei*, identifying the Latin church, and to the name *Maometis*.¹⁸

4. BELIEVES MILLENNIUM FOLLOWS A.D. 1868.—On the dating of the 1260 years, Shimeall frankly accepts the 533 dating of the papal Antichrist set forth by Cuninghame, Frere, Irving, Habershon, Keith, and Bickersteth.¹⁹ Thus he terminates the longer 1335 years in 1868, as the time of the beginning of

¹⁷ Shimeall, *Age of the World*, pp. 221-239.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 230-233; see also *Prophecy, Now in Course of Fulfilment*, pp. 35-40.

¹⁹ Shimeall, *Age of the World*, pp. 256, 269-271.

the blessed millennium. This, he believes, will involve the complete overthrow of popery, Mohammedanism, infidelity, and every other opposing force. So ends Lecture 1.

5. TURKISH 391-YEARS FROM 1453 TO 1844.—The lateness of earth's "times" is discerned by certain "signs," or harbingers—apostasy, decay of piety, prevalence of iniquity, last-day scoffers, the universal spread of the gospel, the rejection of the wisdom of inspired Revelation, peace talk coupled with war rumors, and famines, pestilences, and earthquakes, as well as special signs in the heavens, the approaching drying up of the Turk under the sixth vial (the first vial beginning, he thought, in 1792). The 391 years of the sixth trumpet he places from 1453 to 1844. This is a prelude to the final destruction of the Papacy, one of the last events. But these are all signs of the last times. So the 2300 years, according to Shimeall, lead to the appearance of Christ for the restoration of the Jews, beginning in 1847, followed by the millennial kingdom coming in 1868.²⁰

6. STRESSES PREMILLENNIAL SECOND ADVENT.—In the printed outline of his projected *General Scope of Prophecy*, Shimeall takes up the cudgels with Professors Moses Stuart and George Bush, as well as Hopkins and Jarvis. He includes a systematic survey of the various schools of prophetic interpretation, the meaning of prophetic symbolism, together with a brief history of millennial expectations—from Cerinthus and on to the A.D. 1000 expectation (based on the Augustinian theory), then to the Protestant fifth monarchy men in Cromwell's time, the Anabaptists, the French prophets, Shakers, Mormons, and the then-popular postmillennialism springing from Whitby and others, as well as Millerism. In contrast, Shimeall, citing the testimony of the early Christian Fathers, stresses the second, personal, literal, premillennial advent of Christ, involving the destruction of all Antichristian nations,

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-364.

the conversion of the Jews, the literal resurrection of the righteous dead, and the "rapture" of the saints; the millennial kingdom, and the great "day" of judgment, Satan's brief loosing at the millennium's close, and the re-creation of the new heaven and earth state—heaven.²¹

Shimeall took up the cudgels against the Millerites in a sermon with a self-explanatory title: *Prophecy, Now in Course of Fulfilment, As Connected With the 2,300 Days of Daniel VIII.14: A Sermon, in Two Parts, on Daniel XI.14, Last Clause; Showing the Predicted Rise, Career, and Subversion of Millerism: to Take Effect Between the Spring and Fall Equinoxes of 1844*. The text which he applies to the Millerites concerns "the robbers of thy people," who shall fail "to establish the vision."

Shimeall here exemplifies the difference between the Literalists and the Millerites. He expected the literal, personal return of Jesus in 1847 as confidently as Miller did in 1843. But he expected Christ to set up an earthly kingdom with the Jews restored and converted. He indignantly accuses the Millerites of being "the robbers of thy people" in "*wresting from God's people* [meaning the Jews] *THEIR COVENANTED RELATIONS TO HIM!*" He did not find fault with them because they denied the perfectibility of the world, nor because they set a specific year for the advent, but because they declared that the true Israel was not the Jewish nation but the church.

III. McGregor of Maine—Ends "the Time" About 1843-1847

On a mossy old gravestone at Falmouth Corner (near Portland), Maine, the following inscription appears: "REV. DAVID MCGREGOR—Born in Londonderry, N.H. March 21-1771—Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Bedford, N.H. 24 yrs.—Departed this life Oct. 19, 1845 aged 74."²²

²¹ Shimeall, *Prospectus for Systema Theologiae Propheticae; or, The General Scope of Prophecy Unveiled*, pp. 1-11 (bound with his *Prophecy, Now in Course of Fulfilment*). This contains a comprehensive list of 32 lectures. The work was to be based on lectures given in the Broadway Apollo Hall, early in 1841, and in his weekly church services in the chapel of the New York University.

²² DAVID MCGREGOR, coming from a line of Presbyterian preachers, was the grand nephew of the better known David McGregor, the first Presbyterian minister at Londonderry a century earlier. McGregor received his M.A. from Dartmouth College in 1799, taught in Cambridge,

A man of excellent training, fine personality, and wholesome life, this Presbyterian minister and teacher belonged to that illustrious list of men of leadership in the various communities and churches who were students and expounders of prophecy. Although his personal writings have not been found, yet in several contemporary publications he is recorded as sharing the position of scores of others at this time, that "the time" would end around 1843, 1844, or 1847.²³ It was undeniably a world-encircling conviction, almost invariably springing from thoughtful and often highly trained minds.

IV. Rector College President Also Looks to 1843-1847

Then there was CHARLES WHEELER,²⁴ Baptist educator and classmate of Adoniram Judson. He was a good scholar, a capable teacher and administrator, and an inspiring preacher. A premillenarian, according to contemporary journals, he wrote a treatise in 1823 maintaining the position that the 2300 years to the cleansing of the sanctuary would expire around 1843, or 1844. His printed work has not thus far been located. But since practically all similar citations have been found as set forth, there is little reason to doubt the accuracy of this statement. Thus another educator is added to the supporters of this widespread view.

V. Ohio College President Maintains Premillennial Positions

Out in southeastern Ohio, Prof. J. P. WEETHEE,²⁵ president

Massachusetts, was ordained in 1804, and next served as minister of the Presbyterian Church at Bedford, New Hampshire (1804-1825). After ill health ended his ministry at Bedford, McGregor "removed" to Falmouth, Maine. There in 1833 he erected the Oak Grove Academy. He was a friend of youth, encouraging them to obtain an education, and helping many to that end. He was one of the first missionaries sent out by the New Hampshire Domestic Missionary Society.

²³ See *Signs of the Times*, Sept. 1, 1840, p. 85.

²⁴ CHARLES WHEELER (1784-1851) was born in Massachusetts. Converted at sixteen, and uniting with the Congregational Church, he was graduated from Bowdoin with a B.A., and received his M.A. from Brown University in 1810. Through the study of Greek he became convinced that sprinkling was not valid baptism, and so was buried in baptism. A revival led him into the ministry. Ordained in 1811, he taught successfully in Maine, Massachusetts, and at Washington, Pennsylvania, from 1814-1839. At the request of the Virginia Education Society he became president of Rector College at Pruntytown, now West Virginia, where he served from 1839-1851. He was declared to be a good administrator, and during the ten years of his presidency the institution grew in usefulness and influence. Dr. Wheeler was loved by his students. Following his death the college declined rapidly, and by the time of the Civil War had ended its career.

²⁵ J. P. WEETHEE received his A.B. from Ohio University in 1832. After two years in

of Beverly College in the little town of Beverly, under Cumberland Presbyterian sponsorship, expressed his belief in the premillennial advent and the literal first resurrection and judgment in a letter to Joshua V. Himes, dated March 17, 1843. He likewise declared that, having long discarded the idea of a spiritual millennium, he had now rejected the popular position on the literal return of the Jews and was active in publicly presenting his convictions on the second coming in neighboring towns over the week ends between his major administrative duties at Beverly. One expression is indicative of his entire position: "The last sands are dropping from the glass of time; the great time-bell is about to toll the hour of midnight."²⁶ In Weetsee's chief work, *The Coming Age* (issued in 1884), he still generally follows the British Literalists, although he avoids future specific dating.

VI. Kentucky College President Expects End in 1843-1847

President JAMES SHANNON, of Bacon College, in Harrodsburg, Kentucky, was still another president of a small college who was an avowed premillennialist, and who looked for the end of the 2300 days (and of the world) in 1843 or 1847. In a published letter he declares, "There will be no Millennium (if the Bible be true) till the Lord comes." Then he continues:

"It is so easy to demonstrate this, and to show the many absurdities involved in its denial, that by beginning to build on this foundation, you can with great facility stop the mouths of gainsayers, and open the eyes of the honest, but deluded, to see that they have been taught by sectarian priests to believe dogmas directly opposite to the uniform teaching of Jesus Christ and of the Apostles and Prophets."²⁷

the study of medicine, he turned to the Presbyterian ministry, being licensed in 1835 and ordained in 1836. For several years he was stated clerk. After serving eight years at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, he was made president of Madison College, and was one of the State's meteorologists. He went back to Ohio in 1842 and was invited to the presidency of Cumberland College, of Princeton, Kentucky. But as Kentucky was then a slave State he did not accept, and in 1842 was elected president of Beverly College, Ohio. About this time he heard and accepted the teaching of the imminent second advent. One of the professors took his stand against him and resolved to put him out of the church. But Weetsee continued preaching it. In the spring of 1844 he moved to Chauncy. Later he was offered the presidency of LaGrange College (M.E. South), as well as of the state academy of Indiana.

²⁶ *Signs of the Times*, April 5, 1843, p. 38; reprinted in *The Second Advent of Christ*, April 19, 1843, p. 2.

²⁷ *The Midnight Cry*, Sept. 21, 1843 p. 37; *Signs of the Times*, Sept. 27, 1843, p. 42.

In answer to an inquiry in the Harrodsburg *Christian Journal*, Shannon explained the 70 weeks and the 2300 years: If Christ was cut off at the end of the 70th week, the 2300 years will end in 1843; if in the midst, the period will extend to 1846 or 1847. Therefore, he implores the reader—

“to act as though it were absolutely certain, that 1843 will close the grand drama of this world’s history. Nothing can possibly be lost by so doing, even admitting that the calculations leading to this conclusion should be erroneous. But, on the contrary, by neglecting to act thus, my very soul shudders at the thought of the wretched doom which my friends and fellow-citizens may bring upon themselves in an hour they think not of.”²⁸

VII. Robinson of Cincinnati—Likewise Awaits End in 1847

Another western expositor who placed the terminus of the 2300 years and the beginning of the millennium around 1843, 1844, or 1847, was JOHN ROBINSON, D.D.,²⁹ pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati, Ohio—the scene of Dr. Joshua Wilson’s somewhat similar exposition in 1829. Possibly there was some connection. In any event, Robinson’s treatise, *The Millennium Just at Hand, Being a Paraphrase of the Vision of Daniel and Apocalypse of St. John the Divine*, was published in 1843. His opening sentence declares that the church had long been “praying for the downfall of Antichrist” at the second advent, when “the pope, the man of sin will be destroyed by the brightness and day of His coming.”³⁰ He next asserts that it is our duty to “notice the times,” or “prophetic evidences,” as to the time of Christ’s second coming. So he launches into a discussion of “the time of the fall of the Pope of Rome, and the commencement of the millennium.”

I. 2300 YEARS TO RESTORATION OF TRUE WORSHIP.—Robinson takes it as axiomatic that, “according to prophetic

²⁸ Quoted in *The Midnight Cry*, April 13, 1842, p. 10.

²⁹ JOHN ROBINSON (1814-1888) was born in Pennsylvania, graduating from Franklin College, Ohio, in 1837, and Westminster Theological Seminary in 1844. After ordination by the Steubenville Presbytery in 1841, he became pastor of the Monroville, Ohio, Presbyterian Church from 1841-1844, and of Ashland from 1844 onward. He wrote vigorously against slavery, and was one of the founders of the University of Wooster. He was an earnest preacher and an able writer on prophecy.

³⁰ John Robinson, *The Millennium Just at hand*, p. 3.

computation, we are to count a day for a year," and that the 1260 days, the 42 months, and the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times of the "reign of popery," are one and the same period—1260 years. He then turns to Daniel 8:14 and the 2300 years, and the cleansing of the sanctuary, upon which remarkable prophecy he urges the "serious attention" of the "honest enquirer." First, he reasons, the "2300 days are 2300 years," leading to the beginning of the millennium, when the "true worship of God will be restored to the church." This is the "first part of the clue." The "other part of the clue" is that the "seventy weeks [or 490 years] are the first part of the 2300 years." This lesser period was fulfilled exclusively on the Jews before the incoming of the Gentiles. These 70 weeks reach to the "atonement of the cross," and the "introduction of the gospel dispensation founded on the atonement actually made."³¹ The anointing of the Most Holy is the sprinkling with His own blood of the Most Holy in "heaven itself," after His own sacrifice for sin and His subsequent ascension.

2. PLACES CRUCIFIXION IN A.D. 33.—After elaborating on the several divisions of the 70 weeks, he comes to the "last week of the seventy," with the "crucifixion in the middle of it." Christ's causing of the sacrifice and the oblation to cease means, he explains, His "nullifying the rites, ceremonies, and typical worship of the Jews"—in the "middle of the week"—"introducing the gospel worship in its room," which, he says, took place on the day of Pentecost. And this all happened "when Jesus was thirty years old," at the time of His baptism, with the sacrifice of Himself in His 34th year, or three and one-half years after His baptism.³² The remaining half of the fateful "week" was confined to preaching to the Jews, who were the first converts to Christianity. So the 70 weeks, or 490 years, "over-run the Christian Era thirty-seven years." And 37 from 490 equals 453, which checks with the birth of Christ. But, Robinson

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 5.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

hastens to add, it is "generally thought that the vulgar aera is four years too late." In such an event, "it will bring on the millennium four years sooner than I calculate."³³ That would be "1843."

3. 70 WEEKS BEGIN THE 2300 YEARS.—Coming to the time relationship between the 70 weeks of years and the 2300 years, Robinson makes three points: (1) The explanation concerning the 70 weeks is obviously given to explain the vision of the 2300 years, until the purging away of popery. Daniel 8, with the Medo-Persian ram, the Grecian goat, and the four horns as the four divisions of Alexander's empire, gives way to the exceeding great Roman Empire horn, which is "carried on through the kingdom of Popery until it is destroyed." It is therefore evident, he observes, that the 2300-year vision extends from Medo-Persia to the downfall of popery. Then he asks pointedly, "Where can we place these 490 years but at the beginning of the vision?" (2) The 490 years, closing three and one-half years after Pentecost, begins with the reign of the Persians, comprehends the Grecian period, and part of the time of the Roman Empire. Then he adds: "But it is plain that 2300 years also, must begin at the same time, extend through all those empires, to the close of the empire of Popery."³⁴

4. TERMINATES LONGER PERIOD IN 1847.—And (3) the vision goes on "to the consummation, and that determined, shall be poured out upon the desolate." So the whole vision is 2300 years, but is not dated. However, the 70 weeks are located exactly, from which the larger calculation can be made. Then comes this table:

	<i>Years</i>
"Daniel's seventy weeks	490
Which overruns the vulgar aera	37
Which take from 490 and there remain	453

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

"The time of the vision	2300
Subtract from it	453
And you have the end	1847" ³⁵

After again making allowance for inaccuracy in the dating of the Christian Era, Robinson says, "We must expect that long looked-for catastrophe, to take place at this very given time, according to the prophecy, four or five years from this date." ³⁶

5. DOWNFALL OF PAPAL ANTICHRIST IMPENDS.—Robinson then turns to supporting evidence from Paul and John. When the Roman "letting" or hindering power (2 Thessalonians 2) was taken out of the way, then the papal Man of Sin appeared in the church rather than the state. That also fixes the time of the rise of Antichrist. And John, in Revelation 13, presents the same Roman power as a beast rising out of the sea of "commotions" of peoples and "revolutions of empires." The seven heads are the seven forms of the Roman government, and the ten horns the ten divisions of Rome.

The two-horned beast from the earth means the "secular power of popery," the two horns signifying the double power of the pope—spiritual and temporal, secured under Pepin. So with temporal authority the pope sits on the seven hills of Rome. This is the same as the Little Horn of Daniel 7, plucking up the three horns of Italy, Ravenna, and Pentapolis, to provide the temporal power for the papacy. And this comes from the old Roman "dragon." But the papal downfall is set as "1847, which is four years after the present date." Robinson then soberly declares, "From this calculation, we are surprised to find that this all-important time, looked for, long prayed for, and long desired, has about overtaken us unawares." ³⁷

Next, he repeats his strong convictions in these words:

"Such is my confidence in the truth of the word of God, and such is my conviction from Daniel's account, that I hesitate not to say, that the

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

downfall of Popery, and the dawn of the church's glory will take place four years after the present date. The church will be surprised with the awful appearance of her Lord, with the display of his fiery indignation against his enemies, and the beatific smiles of his countenance upon his friends, and humble followers."³⁸

And Robinson, be it also noted, was not a Millerite.

6. CLIMAX TO COME IN RAPID STRIDES.—His closing paragraphs tell of the 1290 years, extending 30 years beyond the close of the 1260, and the 1335 years reaching 45 years beyond the 1290 (or 75 years beyond the close of the 1260 years)—to provide for the spread of the gospel over all the earth. After the "fatal stroke" is given, and the "whore of Babylon destroyed," the progress of the gospel will be increasingly rapid. Satan will be chained for the thousand years, and the gospel will go forth "conquering and to conquer." Papists, infidels, and Jews must all yield to its divine energy. Churches built upon error will tumble to ruin, and their errors be purged. Great "battles" will be fought "before the commencement of the millennium," with inconceivable slaughter, and the "gospel extended over all the face of the earth."³⁹

Small wonder, then, that—with so many and such varied prominent religious leaders in all sections of America, Europe, and Asia, and scattered through all denominations, proclaiming the approach of epochal events coming, or at least beginning to come around 1843, 1844, or 1847—there should be wide concern and expectation on the part of the people. And little wonder that, coming from men of training and leadership, it should be echoed by many others, and should receive most serious and respectful attention. Such is the closing touch to this impressive and highly significant picture of the expectancy of the times.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

The Status of Prophetic Interpretation

I. Three Epochs Predominant in Prophetic Emphasis

The dawn of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of the third distinctive epoch of prophetic interpretation in the Christian Era. The *first* epoch spanned the first three centuries. But this was submerged under a twofold assault—first a frontal attack upon the integrity of the actual books of Daniel and the Apocalypse, then a more successful flanking attack upon the five great determining factors in the exposition of eschatological prophecy: (1) the *literal first resurrection* of the righteous dead at the second advent; (2) the *millennium*, introduced by the second advent; (3) the *outline prophecies*, reaching their climax at the second advent; (4) the *Antichrist*, emerging from the breakup of the Roman Empire, dominant during a special allotted period, and finally destroyed at the second advent; and (5) the *kingdom of God*, established by divine interposition through the second advent.¹

But there was an eclipse of sound prophetic interpretation through the injection of extra-Biblical and non-Christian elements during the “falling away” in the church. And these five principles were distorted into a *spiritual* first resurrection, a *mysticized* view of the prophecies, with an *individual Jewish* Antichrist as a future tyrant, a *carnalized* kingdom of God in

¹ These are presented in detail in Vol. I, and their vicissitudes through the centuries are recorded in Vols. II and III, as well as here in Vol. IV.

the form of a powerful Catholic Church, and a *present* millennium, with Satan already bound.

In reviewing the background of the issues of the 1840's in America, it is essential to sketch the development of several views on the details of the millennial kingdom. This has heretofore been given little space in these volumes, because most of these interpretations are based almost entirely on prophecies outside of Revelation 20, which is the only Biblical passage mentioning a reign of a thousand years. The whole fabric of the "kingdom on earth," particularly in its Jewish aspects, is built, not upon the New Testament, but upon Old Testament prophecies that lie outside the purview of the present work, which is concerned principally with the interpretations of Daniel and the Revelation. Yet the millennium must be examined as a principal issue in the interpretation of the 2300 days at a time when its beginning was regarded as imminent.

1. THE PREMILLENNIALISM OF THE EARLY CHURCH.—The early church, strongly premillenarian during the first three centuries, had expected a literal kingdom of Christ introduced by divine interposition after the personal second advent. But in going beyond Revelation 20 to apply to the millennium certain unrelated Old Testament texts, some of the early chiliasts took over Jewish apocalyptic ideas, derived from Jewish nationalistic hopes. It was this misconception of the Messianic prophecies—the idea of a political world dominion centering in Jerusalem—that caused the Jews to reject Jesus at His first advent. They refused to accept His teaching that His kingdom was not of this world. Thus it was forfeited by the unbelieving Jews, but was accepted by the true nation of God, the righteous of all nations, the true children of Abraham.²

The same sort of misunderstanding plagued the early church, which inherited these Jewish notions, along with certain

² See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 120, 121, 137-139 (cf. Matt. 8:11, 12; Luke 13:24-30; Matt. 21:33-45; John 8:39).

non-Christian elements concerning a golden age of material plenty and prosperity. In the time of Origen these crude concepts of extreme chiliasm, derived from Jewish and pagan traditions, were particularly incompatible with a growing allegorism introduced into the church from neopagan philosophy. This caused a revulsion against all belief in a future millennium, and temporarily against the Apocalypse itself. The earlier persecuted Christians aspired to a future earthly rule of the church triumphant; but they applied the Messianic kingdom, not to the Jewish race, but to spiritual Israel, the church. These hopes were replaced first by allegorism, and then, after the elevation of Christianity to imperial honors, by the Augustinian millennium as the present reign of the Catholic Christian church during the Christian Era.³

2. EARLY CHRISTIANS HELD HISTORICAL VIEW.—The ante-Nicene premillennialists of necessity placed most prophecies in the future. They could not yet see the fulfillments in church history "because so little church history had transpired, and they expected the advent immediately."⁴ Therefore, says Kromminga pertinently, the ancient premillennialists should not be called Futurists, *for they saw no long gap before the bulk of prophetic fulfillment*, but rather events "already in the making" in their day. Thus:

"Their futurism did not involve the interpolation of some long church-period between the first advent of Christ and His return; it was simply due to the fact that in their days so little history had as yet come to pass in fulfillment of the Apocalypse. They simply were adherents of a continuous historical approach."⁵

Indeed, knowing that the mystery of iniquity was already working (2 Thess. 2:7), they had their eyes on imperial Rome. This historical approach was but natural, since it was already the accepted mode of interpreting the prophecies of Daniel, initiated by the prophet Daniel himself. The "falling away"

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 301-307, 892, 893.

⁴ D. H. Kromminga, *The Millennium in the Church*, p. 335.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 313, 314.

in the church was not clearly understood until it was clarified by the actual historical developments.

The *nature* of the millennium was a cause of major misunderstanding. But the year-day principle, applied by the Jews before Christ to the 70 weeks, was accepted by the early Christians as having already been fulfilled in history by the death of Christ in the 70th week. This principle was not yet extended to the other prophetic time periods, for they could as yet have no concept of the long period of apostasy. Time was foreshortened to their gaze. Looking for the advent to come soon, they could not envision 1260 year-days before the setting up of the kingdom of glory.⁶ But the hope of the future kingdom died down after persecution ceased and the church became predominant in the empire; then Augustine's spiritualized millennium became entrenched in the thinking of the church.

3. MEDIEVAL HISTORICISM AND POSTMILLENNIALISM.—Centuries later, when ecclesiastical corruption had increased until it became impossible to reconcile the visible church with the kingdom of God on earth, the medieval "pure church" ideal of twelfth-century Joachim of Floris took the form of a new millennialism—a sort of postmillennialism. Joachim's ideal was not a schismatic church,⁷ but a future age for the present church, in which he envisioned the dominance of the Spirit. But after his time the protest against ecclesiastical corruption culminated in the Spiritual Franciscans and various "schismatic" groups.⁷

Joachim completed the restoration of the historical concept of prophecy, and applied the year-day principle to the 1260 days, though for some two centuries it had already been extended by medieval Jewish writers to the longer periods of Daniel. Joachim's followers soon extended this principle of reckoning to the 1290, 1335, and even the 2300 days, in further

⁶ *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 241, 242, 701.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 697, 698, 709, 712, 731 ff.; D. H. Kromminga, *op. cit.*, pp. 131, 164, 300.

study of the outline prophecies. The "continuous-historical" approach, which, as Kromminga remarks, was apparently the usual approach to the Apocalypse all along—except insofar as Augustine's spiritualization adulterated it⁸—then became dominant again.

4. SECOND EPOCH CLIMAXES IN REFORMATION.—From Joachim's day on, the road climbed steadily into the *second* epoch in the predominance of the historical view of prophetic fulfillment, reaching a peak during and after the Protestant Reformation. For this era was, in fact, introduced by the pre-Reformation repudiators of many of the papal perversions, including not only the Waldensians and others outside the Roman church, but even churchmen like Eberhard of Salzburg and John of Wyclif, who saw in both the Little Horn and the Antichrist, symbols of the historical Papacy. The great prophetic outlines, although recognized as reaching their climax at the second advent, were studied with an increasingly clearer and fuller understanding as to their progressive fulfillment through the centuries. By the Protestant Reformation expositors the Antichrist was almost universally recognized to be the great papal apostasy, with its allotted 1260 year-days well advanced, and its day of doom awaiting as the second advent should draw on.

This historical approach to prophetic fulfillment, combined with the pure-church ideal, was characteristic of the pre-Reformation and Reformation identification of Antichrist with the long-developing apostasy in the church. As the Reformers' rallying cry was sounded in the call to come out of Babylon, the pure-church concept was stressed by the "sects." Some of these groups sought to blend the medieval pure-church ideal and the early church-kingdom ideal through political and social revolution, like some of the Continental Anabaptists, and the English Fifth Monarchy Men. However, such extremes were

⁸ D. H. Kromminga. *op. cit.*, p. 161.

few, and the established churches that grew out of the Reformation emphasized the historical view, and avoided extreme millennialism.

5. JESUITS PROJECT PRETERISM AND FUTURISM.—But even while these basic prophetic truths were being re-established, the great Catholic Counter-Reformation launched its shrewd counter systems of interpretation, which struck at the heart of the newly revived Protestant prophetic interpretation, with its historical principles. So, around 1600 two conflicting Jesuit schemes were projected: (1) Preterism, pushing the fulfillment of most of the prophecies back into the early centuries; and (2) Futurism, thrusting fulfillment far into the future—with Antichrist as a malign, atheistic dictator Jew, to be established at Jerusalem for $3\frac{1}{2}$ literal years at the end of the age.⁹ Thus was introduced a great gap between the initial fulfillments in the early church and the events of the time of the end. And with this went the inevitable denial of the year-day principle—all in order to divert the symbols of the Little Horn, Beast, Antichrist, et cetera, away from the Papacy.

Tragically enough, these specious concepts began to infiltrate and confuse not a few who had stood upon the Reformation platform. Alcazar's disruptive pro-Catholic Preterist thesis was adopted into the Protestantism of the rationalist school. About the same time the Protestant Historicists returned to premillennialism. But Futurism remained within the Catholic ranks until much later. It did not permeate the ranks of Protestantism until the third decade of the nineteenth century.

6. WHITBY INTRODUCES HIS POSTMILLENNIALISM.—Then the captivating postmillennial theory, introduced about 1700 by Protestant Daniel Whitby, swept like a tidal wave over Protestantism. It did not penetrate America, however, until its espousal by Jonathan Edwards. Premised on a spiritual first resurrection and a world conversion that introduces the millen-

⁹ Treated in full in Vol. II, chaps. 21, 22.

nium without direct divine intervention, postmillennialism put the second advent at the *close* of the millennial period, anywhere from 1,000 to 365,000 years in the future.¹⁰

II. Nineteenth Century Introduces Third Epoch

1. END OF 1260 YEARS CONTEMPORARILY RECOGNIZED.—Such was the situation when the special 1260-year era of the dominance of the papal Little Horn was recognized and declared by many expositors as ending about the time of the French Revolution, or soon after. It was then that the conviction became widespread that mankind was entering the “time of the end.” And this consciousness helped to bring on the *third* epoch of new emphasis on prophecy, and the obvious “latter days” and approaching second advent of Christ. And this tremendous stir occurred simultaneously in the Old World and the New.¹¹

Up to the close of the eighteenth century Daniel 7 had been the line of advancing study, with progressive, contemporary recognition of its fulfilling features. Its 1260 years were seen by a number of eighteenth-century expositors as a special period in the long life of the Papacy, beginning in the time of Justinian and now ended through the French Revolution (generally considered as 533 or 538 on to 1793 or 1798). Some, however, still looked to later dates, such as 1866, for the close of the 1260 years. The healing of the “wound,” caused by the stroke of the French sword, and the consequent papal resurgence were matters of common discussion. Thus attention on both sides of the Atlantic was now focused on the 1260-year period of Daniel 7 and the paralleling and amplifying portrayals in the Apocalypse.¹²

¹⁰ Covered in Vol. II, pp. 649-657, 805-807.

¹¹ See charts in Vol. III, pp. 270, 271, for Old World interpreters.

¹² Three different but identical prophetic time computations—the 1260 year-days, the 42 months (of 30 days each, or 1260), and the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, or years (of 360 times $3\frac{1}{2}$, or 1260) are seven times used in the prophecies. Two aspects are involved—the career of Daniel’s persecuting Little Horn and John’s blaspheming Beast, paralleling the divine care of the church as the persecuted yet protected “Woman,” the “Holy People,” and “Holy City” (“Jerusalem,”



HERALDS OF SECOND ADVENT ARISE SIMULTANEOUSLY IN OLD WORLD AND NEW

In Great Britain and on the Continent, and in Asia Minor, Africa, and India, as Well as North and South America, Earnest Heralds of the Second Advent Appeared. Among the Lesser Known of the Continent Were Heintzpeter in Holland and Richter and Kelber in Germany

2. RESURGENT PREMILLENNIALISM BRINGS NEW EMPHASIS.
—At the very dawn of the nineteenth century a remarkable revival of prophetic study and interest began simultaneously in Europe and America.¹³ The resurgence of premillennialism was really phenomenal, and clearly marks the opening of the

in contrast with "Babylon"), as well as the simultaneous attack upon the "Two Witnesses" and upon the times and laws of God. Here are the occurrences:

<i>Prophetic Reference</i>	<i>Multiple Characteristics</i>	<i>Time Specification</i>
1. Dan. 7:25	Times, Laws given into <i>Little Horn's</i> hands	3½ times
2. Dan. 12:7	Power of the <i>Holy People</i> scattered	3½ times
3. Rev. 11:2	<i>Holy City</i> trodden underfoot by Gentiles	42 months
4. Rev. 11:3	<i>Two Witnesses</i> prophesy in sackcloth	1260 days
5. Rev. 12:6	<i>Woman</i> fed in prepared wilderness place	1260 days
6. Rev. 12:14	<i>Woman</i> flees from serpent to wilderness place	3½ times
7. Rev. 13:5	Power given to <i>Beast</i> to speak blasphemies	42 months

¹³ The Old World side has been presented in Part II of Vol. II of *Prophetic Faith*. And here in Parts I and II of Vol. IV we are watching the paralleling exposition in this country.

third great epoch in the development and pre-eminence of Bible prophecy.

Significantly enough, the spotlight of interest and concern now passes from the ending of the 1260-year period in the life of the papal Little Horn, over to the approaching close of the great 2300-year period of Daniel 8:14, with the then widely accepted principle of its synchronous beginning with the 70 weeks of Daniel 9.

And with this prophecy was coupled the flying angel of Revelation 14, with the renewed proclamation of the everlasting gospel and the heralding of the judgment hour. Both of these were centered in the imminent millennium, as both premillennialists and postmillennialists agreed. And the resurgent premillennialists looked to the approaching second advent—which would raise the righteous dead, bind the devil for the millennial period—to bring to a close the great outline prophecies, to destroy both the Papacy and Mohammedanism, and to establish God's kingdom on earth. All five determining factors in sound prophetic interpretation were again ascendant. Both the early church and the Reformation positions had been restored, and were now being carried forward to their consummation. Prophetic interpretation was approaching its highest peak.

III. Analysis of Over-all American Positions on Prophecy

I. INTERNATIONAL PROPHETIC AWAKENING EMBRACES AMERICA.—In the latter part of Volume III, and thus far in Volume IV, we have seen how, simultaneously in the different countries of Christendom—though at first centering chiefly in Great Britain—emphasis on the premillennial second advent arose like a resounding chorus. The ending of the longest time period of prophecy and the impending judgment on God's enemies were emphasized by seventy-five independent writers spread over a dozen different countries on four continents,¹⁴

¹⁴ Europe, North America, Africa, and Asia; and countries—England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, France, Egypt, Asia Minor, United States, Canada, and Mexico.

heralding the approaching cleansing of the sanctuary—whatever that might prove to be. A voluminous literature was produced. And this was apart from the even greater exposition by the Millerites, which extended to Australia and the islands of the sea.

Organizations were formed for the study and proclamation of prophecy. Various premillennialist periodicals were established and widely circulated, and important conferences held to spread the message of the imminent advent. World missionaries, like Joseph Wolff, hastened afar with the urgent message of the Lord's return. Even within the ranks of Catholicism there was a distinct stir, penetrating the New World as well as the Old, as seen in Lacunza and De Rozas. Altogether, a tremendous impetus was distinctly felt. And in the New World, along with American works, were circulated reprints of leading British expositions.

2. POSTMILLENNIALISM ASCENDANT IN NORTH AMERICA.—The American churches were strongly chiliastic. They had inherited the pure-church ideal from the Anabaptists, who passed it on to the Baptists, and also to the Congregationalists. To them it was not a goal for the future, but a program to be realized in the churches as associations of the regenerate. This pattern of church life left its mark on Christianity in America, where the left-wing churches predominated. Regarding themselves as the pure church, these sects set out to realize the social-political hopes of the kingdom of God on earth, transmuted by the end of the eighteenth century to postmillennialism.¹⁵

And these concepts were also strong in the denominations that were right-wing in their Old World origins. It has been pointed out in earlier chapters that the American setting of left-wing predominance, activism, optimism, the frontier philosophy of limitless opportunity for progress, all had a bearing on this conception of millennialism that was to express itself

¹⁵ D. H. Kromminga, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 236-238.

AMERICAN REPRINTS (1800-1845): LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL

No.	Page Name	Date	Place	Denom.	1 JOHN 2:18 Antichrist	4 Metals Feet & Toes	DANIEL 2 Stones	Mountain	4 Beasts	10 Horns	3 Horns	DANIEL 7 Little Horn	3½ Times	Final Scenes
1	119 Henry, Matthew	1710	Eng.	Presby.	-Man of Sin	B-P-G-R	Weakened Emp.	Church Christianity	Progressive	B-P-G-R B-P-G-R	Home of Solomonic Kgs. Rav., Lomb.-R.	Asia-Gr.-Egypt 3 Kings Rav., Lomb.-R.	1260 Yrs., Ending	Chr. Era Last Judg. Descent of AC
2	120 Scott, Thomas	1809	Eng.	Angl.	-Man of Sin	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	Christianity	Future	B-P-G-R B-P-G-R	Var. Lists Div. Listed	Rav., Lomb.-R. Rav., Lomb.-R.	8th Cent.-2000 (1798-1795-2015)	Fut. Kgdms. Judg. on Pap.
3	— Newton, Thos. (Bp.)	1813	Eng.	Angl.	-Man of Sin	B-P-G-R	Barb. Kgdms.	Early Ch.	Future	B-P-G-R B-P-G-R	Var. Lists Div. Listed	Rav., Lomb.-R. Rav., Lomb.-R.	8th Cent.-2000 (1798-1795-2015)	Fut. Kgdms. Judg. on Pap.
4	122 Clarke, Adam (D.D.)	1833	Eng.	Wesleyan	Oppos. to Chr.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	Christianity	Future	B-P-G-R B-P-G-R	Var. Lists Div. Listed	Rav., Lomb.-R. Rav., Lomb.-R.	8th Cent.-2000 (1798-1795-2015)	Fut. Kgdms. Judg. on Pap.
5	124 Columbian Fam. Bible	1822	U.S.	Eng.	Meth.	—	B-P-G-R	Rome's Divs. Chr. Ch.	Chr. Ch.	B-P-G-R B-P-G-R	Var. Lists Var. Lists	Rav., Lomb.-R. Rav., Lomb.-R.	8th Cent.-2000 (1798-1795-2015)	Fut. Kgdms. Judg. on Pap.
6	128 Horne, Thos. H. (Vol. 4)	—	U.S.	Eng.	Meth.	—	B-P-G-R	Rome's Divs. Chr. Ch.	Chr. Ch.	B-P-G-R B-P-G-R	Var. Lists Var. Lists	Rav., Lomb.-R. Rav., Lomb.-R.	8th Cent.-2000 (1798-1795-2015)	Fut. Kgdms. Judg. on Pap.
7	125 Jenk's Compr. Comm.	1834	U.S.	Cong. (Bp.)	Unit.	B-P-G-R	Weakened Emp.	Church Christianity	Future	B-P-G-R B-P-G-R	Home of Solomonic Kgs. 10 Divisions	Asia-Gr.-Egypt 3 Kings Rav., Lomb.-R.	1260 Yrs., Ending	Chr. Era Last Judg. Kgdms. of Chr.
8	117 Priestley, Joseph	1803-04	U.S.	Unit.	Gnostics	B-P-G-R	Barb. Kgdms.	Christianity	Future	B-P-G-R B-P-G-R	Home of Solomonic Kgs. 10 Divisions	Asia-Gr.-Egypt 3 Kings Rav., Lomb.-R.	1260 Yrs., Ending	Chr. Era Last Judg. Kgdms. of Chr.
9	127 Rolin, Chas.	1805	Fr.	Cath. Angl.	False Teachers	B-P-G-R	Barb. Kgdms.	Christianity Christianity	Future	B-P-G-R B-P-G-R	Home of Solomonic Kgs. 10 Divisions	Asia-Gr.-Egypt 3 Kings Rav., Lomb.-R.	1260 Yrs., Ending	Chr. Era Last Judg. Kgdms. of Chr.
10	124 Bible (D'Oyly & Mant)	—	Fr.	Cath.	Future AC	B-P-G-R	—	Cath. Ch.	Cath. Ch.	B-P-G-R B-P-G-R	Home of Solomonic Kgs. 10 Divisions	Asia-Gr.-Egypt 3 Kings Rav., Lomb.-R.	1260 Yrs., Ending	Chr. Era Last Judg. Kgdms. of Chr.
11	123 Bible, Douay	1805	Fr.	Cath.	Future AC	B-P-G-R	—	Cath. Ch.	Cath. Ch.	B-P-G-R B-P-G-R	Home of Solomonic Kgs. 10 Divisions	Asia-Gr.-Egypt 3 Kings Rav., Lomb.-R.	1260 Yrs., Ending	Chr. Era Last Judg. Kgdms. of Chr.
12	124 Cottage Bible	1841	Eng.	—	False Chr.	B-P-G-R	Barb. Kgdms.	Christianity	Future	B-P-G-R B-P-G-R	Home of Solomonic Kgs. 10 Divisions	Asia-Gr.-Egypt 3 Kings Rav., Lomb.-R.	1260 Yrs., Ending	Chr. Era Last Judg. Kgdms. of Chr.
13	124 Brown's Self-Inter. B.	1792	Scot.	Presby.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	Divisions	Church	In Mill.	B-P-G-R B-P-G-R	Home of Solomonic Kgs. 10 Divisions	Asia-Gr.-Egypt 3 Kings Rav., Lomb.-R.	1260 Yrs., Ending	Chr. Era Last Judg. Kgdms. of Chr.

The majority of Protestant Bible commentaries available in North America were neither as advanced nor as accurate as many of the average contemporary expositors. The commentaries commonly leaned toward earlier, less-accurate positions that would not arouse controversy, since they were usually constructed to be sold to all Protestant groups, and were consulted by men of variant faiths and attitudes. For example, while the four kingdoms of Daniel 2 are the standard list, the stone is commonly conceived to be the expanding church, or Christianity, instead of the coming kingdom of glory. (Compare tabular chart in Volume II, pp. 784, 785.) And while the Little Horn is widely recognized as the Papacy (though two or three list Antiochus Epiphanes), none of the commentaries gives the revised dating of the 1260 years, as from Justinian to the French Revolution, held by many both in the Old World and in the New.

In Daniel 8, while the majority regard the 2300 days as years, not one follows the lead set by Petri in 1768, in terminating the 2300 years around 1843-1847, which was developed by scores in the new century on both sides of the Atlantic. However, the varying treatment of the 70 weeks of Daniel 9, in the commentaries, is about the same as that of most other expositors. The same is true of the Turk as the power of the latter part of Daniel 11, and the 1290- and

in the first half of the nineteenth century in efforts to bring in the kingdom of God through a revivalist-pietist church activity, social and political reforms of every shade, and foreign missionary promotion in heathen lands. Utopia seemed just around the corner.

3. DEDUCTIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM PART I.—Analyzing the full interpretation evidence now before us in Part I, and putting it into brief, summarized form, we find the following leading facts are to be deduced:

(1) In the early decades of the nineteenth century, prophecy, as part of the Inspired Scripture, was accepted as an integral part of the Christian faith. Its study and exposition, deemed honorable and orthodox, engaged some of the finest minds to be found in the pulpit, classroom, and editorial sanctum. It was regarded as a highly proper and profitable field of writing, as attested by a flood of books, tractates, printed sermons, and periodical articles left as a witness to their prophetic faith.

(2) Prophetic study not only was widespread but covered

EXPOSITORS OF DANIEL (For Revelation See Next Opening)

DANIEL 8				DANIEL 9				DANIEL 11				DANIEL 12				2 THESS. 2
Ham-Coat	Ex. Cit. Horn	Daily	2300 Days	Closing Event	70 Weeks	One Week	Cross	Scope	Willful Kg.	King of North	1290 Days	1335 Days	1335 Days	1335 Days	Hinderer	Man of Sin
P-G	Antiochus	Jewish Sac.	Days (Antiochus?)	Temp. Service Resumes	(Uncertain; discusses various reckonings)	Repeats	Antiochus	Antiochus	Lit. Days, in Time of Antiochus	1260 + 30, to M.	Preceding Fulfill.	Rom. Emp.	Papacy			
P-G	Pag. & Pap. R.	Jewish Sac.	Yrs.; End Near	End of AC	7th of Art. Long	Christ or Bapt.	Mid. or End	Repeats	Papacy	Turks	Yrs. to World Conversion at Mill.	612-1902	612-1917	Rom. Emp.	Papacy	
P-G	Romans	Jewish, A.D. 70	Yrs. (334 B.C.-1966)	Lit. Restoration	456 B.C.-A.D. 33	Ino. B. & Chr.	End	Repeats	Gr. & Rom. Apos.	Turks	Yrs. to World Conversion at Mill.	612-1902	612-1917	Rom. Emp.	Papacy	
P-G	Rom. Emp.	Jewish, A.D. 70	334 B.C.-A.D. 1966						Papacy	Turks				Rom. Emp.	Papacy	
P-G	Antiochus	Temp. Power R.	Yrs. (A.D. 70)	Rest. Jews & Temple	Ezra to Cross	7th of Art.	Ino. B. & Chr.	End (33)	Repeats	Papacy	Turks	Not Yet Ascertained		Rom. Emp.	Papal Ch.	
P-G	Antiochus	Jewish Sac.	334 B.C.-A.D. 1866	End J. Desolation	458 B.C.-Cross	Ino. B. & Chr.	(A.D. 29)	Repeats	Papacy	Turks	1260 + 30	1290 + 45		Rom. Emp.	Papal Ch.	
P-G	Rom. Emp.	Jewish Sac.	543 B.C.-A.D. 1757	From Vision	157 B.C.-A.D. 33	Ino. B. & Chr.	-A.D. 73	Repeats	Papacy	Turks	1260 Yrs. + 30	1290 Yrs. + 45		Rom. Emp.	Papal Ch.	
P-G	Antiochus	Jewish Sac.	Yrs. from Vision	Vengeance on AC	454 B.C.	Ino. B. & Chr.	End	Repeats	Antiochus	Antiochus	Unknown	Unknown		Rom. Emp.	Papacy	
P-G	R's Temp. Power	Jewish Sac.	Yrs. from Vision	Vengeance on AC	157 B.C.-A.D. 33	Ino. B. & Chr.	End	Repeats	K. Apostasy	Antiochus	Unknown	Unknown		Rom. Emp.	Papacy	
P-G	Antiochus	Jewish	Persecution (Antiochus)		454 B.C.	Eapt. of Chr.	videt (33)									At End
P-G	Antiochus	Jewish	Days (Antiochus?)	Rest. Jerusalem	458 B.C.	Ino. B. & Chr.	End (33)	Repeats	Antiochus	Turks	606-1896	606-1941		Pap. Rem.	Papacy	
P-G	Antiochus, type	Jewish	(356 B.C.-A.D. 1966)	About 9 Yrs.	7th or 20th Art.	Ends Near Cross		Repeats	(Antiochus) (Papacy) (Rom. AC)	Turks	Antichrist + 10 Yrs. to Mill.			Rom. Emp.	Papacy	

1335-year time periods of Daniel 12. All are solidly united, however, in identification of Paul's Man of Sin as the Papacy. One must therefore conclude, in general, that the standard commentaries give no strong lead to the progressive interpretation of Daniel, because they are commonly in the rear rather than out in front in exposition.

The same general observations must apply to the imported commentaries on the Revelation—tending to be conservative, hesitant, and definitely behind a large number of contemporary Old World regular expositors. (Compare tabular chart, Volume II, pp. 786, 787.) Practically all who touch on it limit the seven churches to specific apostolic congregations. The majority follow Mede in making the churches, seals, trumpets, and vials *consecutive*, covering the Christian Era chronologically. However, their exposition of the trumpets compares favorably with others—the first four, the Barbarians; the fifth, the Saracens with their special 150 years; and the sixth, the Turks with their allotted 391 years. Their views are conflicting on the Two Witnesses and the earthquake of Revelation 11, but rather united on France as the “tenth part” of the city.

They are also strongly united on the “woman” of Revelation 12 as the

all denominational groups—Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopalian, Lutheran, Reformed, Methodist, Baptist, Christian, Disciple, and others.

(3) Moreover, despite differences in creed, forms of organization, and conflicting doctrinal emphasis, certain principles and applications of historical interpretation covering the past had come to be commonly accepted as standard and axiomatic.

(4) Taking as unassailably established the great prophetic outlines of the centuries, recognized as largely fulfilled, men turned to contemporary developments in the field of “last things”—those final features pertaining to the latter days, or “time of the end.” Men were on the alert, seeking to identify the current signs of the times and endeavoring to correct any obvious inaccuracies of former positions. And this intensified study and review confirmed the bulk of past fundamental outlines.

(5) That the Papacy was the Antichrist, likewise denomi-
(Turn to p. 398)

AMERICAN REPRINTS (1800-1845): LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL

No	Page	Name	Date	Denom.	REVELATION 2 & 3 7 Churches Specifications		REVELATION 6 & 7 4 Horses 6th Seal		REVELATION 8 and 9 4 Trumpets 5th Trumpet	
1	119	Henry, Matthew	—	Presby.	Literat	Applies to All	Christ; jdgmts—foes	Double (Matt. 24)	Overthrow Rom. Emp.	Pope Become AC
2	120	Scott, Thos.	—	Angl.	Literat	For All Chrs.	Chr. to 270	Judgment	Overthrow W. Rome	Saracens
3	—	Newton, Bp. Thos.	—	Angl.	Literat	For All Chrs.	Vesp. to Dioclet.	Constantine	Overthrow W. Rome	Saracens
4	122	Clarke, Adam	1833	Wesleyan	Literat	For All Chrs.	Chr.—war, pest.	Constantine	Unknown	Saracens
5	124	Columbian Family B.	—	—	Literat	For All Chrs.	Ch. to 270	To Constantine	395-476	Saracens
6	128	Horne, Thos. H. (Vol. 4)	—	Meth.	Literat	For All Chrs.	—	(The progressive church; Kingdom of God within you)		
7	126	Buck, Chas.	1811	Indep.	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	125	Jenks Compr. Comm.	1834	Cong.	Literat	For All Chrs.	Periods in Ch.	To Constantine	Invasion of Rome	Saracens
9	123	Bible, Douay	1805	R. Catholic	Literat	—	Chr. & 3 jdgts.	—	—	Heresy
10	117	Priestley, Joseph	1803-4	Unit.	Literat	—	Trajan to Valerian	Constant's. Rev.	Overthrow of R. Emp.	Saracens
11	124	Cottage Bible	1841	—	Literat	—	Ch., 1st 3 cent.	Fall of Pag.	Overthrow of W. Rome	Saracens
12	124	Bible (D'Oyly & Mant)	1818	Angl.	Literat	—	1st 3 cent.	Fall of Pag.	Overthrow of W. Rome	Saracens
13	124	Self-Interpreting B.	1792	Presby.	Literat	—	Ch., 1st 3 cent.	Fall of Pag.	Const. to Justinian	Pap. & Saracens

No	Page	Name	Woman	Child	REVELATION 12 Dragon 1260 days (3½ times) Remnant	1st Beast	REVELATION 13 7 Heads	Wounding
1	119	Henry, Matthew	Church	Believers	Pagan R.	—	Secular R.	—
2	120	Scott, Thos.	Early Ch.	Constantine	Pap. R. Emps.	Began 606	Chr. R. Emp.	Pagan, Wounded
3	—	Newton, Bp. Thos.	Church	Chr. Emps.	Pap. R. Emps.	Reign of AC	Chr. R. Emp.	Imperial (476)
4	122	Clarke, Adam	True Ch.	Constantine	Pap. R. Emp.	1260 Yrs.	Holy R. Emp.	Imperial (476)
5	124	Columbian Family B.	Church	Constantine	Idolatry	Reign of AC	Papal Emp.	Under Charlemagne
6	128	Horne, Thos. H. (Vol.4)	True Ch.	—	—	—	Papal AC	—
7	126	Buck, Chas.	—	—	—	—	Pagan R.	—
8	125	Jenks Compr. Comm.	Early Ch.	Believers	Pagan R.	533-606	Papal R.	Forms of R.
9	123	Bible, Douay	Ch.; V. Mary	Chr. Believers	—	—	All God's Enemies	B-P-G-R, etc.
10	117	Priestley, Joseph	True Ch.	Saints	R. Empire	1260 Yrs.	Holy R. Emp.	Kgdms. of Eur.
11	124	Cottage Bible	Church	Seed of Ch.	Pagan R.	1260 Yrs.	Holy R. Emp.	Forms of Govt.
12	124	Bible (D'Ooly & Mant)	Church	Constantine	R. Empire	—	Pap. R. Emp.	Forms of Govt.
13	124	Self-Interpreting B.	Church	Converts	R. Empire	Yrs. From 606	Papacy	Power of R.

No	Page	Name	7 Vials	5th Vial	6th Vial	7th Vial	Woman	Babylon	REVELATION 17 Beasts	10 Horns	7th Head
1	119	Henry, Matthew	Fut.—on AC	On Rome	Fall of {Papery Islam}	Destr. of AC	Papacy	Papacy	Rome	10 Kgdms.	Chr. Emps.
2	120	Scott, Thos.	On Papacy	Future	Decline of R.	Destr. of Rome	Ch. of Rome	Ch. of R.	Temp. Powers	Cath. Rulers	—
3	—	Newton, Bp. Thos.	Fut. on R.	On Rome	Rel. Wars	End—Idol	Papal R.	Papal R.	R. Emps.	Cath. Kgdms.	Papal Emp.
4	122	Clarke, Adam	4th on Fr.	On AC	Tiber (?)	Symbolic (?)	Latin Ch.	—	Latin Emp.	States of Europe	Patriciate
5	124	Columbian Family B.	Atheism	On AC	Rom., Babylon	Revolutions	Papal R.	—	Papal Emp.	Eur. Kgdms.	Chr. Emps.
6	128	Horne, Thos. H. (Vol.4)	—	—	—	Revolutions	—	—	—	—	—
7	126	Buck, Chas.	—	—	—	—	—	Papal R.	—	—	—
8	125	Jenks Compr. Comm.	Fut. vs. Pap.	—	Fall of Papery	Fall of AC	Ch. of R.	Papacy	Temp. Rul.	10 Kgdms.	—
9	123	Bible, Douay	—	—	—	—	—	{City of Devil Pagan R.}	Devil's Power	Barbarian Kgdms.	Antichrist
10	117	Priestley, Joseph	Fr. Rev.	Seat Beast	Russia?	Fall of Papery	Papal R.	Papal R.	Chr. Emp.	Kgdms. of Eur.	Ex. of Rav.
11	124	Cottage Bible	Fr. Rev.	Capt. of P.	—	End of Pap.	Papal R.	Papal R.	Chr. Emp.	10 Kgdms.	—
12	124	Bible (D'Ooly & Mant)	Fut. vs. P.	On Rome	End of Islam	End of Pap.	Papacy	Papal Emp.	Cath. Kgdms.	Gothic Kgs.	—
13	124	Self-Interpreting B.	Fut. on P.	On Rome	End of Islam	End of Pap.	Papal R.	Papal R.	Papal Emp.	Cath. Kgdms.	Gothic Kgs.

true church, variant as to the "child," but united again on the dragon as pagan Rome. They are also fairly a unit on the first and second beasts of Revelation 13 as two phases of the Papacy, with "666" as *Lateinos*, but are uncertain on the dating of the 1260 years. They are confused and confusing on the flying angels of Revelation 14, and are hesitant on the timing of the seven vials. But they are

EXPOSITORS OF REVELATION (For Daniel See Preceding Chart)

REVELATION 8 & 9				REVELATION 11				
5 Mos.	6th Trumpet	Hr.-Day-Mo.-Yr.	7th Trumpet	2 Witnesses	1260 Days	3½ Days	Earthquake	10th of City
612-762	Turks	Time Fixed	Reformation	Faithful Ministers	Yrs. of AC	Short Time	Reformation	Prot. States
612-762	Turks	1281-1672	Beg. of Millen.	True Church	Began 606	Yrs., Future	Fut., judgments	One of 10 Kgds.
(612-762) (737-936) 150 yrs.	Turks	1281-1672	Fall of AC; End	Faithful of All Ages	Yrs. of R. Ch.	Yrs., Future	Various Opinions	_____
_____	Arabs, Turks	At All Times	Unknown	Unknown	_____	Unknown	Revolution	_____
606-	Judg. on Gr. Ch.	391 Yrs.	_____	Waldenses, etc.	_____	_____	Fr. Rev. (Bible & Miss. Socy.)	_____
612-762	Mohammed.	[1453]-1844 [1281-1672] [1302-1698]	Reformation	Faithful Ministers	Yrs. of AC	Short Time	Reformation	_____
612-762	Turks	1281-1672	Now Begun	Enoch, Elias Wit. vs. Corrupt.	Same as Dan. 7:25	1686-1790	Fr. Rev.	France
612-762	Turks	1281-1672	Introduces Vials	Wit. vs. R.	606-	Fr. Rev.	Fr. Rev.	France
612-762	Turks	1281-1672	Fall of AC Kgdm.	Wit. vs. R.	Years	Unfulfilled	_____	Of Idol. Ch.
Yrs. to 760	Turks	[1281-1672] [1302-1698]	Fall of AC	Wit. vs. Papacy	(606-1866) (756-2016)	Fut., Yrs.	Ruin of Papacy	_____

REVELATION 13					REVELATION 14		
10 Horns	42 Months	Image	2nd Beast	666	1st Angel	2nd Angel	3rd Angel
_____	Reign of AC	_____	Papal R.	Years?	Gos. Preaching	Threat to Pap.	To Supporters
Cath. Kgds.	1260 Yrs.	Pope	Papal Ch.	Lateinos	Waldenses	Hussites	Reformers
10 Kgds.	Yrs. of AC	Pope	Rom. Clergy	Lateinos	Vs. Images	Waldenses	Luther & Ref.
10 Monarchies	Unknown	Pope	Rom. Clergy	He Latine Basileia	Bible Socy.	Vs. Papal R.	Vs. Papal R.
_____	_____	_____	Rom. Clergy	Lateinos	Bible Socy.	Vs. Papal R.	Vs. Papal R.
_____	_____	_____	Rom. Clergy	_____	_____	_____	_____
10 Kgds.	606-	Pope	Papal R.	Lateinos	{Waldenses} {Gos. Preach.}	Hussites	Reformation
Lesser Persec.	607-	_____	Pag. Persec.	No. of Name	_____	Wicked World	_____
_____	_____	Papal R.	Ecccl. R.	Lateinos	Bible & M. Socy.	_____	Vs. Popery
_____	_____	Pope	Ecccl. R.	Lateinos	Bible & M. Socy.	_____	_____
Rom. State	_____	Pope	R. Hierarchy	{Lateinos} {Romith}	Attempt at Ref.	Vs. Papal R.	Vs. Her Supporters
_____	_____	_____	Pope & Clergy	{Lateinos} {Years}	Witnesses Against Papacy		

REVELATION 18	REVELATION 20							REVELATION 21, 22
Babylon's Fall	1000 Yrs.	Pre- or Post-M.	Specifications	1st Res.	Nature of	Closing Events		New Jerusalem
Fall Pagan R.	Lit. (?) Fig. (?)	Either	_____	Lit. or Fig.	Spiritual	Attack on Jerusalem		Heavenly State
Destr. Papal R.	Literal Yrs.	Post-M.	World Conversion	Figurative	New Converts	Apos.; 2nd Adv.; Judg.		Heavenly State
End of Popery	7th Millenary	_____	Per. Reign of Chr.	Literal	Martyrs	Attack on Ch.; Res.		Capital & New Earth
Rome or Jerusalem	Figurative	Post-M. (?)	Universal Christianity	Figurative	Mart. Testimony	Jdgmt.; 2nd Death		Figurative
Destr. of Apos. Ch.	360,000 Yrs.	_____	Pure Univ. Ch.	Figurative	Mart. Character	Apos.; Jdgmt.		Figurative
_____	_____	_____	(Allegorical Triumph of True Religion)	_____	_____	_____		_____
Papal Rome	Perhaps 7th Thou.	_____	Triumph of Chr.	Figurative	Conv. of Jews	Attack on Sp. Jeru.		Heavenly State
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____
Fall of Rom. Ch.	New Test. Era	(From Fall of Pag. R.)	Satan Bound	Souls of Saints	Martyrs in Heaven	Res. of Body, & Jdgmt.		_____
_____	7th Mill.	_____	Univ. Preval. of Rel.	_____	Saints & Martyrs	Revolt		Millen. & Heaven
Fall of Rom. Ch.	7th Mill.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____
Fall of Papal R.	_____	Post-M.	Glory of Ch. on Earth	_____	Saints & Martyrs	Revolt		Renewed Earth
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		Ch. in New Jeru.
Fall of Papal R.	_____	Post-M.	Glory of Church	Figurative	_____	Attack on Church		Millen. & Heaven

all very clear on the mystery woman, Babylon, as being the papal church. On the thousand years all but two are hazy and postmillennial, suggesting a figurative interpretation and a spiritual resurrection. So again we must conclude that the standard, available commentaries in America were considerably behind many of their vigorous contemporary expositors, both in the Old World and in the New.

DANIEL: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL NON-MILLERITE

No.	Page	Name	Date	Location	Denom.	1 JOHN 2:18 Antichrist	4 Metals Feet & Toes	DANIEL 2 Stone	Mountain	4 Beasts	10 Horns	DANIEL 7 3 Horns	Little Horn	3 1/2 Times
1	59	Ogden, Uzal (DD)	1795	N.J.	N.C.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	---	---	---
2	62	McCorkle, Sam'l E.	1798	N.C.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	---	---	---	---
3	65	Belknap, Jeremy	1798	Mass.	Cong.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	Kgdm. Chr.	---	---	---	---	---
4	71	Livingston, Jno. H.	1799	N.J.	Dutch Ref.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	Divisions	Not yet	Kgdm. Chr.	---	---	---	---
5	72	Bacon, Jno. (Judge)	1799	Mass.	Cong.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	Divisions	---	---	---	---	---	---
6	77	Farnham, Beni	1800	Mass.	Cong.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	Divisions	---	---	---	---	---	---
7	89	Nott, Eliphalet (DD)	1804	N.Y.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	Divisions	---	Kgdm. Chr.	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	Papacy	535-1795
8	90	McFarland, Asa (DD)	1808	Mass.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	---	---	Kgdm. Chr.	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	Papacy	606-1866
9	93	King, John (DD)	1808	Pa.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	---	---	Kgdm. Chr.	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	Papacy	534-1794
10	96	Romeys, John B. (DD)	1808	N.Y.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	Toes Listed	---	---	---	---	---	---
11	100	Morse, Jedediah	1810	Mass.	Cong.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	Kgdm. Chr.	---	---	---	---	---
12	103	Griffin, Edw. D. (DD)	1813	Mass.	Cong.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	---	---	---	---
13	134	CONN. EVANGELICAL MAG.	1803-15	Conn.	Inter-Den.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	---	---	---	---
14	140	CHRISTIAN OBSERVER	1802-18	Mass.	Anglican	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	---	---	---	---
15	144	HERALD of GOSP. LIB.	1808	N.Y.	Chr. Com.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	Kgdm. Chr.	Kgdm. Chr.	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---
16	153	Deight, Timothy (DD)	1812	Conn.	Cong.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	---	---	---	---
17	164	Readsett, Elias (LDD)	1815	Pa.	Cong.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	Kgdm. Chr.	(B-P-G-R)	10 Listed	---	---
18	169	Lathrop, Joseph (DD)	1812	Mass.	Cong.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Listed	---	---
19	173	Emerson, Joseph	---	Mass.	Cong.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	Kgdm. Chr.	(B-P-G-R)	10 Listed	---	---
20	176	Haywood, John	---	Tenn.	Chr. Conn.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	---	---	---	---
21	179	Smith, Elias	1808	N.H.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	Kgdm. Chr.	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
22	186	Miller, William F.	1808	Conn.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---
23	188	Kimme, Aaron	1814	Conn.	Cong.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
24	190	Smith, Ethan	1811	Mass.	Cong.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---
25	194	Armstrong, Amzi (DD)	1815	N.J.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	Kgdm. Chr.	(B-P-G-R)	10 Listed	---	---
26	203	Dow, Lorenzo	---	Conn.	Meth.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	Smiting Image	---	---	---	---	---
27	212	Davis, Wm. G.	1811	S.C.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Listed	---	---
28	223	"Robertson, Th. R."	1825	Ind.	---	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Listed	---	---
29	227	Wilson, Joshua L. (Ph.D)	1828	Ohio	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
30	227	McCorkle, Sam'l T.	1828	N.C.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
31	244	Reid, Robt.	1824	Pa.	Ref. Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---
32	249	Campbell, Alex.	1830	Va.	Discp.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
33	258	MILLENNIAL HARBINGER	1830	Va.	Discp.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---
34	266	WATCHMAN OF THE NIGHT	1831	Pa.	Cong.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
35	269	Verreone, Harriet	1834	N.Y.	Cong. Dutch Ref.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
36	278	PROTESTANT VINDICATOR	1834	N.Y.	Cong. Dutch Ref.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
37	280	Brownlee, Wm. C.	1834	N.Y.	Dutch Ref.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
38	286	Thomas, John (MD)	1834	Va.	Christadel.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---
39	301	De Rozas, Jose M.	1834	Mexico	R. Cath.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	Future	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
40	311	Burwell, Adam H.	1835	Canada	N.Y.	Bapt.	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
41	317	Scott, Robt. (MD)	1834	N.Y.	Bapt.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
42	327	AMERICAN MILLERIAN	1843	N.Y.	Isaac Labagh.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
43	330	Duffield, George (DD)	1847-12	Mich.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Listed	---	---
44	339	Crandall, A. L.	1841	N.Y.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
45	342	Tyng, Stephen H. (STD)	---	Pa.	Epis.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---
46	345	Henshaw, Jno. P.K.	1842	R.I.	P. E. Bishop	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---
47	350	Winthrop, Edward	1843	Ohio	Prot. Epis.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Listed	---	---
48	353	Hinton, Isaac T.	1842	Ill.	Bapt.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---
49	357	Burdick, Elias A. (MD)	1843	N.Y.	S.D. Bapt.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---
50	359	Freewill Bapt. Conf.	1842	N.H.	F. W. Bapt.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	---	---
51	361	Junkin, George (DD)	1836	Pa.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
52	366	Ramsey, Wm. (DD)	1841	Pa.	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	To Crush	Kgdm. Chr.	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
53	370	Shimeall, Rich. C.	1842	N.Y.	Epis.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	Coming	Kgdm. Chr.	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
54	374	McGregor, David	1833	Me.	Presby. Bapt.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
55	375	Wheeler, Chas.	1823	Pa.	Bapt.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
56	376	Shannon, Jas.	1843	Ky.	Christian	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---
57	377	Robinson, John (DD)	1843	Ohio	Presby.	Papacy	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---	(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	---	---

These tabular listings of expositions of the more than fifty leading, non-Millerite American interpreters of Daniel, from 1798-1844, compare very favorably with their Old World contemporaries of the same period in the nineteenth century. (Cf. tabular chart, Volume III, pp. 744, 745.) They are a unit in identifying the Antichrist as the Papacy. The four empires of Daniel 2 and 7 are the standard series, with scarcely a dissenting voice. The majority of those commenting on the kingdom of God have it established through the second advent. By practically unanimous consent the Little Horn of Daniel 7 is the Papacy. And while a majority of the British expositors terminated the 1260 years with the French Revolution, the American interpreters divide their close between the French Revolution and the year 1866, with a half dozen suggesting 1847/8.

While the majority make the exceeding great horn of Daniel 8 to be Rome, a good minority interpret it as Mohammedanism—though not so many as in Britain. Practically all hold the 2300 days to be years, and more than a score (almost as many as in Britain), set 1843, 1844, or 1847 as the end year, but with wide diversity over the event to transpire. A majority extend the 70 weeks from 453 B.C. to A.D. 37, with the cross in 33, in the "midst" of the seventieth week; the rest date them from the seventh of Artaxerxes, in 457 B.C., to the cross in A.D. 33, at the end of the seven-

EXPOSITORS—1798-1844 (For Revelation See Next Opening)

Judgment	Ram-Goat	DANIEL 8 Ex. Crt. Horn	2300 Days	DANIEL 9 70 Weeks	Cross	CH. 11:36 Willful King	CH. 11:44 King of North	DANIEL 12 1290 Days	1335 Days	2 THESSALONIANS 2 Hinderer	Man of Sin
_____	_____	Papacy	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Kgdm. Est.	P-G-R	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Kgdm. Est.	(P-C-R) P-G-R	_____	344 B.C.-A.D. 1966 481 B.C.-A.D. 1819	Wks. of Yrs.	_____	Papal R.	Turk Turk	606-1896 529-1819	606-1941 529-1864	_____	Papacy
Saints Deliv.	P-G-R P-C-R P-G-R	Mohamm.-Papacy Mohamm.	-1867 434 B.C.-A.D. 1867	Yrs. to Cross	_____	Papacy	Papacy	Years	Years	_____	Papacy
Kgdm. Est.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Turkey Turkey	_____	_____	_____	_____
Kgdm. Chr.	P-G-R	Papal R.	-2000	457 B.C.-Cross	_____	_____	Turkey Papal R.	-1922	(606)-1941	_____	Papacy
_____	_____	Rome	457 B.C.-A.D. 1849/44	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Papacy
_____	(P-C-R)	Papal R.	_____	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	34 (Midst)	Rome Atheism	Atheism Atheism	_____	Yrs. to Millen.	_____	Papacy
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	606-1896	606-1941	Pagan R.	Papacy
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	-1874	-1919	_____	Papacy
Judgment	P-C-R (P-C-R)	Mohamm. Mohamm.	481 B.C.-A.D. 1819	_____	_____	France	_____	_____	To Millen.	_____	Papacy
Drowf. Pope	P-C-R P-C-R	Papal R. Papal R.	453 B.C.-A.D. 1847 453 B.C.-A.D. 1847	453 B.C.-A.D. 37 453 B.C.-A.D. 37	Midst Midst	_____	_____	587-1877 587-1877	587-1922 587-1922	_____	Papacy
Purify Ch.	P-C-R	_____	453 B.C.-A.D. 1847 453 B.C.-A.D. 1847 c. 1850	453 B.C.-A.D. 37 453 B.C.-A.D. 37 Artaxerxes- (40)	33 (Midst) 33 Begin.	Napoleon Papacy	Papacy	587-(1877) 1260+30	587-1922 1290+45	Pagan R. Pagan R.	Papacy Papacy
_____	(P-C-R)	_____	453 B.C.-A.D. 1847 453 B.C.-A.D. 1847	453 B.C.-A.D. 37 Artax.-Cross	33 Midst	Papacy	Turkey	-1820	(533)-1866	_____	Papacy
_____	(P-C-R) P-C-R	456 B.C.-A.D. 1844 457 B.C.-A.D. 1843 Mohamm.	_____	456 B.C.-A.D. 33 457 B.C.-A.D. 33	34 End	Papacy	Turkey	_____	_____	_____	Papacy
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Pagan R.	Papacy
_____	(P-C-R) (P-C-R) (P-C-R)	_____	454 B.C.-A.D. 1847 453 B.C.-A.D. 1847 458/7 B.C.-A.D. 1843/44	454 B.C.-A.D. 37 453 B.C.-A.D. 37 458/7 B.C.-A.D. 33	33 (Midst) 33 (Midst) 33	_____	_____	Years	_____	_____	Papacy
_____	(P-C-R) (P-C-R)	_____	457-53 B.C.-A.D. 1843-47 432 B.C.-A.D. 1868	_____	_____	_____	Turkey	533-1823 1260+90 533-1823	533-1868 (533)-1866 533-1868	Pagan R.	Papacy
_____	_____	_____	_____	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33 (End)	_____	_____	_____	_____	Pagan R.	Papacy
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Pagan R.	Papacy
_____	(P-C-R)	Mohamm.	-1820	453 B.C.-A.D. 37	_____	Papacy	Turkey	_____	533-1866	_____	Papacy
_____	(P-C-R)	_____	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Papacy
Judgment	(P-C-R)	Mohamm.	-1866	_____	_____	Papacy	Papacy	_____	_____	_____	Papacy
_____	P-C-R (P-C-R) (P-C-R)	Mohamm.	453 B.C.-A.D. 1847 (457-53 B.C.)-A.D. 1843-47 (457 B.C.)-A.D. 1863-64	453 B.C.-A.D. 37	Midst or End	_____	_____	533-1823	533-1868	_____	Papacy
_____	(P-C-R)	_____	(457-53 B.C.)-A.D. 1843-47 (457 B.C.)-A.D. 1843 (453 B.C.)-A.D. 1847	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	Midst	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Papacy
_____	P-C-R	Papacy	_____	453 B.C.-A.D. 37	33 Midst	_____	_____	30 yrs. Beyond 1260	45 yrs. beyond 1290	Pagan R.	Papacy

tieth week. Some begin the 1260, 1290, and 1335 years synchronously, and have the 1335 years end in 1867/8—but not nearly so many as in Britain. And every Protestant writer identifies the Man of Sin as the Papacy.

IN SUMMARY: The American and British expositors of this period are practically on a par in exposition, and are remarkably alike on fundamentals of interpretation to date. (The single tables of Old World expositors include *all* interpreters up to 1844. Two tables are required here for American expositors—this one (the non-Millerites), and the large Millerite group table to follow on pp. 846-851), because they are parallel. There the picture will be greatly enlarged and intensified.

(Read *horizontally* to follow through any one expositor; read *vertically* for a comprehensive view of any one point of interpretation, thus affording the over-all exposition of the times.)

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS: B-P-G-R indicates Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome; Kgd.—kingdom; Ch.—Church; Pre-M. and Post-M.—premillennial and postmillennial. The term Papacy is used as a general equivalent for the Roman Catholic Church, or papal system, not in the strict historical sense of the government of the Roman church.

REVELATION: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL NON-MILLERITE

No.	Page	Name	Date	Place	Denom.	REVELATION 6 & 7 4 Horses 6th Seal	4 Trumpets	REVELATION 8 & 9 5th Trumpet 5 Months 6th Trumpet	Hr.-Day-Mo.-Yr.
1	59	Ogden, Usal (D.D.)	1795	N.J.	Epis.	Early Conq. (95-323)	Death of Const.	Moh. Conq. (750)	_____
2	62	McCorkle, Sam'l E.	1798	N.C.	Presby.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3	65	Belknap, Jeremy	1798	Mass.	Cong.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4	72	Bacon, John (Judge)	1803	Mass.	_____	_____	Barbarian Invas.	Saracens	612-762
5	77	Farnham, Benj.	1800	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Otto. Turks
6	134	EVANGELICAL MAG.	1800-	Conn.	Presby.	_____	_____	_____	1281-1672
7	139	Prudden, Nelsmial	1813	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8	140	CHRISTIAN OBSERVER	1804-	Mass.	Angl.	_____	_____	_____	_____
9	144	HERALD OF COS. LIB.	1808-	N.H.	Christ.	_____	_____	_____	_____
10	153	Dwight, Timothy (D.D.)	1812	Conn.	Cong.	_____	_____	_____	Turks
11	164	Boudinot, Elias	1815	N.J.	Cong.	_____	_____	_____	_____
12	169	Lathrop, Joseph (D.D.)	1815	Mass.	Cong.	_____	_____	_____	_____
13	173	Emerson, Joseph	1818	Mass.	Cong.	_____	_____	_____	_____
14	176	Haywood, Jno. (Judge)	1819	Tenn.	Christ.	_____	Judgments on Papacy—Mohamm.	150 Yrs.	(391)-1777
15	179	Smith, Elias	1815	N.H.	Christ.	_____	_____	_____	_____
16	186	Miller, Wm. F.	_____	Conn.	Presby.	From 95-323	Barbarian & Mohamm. Invasions—to 750	_____	_____
17	188	Kinne, Aaron	1813	Conn.	Cong.	From 70-R's Break-up	Barbarian Invas.	Gothic Kings	150 Yrs.
18	190	Smith, Ethan	1811	Mass.	Cong.	Judgments—Jews & Pagan R.	Northern Invasions	Mohamm.	Turks
19	194	Armstrong, Amzi (D.D.)	1814	N.J.	Presby.	Cover Chr. Era—Final Events	Barbarian Scourges	Mohamm.	612-762
20	203	Dow, Lorenzo	1812	Conn.	Meth.	_____	_____	_____	Turks
21	212	Davis, Wm. C.	1811	S.C.	Presby.	_____	_____	Mohamm.	622-734
22	223	"Robertson, Th. R."	1826	Ind.	Presby.	_____	_____	Mohamm.	622-734
23	225	Schmucker, Jno. G. (D.D.)	1817	Pa.	Luth.	1st 4 Centuries	Barbaric Invasions	Saracens	(Turk.)
24	227	Wilson, Joshua L. (D.D.)	1828	Ohio	Presby.	_____	_____	_____	Turks-Tartars
25	237	McCorkle, Sam'l M.	1830	Tenn.	Discp.	Covers Christian Era	Cover Chr. Era	_____	_____
26	244	Reid, Robt.	1824	Pa.	Presby.	Up to Constantine	Barbarian Incur.	Mohamm.	Turks
27	249	Campbell, Alex.	1837	Va.	Discp.	7 Periods Till New Jer.	Parallel 7 Seals	_____	_____
28	258	MILLENNIAL HARBINGER	1830-	Va.	Discp.	_____	_____	_____	_____
29	266	WATCHMAN OF THE NIGHT	1833-	Pa.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
30	269	Livemore, Harriet	_____	N.H.	Cong.	_____	_____	_____	_____
31	276	Smith, Sam'l B.	1835	N.Y.	Evang.	_____	_____	_____	_____
32	278	PROTESTANT VINDICATOR	1836	N.Y.	Prot. Ref.	_____	_____	Mohamm.	612-762
33	280	Brownlee, Wm. C.	1834	N.Y.	Dutch R.	_____	_____	_____	Turks
34	281	PROTESTANT BANNER	1842	Pa.	_____	_____	_____	_____	1453-1844
35	282	Walmesley, Chas.	_____	Reprint	R.C.	_____	Barbarian Invas.	Reformation	1525-1675
36	286	Thomas, John (M.D.)	1837	_____	Christadel.	_____	_____	_____	Mohamm.
37	311	Burwell, Adam H.	1835	Can.	_____	Cover Chr. Era	Fr. Rev.	Cover Christian Era—Apply	West and East
38	317	Scott, Robert (M.D.)	1834	N.Y.	Bapt.	From Apostles to End	Barbarian Incur.	Saracens	606-765
39	339	Crandall, A. L.	1842	N.Y.	_____	_____	From Apost. to End	Inquisition	Turks
40	342	Tyng, Stephen (S.T.D.)	_____	Pa.	Epis.	_____	_____	_____	1299-1690
41	345	Henshaw, Jno. P. K. (Bp.)	1842	R.I.	Epis.	_____	_____	Saracens	612-762
42	350	Winthrop, Edward	1843	Ohio	Prot. Epis.	_____	_____	_____	Mohamm. Turks
43	353	Hinton, Isaac T.	1842	Ill.	Bapt.	_____	_____	_____	Otto. Turks
44	357	Burdick, Elias A (M.D.)	1843	N.Y.	S.D. Bapt.	Early Centuries	From Invasions on	_____	_____
45	361	Junkin, George	1844	Ohio	Presby.	Early Centuries	Barbarian Invas.	Mohamm.	612-762
46	366	Ramsey, Wm. (D.D.)	1841	Pa.	Presby.	_____	_____	_____	Otto. Turks
47	370	Shimeall, Richard C.	_____	N.Y.	Epis.	_____	_____	_____	1281-1672
48	377	Robinson, Jno. (D.D.)	1843	Ohio	Presby.	_____	_____	_____	Turks
									1453-1844

In America, as in Britain, a few expositors from 1798 to 1844 touch on the seven churches; the majority of such, however, have them cover the Christian Era. The same is true with the seven seals. Several follow Mede's consecutive plan for the churches, seals, and trumpets, and a few confine the seals to pagan Rome; the rest have them cover the Christian Era. But all who expound the trumpets have the first four as the Barbarian incursions; the fifth, the Saracens with their "five months" (150 years), usually from 612-762; the sixth trumpet, the Turks with their 391 years, usually terminating in the seventeenth century, though a few run them from 1453 to 1844. The Two Witnesses are living witnesses to truth rather than the two Testaments, as commonly held in the Old World. A number place the 1260 years from 533 to 1793, and a few of them place the death of the Witnesses during the French Revolution.

nated the Man of Sin of prophecy, the Beast, and the Mystery-woman or Babylon of the Apocalypse, was rarely challenged among Protestants. Papal recovery after the French Revolution setback, with final disposition to come through ultimate

REVELATION 9 7th Trumpet	2 Witnesses	1260 Days	REVELATION 11 3½ Days	Earthquake	10th of City	Woman	REVELATION 12 Child	Dragon	1260 Days 3½ Times	REVELATION 13 1st Beast 7 Heads
										Roman Persecuting Power
										Papacy
Finishes Everything				Shaking—Fr.		True Ch.				Papal R.
										Papacy
				French Rev.	France					Papacy
				French Rev.				Pagan R.		Papacy
	Bible Instruction	-by 1800 -1842		French Rev. French Rev.	France	Chr. Ch.		Pagan R.		Papacy Civil R.
Sabbath Rest				French Rev. French Rev.	France	Chr. Ch.				Civil R. Papacy
	In Sackcloth God's True People	606-1866		French Rev.		True Ch.	Christ		606-1866	Secular R.
	Word—Ordinances		1792-1796	French Rev.	France	True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.		Civil R. Papacy
Cleansing Sanct. Cleansing Sanct.	The Faithful The Faithful		Future Future	Yet Future Yet Future		Chr. Ch.		Pagan R.		Papacy Papacy Papacy
	In Sackcloth	587-1847 -1820				Pure Ch. Chr. Ch.		Pagan R. Pagan R.	587-1847	Papacy Papacy Papacy
	Word—Spirit In Sackcloth	533-1793				Chr. Ch.		Pagan R. Pagan R.	606-1866 587-1847	Papacy Papacy Papacy
								Pagan R.		Papacy Papacy
								Pagan R.		Secular R. Secular R. Papacy
				Literal	Jerusalem	Rom. Ch.	Christians	Pagan R.	Literal	Pagan R. Civil R.
Amer. Revolution	Bible—True Chrs.	533-1793	1793-1797	French Rev. French Rev.	France	Pure Ch. True Ch. True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R. Pagan R.	533-1793 606-1866 533-1793	Papacy Civil R. Papacy
				French Rev.		Ch. Christ True Ch.				Papacy Papacy
						Chr. Ch.			{533-1793} {606-1866}	Civil R. Civil R.
	Ministers—People	606-1866				True Ch.	Converts	Pagan R.	606-1866	Papacy Civil R. Papacy
								Pagan R.		Papacy Papacy

Those who comment on the "tenth part" of the city, and the "earthquake" identify them as France and the Revolution. The woman in shining white is always the true church, and the dragon is pagan Rome. Nearly all identify the first beast of Revelation 13 as the Papacy, the seven horns as forms of government, and the ten horns as the kingdoms of Western Europe. And they are about equally divided in ending the 42 months at the French Revolution or in 1866. Six expositors believe the second beast, of Revelation 13, to be some phase of Protestantism; the majority apply it to the Papacy and its clergy, and a couple to Napoleon.

As to the "666," half identify it as the name of the Papacy (*Lateinos, Romith, or Vicarius Filii Dei*), a few as 666 years, and three as years—specifically from 1177 to 1843.

destruction, was another accepted principle in these decades.

(6) The special allotted time of the Turk (the 391 years of Revelation 9:15) was likewise considered as largely, or probably altogether, in the past. And the final drying up of the

REVELATION: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL

(Continued from previous opening)

No	Page	Name	10 Horns	42 Months	REVELATION 13			REVELATION 14		
					2d Beast	Image	666	1st Angel	2d Angel	3d Angel
1	59	Ogden, Uzal (D.D.)	10 Div.						Vengeance on Papacy	
2	62	McCorkle, Sam'l E.		(550-1810) (534-1794)						
3	65	Belknap, Jeremy	10 Div.	606-1866	Protestants	Likeness to Pope	Name of B.			
4	72	Bacon, John (Judge)			2 Horns—Civil and Rel. Lib.					
5	77	Farnham, Benj.		529-1729	Rom. Hierarchy		Lateinos			
6	134	EVANGELICAL MAG.	10 Div.	606-1866				Fulfilling	Fulfilling	
7	139	Prudden, Nathaniel								
8	140	CHRISTIAN OBSERVER								
9	144	HERALD OF GOS. LIB.	10 Kgdms.			Of Paganism				
10	153	Dwight, Timothy (D.D.)	10 Kgdms.							
11	164	Bowdoin, Elias		—1842						
12	169	Lathrop, Joseph (D.D.)	10 Kgdms.	606-1866	Papal Hierarchy			Missionaries	Out of Apos.	
13	173	Emerson, Joseph								
14	176	Haywood, Jno. (Judge)	10 Kgdms.	—1848						
15	179	Smith, Elias			Papacy		Luduvic	During Millennium		
16	186	Miller, Wm. F.			Rel. Orders					
17	188	Kinne, Aaron		606-1866	Rom. Hierarchy		Lateinos			
18	190	Smith, Ethan			Pap. Counterpart		Romith	Missionary Proclamation		
19	194	Armstrong, Amzi (D.D.)		566-1826	Papacy		Lateinos			
20	203	Daw, Lorenzo			Napoleon		(Vicarius Fili Dei)	Missionary and Bible Societies		
21	212	Davis, Wm. C.	10 Kgdms.	587-1847						
22	223	"Robertson, Th. R."	10 Kgdms.	587-1847	Hierarchy					Vs. Unfaithful
23	225	Schmucker, Jno G. (D.D.)			Jesuits			(Including Bengal)		Vs. Unfaithful
24	227	Wilson, Joshua L. (D.D.)		587-1847						
25	237	McCorkle, Sam'l M.		587-1847	Prot. Creeds—Mark		(Sects-parties)			
26	244	Reid, Robt.	10 Div.	—1850	Papal Clergy	Pope	Lateinos	Special Preaching Yet Future		
27	249	Campbell, Alex.		606-1866						
28	258	MILLENNIAL HARBINGER	10 Kgdms.	587-1847	Papacy		Lateinos			
29	266	WATCHMAN OF THE NIGHT		533-1793	Reformed Chs.			Last-Day Messages		
30	269	Livermore, Harriet		{-1847}						
31	276	Smith, Sam'l B.		{-1866}	Prot. Sects	Sectarianism	Lateinos			
32	278	PROTESTANT VINDICATOR			Papacy					
33	280	Brownlee, Wm. C.			Papal R.		Lateinos			
34	281	PROTESTANT BANNER								
35	282	Walmesley, Chas.	10 Div.			Heresy				
36	286	Thomas, John (M.D.)	10 Div.	{587-1847} {606-1866}	Papacy	Eccl. Tyranny	Mohamm.			
37	311	Burwell, Adam H.		533-1793						
38	317	Scott, Robert (M.D.)	10 Kgdms.	533-1793	Papal R.	Prot. Likeness	1177-1843			
39	359	Crandall, A. L.			Inquisition		Years	Waldenses	Lollards, Huss.	Lutherans
40	342	Tyng, Stephen (S.T.D.)								
41	345	Henshaw, Jno. P. K. (Bp.)							Now Flying	
42	350	Winthrop, Edward	10 Kgdms.	{533-1793} {606-1866}	Papal R.		Lateinos	Bible and Miss. Societies		
43	353	Hinton, Isaac T.			Papal R.					
44	357	Burdick, Elias A. (M.D.)		606-1866						
45	361	Junkin, George	10 Kgdms.	606-1866	Roman Ch.		Lateinos	Spr. of Gosp.	Warn. Cry	Future
46	366	Ramsey, Wm. (D.D.)						Waldenses	Prot. Ref.	
47	370	Shimeall, Richard C.		533-1793			Lateinos	Gospel Preachers of 2d Advent		
48	377	Robinson, Jno. (D.D.)		587-1847			(Lateinos Romith Vicarius Fili Dei)			

A large majority interpret the flying angel of Revelation 14 to be the judgment message and the work of Bible and missionary societies, whereas a few begin them back with Waldo. The majority have the vials already falling on papal Rome; a few put them still in the future. The fifth manifestly concerns the Papacy and the captivity of the pope, and nearly all have the sixth as the drying up of the Turk—though three make it to be the wasting away of the Papacy. The application of the mystery woman, or Babylon, to the Papacy is practically universal.

On the thousand years a slight majority are premillennial, though almost as large a minority are postmillennial—the latter holding to a spiritual resurrection and the reign of righteousness, while the premillennialists hold to a literal

Turk and his crucial place in the closing events of earth were of deepest and immediate interest, and frequent exposition.

(7) The end of the 2300 days was considered imminent, and the cleansing of the sanctuary.

NON-MILLERITE EXPOSITORS-1798-1844

REVELATION 16				REVELATION 17			REVELATION 20			REV. 21, 22	
7 Vials	5th Vial	6th Vial	7th Vial	Woman	Babylon	Beast	1000 Yrs.	Pre- or Post-M.	1st Res.	New Jerusalem	
Judgments on Papal Kgd.	On Papacy	On Turks			City of 7 Hill			Post-M.			
Judgments on Papacy	Papacy	Drying—Turks	Time Trouble	Papacy	Papacy					Paradise Restored	
							At End of World		Spiritual		
Fulfilling	At Ref.	On Sp. Baby.	Final Destr.	Papacy	Papacy	Gov'ts	Gradual		Spiritual		
				RC Church	Papacy	Papal Kgs.					
					Papacy	Papacy	After 1941	Post-M.	Spiritual		
		Overturn Baby.		Papacy	Papacy					Paradise Restored	
Punishments From Ref.	Thru Ref. On Seat Beast	Drying Revenues Overthrow Turks	Intro. Millen.	Papacy	Papacy		After 7th Vial	Post-M.	Mystical		
Judgments	Now Pouring	Vs. Turks			Papacy		Saints With Christ	Pre-M.	Literal		
	Now Pouring										
Post-Ref.	From Ref. From Ref. Great Crisis in 1844	Vs. Turks Vs. Turks in 1844	Kgdm. Destr. Kgdm. Destr.	Papacy	Papacy		Close of 1335 (1922) Close of 1335 (1922) Binding Satan (1850)	Pre-M. Pre-M. Pre-M.			
	Vs. Rome	Vs. Ottomans Vs. Turkey Vs. Sp. Baby.		Papacy	Papacy		Close of 1335 (1922) Binding Satan Sanct. Cleansed (1850)	Pre-M. Pre-M.	Literal		
New Being Poured Out				Papacy	Papacy		Begins 1996	Pre-M.			
				Papacy	Papacy			Pre-M.			
		Vs. Ottomans		Papacy	Papacy	Latin Ch.	Begins 1847	Pre-M.			
				Papacy	Papacy						
		Final Judgments		Papacy	Pagan R. Papacy	Rome				Triumph of Ch.	
Begin in Beg. F. Rev.	Fr. Rev. Vs. Rome Vs. Rome	Vs. Turks Vs. Turks Ret. of Jews	Last Judgm. Destruction Univ. War	Papacy Papacy Papacy	Papacy Papacy Papacy		End of 1335 (1995) End of 1335 (1868)	Pre-M. Pre-M. Post-M.		1847—Focal Point Reign of Glory	
	Prior to Millen.			Ch. of AC	Papacy			Pre-M.	Literal	Metropolis—Mess. Kdg.	
		Vs. Mystical Bab.		Papacy	Papacy		Begins at Harvest	Pre-M.	Literal		
				Papacy	Papacy	W. Nations	End of 1335 (1866)	Pre-M.			
Beginning With Fr. Rev.		Vs. Turks		Papacy Papacy Papacy	Papacy Papacy Papacy	Nations		Post-M. Post-M. Pre M.	Figurative Spiritual Literal	Eternal New Earth	
		Vs. Turks		Papacy Papacy	Papacy Papacy		End of 1335 (1868) End of 1335	Pre. M.			

resurrection and the reign of the resurrected saints. This division carries over into new heavens and earth exposition, as the millennial state or the eternal state at the end of the millennium. On minor points they are usually individualistic.

Note again that whereas one table suffices for the Old World writers, two tables are required for America—this non-Millerite tabulation and the large Millerite listing on pages 846-851. This intensifies and adds materially to the full-rounded picture.

A decided majority of the expositors are Presbyterians; following them come the Congregationalists as a close second, then the Anglicans and Baptists in order.

(8) The expositors of the day placed emphasis on such subjects as the seven vials, the coming destruction of the Papacy and the Turk, and particularly on the approaching millennium, with its triumph for the church.

4. CURRENT EVENTS CREATE INTEREST IN PROPHETIC PERIODS.—This was the time of the resurgence of premillennialism in America, paralleling the British Awakening. Since these British Literalists were looking for the overthrow of Antichrist to introduce a political millennial kingdom centered in Jerusalem, with the Jewish race in predominant position, they were deeply impressed, not only with the events of the French Revolution and after, in connection with the 1260 days, but they were sure for a time that the career of Napoleon was a sign of the imminence of the final convulsions. After the end of Napoleon, interest centered in other political developments, particularly the moves toward the emancipation of the Jew in England and elsewhere, and in events in the Turkish Empire that led many to expect the restoration of Palestine to the Jews.

5. END OF 2300 YEARS NEW FOCAL POINT OF STUDY.—All this was involved in the interest over the ending of the 2300 days. The close of this great mystery number of the 2300 years, beginning with Persia, was the focal point of the new and concerted attention. And its interlocking relation to the 70 weeks, and the fateful events to take place at the end of this longest time period of Daniel and the Revelation, were the theme of unnumbered oral presentations and of hundreds of printed productions. There had been a progressive development in the timing of this period. Originally dated by the Joachimites from the time of Daniel, and reckoned by Cusa as extending from Persia to possibly 1750, it had later begun to be associated with the 70 weeks, from Tillinghast onward. Petri in 1768 had begun both periods simultaneously in 453 B.C., thus extending the longer one to 1847. Then in November, 1810, and January, 1811, Brown in England and Davis in America, both independently following the same principle, ended the period in 1843 and 1847 respectively. And from then on a host of others followed their lead.¹⁶

¹⁶ See pp. 210-215.

6. MILLER NOT ORIGINATOR OF 2300-YEAR TERMINUS.—

The widely accepted view was that the 2300 prophetic “days” were in actuality literal years, due to end about 1843-1847, and that the period of the 70 weeks of years, extended to the death of the Messiah in the 70th week, was its first segment, “cut off” for the Jews—and so constituted the dependable key to the timing of the longer related period. This view should be entitled to a respectful hearing because of both the caliber of its expounders and their number and spread, for it was declared by some seventy-five prominent and respected voices. This very fact would suggest that it cannot be brushed aside as trivial, capricious, or irrational exegesis. And these, be it particularly noted, all appeared *prior* to the publication of William Miller’s first book on prophecy in 1836. Thus is established the simple historical fact that the origin of the view of the 2300 years as ending at that time, and its widespread circulation, was wholly prior to and independent of William Miller. This the accompanying chart attests.

Many in different lands were expecting, in connection with the end of this period, the inauguration of the millennium in 1843, 1844, or 1847, or around 1867-1868. Even some post-millennialists were likewise looking to these dates for the beginning of the cleansing of the church from false doctrines, for the downfall of the Papacy and/or Islam, and the freeing of the holy city Jerusalem or Palestine for the returning Jews.

IV. Facts of Major Significance Revealed by Master Chart

The tabular chart on pages 404, 405 discloses the amazing picture of some seventy-five expositors, scattered over a dozen nations, spread over four continents, who, prior to William Miller’s first book on prophecy (Troy, New York: 1836), anticipated his major findings and were in essential agreement concerning the time he emphasized. These were published statements, apart from unnumbered sermons without specific record. Thirty-eight of these writers ended the 2300 years in

19th CENTURY ADVOCATES OF 2300-YEAR PROPHECY

Tabular Analysis of Application, With

No.	Name	Nat'lity	PUBLICATION Date	Place	PERIOD 2300	LENGTH 2400	PERIOD B.C.	DATING A.D.	BEGINNING EVENTS	CLOSING EVENTS
1	Petri, Johann Ph.	Ger.	1768	Frankfurt	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	Day of Judgment
2	Wood, Hans	Irish	1787	London	2300	—	420 - 1880	—	—	Church Cleansed
3	Bieheno, Jas.	Eng.	1794	London	2300	—	481 - 1819	—	—	Palestine Freed
4	Whitaker, E. W.	Eng.	1795	Egham	2300	2400	Indeterminate	—	—	—
5	Bacon, John	Amer.	1799	Mass.	2300	—	334 - 1966	—	—	Return of Jews
6	Farnham, Benj.	Amer.	1800	Conn.	2300	—	481 - 1819	—	—	—
7	King, Edward	Eng.	1808	—	2300	—	538 - 1762	—	—	—
8	Hales, Wm. (D.D.)	Irish	1803	London	2300	—	420 - 1880	—	—	—
9	Nott, Eliphalel	Amer.	1804	N.Y.	2300	—	434 - 1867	—	—	—
10	Faber, G. S.	Eng.	1806	London	—	2400	— 1866	—	—	Church Cleansed
11	King, John	Amer.	1808	Pa.	2300	—	434 - 1867	—	—	Church Purified
12	Scott, Thos.	Eng.	1806	Eng.	2300	—	Not far distant	—	—	Destr. of AC
13	"I.A.B." (CHRISTIAN OBSERV.)	Eng.	1810	London	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	—
14	CHRISTIAN OBSERVER	Amer.	1810	Boston	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	—
15	Clarke, Adam	Eng.	1810	London	2300	—	457 - 1844	—	—	—
16	Davis, Wm. C.	Amer.	1811	S.C.	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	Begin. of Millen.
17	Smith, Ethan	Amer.	1811	Mass.	2300	—	481 - 1819	—	—	Fall of Turks
18	Cunninghame, Wm.	Eng.	1813	London	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	Armageddon—Judgment
19	Freere, Jas. H.	Eng.	1813	London	—	2400	553 - 1847	—	—	Cleansed—Mohamm.
20	Maitland, Capt. Chas.	Eng.	1814	London	2300	—	515 - Fr. Rev.	—	—	Cleansing of Temple
21	"C.E.S." (Christian Observ.)	Eng.	1818	London	2300	—	457 - 1844	—	—	—
22	Roberts, Peter	Eng.	1818	London	—	2400	553 - 1847	—	—	Fall of Mohamm.
23	Mason, Arch. (D.D.)	Scot.	1820	Glasgow	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	Decree of Arta.
24	Bayford, Jno.	Eng.	1820	London	2300	—	481 - 1819	—	—	—
25	"C.C." (JEWISH EXP.)	Eng.	1820	London	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	—
26	Girdlestone, Wm.	Eng.	1820	Oxford	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	Exra's Comm. Alexander
27	Fry, John	Eng.	1822	London	2300	—	457 - 1844	—	—	Moh. Dominance Ends
28	Brown, Jno. A.	Eng.	1823	London	2300	—	457 - 1844	—	—	Concerns Jerusalem
29	Wray, Lewis	Eng.	1823	London	2300	—	508 - 1792	—	—	Exra's Decree Darius
30	Wolff, Joseph	Eng.	1822	London	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	Christ's Appearance
31	Park, John R. (M.D.)	Eng.	1826	Liverpool	2300	—	(453 - 1847)	—	—	—
32	"Robertson, Th. R."	Amer.	1826	Ind.	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	True Worship Rest.
33	Wilson, Joshua L. (D.D.)	Amer.	1828	Ohio	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	Cleansing of Ch.
34	"T.B." (JEWISH EXP.)	Eng.	1828	London	—	2400	553 - 1847	—	—	—
35	DIALOGUES ON PROPHECY	Eng.	1828	London	2300	—	(457 - 1843) (453 - 1847)	—	—	—
36	Cooper, Edw.	Eng.	1825	London	2300	—	457 - (1843)	—	—	—
37	Wood, Lt. G. H.	Eng.	1829	London	2300	—	(457 - 1843)	—	—	—
38	Nicole, Alphonse, M.F.	Swiss	1829	London	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	From Artaxerxes
39	Irving, Edward	Eng.	1826	London	2300	2400	553 - 1847	—	—	—
40	White, Thomas	Eng.	1828	London	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	—
41	"Anasthus"	Eng.	1828	London	2300	—	(453 - 1847) (457 - 1843)	—	—	—
42	Homan, Ph. (M. WATCH)	Eng.	1829	London	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	7th of Artaxerxes
43	Vaughan, Ed. T.	Eng.	1828	London	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	Recovery of Jerusalem
44	Keyworth, Thos.	Eng.	1828	London	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	Overthrow of Mohamm.
45	Addis, Alfred	Eng.	1829	London	2300	—	457 - 1843/4	—	—	Re-est. of Jews
46	Hooper, John	Eng.	1829	London	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	—
47	Pym, William	Eng.	1929	London	2300	—	(457 - 1843) (453 - 1847)	—	—	2d Advent
48	Hoare, Ed. N.	Irish	1830	Dublin	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	—
49	Digby, Wm.	Irish	1831	London	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	—
50	McCorkle, Sam'l M.	Amer.	1830	Tenn.	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	Destr. of AC
51	Campbell, Alex.	Amer.	1830	Va.	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	Purgation of Church
52	MILLENNIAL HARBINGER	Amer.	1830-	Va.	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	Begin. of Millen.
53	Livemore, Harriet	Amer.	1824	N.H.	—	2400	553 - 1847	—	—	—
54	Gausson, Louis	Swiss	1839	Paris	2300	—	(457 - 1843)	—	—	—
55	Richter, Johann H. (D.Th.)	Ger.	1834	Ger.	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	—
56	"J.G.O." (Jewish Exp.)	Eng.	1831	London	2300	—	457 - 1844	—	—	—
57	Keith, Alex.	Eng.	1832	London	2300	—	480 - 1820	—	—	—
58	MORNING WATCH	Eng.	1830	London	2300	—	(457 - 1843) (453 - 1847)	—	—	—
59	CHRISTIAN HERALD	Irish	1832	Dublin	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	Armageddon
60	Anderson, Wm.	Eng.	1830	London	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	—
61	Brooks, Joshua W.	Eng.	1833	London	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	—
62	INVESTIGATOR OF PROP.	Eng.	1831-	London	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	—
63	WATCHMAN of the NIGHT	Amer.	1833	Pa.	2300	—	456 - 1844	—	—	—
64	Hobson, Matthew	Eng.	1834	London	2300	—	457 - 1844	—	—	7th of Artaxerxes
65	De Rozas, Jose M.	Mex.	1834	Puebla	2300	—	454 - 1847	—	—	End of AC
66	Scott, Robert (M.D.)	Amer.	1834	N.Y.	2300	—	458/7 - 1843/4	—	—	Return of Jews
67	Burwell, Adam H.	Can.	1835	Montreal	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	End of Empire
68	Kelber, L. H.	Ger.	1835	Nurnberg	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	Decree to Restore
69	Heintz, Peter, H.	Dutch	—	—	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	—
70	McGregor, David	Amer.	1833	Maine	2300	—	— 1843-7	—	—	—
71	Wheeler, Chas.	Amer.	1833	Pa.	2300	—	— 1843/4	—	—	—
72	Scott, Jas.	Scot.	—	Edinburgh	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	—
73	Junkin, Geo.	Amer.	1836	N.H.	2300	—	— 1866	—	—	Church Cleansed
74	Holmes, Wm. A.	Eng.	1836	London	2300	—	465 - 1836	—	—	—
75	Wilson, Daniel (Bp.)	Eng.	1836	India	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	—
76	Bickersteth, Ed.	Eng.	1836	London	2300	—	457 - 1844	—	—	—
77	MILLER, WILLIAM	Amer.	1836	N.Y.	2300	—	457 - 1843 (457 - 1843) (453 - 1847)	—	—	7th of Artaxerxes
78	Duffield, Geo.	Amer.	1841	Mich.	2300	—	(453 - 1847)	—	—	—
79	Crandall, A. L.	Amer.	1841	N.Y.	2300	—	432 - 1868	—	—	—
80	FREEWILL BAPT. CONF.	Amer.	1842	N.H.	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	2d Advent
81	Shimeall, Rich. C.	Amer.	1842	N.Y.	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	2d Advent
82	Shannon, Jas.	Amer.	1843	Ky.	2300	—	(457 - 1843) (453 - 1847)	—	—	—
83	Birks, Th. R.	Eng.	1843	London	2300	—	457 - 1843	—	—	—
84	Robinson, Jno.	Amer.	1843	Ohio	2300	—	453 - 1847	—	—	Destr. of Popery
85	Cumming, Jno.	Scot.	1843	Ger.	2300	—	430 - 1820	—	—	—
86	Elliot, Edw. R.	Eng.	1844	London	2300	—	430 - 1820	—	—	—
87	THE PROPHETIC HERALD	Eng.	1845	Birkenhead	—	2400	553 - 1847	—	—	—
88	Hinton, Isaac C.	Amer.	1842	St. Louis	2300	—	430 - 1820	—	—	Dissolution of Mohamm.

TERMINUS IN 1843-1847—PRIOR TO WM. MILLER

Similarities and Diversities, Up to 1844

70 WKS. B.C. A.D.	RELATIONSHIP OF 70 WKS. TO 2300	DATE OF CROSS	PLACE IN 70TH WK.	IDENTITY OF HORN OF DAN. 8:9-14	1260 Yrs.	DATING OF OTHER TIME PERIODS	1290 Yrs.	1335 Yrs.	391 Yrs.	2520 Yrs.
453-37	First Part	33	Midst	—	587-1847	557-1847	557-1892	—	[1453-1844, Buck]	—
420-70	First Part	—	—	—	620-1880	590-1880	529-1819	—	1300-1697	—
—	—	—	—	—	529-1789	—	529-1864	—	1453-1844	—
—	—	—	—	—	606-1866	606-1896	606-1941	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	529-1789	529-1819	526-1864	—	—	—
420-70	First Segment	31	Midst	—	538-1798	70-1360	70-1405	—	—	—
7th Arta.	—	—	—	—	620-1880	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	535-1795	—	—	—	—	—
7th Arta.	70 Wks. From 7th Arta.	—	—	Mohamm.	606-1866	—	—	—	1301-1692	—
—	—	—	—	—	534-1794	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1281-1672	—
457-33	Begin Together	—	—	Rome	583-1843	—	—	—	—	—
7th of Arta.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
453-37	First Part	33	Midst	—	587-1847	587-1877	587-1922	—	—	—
(457-)	True Worship Rest.	—	—	—	606-1866	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	533-1792	533-1822	533-1867	—	1302-1697	—
—	—	—	—	Rome	533-1793	533-1822	533-1867	—	—	—
(457-)	—	—	—	Mohamm.	533-1792	533-1822	533-1867	—	—	603-1847
—	—	—	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1453-1844	—
457-33	First Part	33	End	—	533-1792	533-1822	533-1867	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	Mohamm.	529-1789	529-—	529-—	—	1281-1672	—
457-33	—	33	End	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	Mohamm.	630-1890	508-1798	630-1920	—	—	—
457-33	—	33	End	Mohamm.	533-1793	533-1823	533-1868	—	1453-1844	677-1844
—	—	34	End	—	584-1844	622-1872	622-1917	—	1453-1844	—
—	—	—	—	—	531-1791	531-1821	531-1866	—	—	—
453-37	—	33	Midst	—	606-1866	—	—	—	1453-1844	—
453-37	—	33	Midst	—	587-1847	587-1877	587-1922	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	587-1847	587-1877	587-1922	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
457-33	—	—	—	Mohamm.	533-1792	533-1822	533-1867	—	—	603-1847
(457-)	—	—	—	—	533-1793	533-1823	533-1868	—	1327-1718	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
457-33	—	33	End	—	533-1792	533-1823	533-1867	—	1453-1844	—
—	—	—	—	—	554-1814	533-1823	554-1844	—	—	—
(457-)	—	33	End	—	533-1792	533-1822	533-1867	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1453-1844	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
457-33	—	33	End	Mohamm.	537-1797	—	—	—	1281-1672	—
457-33	—	33	End	—	606-1866	+30	+45	—	—	—
457-33	—	33	Midst	—	553-1814	553-1843/4	553-—	—	680-1840	—
457-33	Begin Together	33	Midst	—	533-1792/3	533-1823	533-1868	—	—	—
457-33	—	33	Midst	—	533-1793	533-1823	533-1867	—	673-1847	—
457-33	—	33	End	—	533-1793	—	—	—	—	—
457-33	—	33	Midst	—	533-1793	—	—	—	723-1793	—
457-33	—	33	Midst	—	587-1847	—	—	—	—	—
457-33	—	33	Midst	—	606-1866	—	—	—	—	—
457-33	—	33	Midst	—	(533-1793)	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	(606-1866)	-1820	(533-1866)	—	—	—
457-33	—	—	—	Mohamm.	587-1847	—	—	—	—	—
457-33	—	—	—	—	529-1789	+30	+45	—	1057-1453	—
—	—	—	—	—	587-1847	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	554-1814	554-1844	—	—	1453-1844	—
—	—	—	—	—	533-1793	533-1823	533-1867	—	—	1057-1453
—	—	—	—	—	(533-1793)	533-1822	533-1867	—	—	—
457-33	Cut Off	33	End	Mohamm.	(538-1798)	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	533-1793	—	—	—	—	—
456-34	—	34	End	Mohamm.	533-1793	533-1823	533-1867	—	—	677-1843
457-33/4	—	33	Midst	Mohamm.	533-1793	533-1823	533-1867	—	1453-1844	677-1843
454-34	—	33	Midst	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
458/7-33	—	33	End	—	606-1866	660-1950	660-1955	—	—	—
453-37	—	33	Midst	—	533-1793	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
457-33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1453-1844	—
—	—	—	—	—	533-1793	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	606-1866	—	—	—	—	—
453-37	Begin Synchron.	34	Midst	—	—	—	—	—	685-1836	—
457-34	Cut Off	—	—	—	533-1792	533-1822/3	533-1868	—	—	677-1843
457-33	First Part	33	End	—	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	—	1448-1839	677-1843
—	—	—	—	—	532-1792	—	532-1868	—	—	—
457-33	—	33	End	—	533-1793	533-1823	523-1868	—	—	—
453-37	—	—	—	—	533-1793	533-1823	533-1868	—	—	—
457-33	—	33	End (or Midst)	Rome	(534-1794)	—	—	—	—	606-1843
457-33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	532-1792	532-1822	532-1867	—	1057-1453	—
—	—	—	—	—	606-1866	606-1896	606-1941	—	—	—
457-33	Cut Off	33	Midst	—	533-1793	533-1823	533-1867	—	1057-1453	—
—	—	—	—	—	533-1793	533-1823	533-1866	—	—	—

1843 or 1844, and thirty in 1847. However, the same date (1843-1844) was really intended by this latter group, which simply passed over the 4 B.C. factor in reckoning the birth of Christ. At the same time the end dates given by these same expositors for the 1260-, 1290-, and 1335-year prophecies are listed for related study and comparison, together with the 391-year prophecy of the sixth trumpet of Revelation 9:15. These were regarded by nearly all as having a material bearing on the over-all picture.

1. ANTICIPATED BY SCORES OF DISTINGUISHED SCHOLARS.—This tabular listing casts a determinative light on the accepted respectability of the study of prophecy and the propriety and sanity of Miller's emphasis upon, and dating of, the prophecies of Daniel. He was in conspicuous company, and his contemporary expositors were considered exemplary and orthodox churchmen. No stigma was attached to their attempts to fix upon the dating of these time prophecies. Miller's was therefore in no sense a localized or isolated speculation, for these distinguished expositors were scattered over Europe, the British Isles, the United States, Canada, Mexico, Northern Africa, and even India—not to mention Dr. Joseph Wolff who traveled all over Asia and Asia Minor and parts of Africa, as well as Europe and the United States, proclaiming the same and agreeing in the time. The interest was far flung, and these men were among the leading clergymen, theologians, educators, editors, college presidents, physicians, statesmen, barristers, and military men of the time, and were of every religious persuasion—Anglican, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, Lutheran, Reformed, Methodist, Christian, Disciple, and even including a Roman Catholic. All these were engaged in carefully studying and deliberately determining the close of the 2300 year-days of Daniel 8:14 as the divinely appointed time for some transcendent event—the second advent, the beginning of the millennium, the return of the Jews, or at least something of great importance to the race.

2. 70 WEEKS SEEN AS "KEY" UNLOCKING 2300 YEARS.—

Of equal importance with the propriety of seeking the true time placement of the 2300 years of Daniel (of whose prophetic writings Jesus had declared, "Whoso readeth let him understand"), was the discovery of the "key" to its evident dating. Between Germany's Johann Petri (d. 1792)—who was the first to enunciate the principle that the 70 weeks of years comprise the first part of the 2300 year-days, and that they begin synchronously—and America's John Robinson (1843), some seventy expositors employed this principle and applied this procedure. Indeed, it came to be regarded as axiomatic, and was considered as perhaps the final factor essential to the unsealing of this portion of Daniel relating to the last things, which had not been clearly understood until the close of the eighteenth century. Then, at this point of time, many expositors, standing at the dawn of the nineteenth century, expressed the conviction that mankind had now entered the "time of the end," elsewhere denominated the "latter days," or "last days."

3. TRANSCENDENT EVENT ANTICIPATED BETWEEN 1843 AND 1847.—Some, like Miller, made 1843-1844, or 1847 the climactic end date for this present age. A heavy majority, however, looked upon that date rather as only the beginning, or starting point, for a series of continuing fulfillments extending beyond 1843 to 1847, in cumulative sequence, forecast through the 1260-, 1290-, and particularly the 1335-year periods. Their closing dates were consequently projected ahead to a climax yet to come, and which, they envisioned, would witness the destruction of the Papacy, the overthrow of Mohammedanism, and the ushering in of the millennial blessedness, which, they were persuaded, was not far away.

4. POSITION OF CROSS IN SEVENTIETH WEEK A DETERMINING FACTOR.—Many, like Miller and his earlier associates, placed the commonly accepted A.D. 33 cross at the *end* of the seventieth week. Others insisted that this same 33 crucifixion date must, according to the prophetic stipulation, be in the "midst" of the seventieth week. They consequently extended, or ended,

the seventieth week in A.D. 37, and placed the interrelated 2300-year terminus in 1847. However, the scholarly associates who soon joined Miller adopted the A.D. 31 crucifixion date advocated by Chronologist William Hales, and reckoned this A.D. 31 date as the "midst" of the seventieth week, thus ending the seventieth "week" in the autumn of A.D. 34, and in consequence ending the connected 2300 years, from which it was "cut off," in the autumn of 1844.

5. RELATED MINOR TERMINAL POINTS.—A few (eight) mistakenly believed that the number in Daniel 8:14 should read 2400. But even they similarly ended the expanded number in 1847, simply beginning the period a century earlier, with the giving of the vision. Eleven also ended the 391-year prophecy of the Ottoman Turks (Revelation 9:15) in 1844. And eleven terminated the so-called "seven times" (2520 years), or "times of the Gentiles," between 1843 and 1847. But these were considered to be only corollary factors.

6. NONE SEPARATED SEVENTIETH WEEK FROM 69.—It is to be particularly observed that, while these seventy-five expositors began the 2300 years synchronously with the 70 weeks of years—beginning them together in the time of Artaxerxes of Persia, and ending the longer period in 1843, 1844, or 1847—not one of these Old or New World scholars separated the seventieth week from the preceding 69 weeks. Such a procedure in Protestantism was a later development on the part of a single group, stemming out of the pro-Catholic positions espoused by James H. Todd (d. 1869) and William Burgh (d. 1866). This, in turn, was later championed by the Futurist Plymouth Brethren, and is presently held by most Fundamentalists.

This comparatively recent isolation of the seventieth week, thrusting it forward into the future, has therefore neither warrant of Protestant Reformation exposition nor of post-Reformation interpretation, until one comes to Todd, who followed the historical critic Samuel R. Maitland, who in 1826

sought to counter or undermine the premillennial Advent Awakening witness in Britain. And this in time affected the American Dispensationalist and Fundamentalist groups. It is somewhat like the late postmillennial innovation that profoundly affected the rationalist wing.

7. CLOSE OF PROBATION ANOTHER POINT OF DIVERGENCE.

—There were some in this list who placed the return of our Lord between 1843 and 1847, but who believed that He would set up His throne in Jerusalem at that time, and re-establish Jewish rule. Such believed that His personal rule, or perhaps dominion through His saints, would extend throughout the thousand years of the millennial period (or perchance 365,000 years). With such, probation for the world would not close with the return of Christ, but extend on for the salvation of mankind, and end only at the close of the millennium. This was in contrast to, and in direct conflict with, the Millerite position, and formed part of the clash of concepts between these two groups of premillennialists, for the Millerites did not believe in the restoration of the Jews, and held to the close of probation at, or shortly before, the second advent.

And there was considerable variation between the non-Millerite groups as to the exact nature of the millennial kingdom and the relationship between the resurrected saints, literal Israel, and the remaining inhabitants of earth. This conflict of view involved such expositors as Begg of Scotland, Cuninghame, Brooks, and Irving of England, and Winthrop, Labagh, and Campbell of America.

Such was another area of divergence.

8. CORRECTS SERIES OF MISCONCEPTIONS.—This working sheet, based upon the facts recorded in the text, affords opportunity for much careful, scientific study (from the full data and all factors) and the drawing of many significant conclusions. For instance, it does away for all time with the fallacious notion that William Miller was the first, or even one of the first, to fix upon 1843, 1844, or 1847 as the end year of the 2300 years

of the prophecy. More than threescore students of prophecy antedated him. Further, it disposes forever of the notion that this was simply or principally an American Millerite or New World concept, or merely a local interest or provincial emphasis. It began, instead, on the Continent of Europe and in the British Isles, but almost immediately appeared on both sides of the Atlantic. It was distinctly international, and was virtually a simultaneous world phenomenon.

Then, it disposes beyond peradventure of the contention that this thesis was born of ignorance or presumption or sprang from erratic thinking, for it was instead the spontaneous conviction of many of the finest minds of the time, as noted in the text—reverent and competent scholars, including learned teachers, preachers, historians, scientists, editors, statesmen, jurists, physicians, even Anglican and Reformed bishops, Presbyterian moderators, D.D.'s, S.T.D.'s, Ph.D.'s, LL.D.'s, and the like.

And finally, it lays low the suggestion that this was the hobby of a single unstable religious group, with a weakness along the line of prophetic foible and speculation. It was, instead, spread with amazingly balanced distribution among all leading religious groups or denominations, including even a Roman Catholic jurist. These and many other significant conclusions are deducible from the evidence here tabulated. Its study will well repay the time expended.

In summation, it therefore follows that any valid criticism of such study of prophecy as here visualized, and any honest attempt to find the proper dating of this particular 2300-year time period, must apply with equal force and condemnation to all such investigators. And any attempt to imply that the rational study of prophecy is an evidence of weakness, irresponsibility, presumption, ignorance, or senility must extend to include all so engaged in this distinguished list of expositors—which, in the light of the facts, few would have the temerity to suggest.

Breakdown of Historic Premillennialism

I. Irreconcilable Conflict Over Millennium

The sharpest divergence was between premillennialists and postmillennialists, and arose over the prophesied millennium. It was jointly acknowledged to be imminent, inevitable, universal in its effects, and revolutionary in its results; but *what* was to take place, and *how* was it to be accomplished? Would it be the establishment of the long-awaited kingdom of God, to begin with a gradual spread of righteousness, peace, and prosperity over the earth, with Christ's personal advent at its *close*? Or would it be ushered in by a cataclysmic end of this age, attended by the literal resurrection of the righteous dead at the personal, literal return of Christ in the clouds of heaven to end the old order and establish the new by divine interposition? Would the world grow markedly better or radically worse, before the glad consummation? Here was the basic line of cleavage, the supreme point of irreconcilable difference.

The list of participants in this specific discussion embraced the newly organized religious groups, as well as the older established denominations, the religious "heretics" as well as the orthodox—even the ecclesiastically heterodox such as the Shakers, the Mormons, and others. The coming millennium was the supreme topic around which all other last-day events revolved—the vials, the judgment, the cleansing of the sanctuary, the close of human probation, the new heavens and

earth, and the ending of all the prophetic time periods. We must pause to consider the principal schools of thought on the millennium.

1. THREE THEORIES ON MILLENNIUM CURRENT.—In 1841 Alexander Campbell, a postmillennialist, in defining the problem, enumerates three theories of the millennium: (1) The James A. Begg theory—that is, the Literalist premillennialism of the British Advent Awakening, involving a thousand-year (or up to a 365,000-year) reign of saints over mortals; (2) Miller's view of the regeneration of the saved, and their glorified state in the renewed earth, introduced at the first resurrection by Christ's premillennial advent; and (3) the now common "Protestant theory," of postmillennialism, with its long period of gradual improvement and world conversion before the advent.¹ Leaving the full discussion of (2) for Part II, which begins with the following chapter, let us briefly survey (1) and (3) here.

2. POSTMILLENNIALISM MAJORITY VIEW IN AMERICA.—Campbell's designation of postmillennialism as the "Protestant theory," and Dowling's reference to it as the view "held by the great body of evangelical Christians,"² indicate the predominance that view had attained at the time in America. It had been similarly in the ascendant in England, where in 1833 Cuninghame spoke of it as "a large proportion of the popular theology of this age" and "the common doctrine of the present day,"³ also in Scotland, for J. A. Begg in 1840 called it "the usual view in this country, till within the last ten or twelve years" (although there were at all times many exceptions).⁴

3. POSTMILLENNIALISM PUTS GOLDEN AGE BEFORE ADVENT.—Floyd Hamilton thus summarizes the expectations of the

¹ Alexander Campbell, "The Coming of the Lord," No. 1, *The Millennial Harbinger*, January, 1841, pp. 5-12.

² John Dowling, *An Exposition of the Prophecies*, pp. 29, 30, quoted in Nichol, *Midnight Cry*, p. 446.

³ William Cuninghame, *The Premillennial Advent* (in *The Literalist*, vol. 2), p. xi.

⁴ James A. Begg, *Letter to Signs of the Times*, Oct. 15, 1840, p. 109.

postmillennialists: a long period of peace and righteousness before the second advent; a golden age for the conversion of the world, including the Jews (any national restoration of the Jews to Palestine, however, being unrelated to prophecy); no emphasis on the binding of Satan, but a possible flareup of evil at the end; one resurrection and one judgment at the last day.⁵

Postmillennialism was popularized by the best-known British commentaries—Newton, Scott, the *Cottage Bible*, et cetera, which were widely read also in America. It was strongly entrenched in the American Calvinistic churches as a legacy from Jonathan Edwards, Hopkins, and others; and it influenced Methodism through John Wesley, whose *Notes on the New Testament* incorporated Bengel's double millennium position.

Postmillennialism was also encouraged by the movements and conditions of the times. At the turn of the century decided ideas of human improvement were in the air—social and political reform, worldwide mission movements and Bible societies, and widening horizons in the conquest of nature. In America especially, a boundless optimism and activism, a feeling of being on the threshold of unimagined advances, and an enthusiasm for reforms of all kinds—for righting all the wrongs of the world—lent color to the hope of bringing in the kingdom of God through human activity, aided and achieved by the Spirit of God through an increased use of present means of grace. Indeed, many saw in the Great Revival and the foreign mission movement the very beginnings of the millennial kingdom, and strove to advance that kingdom by every means. It was, indeed, a beautiful, if unattainable, ideal.

4. TENDENCY OF POSTMILLENNIALISM TOWARD MODERNISM.—In the earlier part of the nineteenth century this postmillennialism was quite evangelical in its emphasis on the conversion of the world to Christ through the regeneration of Jew and Gentile alike. Later, however, the emphasis on social

⁵ Floyd E. Hamilton, *The Basis of Millennial Faith*, pp. 31 ff. See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 649-655, 805, 807.

reform increased at the expense of Christian doctrine, and the postmillennial hopes of progressive righteousness became allied with the humanistic and evolutionary doctrine of human progress. Thus postmillennialism tended to line up with modernism, with the creedal element virtually disappearing, and the main emphasis on church union and the social gospel.⁶ It has been remarked that the twentieth-century development has culminated in "the modernistic kingdom-ideal, from which the Christ as King has quite completely disappeared, except in so far as He furnishes a nice historical tag for the ideal."⁷

Although at times world conditions have raised the hopes of postmillennialists, the failure of World War I to make the world safe for democracy, or to introduce the kingdom, to say nothing of the frightful setback of World War II, has deflated postmillennialism. And there is a rising feeling among many orthodox Christians that the personal return of Christ is the world's only hope and cannot be far away. Thus either premillennialism or amillennialism has an increased receptivity in the mid-twentieth century.⁸

II. Resurgent Premillennialism Stresses Literalism

But even in the early nineteenth century, when postmillennialism was the alleged "Protestant theory," an increasingly active premillennialism⁹ insisted on the literal, personal coming of Christ at the beginning of the millennium, to effect sudden destruction of an apparently triumphant Antichristian system and to set up His kingdom by supernatural means.¹⁰ The British premillennialists came to be called Literalists as opposed to the

⁶ D. H. Kromminga, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 255, 286, 287.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 287. This author sounds a warning note here that the means of realizing such an ideal of a socio-political kingdom of righteousness "may originate in so-called democratic processes of government," but "will be increasingly hard to keep distinct in more than name from essential totalitarianism."

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 257. Hamilton speaks also of the disillusionment of the postmillennialists in the last thirty years. The bankruptcy of the doctrine of inevitable world progress and the return to a view of eschatology that prepares for the second advent as the only hope of the world is evident in many quarters.

⁹ Campbell notes its new popularity in 1841 "Generally, if not universally," among Protestants. (See his "The Coming of the Lord," *The Millennial Harbinger*, September, 1841, p. 424.)

¹⁰ Edward Winthrop (*Letters on the Prophetic Scriptures*, p. xiii) emphasizes the personal coming as "the gist of the controversy."

postmillennialist "spiritualizers," who saw in the millennial reign only the spiritual rule of Christ through an expanding and victorious church. The Literalists had a following in America, and with them the Millerites had some kinship.

1. OPPONENTS AGREE ON POINTS IN COMMON.—On the destruction of Antichrist at the beginning of the thousand years, American postmillennialists and premillennialists stood together. In the 1840's this was still generally held to involve judgments of God upon the Papacy, upon the nations supporting the Papacy, or upon apostasy in Protestantism—events that were considered more or less imminent. Many in both camps expected the preliminary cleansing of the sanctuary, at the end of the 2300 days, in their time; that is why many of William Miller's most prominent opponents, both premillennialists and postmillennialists, attacked him less on his "1843" time emphasis than on the events expected.¹¹

2. TWO SCHOOLS OF PREMILLENNIALIST INTERPRETATION.—For some reason the dominance of postmillennialism lasted longer in America than in England, but the influence of the British Literalists was strongly felt on this side of the Atlantic before 1840. The two schools of premillennialists, the Literalists and the Millerites, worked together because they were united on the two principal points that had come down from the early church—(a) the premillennial personal advent, with the kingdom set up by direct divine intervention, and (b) the Historicist interpretation of prophecy. Thus they stood together on the belief that the Bible societies and world missions would not convert the whole world, but that conditions of evil would prevail until Christ comes to bind Satan, resurrect the saints, and then begin His millennial reign.

With these beliefs in common, the Millerites fraternized with the Literalists in the 1840's, although differing with them

¹¹ George Bush, *Reasons for Rejecting Mr. Miller's Views*, pp. 6, 7, 11; see also *The Advent Herald*, March 6 and 13, 1844, pp. 38, 41. On Millerite statements of the issue see *Signs of the Times*, Jan. 1, 1842, p. 151, and May 31, 1843, p. 100.

on the *nature* of the millennial kingdom.¹² Further, they were allies against the postmillennial "spiritualizers" of the millennium, and against the rationalistic Preterists and the pro-Catholic tendencies of the Futurists. But in America the Futurist aspect hardly entered until much later, the stalwart premillennialists there being strongly Historicist, as were many in Britain.

3. VIEWS OF THE HISTORICAL PREMILLENNIALISTS.—The Historicist positions of the British Literalists on the millennium are approximate to those outlined by Hamilton. Dividing modern premillennialists into several groups, he begins with what he calls the "Historic premillennialists,"¹³ whose teachings are summarized thus: Antichrist, developing during the Christian Era, is to make a final assault on the church just before the advent. At the close of this great tribulation Christ comes, the dead in Christ rise, the living righteous are transformed, the Jews repent and believe, and all are taken up to meet the Lord in the air. Then Christ and the saints descend, Antichrist is destroyed, the wicked are condemned to eternal punishment, Satan is bound, and the millennial kingdom is set up. At the close of the millennial period Satan is loosed, the nations follow him in rebellion and are destroyed by fire. Then the resurrection of the wicked and the final judgment are followed by the new heaven and earth and the eternal kingdom.

There are different views of the nature of the millennial kingdom—whether it is ruled by the Jews or the martyrs, or the whole church united, whether the Jews rule in the flesh on earth while the church rules in heaven—and there are various ideas as to the restoration of the Temple, the harmonization of the Old Testament eschatological prophecies with the New Testament prophecies of the second advent, and the relation-

¹² The Millerites, like nearly all other premillennialists, placed the millennial kingdom on earth, but they regarded it as composed of the redeemed and glorified saints on the regenerated earth, the first thousand years of the eternal state. Their placing of the end of human probation at the beginning of the millennium was the root of the differences between them and the Literalists of all categories.

¹³ Floyd E. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23.

ship between the saints with spiritual bodies and the untransfigured "nations." Some of the views of these "Historic premillennialists" were descended from ancient times, as has been mentioned.

III. The Breakdown of Historic Premillennialism

Mention has been made of the fact that the chief point of divergence among the Old World expositors, and also here in America, concerned the millennium—whether that blessed time would be brought about by man's endeavor, or by divine interposition; whether by the gradual conversion of the world, or through a cataclysmic end of the age; whether the attendant resurrection was simply spiritual—the revival of the spirit of the martyrs—or the literal, bodily resurrection of the righteous dead; and whether the coming of Christ to establish His kingdom was essentially a spiritual effusion, increasingly pervasive during the thousand years, at the close of which He would appear; or whether He would inaugurate His reign by a personal, visible, glorious, and transcendent descent from heaven.

The issue was not merely whether the advent would be *premillennial*, or *postmillennial*. That is an oversimplification. Actually the contrast between natural means and direct divine intervention parallel the contrast between naturalism and supernaturalism. As to the more recent alliance between postmillennialism and modernism, Kromminga has well remarked:

"Modernism banishes the supernatural, and Postmillenarianism can and does postpone all obtrusively supernatural occurrences until the glorious final state of the Church shall have run its course. In so far it holds little or nothing that would clash with the modernistic outlook upon future earthly human history."¹⁴

Instead of "modernism," simply read "eighteenth-century rationalism," and you have the situation at the beginning of the nineteenth century in England.

¹⁴ D. H. Kromminga, *op. cit.*, pp. 233, 234.

1. **LITERALISTS BECOME CHAMPIONS OF THE WORD.**—On the other hand, the militant premillennialists of that time entered the lists against a spiritualizing away of Bible truth. They fought valiantly for the Word, its inspiration, its supernaturalism, its prophecies, and its literal promises; hence their stress on *literalism*, and their designation as Literalists. They sought to return to the first love of the early church, when she was constantly watching for her absent Lord. And so they met in groups to study the Word; they preached, they wrote, they published, they supported missionaries, and they sought to help their fellow men.

2. **EXTREME LITERALISM LED TO GRAVE DEPARTURES.**—Unfortunately the insistence on the letter of Scripture on the part of some of these champions of the Bible led to extremes of literalism that stressed a Judaizing chiliasm and eventually produced an ultradispensationalism that would deny the unity of the church, the unity of the covenant of grace, and the unity of the Scripture. And, strange as it may seem, their eagerness to vindicate the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament prophets led to views that eventually would deprive the church of any application of a large part of the Scriptures, including the Gospels. But the breakdown of the Historical premillennialism of the older type, which was built on the progressive fulfillments of prophecy of preceding centuries, was due to various causes—only partly to the disagreements on different points of prophetic interpretation. Now for the causes for this change.

3. **DIVERGENT VIEWS ON PROPHETIC FULFILLMENTS.**—There had been sharp divergence of view (virtually confined to the British Advent Awakening) as to whether the number in Daniel 8:14 was actually 2300, or 2400 as a minority contended,¹⁵ but with both views the periods ended at approximately the same time. There was also disparity of view as to whether the last

¹⁵ Discussed in Vol. I, pp. 176-180 and in Vol. III, chap. 20.

prophetic time period was the 2300 years, ending in 1843, 1844, or 1847, or whether the prophesied 1335 years extended 75 years beyond the close of the 1260 years, and would terminate about 1867—with the close of the 2300 as merely an important midway mark.

And then there was wide diversity of view as to whether the close of the 2300 years was to bring the “cleansing” of the church, or of Palestine from Mohammedanism. The latter concept, entailing the restoration of the Jews, was usually tied in with interpretation of the Little Horn of Daniel 8 as Mohammedanism, and with the sixth trumpet (with its 391-year period), and the vanishing Euphrates of the sixth vial.

And again, there was the nature of the hour of God’s judgment—whether this meant just the threatened “judgments” of God upon the Papacy and Mohammedanism (pertaining principally to political transactions on earth), or the transcendent scenes of the second advent and the great assize contemplated through the centuries.

4. FAILURE OF PREDICTIONS DAMPENS ENTHUSIASM.—Undoubtedly the failure of earlier predictions that some had based on the Napoleonic wars, caused a loss of confidence, with some, in the Historical fulfillment of prophecy. And the passing of certain times of expectation, such as 1836—widely taught by Bengel on the Continent, and even Wesley in Britain¹⁸—had the effect of dampening enthusiasm.

Among the Literalists, who centered the last-day prophecies around the restoration of literal Israel, the hope was strong that Palestine would be opened to the Jews, and great enthusiasm marked the missionary organizations, aimed at the evangelizing of the Jews. But the apparently promising political situation passed, and the Jews proved to be far from eager to being “converted” to Christianity in any numbers. Possibly this led many to look farther into the future for the restoration of Israel—for their conversion after the second advent.

¹⁸ On Bengel, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 709-712; and on Wesley, pp. 693, 694.

5. IRVINGISM PRODUCES SERIOUS DEFECTION.—Another disruptive factor was the defection of one of the brightest lights of the British prophetic awakening, the saintly but gravely misguided Edward Irving, whose troubles with his "Irvingite," or Catholic Apostolic, Church broke his heart and discredited his standing, because of its "unknown tongues" and its system of "angels," "apostles," et cetera. Irving was originally an Historicist in exposition, but his translation of Lacunza's book helped materially in gaining a hearing for Futurism.¹⁷ His translation appeared just at the time Samuel Roffey Maitland was introducing to Protestants this counterinterpretation, which was devised by the Jesuits to clear the pope of the Antichrist charge and which was to stand John Henry Newman and the Tractarians in such good stead.¹⁸

6. CATHOLIC COUNTERINTERPRETATIONS INTRODUCED.—Still another factor was the disruptive influence of the Catholic Futurist and Preterist counterinterpretations among Protestants. Preterism had already begun to break Protestant unity on the basic identification of Antichrist and on the year-day principle, as certain Protestants of influence on the Continent began to deny the very principles that made the Reformation such a mighty power. Introduced into England by Samuel Lee in 1830,¹⁹ it led a trend toward a rationalistic view of prophecy.

While some were looking for events to mark the approaching end of the prophetic periods of the 1260, 391, and 2300 years, Preterism paved the way toward the denial of their inspired character through the ancient argument of the Sophist Porphyry—that the book of Daniel was written by some Jew in the time of the Maccabees. For Preterists the Little Horn was simply Antiochus Epiphanes, the $3\frac{1}{2}$ 'times' but literal years, and the 2300 merely literal days. Others revived the paralleling quibble that the Apocalypse was produced by some presbyter

¹⁷ On the origin of Catholic Futurism, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 484-505; Vol. III discusses Irving on pp. 514-526; Lacunza, on pp. 303-324, 657, 658; Maitland, pp. 542-544; Newman and the Tractarians, pp. 663-669.

¹⁸ *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 663-669.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 596, 597.

named John, not the beloved apostle—and therefore not canonical because not apostolic.²⁰

Now the other Jesuit doctrine, Futurism, was being introduced into Protestant ranks. Irving's translation of Lacunza and Maitland's writings gave it circulation among the British Literalists. About 1830 it began to make definite inroads.

IV. New Developments Abandon Historic Premillennialism

By the time the 1843-1847 time of expectation arrived, the peak of the original movement had passed in Britain, and the eyes of the Literalists were already turned toward 1867. The old positions had begun to be abandoned. There was a distinct trend away from the old landmarks of Historical interpretation, and in favor of a new system of Futurism and dispensationalism. However, the beginnings of the British dispensationalism had no noticeable effect on the American scene around 1840, and the Futurist elements seemed to be accepted very slowly. Here the issue between the Literalists and other premillennialists was over the Judaistic aspect of the millennial kingdom.

1. NEW VIEWS FORMULATED AT BRITISH CONFERENCES.—The beginnings of this new departure are significant. There were numerous prophetic conferences and prophetic societies in the British Advent Awakening in the third and fourth decades of the early nineteenth century. It was at some of these conferences that a new Futurist system of interpretation began to be formulated—with a pretribulationism, a secret "rapture," the "gap" theory, dispensationalism, and the like. Out of the Albury Park Conferences (1826-1830) came three volumes of *Dialogues on Prophecy*, in which opinions were expressed that implied a "rapture" before the tribulation, also hints of a prophetic "week" at the end of the age, although neither was definitely expressed as a full-fledged doctrine.²¹ And Edward

²⁰ On Porphyry, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 326-330; on the Apocalypse, see Vol. I, pp. 324-326.

²¹ Henry Drummond, Edward Irving, and others, *Dialogues on Prophecy*, vol. 2, pp.

Irving was one of the major participants at the Albury Conferences.

The general tone of the *Dialogues*, however, was definitely Historicist, although Drummond remarks that they should not overlook Maitland's and Ben Ezra's (Lacunza's) teaching that the larger part of the Apocalypse is still to be fulfilled in the future.²² That this did not represent the united opinion of the group is shown not only by the way the suggestion is made but also by the direct opposition of Cuninghame, in 1832, to Irving's idea of a future literal fulfillment of the various prophecies that had already had a past "symbolic" accomplishment.²³

It was in the conferences held at Powerscourt Castle²⁴ in Ireland (1830 and onward) that a new theory was formulated which laid the foundation for a whole new system of belief. This was based on the "rapture" of the church—as referring to the resurrected and living saints being "caught up" to meet the Lord (1 Thess. 4:17)—placed *before* the final tribulation, leaving the rest of the world's populace to go through a literal 3½ years of persecution by a future personal Antichrist, before the destruction of that tyrant by the glorious appearance of Christ.

Whether or not Tregelles is correct in deriving this teaching from the "utterances" of the Irvingite "unknown tongues"—the source from which Irving himself received both the pre-tribulation rapture and Futurism—it is certain that from the time of the Powerscourt Conferences, some of which he attended, the doctrine began to be propagated.²⁵ William Cun-

22-28 (rapture); vol. 2, pp. 49, 50, 61 (one week); on a future Antichrist, see vol. 2, p. 42. On the conferences, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 449-454.

²² Henry Drummond, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 377.

²³ William Cuninghame, *A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse*, 3d ed., pp. xxix, xxxii, xxxiii. However, many of the approximately forty men who attended the Albury Conferences followed the lead of Irving and Drummond into "Irvingism," and subsequently Albury became a center of the Irvingite group, with *The Morning Watch* as practically an Irvingite journal. (Edward Miller, *The History and Doctrines of Irvingism*, vol. 2, p. 265. On *The Morning Watch*, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, p. 501.)

²⁴ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 584, 585.

²⁵ Samuel P. Tregelles, *The Hope of Christ's Second Coming*, p. 35, quoted in George L. Murray, *Millennial Studies*, p. 138. Such a view was definitely a change, because earlier he had placed the destruction of Antichrist *before* the first resurrection. (Irving, *Lectures on the Revelation*, vol. 1, pp. 80, 81.)

inghame, who accepted the pretribulation rapture (not secret, however) about this time—although opposing Irving's Futurism—cites Mede,³⁶ who derived the rapture from a Jewish tradition.

2. PRETRIBULATIONIST FUTURISM PROPAGATED BY LITERALISTS.—The stigma of heresy resting on Irvingism would have hindered propagation of these ideas among premillennialists in general, but some of the extreme Literalists expanded, systematized, and gave currency to these prophetic views. Thus we find introduced a double second advent completely unknown to the early church, a pretribulation rapture that stems back to Jewish tradition and from Irvingite revelations, and a Futurism traceable to the same revelations, and from the Jesuits Ribera and Lacunza, along with Maitland, the Protestant defender of Rome. Surely these Protestant proponents must not have realized the antecedents of these doctrines.

The prophetic views transmitted by these Futurist Literalists include a preliminary coming of Christ, regarded by many as secret, to raise and transform the redeemed before the awakening of Israel; next, the tribulation under Antichrist; then the visible advent to destroy Antichrist and his hosts and to establish the millennial kingdom on earth. In this kingdom, as most Historicist premillennialists also believed, the Jews, converted to Christ, are to set up their kingdom at Jerusalem, and the survivors of the nations come up to take part in the restored Temple services. Thus sin is repressed under the rule of Christ.

But these Jews and Gentiles are not glorified beings, and their relation to the redeemed who reign with Christ is not clear in the varying opinions. However, at the end of the millennium Satan is unbound and leads the nations in rebellion. Then comes the destruction of the rebellious hosts by fire, the final judgment, and eternity. In all this Hamilton remarks

³⁶ William Cuninghame, *op. cit.*, pp. 461n, 48-482, 496n. Joseph Mede, *Works*, book 4, epistle 22, pp. 775, 776. (For this he cites "Gemara Abodah Zarah, c. 1.")

pointedly, in summarizing these beliefs, "there is a great difference" between this and historic premillennialism.²⁷

3. A RETURN TO NON-CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS.—It is also interesting to note that the Protestant Literalists and the Rome-ward Oxford movement both adopted Maitland's Protestant Futurism. Both arose as reactions toward a return to the early church, as a protest against rationalism, and as a yearning for authoritarian Christianity. But the one turned to the Bible, and the other to the Roman Catholic Church. There was no similarity between them, except that both adopted features of the early church from a period when the early corruptions had already begun to develop. And the Oxford, or Tractarian, movement returned to the stage of Christianity that was already developing the evils of the medieval church.

Similarly, the Protestant Futurists returned to the chiliasm of a type that contained elements from non-Christian sources, such as the despotic tyrant-Antichrist of ancient Jewish tradition, and they carried the early church idea of the literal kingdom on earth to an extreme, and in a direction different from anything the early church dreamed of—a kingdom of the Jews in the flesh, separate from the Christian church.

4. DIFFERS FROM FUTURISM OF EARLY CHURCH.—The early church prophetic interpretation centered in two things: an Historicist view of prophecy and a supernaturalistic premillennialism in which the kingdom of God is given to the saints of the Most High—the saved of all the ages—at the glorious second advent. Their apparent Futurism was an error progressively corrected by fulfillment. Unfortunately, this extreme Literalist premillennialism returned to the minor elements of the early church interpretation—Futurism now wrenched out of context—and Literalism of a Judaistic type never thought of in the early centuries.

This Protestant Futurism in its ultimate development came

²⁷ Floyd E. Hamilton, *op cit.*, p. 23.

to relegate the major part of the book of Revelation, and many other prophecies of the Old Testament, and even the Gospels, to the time *after* the second coming of Christ, the "rapture" of the saints, the world dominion of a Jewish Antichrist, and the great tribulation, the visible coming of Christ, and the establishment of the millennial reign. It is to be noted that all these events are expected to come only after the *end* of the Christian Era; that is, only after the first resurrection will Antichrist, the Beast, and the false prophet develop and exist for a period of literal, not figurative, prophetic time.

This is full-fledged Futurism, but such was not the belief of the early church. And the early Christians cannot justly be claimed as Futurists. They did not anticipate the expiration of a long church era before the beginning of these fulfillments. They saw most of the prophecies as future because, as has been remarked, "in their days so little history had as yet come to pass in fulfilment of the Apocalypse." They were simply adherents of a continuous-historical approach.²⁸

Neither were the early Christians looking for any Jewish kingdom during the millennium. They regarded, as Paul taught, the whole church, Jews and Gentiles, as the true Israel. And the millennial reign they clearly applied to the true Israel. They never believed in any special status for the Jewish race as such, separate from the Christian church. Such a view was one of the new developments of British premillennialism.

5. OPPOSED BY MOST HISTORICIST EXPOSITORS.—Most of the British Literalists of the early nineteenth century were Historicists, as seen in *Prophetic Faith*, Volume III, Part II. They applied the year-day principle to the age-long apostasy as the Beast, Antichrist, et cetera. But as some of them adopted Futurist elements, on which most expositors differed in details, the main lines were drawn between the older Historicism and the new Futurism, between the pretribulationists and the post-tribulationists. At first the pretribulationist view was taken up

²⁸ D. H. Kromminga, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-335, 252, 253.

by some who rejected the Protestant Futurism (as Cuninghame, for example, in 1832). Others rejected both. Emphasis on the part played by the Jews also varied. Although nearly all gave the Jews precedence in the millennial kingdom, some insisted that the children of Abraham embrace all the saved, both Jew and Gentile—for example, J. W. Brooks, and even B. W. Newton among the Plymouth Brethren.²⁹ Begg was not a pre-tribulationist in his 1831 edition.³⁰ Other Literalists, as Noel, Woodward, and Cox,³¹ held to the older view, and some were vague or uncertain, such as Bickersteth and Brooks.³²

These varying views came to be reflected in America as the British Literalist works were reprinted and read here. Most American premillennialists, like the earlier British Literalists, for some years remained strongly Historicist. Winthrop, though Historicist, adopted pretribulationism, declining, however, to be dogmatic. He cites Cuninghame and Bickersteth, and quotes Cuninghame's third edition at length for the twofold coming—the rapture and the later appearing.³³ He remarks on the discussion of this doctrine in the 1842 issues of *The American Millerian*. Thus we see how these new ideas³⁴ took root in America also, although they did not actually spread to any extent until later. It was chiefly the Judaistic nature of the millennial kingdom on earth that was to draw the line between the Literalists and the Millerites in the 1840's; Historicism was not the primary issue. That is why in the early 1840's the Millerites could regard Literalists, on the whole, as brethren and colleagues in the fight against the "spiritualizing" interpretations of the postmillennialists.

We are now ready for the story of the Millerite movement.

²⁹ J. W. Brooks, *Essays on the Advent and Kingdom of Christ*, reprinted in *The Literalist*, p. 53; on Newton, see Ironside, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁰ J. A. Begg, *Connected View*, p. 194.

³¹ Thus John Cox (*Thoughts on the Coming and Kingdom of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, p. vii, note) has "objections against the system which would overturn the Protestant interpretation of Scripture with reference to popery, represent the Apocalypse as all unfulfilled, and literalize its symbolic language."

³² J. W. Brooks, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 82. Edward Bickersteth, *A Practical Guide to the Prophecies*, pp. 143, 161, 163.

³³ Edward Winthrop, *Lectures on the Second Advent of Messiah*, pp. 90, 91, 151n, 163, 164.

³⁴ For a discussion of the origin and development of the new ideas, see Appendix C.

PART II

PROPHETIC EXPOSITION THE FOUNDATION OF THE MILLERITE PHASE OF THE SECOND ADVENT MOVEMENT 1831-1844

Tremendous Changes Alter World Picture

I. Cracking the Constrictions of a Localized World

The Western world, at the dawn of the nineteenth century, was vastly different from the modern world, with all its varied means of communication and transportation, its comforts and conveniences, its opportunities and freedoms, its inventions and discoveries. In our quest for the interpretation of prophecy in the early decades of the century—based upon what were then considered current and impending fulfillments of prophecy—we must project ourselves back to those relatively simple and rather primitive times.

First of all, on the American continent there were no great cities with their teeming multitudes as we know them now—for in 1800 the population of the entire United States was but 5,308,483. Even by 1840 it had reached only 17,069,453. By 1850 it stood at 23,191,867, according to the official census records. Of these only 10.8 per cent were urban dwellers, the large majority living in rural areas.¹ These percentages have since been steadily reversed, until today more than half of America's multiplying millions are city dwellers. The comparative size and growth of a few of the larger, or key, cities, with which we shall soon need to deal, may be seen at a glance by this comparative table.²

¹ Leon E. Truesdell, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1840, Population, vol. 1, Number of Inhabitants*, pp. 6, 18.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 33.

CITY	1800	1830	1840
Albany	5,289	24,209	33,271
Baltimore	26,514	80,620	102,313
Boston	24,937	61,392	93,383
Cincinnati	2,540	24,831	46,338
New York City	79,216	242,278	391,114
Philadelphia	41,220	80,462	93,665
Washington, D.C.	3,210	18,826	23,364

The world of that day was slow moving, largely localized, and very constricted. Transportation was frustratingly slow and circumscribed, and communications were tantalizingly tedious. Information was restricted in its spread and slow in transmission. And the populace was bound by the fetters of circumstance and convention.

There were relatively few newspapers, and these had but limited circulations, for there were no great power presses and facilities for speedy distribution in those days—the first steam-power cylinder press not appearing until 1822. The great New York dailies did not come into being until the fourth decade—the New York *Tribune* in 1831, the *Sun* in 1833, and the *Herald* in 1835, and even then in greatly simplified form. Religious periodicals were just beginning to be established. What was believed to be the first weekly religious newspaper, the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, was published in 1808, the *Recorder* in 1816, and the *Observer* in 1823.

Education for the masses was still markedly limited, but the first half century was a time of epochal advance in this field. In 1801 there were only 25 colleges of all kinds in the entire United States, the number increasing to 120 by 1850. The American Educational Society was formed in 1815, and the renowned Horace Mann began his career in 1837. Coeducation was as yet unknown, being introduced into Oberlin about 1833. Up to this time there had been no colleges for women, Mount Holyoke not being established until 1837. The first free public library was not opened until 1822. So, in comparison with modern times, it was a narrowly constricted world.

1. FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES BECOME IMPERATIVE.—Through the centuries the world had been locked into national and racial compartments, with long-standing hostilities ascendant. The eyes of churchmen were fixed primarily on Christendom, not heathendom, for prior to the nineteenth century there had been no general concept or vision of a world missionary program. There was neither an organized plan nor were there facilities for undertaking such a task. Quite apart from the marked limitations in transportation and communication then prevailing, there were as yet no general foreign or home missionary organizations to implement such a scheme, no Bible and Tract Societies to support it, and no Sunday school unions to accompany it.

More than that, the church was still under the spell of reactionary and lethargic Protestant concepts ascendant in Europe. It was still tinged with deistic, infidelic, and atheistic principles from England and France, and the distant heathen lands were still largely closed to entry.

Then swift changes came, as within a few years multiple agencies for the spread of the gospel sprang up. The Great Revival, beginning just before the turn of the century, was accompanied by aggressive efforts in behalf of the "diffusion" of the Scriptures, so all men might have the Word of God in their own tongue. The British and Foreign Bible Society was launched in 1804, others following in quick succession on the European continent. The American Bible Society was founded in 1816, and societies for the circulation of religious books began around the same time and in different lands. The American Tract Society was formed in 1825, although small local groups had been operating since 1803.

The American Home Missionary Society was likewise formed in 1816 by Absalom Peters, and the plan spread through the various denominations. Sunday school societies had already started in England, and the plan was extended to other lands. In America various local societies had sprung up in Philadelphia

and New York, scattered over the various religious bodies. These were then merged into what became, in 1824, the American Sunday School Union, representing the principal religious denominations of this country, though preponderantly Congregational and Presbyterian in complexion. When Steven Paxon retired in 1824, he had organized 1,314 Sunday schools.³

2. PREPARATORY FORCES AND FACTORS INVOLVED.—The first four decades of the nineteenth century were marked by far-reaching expansions of political, religious, and intellectual freedom. One by one the constrictive bands of the past began to burst. A new sense of coming freedom and dawning opportunity lay at the foundation of all advances. Two words, "agitation" and "reform," compass the contemporary attitude. American independence had but recently been gained, and the Monroe Doctrine established only in 1823. America was now building on its own foundations, and was just beginning to take its destined place in the family of nations. Note the developments:

There was progress in political liberty. Jewish rights were being increasingly recognized. The principle of self-determination was spreading. Anti-slavery agitation was sharply on the increase. *There was extension of religious freedom and moral reform,* and an increasing breakdown of former barriers that was preparing the way for the overseas preaching of the gospel. *There was expansion of freedom of speech and press,* as religious periodicals were introduced and newspapers with booming circulations were established.

There was growth of popular education for the masses. Secondary schools, colleges, and seminaries were increasingly established. Even the British and Foreign School Society (or Lancastrian monitorial system) of England was extended to North, Central, and South America.⁴ *And there was development of rapid communication and transportation*—amazing

³ For these various organizations see Robert Baird, *The Christian Retrospect and Register . . . First Half of the XIXth Century*, part 2, chaps. 4-7.

⁴ See pp. 920-936, in connection with Francisco Ramos Mexía.

material developments and revolutionary changes, from the old turnpike and canal to the steamship and the railroad. But that was not all, as the most vital advances were neither material nor secular.

3. WORLD-WIDE MISSIONARY AWAKENING.—At the beginning of the eighteenth century the path-finding Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had been founded in 1701. Toward the close of the century the English Baptist Missionary Society was organized in 1792, and the London Missionary Society in 1795. Then came the Church Missionary Society in 1817. Others, in other lands, were soon launched.⁵ The great foreign mission movement of the Old World was under way.

It was in 1810, in the very midst of this world awakening, that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was formed among the Congregationalists as a result of the famed Haystack Prayer Meeting group, then among American Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Protestant Episcopal, the Methodist Episcopal, and finally among several smaller societies—Lutheran, Reformed Presbyterian, and others. There was even a Society for Evangelizing the Jesuits and the Catholics. But it is the American Missionary Movement that is of primary concern to us here.

4. MIGHTY SPIRITUAL REVIVALS BEGIN ABOUT 1800.—Protestantism had entered a new epoch, called the Great Revival. What were called "seasons of refreshing" had begun about the turn of the century, and continued for some three decades. These appeared first in the Eastern States, spreading thence to the South and Midwest, and even into "Canada East." The early sprinklings, if they may be so called, spread over various parts of the country, and preceded the full revival showers. The titles of a series of small volumes bear record of these revivals in many churches. One was *Glorious News, A Brief Account of the Late*

⁵ *Ibid.*, part 2, chaps. 13-20, also p. 243.

Revival in New England and also in Nova Scotia, by S. C. Ustick. Another was *A Brief Account of the Late Revival of Religion in a Number of Towns in New England*. Yet another was called *A Faithful Narrative of a Revival of Religion at Bridgehampton in the Year 1800*. These were typical.⁶

A new era in Protestantism was dawning, designed not only to restore forsaken doctrinal and prophetic truths, but to outline and perfect a general evangelistic missionary movement, in order to carry the gospel to all the world, with all the preparatory and supporting forces that such a giant task involves. And all this was believed to be a matter of Bible prophecy, or inspired prediction. While such activities had begun to appear in Europe, they were particularly aggressive here in America. And to prepare the way God began to send seasons of spiritual revival. Paralleling reformatory forces and movements then began to spring forth. Without these enabling provisions, the gigantic task of carrying the final gospel message to all the world, in answer to divine prediction, would have been well-nigh impossible. Observe them.

II. Transportation and the Colonization of the West

Look down from the top of almost any American skyscraper today and you will see a fascinating world in motion, especially at night. Great lanes of automotive traffic in multiple lines stream swiftly by. Trains glide in and out of congested railway stations. Steamships and tugs ply the bays and rivers, while air transports roar overhead. It is a round-the-clock medley of sight and sound. But it was not always so, as we shall see by a rapid review of developments from the dawn of the nineteenth century.

The first national pike, or highway, was authorized in 1806

⁶ In 1802 Wm. W. Woodward published *Surprising Accounts of the Revival of Religion in the United States of America*, a 255-page collection of 80 "Extracts" from the letters of clergymen and laymen, rehearsing the characteristic features of the various revivals in widely scattered places. And Bennet Tyler's *New England Revivals* has twenty-five chapters, giving an account of twenty-five separate revivals between 1797 and 1814, as reported by twenty-five leading clergymen scattered over Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont, published at the time in the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, which began publication in 1800.

by the United States Congress. Its goal was to connect the Eastern seaboard with the great Mississippi Valley. The first section, completed about 1818, was called the Cumberland Road, extending from Fort Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, West Virginia. Then, in 1825, interest turned to canals, as the new Erie Canal opened a water route between the East and the Midwest. Next came the revolutionary triumph of steam, destined to displace the established means of transportation that had been employed without material change for thousands of years. The steamship and then the steam locomotive—aptly called the iron horse—began to appear, two of the latter in England in 1825 and 1826, one in France in 1827, and Germany's first in 1834.

Robert Fulton learned of the paddle-wheeled *Charlotte Dundas*, modestly operating on the Clyde Canal in Scotland, and conceived the idea of the famous side-wheeler, the *Clermont*, which made her epochal maiden trip up the Hudson in 1807, from New York City to Albany—150 miles in 32 hours! In 1811 the first regular steamboat to ply the Mississippi, the *New Orleans* was launched. The S.S. *Savannah* made her trans-Atlantic run, under combined steam and sail, from Savannah to Liverpool in 1819. But regular steamship runs across the Atlantic were not established until 1838.⁷ The westward flow of population became a marked characteristic. When the settlers increased, the great bosom of the Mississippi became dotted with craft. From 1837 on to the outbreak of the Civil War, steamboat traffic was at its height.⁸ And this travel broke up the intellectual isolationism.

The first locomotive to run in the Western Hemisphere was in 1829, on the Delaware and Hudson road. And in 1830 the Baltimore and Ohio (thirteen miles in length), and the Charleston and Hamburg in South Carolina, were opened for regular public use. Only one hundred miles were in operation

⁷ Frederic L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier, 1762-1893*, pp. 155, 156, 158; Harold U. Faulkner, *American Economic History*, pp. 186, 275, 276.

⁸ Frederic L. Paxson, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

in the United States in 1832. But by 1842 the iron rails had reached the Great Lakes, at Buffalo, then Chicago in 1852, and the Mississippi in 1854.⁹

With the development of the railroad, new cities sprang up along the traveled way, with mail and express service paralleling as permanent institutions. West of the Mississippi large territories were assigned as Indian reserves by government treaty, and the wilderness frontier was gradually pushed farther to the West. The great Mississippi Valley boom was at its peak in 1837, and land sales were at their best. A stream of farmers and miners spread westward, and Michigan became a State in 1837.

III. American Journalism Enters Era of Expansion

Although the national capital was moved from Philadelphia to Washington in 1800, New York remained the newspaper capital of the country. A new era in the expansion and effectiveness of journalism, including religious journalism, began at this time. While the total number of all printed journals published at the beginning of the century was only two hundred, some twelve hundred were reported by the turn of the century.¹⁰ One of these—the *National Intelligencer*, launched in 1800—constituted the semiofficial reporter of the doings of Congress. The New York *Evening Post* was started in 1801, edited by William Cullen Bryant. This gave the United States the largest aggregate newspaper circulation ever attained in any country up to that time, though individual circulations were still small. In 1833 the New York *Courier and Enquirer*, printing 4,500 copies, had the largest single circulation in the country at that time.

The first paper to install the steam-driven cylinder press was the New York *Daily Advertiser*, in 1825, capable of delivering two thousand papers an hour. By 1832 this had been in-

⁹ Harold U. Faulkner, *op. cit.*, pp. 285, 286; Frederic L. Paxson, *op. cit.*, chap. 44; Archibald L. Bouton, *An Outline History of Transportation*, pp. 28, 29.

¹⁰ Frank L. Mott, *American Journalism*, pp. 167, 202.

creased to four thousand an hour by the Hoe double-cylinder press. And this advance was matched by improved papermaking and better inks and by the typesetting machines of 1822.¹¹

Growth in weekly religious and literary journals became noticeable about 1820—such as the *Saturday Evening Post*, started in 1821. And among quarterlies the *American Quarterly Review* was launched in 1827. But perhaps the largest single expansion was with the religious periodical group, as practically every denomination began to develop its own weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies. Following the first religious newspaper, the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, in 1808, there appeared the *Congregational Recorder* in Boston (1816), the *Baptist Christian Watchman* (1819), and the *Universalist Magazine* (1819), the *Methodist Christian Advocate* (1823), the *Presbyterian Observer* (1823), and the *American Sunday School Magazine* (1823). The *Youth's Companion* started in 1827. And the *Episcopal Recorder*, of Philadelphia, likewise began in 1827. Numerous other papers sprang up at this time, advocating all kinds of special reforms—speaking in behalf of temperance, moral reform, food reform, educational reform, abolition, science, medicine, and law.¹²

The first of the numerous Millerite papers appeared in 1840—*Signs of the Times*, in Boston, followed by *Midnight Cry*, of New York City, in 1842, which was at first a daily, with some thirty other periodicals following.

Penny papers increased the newspaper reading public tremendously. New York City (including Brooklyn), with its population of but some three hundred thousand in 1836, had a newspaper circulation of seventy thousand.¹³ *Social reforms became part of the newspaper stock in trade. Both the concept of news and the public attitude toward news changed. Sensationalism was fostered, and human interest stories became cur-*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

¹² Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, vol. 1, pp. 472, 473, 787, 807; see also Joseph Nathan Kane, *Famous First Facts*, p. 516 ff; Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, From 1690 to 1872*; Willard G. Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism*, Boston [etc.]: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927.

¹³ Frank L. Mott, *American Journalism*, pp. 241-243.

rent. The people must be informed. Abuses in the church, society, and politics must be exposed. News must be published, irrespective of consequences.

Progressive speed in communication was another augmenting factor in journalistic advance, as sailing vessels gave way to transatlantic steamship service in 1838, and communication between England and America was thus reduced from two months to three weeks. But in 1832 the horse express was still the mode on land—the distance from Philadelphia to New York being covered in twenty hours by eight relays, with twenty-four horses. Pigeons were also used as couriers. And when the locomotives came, they were at first with horse and locomotive in combination. Then, with the advance of steam railroads, telegraphic communication appeared, which was established between Baltimore and Washington in 1844.

The *Baltimore Sun* developed the greatest speed in news transmission, because of its strategic location on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and on the first telegraph line. Such was the significance of the times from the press angle. These revolutionary changes in communication had their effect in molding the mental attitudes in the fourth decade of the vibrant nineteenth century. Mankind was clearly entering a new epoch.

IV. Reformatory Changes in Every Channel

1. THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM OF THE FRONTIER.—Frontier life in America was rugged. Great distances separated families, and the habit of churchgoing, established in the cities and communities of the East, was vastly different in the West. There the preachers and churches were scarce, and isolation was the rule rather than the exception. Compassing such a situation called for a different technique. Presbyterianism, which had been predominant in various sections of the South and East—and which insisted on a learned clergy and devotion to “closely reasoned theology”—was not as well suited to frontier demands as were the Methodists.

The Methodists and Baptists put less stress on learned discourses and more on practical helpfulness. For every man, woman, and child the hardy circuit rider had a message that met their everyday needs. This plan provided at least a partial solution for the religious problem of the frontier, and affection for these heroic men grew in the hearts of the people. Frequently a fervent frontier preacher would set his section aflame with the fire of a religious revival. Public conversion, as well as public confession of faith and experience, was increasingly common as the Great Revival spread. Because of this the Presbyterian Church began to lose its lead.¹⁴ And because of the rigidity of many of its leaders, split-offs developed over these issues—such as the Cumberland Presbyterians by 1810, and the Christian Church (Disciples) a little later.¹⁵

Camp meetings were likewise a feature of the new West. The accumulated emotions of the frontier could be released in camp, under the exhortations of powerful pulpiteers. The frontier families, wearied with the loneliness of their routine existence, welcomed the chance of laying aside their worldly affairs for a time and devoting themselves exclusively to spiritual things—morning, afternoon, and night, for a week. It was intensive, and sometimes explosive, but the religion of the West was materially molded by this very development.

2. AGITATION AND REFORM SWEEP THE LAND.—The spirit of reform likewise began to stir the hearts of men, and the urge for action became increasingly strong. There began to be a breaking forth on every hand, affecting every phase of life and every stratum of society. A fervent desire developed to free slaves from their bondage and to deliver victims of intemperance from the great destroyer. There was eagerness to emancipate women from their social subjugations and to release nations from their ignorance and idolatry. Many wanted to proclaim a “freer

¹⁴ For a discussion of frontier religion, see pp. 41-46. See also Frederic L. Paxson, *op. cit.*, chap. 13, and Grover C. Loud, *Evangelized America*, chaps. 8-10.

¹⁵ For the origin of these churches, see U.S. Census volume, *Religious Bodies*, 1936, vol. 2; also current *Yearbook of American Churches*.

gospel" and the "more abundant salvation" to all mankind. There must be equal rights and equal opportunity for all.

Because of these impelling ideals, millions in the rising republic were filled with great expectation. A new concept of God, man, privilege, duty, and destiny came into focus. And in the spiritual counterpart to the secular changes on every hand there developed an intense conflict of orthodoxy with Unitarianism and Universalism, of Calvinism with Arminianism, and of Old School with New School theology.

The Protestant mind at large had grown content with what had been gained under the Reformation, and had become encased in the creeds and confessions that were now the formal standards of the Reformed faiths. As a result Christianity had grown static and oftentimes sterile. The reaction to this was a renewed quest for truth, and the light that the Bible would shed on the situation. There was a sharp swing away from French infidelity and the spiritual deadness of rationalism. Untouched areas of life were to feel the impact of this reform spirit. And many denominational split-offs developed about this time.

Methodist Protestants came out from the main body in 1830, the Free-Will Baptists developed in 1837, True Wesleyans in 1843,¹⁶ and the major denominations—Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists—split North and South over the slavery issue. Many groups came to birth within a brief period—such as the Christian Connection and the Church of God. Even the Shakers with their communistic settlements, Mormonism, phrenology, Mesmerism, and the Rochester rappings appeared.

Vital truths of the gospel had become hidden under false philosophies. Sin and holiness had, by many, come to be regarded as relative rather than as moral realities, and question was raised as to man's sinful nature and his ability or inability to obtain righteousness. Earnest men and women, with consciences newly awakened under the great wave of revival, were insisting on the new birth as a conscious experience. The Pres-

¹⁶ For these bodies, see also the U.S. Census volume, *Religious Bodies*, 1936.

byterians especially were shaken with discussion on the atonement in relation to personal experience, the work of the Holy Spirit, practical Christianity, and the gospel to the heathen. The foreign mission enterprise had now become a throbbing reality, and was commonly considered a fulfillment of inspired prediction. Agitation and reform spread all over the New England States and New York, and swept out to the great Western reserves.

V. Temperance Movement Gathers Momentum

In 1785, Dr. Benjamin Rush, noted Philadelphia physician of Presbyterian-Quaker background and superior scientific attainment—professor at the University of Pennsylvania, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787—resolutely undertook to fight the liquor traffic. He wrote his vigorous essay, *An Inquiry Into the Effects of Ardent Spirits Upon the Human Body and Mind*, which rebuked the popular drinking customs of society. In 1808 a New York State physician, Dr. Billy Clark, deeply stirred over the situation, persuaded a minister and a lawyer to join him in launching one of the first temperance societies at Moreau in Saratoga County, New York. Another followed in 1809 at Greenfield, pledged against all “ardent [distilled] spirits.” Several denominational bodies took action in 1812. Then the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance was created in 1813, against the “too free use of ardent spirits.”

But it was not until 1826 that a cooperative plan was launched in Boston, by a group of reformers known as the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, aspiring to change the habits of the nation regarding the “improper use of intoxicating liquors,” partly by establishing local voluntary societies.¹⁷

Then various local organizations in New York, between 1826 and 1836, introduced the plan of total abstinence from all

¹⁷ August F. Fehlandt, *A Century of Drink Reform in the United States*, pp. 37, 52-55.

intoxicating beverages, mild as well as strong. In the latter year (1836), the American Temperance Society, now merged into the American Temperance Union, dropping the old pledge in favor of the new "total pledge,"¹⁸ referring to all intoxicating liquors. And the Pennsylvania State Society came out for total abstinence in 1831. The New York and Connecticut State societies were formed in 1829, and a paper launched by the American Temperance Society, called *The Journal of Humanity*. The first women's temperance society also came into being in 1829 in Ohio. And there were by 1829 eleven State societies and 1,000 local societies, with a membership of 100,000.

The Methodists and Presbyterians took the lead in advocating temperance. In 1833 the United States Congress even formed its own Congressional Temperance Society, which was reformed on a total abstinence basis in 1842.¹⁹ The first National Temperance Convention met in Philadelphia in 1833, with 440 delegates representing 21 States. Temperance organs such as *The Temperance Journal* (1833) and *The Temperance Recorder* of Albany (1832-1843), which in 1834 claimed a subscription list of over 200,000, began in 1835 to advocate abstinence from all intoxicating liquors.

By 1835, in less than a decade, some five thousand temperance societies had come into being, with more than a million members. Many manufacturers of spirits ceased their operations, and thousands of retailers discontinued their sale. The growth of the movement was really phenomenal. But after the middle of the century this initial temperance movement had largely spent its force, and the issue became sidetracked because of the slavery controversy. And the Internal Revenue Act to finance the Civil War debts, by putting a high tax on liquor had the effect of putting the liquor business in a position of influence with the government, and set back temperance forty years.²⁰

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 80-83; *One Hundred Years of Temperance*, pp. 126-136; see also Dawson Burns, *Temperance History*, vol. 1, p. 28.

¹⁹ August F. Fehlandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 218.

²⁰ See Dawson Burns, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 86; Raymond W. Cooper, *The Drama of Drink*, pp. 56-61; August F. Fehlandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 83; *The Moral Reformer*, February, 1835, p. 64.

Preview of the Amazing Advent Movement

I. From Tiny Rivulet to Continental Waterway

Follow the fascinating, expanding course of a tiny rivulet. Fed at first from a single spring, it wends its solitary way down the broad valley from the highland. Soon it is joined by other brooklets, and is fed by streamlet after streamlet, until it expands into a modest river. This, in turn, is joined by other streams and rivers, large and small. And these are augmented by melting snows and swelled by drenching rains, until a giant continental waterway results—growing wider, deeper, swifter with each passing mile, and flowing resistlessly onward until it pours its impressive volume into the mighty ocean. Mill wheels are turned and power is developed on its banks, and sizable ships sail on its bosom. Such is the life story of a great river like the Mississippi.

And thus it was with what became the great Millerite or second advent movement of America, starting in the early nineteenth century. Perhaps no phenomenon in the history of American Christianity is comparable to aspects of the great nineteenth-century second advent, or Millerite movement. Without question it made a greater impress upon the consciousness of the American populace within the short space of thirteen years than any other religious development in the annals of the nation.

It began with William Miller's individual witness on the imminent advent of Christ and the impending judgment hour.

It started with his first sermon back in 1831, augmented by a compilation of certain *Lectures*, issued in pamphlet form in 1833 and enlarged to a full-fledged book in 1836. Then, after several years of working alone, Miller began to be joined by other voices. Finally, in 1838, three substantial ministerial recruits came to Miller's side with unstinted service, definitely augmenting his message on the impending advent. Still other stalwarts *joined hands and hearts in the enterprise* during 1839 and 1840. Diversified books, tracts, and periodicals began to be issued in increasing number and volume.

General Conferences added influence and weight to the witness between 1840 and 1842. And giant camp meetings, together with tent, grove, and tabernacle meetings, began to herald the imminent advent in stentorian tones in 1843 and 1844. Multiplied thousands now openly declared themselves to be Adventists in expectation. Ministers by the score, some quite prominent, and coming from all the leading denominations, augmented the swelling chorus until its overtones could be heard all over the land, and even across the seas. It had become an amazing movement for the time—fifty thousand to one hundred thousand comprising the loyal core—with some five hundred preachers and fifteen hundred public lecturers proclaiming its urgent message to all men everywhere.

Now follow the simile of the river a bit further. The literal stream, augmented by other tributaries until it becomes a mighty waterway in transit across the continent, passes through occasional lowlands where stagnant pools and reedy marshes sometimes dot the river's bank. But neither of these fringe features constitute nor characterize the river. The little eddies and whirlpools, and the cross currents that occasionally run counter to the main stream, do not comprise the river or indicate the dominant flow. Rather, it is the deep main current that marks the river channel, with that current rolling ever onward toward its mouth.

Thus it was with the Advent Movement of the nineteenth century. As along the course of the main stream itself there were

both deeps and shallows, jutting rocks and foaming waterfalls, whirling eddies and limpid pools, so the parallel holds for Millerism. But these do not constitute its essence or reveal its real spirit. With all its varied features and characteristics, Millerism was a mighty flowing stream, a main current, with its vast body of water sweeping ever onward to its destined goal.

It is the central flow that constitutes the mighty Mississippi, and by this it must be judged. So also with the Millerite movement. There were occasional pools or marshlands on the margins, sometimes breeding pestilential insects that annoyed the community. Or speaking plainly, there were certain extraneous groups on the fringes of Millerism that sought to participate along with the body, but were neither an acknowledged part of it nor represented either its spirit or its message. Such a curious fringe is to be found on the margin of every large religious movement. But the main stream of the Advent Movement flowed on constantly and consistently, bringing life and hope and spiritual transformation to tens and scores of thousands, until the mighty current of the advent hope was seen and felt everywhere.

II. Two Main Phases to the Millerite Movement

Now let us preview, as with a road map, the main features of the movement we are about to trace, that we may follow its course more easily. There were two major phases of the Millerite movement—the initial, or “1843,” phase, and the later and larger “1844” phase, in which it reached its climax. While inseparably connected, they were, nevertheless, quite distinct. This dual aspect should be borne in mind, as the dominating concept and expectation of the one differed sharply from that of the other. Indeed, one can scarcely understand the fundamental development, and the progression of the movement as a whole, unless the motivating thought and action back of each of these phases be understood.

The first phase included all developments from the time of

Miller's first humble sermon on the second advent, given the second Sunday in August, 1831, up to the revised expiration of the "Jewish sacred year 1843." In this preliminary "1843" phase—covering about thirteen years—Miller was the recognized leader, at first laboring virtually alone, then joined by other ministers and groups in ever-increasing numbers until it became a large integrated movement, with others sharing increasingly in the burdens, public expressions, and responsibilities of leadership. It was no one-man affair.

On the other hand, the second, or "1844," phase was short, intensive, climactic. This was largely in other hands, as Miller was now growing older and was often ill, and was not an active participant in these later developments. This "Jewish year 1844" phase was commonly called the "seventh month movement," because its climax of expectation was based upon the well-known Day of Atonement type, of the "tenth day of the seventh month" (Tishri) of the Jewish sacred year "1844." This 10th day of Tishri, the Millerites ascertained, would, according to the older Jewish method of calendation, coincide with October 22, 1844, as the civil equivalent in our common modern calendar.

This seventh-month phase of the Millerite movement was actually only a little over three months in length. Yet these months were so packed with swift, intensive developments, and with such amazing achievements and results, that it seems almost inconceivable that so much could take place in so short a time. The records indicate that it shook the continent from Maine to the Mississippi Valley, and from Quebec to New Orleans. It was the most conspicuous religious development of the day. In the depiction we shall seek to make the leading characters live again, ever with careful fidelity to fact. They were not cold detached names, but warm living personalities—each with a unique story and contribution of his own. But acting and speaking in unison, these men taken together constituted the leadership of the Millerite movement.

These two phases will be carefully surveyed from the pro-

phetic, chronological, calendrical, and historical aspects as we progress, and the full evidence and significance placed by the Millerites upon each will be brought out. All that is desired in this preview at this point, is merely that the reader shall be made definitely aware of these two main divisions in the onward sweep of the Millerite movement. Such an understanding will enable us easily to recognize these major developments as they unfold.

But this over-all picture, with its two major phases, may well, for convenience in our study, be broken down into its natural subdivisions. There was a succession of stages, or epochs, or developments, that were normal, progressive, and sequential. These we note at this point, as such a conspectus will enable us to recognize the basic developments as they unfold—just as one is advantaged by having the printed program of an oratorio in hand which outlines the main parts and identifies the leading characters, as well as revealing the main theme of the leading solos, duets, trios, quartets, and choruses—together with the introductions and interludes and the Scriptural setting. With such a purpose in mind, we next sketch the component epochs in these two main divisions of the Millerite movement.

III. Eight Progressive Epochs in Millerite Development

The Millerite movement, comprising a succession of some eight rather sharply defined but closely connected phases, was all the while gaining momentum and adherents and making itself increasingly felt as a distinct force and influence in the religious world. It grew in size, and gathered strength as it traveled onward—like a snowball under motion—adding to itself fresh bulk and augmented force as it progressed.

These eight epochs were so distinct that they might well be likened to the progressive acts in a mighty drama, with its changing scenes but continuing characters, its groups, its dominant theme, its spotlights, its orchestra and great choruses, its movement and its sequences, its climax and its sequel—only

this was a sobering reality, not a figment of someone's fertile imagination. It was not fiction, but a great historical fact, filled with impressive color, form, and movement. Its leading figures were not actors, saying their lines with simulated fervor, but genuine participants, living out their deep convictions. So it was a living, throbbing drama of the most gripping sort. And its leading actors were conspicuous men of the day.

The first of these divisions was the period of Miller's solitary witness in the small towns and rural communities of New York State, New England, and Eastern Canada, with his book of *Lectures* at last appearing as the one supporting piece of literature. This was roughly from 1831 to 1838—with Miller as a full-time preacher only from 1834 onward.

The second phase (1838-1840) was introduced and accelerated by Miller's entry into the cities, after he had been joined by a number of ministers of influence of different persuasions, along with the augmentation of various other writings, including Litch's first book, and the first Millerite periodical, the *Signs of the Times*.

Third, came the period of the General Conferences, sixteen in all (1840 to 1842), with marked extension of the movement, the defining and broadcasting of its message, and the increase of its impress upon the American consciousness and thought. To those ministerial General Conferences of preachers must be added the more than one hundred paralleling local conferences, with effective preaching for the laity and characterized by large audiences.

Fourth, came the era of the giant camp meetings—thirty-one in three months' time, and more than 124 in two years (1842, 1843)—and an impressive succession of additional tent meetings with America's largest canvas pavilion, and a whole battery of more than a score of Adventist periodicals, an expanding Second Advent Library of books and pamphlets, and able preachers spreading their message ever westward, northward, and southward.

Fifth, came the rising tide of opposition, of expulsion of members from the churches and ministers from their former conferences, for believing and teaching, testifying and singing, the advent hope—this extending from the summer of 1843 on into the autumn of 1844. Sixth, and rather within the former phase, came the “tarry time,” or “slumber time” as it was often called, for a few months following the close of the Jewish sacred year “1843,” which ended with the passing of April 18, 1844. It was a time of readjustment.

Seventh, came the great climactic seventh-month movement, or true Midnight Cry, with some fifty thousand to one hundred thousand persons withdrawing from the churches, and a host of general adherents in addition. It was a period of marked intensity and tremendous action, along with amazing literature circulation and great advances. Some two hundred ordained ministers and nearly two thousand lay lecturers were in the field, supported by a great battery of periodicals, pamphlets, broadsides, and books, swelling in a crescendo, with quickened tempo and increasing results—and reaching from August on to October 22, 1844. They were held together by the invisible bonds of the advent hope, which proved stronger than any mere articles of incorporation.

And the eighth phase was, of course, the great and bitter Disappointment, and its aftermath of frustrated hopes and anticipations, which led to a restudy of the whole field of evidence, in order to ascertain the *nature* of the mistake and to reconstruct plans for the future. This developed into two distinct major divisions, or groups, of Adventists, which have continued their separate ways unto this day—the majority group at the outset slowly shrinking, and with the other slowly, then rapidly spreading, and finally expanding until it belted the globe. The development of this latter group, now leaving the Millerite movement behind, began on the morning of October 23, 1844, the very day succeeding the fateful day of disappointment, continuing into the rebirth and reconstruction of the great Second Advent Movement assuming world proportions.

But none of these progressive phases, it should be added, superseded what had been before. Each expansion, or augmentation, introduced new features or emphases into the movement that simply enlarged its scope and increased its effectiveness. Without setting aside any that had gone before, it simply added to what had been used in the past. And all that had formerly been utilized to advantage continued to be employed.

Thus the camp meetings were simply a new and expanded method of reaching a great city or community, while churches, halls, theaters, tent meetings, and tabernacles continued to be utilized to the full. And the conferences likewise continued after the camp meetings were introduced. These various features each augmented and enhanced the influence of the other, and together reached more people and different groups.

IV. Caliber and Character of Millerite Leaders

Every religious movement is composed of individuals, with all their strength and frailties. In order to understand the spirit, the ideals, and the drive of such a movement, one must know its component leaders. Consequently, in order to understand the strength and to grasp the common characteristics of the Millerite movement, we must become personally acquainted with the individuals who constituted Miller's intimate associates and collaborators. Though differing widely in background, training, denominational affiliation, and personal achievement, they had certain outstanding characteristics which, blending with those of their fellows, formed one of the most unique religious movements of all time.

At first the Millerite movement was an intradenominational emphasis on the premillennial second advent, given by various sympathetic ministers within the various churches—Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, Christian, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Episcopalian, Disciple. Many adherents, however, were won directly from the ranks of the widespread skepticism

and infidelity of the time, and some of these became ardent heralds of the approaching advent.

Neither Miller nor his associates had any thought, at first, of forming any new ecclesiastical organization, any more than Wesley contemplated leaving the Church of England when he started his spiritual revival, or Campbell with his Disciple group. The advent hope was the historic hope of the church—the throbbing heart of early church belief and expectation in the days of her greatest purity. Surely, Miller thought, its revival would be acclaimed with joy. And by many it was gladly received, at first, especially by the smaller churches in the smaller cities and rural communities. But all that changed ere long.

It took leaders of deep conviction and independence of thought to breast the current of unpopularity and hostility that at times ran swiftly, yes, even violently, against them. They had to know thoroughly the reasons for their faith, and the historical evidence that provided the facts of the prophetic fulfillment they expounded. They were challenged and ridiculed, and their positions attacked, not only by skeptics, deists, and infidels, but by keen clerics, theologians, and teachers of the day, who had become enamored of the glowing philosophy of world betterment that would stretch on for a thousand—or many thousands—of glorious years, and would thus establish the kingdom of God by human endeavor, augmented by divine power. To all such, the idea of an impending, cataclysmic end of the age was repugnant, and its heralds decidedly obnoxious. That was the crux of the clash and the heart of the conflict that moved toward a climax.

The proponents of the impending catastrophic end of all things were castigated as narrow, unbalanced, antisocial, and fanatical, blocking the road to human and heavenly progress. They must therefore not be allowed to propagate their old-fashioned, disruptive notions in the forward-looking churches of the day. Many—though by no means all—of the scholars of the day were against them. But decided opposition developed.

And thousands of intelligent laymen, many of whom were trained in the various professions—as educators, physicians, lawyers, editors, businessmen, et cetera—likewise joined heart and hand in the great proclamation. This was no mere wholesale gullibility. We must seek, then, for the philosophy of their faith and the spring of action that impelled them forward and produced one of the most amazing religious crusades of modern times.

This we shall seek to find by comprehensive surveys of the contemporary sources—the writings of men on both sides of this supreme theological battle line of the time—their books, periodical articles, pamphlets, tracts, broadsides, charts, and above all the more intimate manuscript materials, such as diaries, letters, sermon outlines, addresses, articles, exchanges, and pronouncements. These will form the sources from which our factual testimony will be drawn. The evidence will be frankly and faithfully presented, that all who wish to know the facts may have them in reliable documented form.

The Founding Father of the Millerite Movement

We are now to trace the high lights in the fascinating life story of WILLIAM MILLER (1782-1849), father of the Millerite, or American Advent, movement, for only as we catch an intimate glimpse of Miller himself can we sense the significance of the movement he brought forth. William was born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, just following the Revolutionary War, in which his father was a captain. At four he moved with his parents to Low Hampton, New York, near Lake Champlain, in the westward tide of immigration. Here a new home was established on a hundred-acre farm with frontier environs. In his childhood and youth, as the eldest in a family of sixteen children, he was taught by his pious mother to reverence the Bible as a revelation from God to man. And his father's home was often opened as a meeting place for preaching services. Nothing unusual is recorded of William's earlier years except his intense love of books and his deep thirst for knowledge.¹

I. Miller's Early Thirst for Knowledge

Young Miller was an omnivorous reader, particularly between the years of fourteen and twenty-one. So pronounced was this characteristic that neighbors of note—Judge James Wither-

¹ This sketch is based on *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence* (1845), Miller's numerous autograph letters and manuscripts; Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller* (1855); Everett N. Dick, "William Miller," *Dictionary of American Biography*; also his *Founders of the Message* (1938); Francis D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry* (1944); Arthur W. Spalding, *Footprints of the Pioneers* (1947); *Pioneer Stories* (1942); Charles E. Weniger, "The Life of William Miller," in *A Critical Appraisal of the Public Address of William Miller, Early American Second Advent Lecturer* (1948, doctoral thesis, University of Southern California).

ill, Congressman Matthew Lyon, and Alexander Cruikshanks of White-Hall, formerly of Scotland—offered him free access to their excellent private libraries. And his passion for study was so great that he kept a hidden supply of candlewood (splinters of pitchy wood and pine knots) to supply light at night. Despite parental warnings, after the family had gone to bed he persisted in getting up to study. In this way he was able to keep a rendezvous with his beloved books, as he lay in front of the open fireplace.

He was blessed with a strong mind and a remarkably retentive memory, and earnestly longed to obtain an advanced formal education. But that was not to be, despite his earnest attempts. He was, nevertheless, fitted for vigorous living and became a leader among his fellows. He was unusually well read and self-educated, and conspicuously methodical in all his ways. He came to be recognized as on a parity with the best-trained minds of the community, with whom he constantly associated. He was also a kind of community scribe, an excellent penman, and a versifier.

In 1803, at the age of twenty-one, Miller married Lucy Smith and soon set up housekeeping in Poultney, Vermont, where a sizable public library became the object of his supreme interest.² His ability to versify made Miller popular at public occasions in the new community. He joined the local Literary Society, and also became a Mason. But about this same time he formed the acquaintance of the deists of the town. And this, alas, proved to be the beginning of grave spiritual and intellectual difficulties. Miller loved philosophical discussions with his literary friends, for he had a keen mind and a ready wit. He was quite perplexed over the inconsistencies he observed in the professing Christians about him. And he was even more perturbed by the seeming conflicts and contradictions in the

² The first public library in Vermont was at Poultney. And it was here that Horace Greeley, founder of the New York *Herald-Tribune*, spent several years in printer's apprenticeship, beginning in 1826. Such were the environs of young Miller at Poultney. (Walter E. Johnson, *East Poultney, Vermont's Cradle of Culture in the Wilderness*, pp. 1-22.)

Bible, at least as constantly asserted by his deist friends. He sincerely sought the help of preachers, but was only confused the more by their conflicting opinions and by the irreconcilability of the various solutions offered for his problems. He then began the serious study of the writings of Voltaire, Volney, Hume, and Paine.

Voltaire had built his false concept around the ruin of human nature, oblivious of God's redeeming love and provisions. Volney built his specious philosophy upon the ruin of human habitations, failing to realize that it was not God's design for man to be in his present state, or to leave him there forever, and that all this present confusion was the result of sin and ruin. Paine built up his argument against the supernatural, yet he endorsed much in pagan mythology, with all of its grotesque crudities. These men, who had become the oracles of militant Deism in the intellectual world at the time, seriously influenced Miller.

Confused by this distorted, infidelic view of history, Miller came to look upon life as a game of chance, and concluded that the Bible was the product of designing men—a creation of crafty fabrication rather than a system of revealed truth. But despite it all, he still believed there must be a Supreme Being, manifesting Himself in nature and providence. He could not seem to escape from the good home influences of Hampton, particularly that of his mother, and of two godly uncles who were Baptist ministers.

II. His Subsequent Quest for God

Despite his playful mimicry of the devotional mannerisms and the very tones, words, and gestures of the preachers—and all done with the utmost gravity—Miller sought to be good and to do good, and gave liberally for the support of Christian objectives. He was honest, truthful, and clean. Even in the days of his greatest devotion to Deism he always desired something better. Despite his difficulties he could not rationally abandon

his belief in the existence of God. At the outset of this conflict of soul, in 1803 he had expressed his outcry after God in a touching strain. It was in a bit of verse entitled "Religion":

"Come, blest Religion, with thy angel's face,
Dispel this gloom, and brighten all the place;
Drive this destructive passion from my breast;
Compose my sorrows, and restore my rest;
Show me the path that Christian heroes trod,
Wean me from earth, and raise my soul to God!"²

He had been constable and justice of the peace, and from 1809 to 1811 served as sheriff. He was thus brought face to face with the baser side of human nature, and became distrustful of all men. Only one "star of hope" seemed to remain in his sky of life—patriotism and love of country. He hoped that in a patriotic military life he might see in man an inviting exhibition of better human nature. Even at this time Miller's desire for character was greater than his desire for money or fame. He fondly hoped that the ideal in human character would be revealed in patriotic service, so he joined the Army.

From 1812 to 1814 he was a captain of infantry. A document signed by forty-seven men, voluntarily pledging enlistment, asked for Miller to be their captain, and he was so commissioned by Governor Galusha, of Vermont. Such was his standing in the community. He was enthusiastically on the victors' side at the battle of Plattsburg. But two years of Army life was enough. He was, by now, definitely disillusioned about his deistic principles, and had become thoroughly disgusted with the sinful character of men. So he came to doubt his Deism. He was particularly horrified by its doctrine of total annihilation for all at death. At this juncture he was honorably discharged from the Army, and returned to private life in rather comfortable circumstances.

When he was thirty-four, in 1816—after thirteen years of residence in Poultney—he returned to Hampton, following his father's death, to resume the occupation of farming and

² Bliss, *Memoirs*, p. 27.

to care for his widowed mother. He secured a nearby two-hundred-acre farm, and built a comfortable two-story house by a maple grove. He now had the time to study and reflect for which he had longed. And study he did, intensively and extensively. He believed in God and providence, but not yet in revelation. One day he detected himself taking God's name in vain in an oath, and was convicted of its wrong. Then he began to ponder on how a just Being could consistently save the violators of law and justice. Neither nature nor providence revealed an answer. Only the Bible professed to be a revelation from God, and to offer a solution. But how could he know it to be true? How could he be sure of revealed truth? To use his own words:

"The heavens were as brass over my head, and the earth as iron under my feet. *Eternity!—what was it? And death—why was it?* The more I reasoned, the further I was from demonstration. The more I thought, the more scattered were my conclusions. I tried to stop thinking, but my thoughts would not be controlled. I was truly wretched, but did not understand *the cause*. I murmured and complained, but knew not of whom. I knew that there was a wrong, but knew not how or where to find the right. I mourned, but without hope."⁴

His uncle, Elisha Miller, was the Baptist minister at Hampton. Though not a church member, William became a regular and respectful attendant—except when the preacher was away. The proximity of his home to the little brick church—only a quarter of a mile down the road—and his inherent hospitality, made his home a sort of headquarters for preachers passing through. He was fond of bantering them on their doctrinal differences, and put pointed questions to them on the seeming difficulties in the Bible, often to their discomfort. But he was always respectful. He excused his own absences from church, when the preacher was away, by stating that he was not edified by the faulty way in which the sermon was read by the substitute. And he intimated that if *he* could read at such times, he would attend. The officers responded wisely by inviting Miller

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65.



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HARRY ANDERSON. ARTIST

YEARS OF INTENSIVE STUDY LEAD TO STARTLING CONCLUSIONS

After His Conversion in 1816, William Miller Spent Six Years in Intensive and Comprehensive Study of the Prophecies at His Home in Low Hampton, New York. Then Began a Remarkable Impress, Through Voice and Pen, Upon the Thinking of His Own and Succeeding Generations. (Below) Miller's Comfortable Residence, Scene of the Call to Tell Publicly of His Faith in the Second Coming of Christ in the Neighboring Dresden Baptist Church

to read, they to select the sermon. To this he agreed. And that was the beginning of his public religious life. Yet all the while he was groping for light, and rest of soul.

During this time a sermon by a visiting clergyman made a sobering impression on Miller. Then, the very next Sunday, in the absence of the pastor, Miller was asked to read the selected sermon from *Proudfit's Practical Sermons*, this time on Isaiah 53. In the midst of the presentation he was overwhelmed by the sense of God's goodness and His loving provision for lost sinners. The redemptive character of the Saviour as an atonement for sin was vividly impressed upon him. He could not go on. Overpowered with emotion he sat down weeping, having the deep sympathy of the congregation, who sensed what was happening and were weeping with him. He was soundly converted, and accepted Christ as his personal Saviour. His mind was now satisfied, and his heart found rest. He at once erected the family altar and publicly professed the Christian faith, joining the Hampton Baptist church and becoming one of its staunch pillars.

This rightabout-face was, of course, much to the chagrin of his former deist friends who began to assail his new faith and allegiance. He became the butt of sharp ridicule and the subject of their mirth. But all this proved a blessing in disguise. He came to know their mode of attack and their processes of thought, as well as their arguments. This doubtless accounts for his later skill in successfully handling deists. He had considered every conceivable objection, more than his opponents were able to muster, and was unable to find one really valid objection to the Christian faith. Thus it was that his faith was established.

III. Two-Year Intensive Search for Bible Truth

For two years, from 1816 to 1818, the Bible became Miller's constant study and meditation. He felt that God was a Being he could trust. But how could he know God except through the Bible? To find Him, and His will and plan for man, thenceforth became the supreme passion of his life. The Bible became

his delight—a solid rock in the midst of the swirling stream of life. His unbelieving friends taunted him with being blind in his faith, just as he had done with others in the day of his own Deism. He had enjoyed propounding perplexing questions to Christians and triumphing over their discomfiture. Now he must receive the same, and meet the issue. “Give me time,” he calmly answered, “and I will harmonize these apparent contradictions.” So it was this challenge of the deists that drove him to intensive study of the Bible, together with his own strong determination to know for himself.

Laying aside all commentaries and preconceived opinions, he took his eighteen-dollar Bible and his eight-dollar *Cruden's Concordance*, and with the marginal notes of the Bible and his well-worn histories, he devoted two entire years to intensive study of its sacred pages. So intense was this study that he often spent entire nights, followed by whole days, in study. He determined to examine the Bible systematically and methodically, and to find the answer to his questionings. So he began with Genesis 1:1, comparing scripture with scripture. He proceeded no faster than the meaning unfolded, as part was harmonized with part. This had also been the simple method of many great Bible students through the centuries, the tried and true Protestant method. At times Miller was delighted with truth that soon became apparent. At other times he was puzzled by the imagery of the prophecies, and was still troubled by seeming contradictions. This prolonged study eventuated in the formulation of a set of rules to be noted later. Symbols and metaphors became clear, and parables and similes were satisfactorily defined. He became profoundly and intelligently convinced that the Bible is “a system of revealed truth.”

IV. Conclusions Reached as Result of This Study

The prophecies especially fascinated him and convinced him of the inspired origin of the Bible. Though expressed in figurative language, they were obviously fulfilled literally and

historically. And he reasoned that these past fulfillments were the assurance and guarantee of the integrity of the portions obviously yet future. He became sure that the historic first advent was soon to be matched by the glorious second advent of our Lord. Here is his own statement of the conclusion reached:

"Finding all the signs of the times and the present condition of the world, to compare harmoniously with the prophetic descriptions of the last days, I was compelled to believe that this world had about reached the limits of the period allotted for its continuance. As I regarded the evidence, I could arrive at no other conclusion."⁵

Finally, in 1818, at the close of these two years of intensive study, he came to believe that there were a dozen points on which he was compelled to differ radically from the popular views of the day. He was persuaded—

1. That the popular view of a temporal millennium *before* the second advent, and the end of the age, was a fallacy.

2. That the theory of the return of the Jews was not sustained by the Word.

3. That Jesus will come again personally, with all the holy angels with Him.

4. That the kingdom of God will be established at that coming.

5. That the earth will perish in a deluge of fire.

6. That the new earth will spring forth out of its ashes.

7. That the righteous dead will be resurrected at the advent.

8. That the wicked dead will not come forth until the close of the thousand years.

9. That the papal Little Horn will be destroyed at the advent.

10. That we are living in the last phase of the outline prophecies—such as, in Daniel 2, in the period of the "feet and toes."

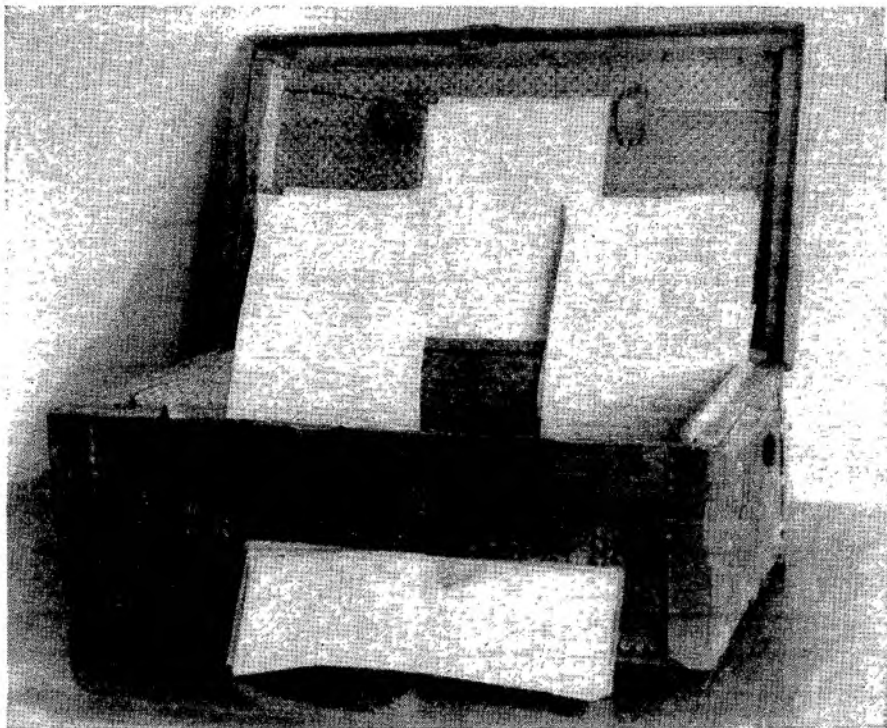
11. That all prophetic time periods—such as the 70 weeks, the 1260 days, and the rest—are to be computed on the year-day principle.

12. That the 2300 year-days, extending from 457 B.C. to about A.D. 1843, will bring the climax of prophecy and of human history; and that Jesus will come "on or before" the Jewish year "1843." His major conclusion, as stated in his own words, was this:

"I was thus brought, in 1818, at the close of my two years' study of the Scriptures, to the solemn conclusion, that in about twenty-five years from that time [1818] all the affairs of our present state would be wound up."

⁵ *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, p. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.



TREASURE CHEST OF MILLERITE SOURCE DOCUMENTS

Repository of the Extensive Correspondence to and From Miller, Together With His Sheriff's Record Book, 1822 Declaration of Faith, and Numerous Manuscripts. These Included Articles, Expositions, Sermon Outlines, Addresses, Charts, Statements for Publication, Petitions From Ministers and Churches for Miller to Bring His Message to Their Communities, and His Ministerial Credentials

So startling were these conclusions of 1818 that Miller felt there must surely be some mistake. No one agreed with him as far as he was then aware.⁷ He was so startled by his findings that he determined to review, to restudy and challenge each step—weighing every objection, such as “no man knows the day or the hour.” This was consistent with his poise and methodical make-up. Thus it was that four years more, from 1818 to 1822, were spent in further laborious, intensive effort, a total of six years of specialized study such as few men ever put into the sheer study of the Bible. Then, on September 22, 1822, in his prime, at the age of forty, having finished his review of the conclusions reached in 1818, and now persuaded that they were sound and true, he wrote his *credo*, or “Compendium of Faith.”

V. Prophecy Held in Balanced Relation to Gospel Fundamentals

One is impressed with this first recorded statement of faith carefully committed to some blank pages in his old sheriff's record book. (Illustration appears on p. 464.) It was not written for other eyes to read, but to crystallize into tangible form a balanced expression of his own inner beliefs after six years of close Bible study, since his conversion in September, 1816. Unable to find a major flaw in his facts and his reasoning, he could come to no conclusion other than that he had already reached.

To Miller the prophecies were simply an integral part of the whole message and provision of the gospel of God. And being of a pronouncedly methodical turn of mind, he framed his convictions, in logical sequence, into an over-all expression of his beliefs. He was a Calvinistic Baptist in church affiliation. So he begins with certain basic fundamentals of Christian truth and follows them with the detailed listing of related points, which together comprise his personal creed. He recorded this “regular system of divinity,” or “my faith,” as he called it, on

⁷ Little did he realize that some of the finest minds in the Old World, as well as in the New, had anticipated his conclusions, and virtually agreed in the time. This he came only gradually to find out.

September 5, 1822, in harmony with the phrasings of the time. This was done, he states, after due "prayer and meditation."

I. MILLER'S TWENTY ARTICLES OF FAITH.—Because of its importance in understanding Miller's work as a whole, this illuminating document is here given practically in its entirety as it reveals the deliberate convictions of this interesting character which are foundational to all that comes hereafter.

"Art. I. I believe the Bible is given by God to man, as a rule for our practice, and a guide to our faith,—that it is a revelation of God to man.

"Art. II. I believe in one living and true God, and that there are three persons in the Godhead. . . .

"Art. III. I believe that God, by his Son, created man in the image of the Triune God, with a body, soul and spirit; and that he was created a moral agent, capable of living, of obeying, or transgressing the laws of his Maker.

"Art. IV. I believe that man, being tempted by the enemy of all good, did transgress and became polluted; from which act, sin entered into the world, and all mankind became naturally sinners, thrust out from the presence of God, and exposed to his just wrath forever.

"Art. V. I believe that God, knowing from eternity the use that man would make of his [free] agency, did, in his council of eternity, ordain that his Son should die; and that through his death salvation should be given to fallen man, through such means as God should appoint.

"Art. VI. I believe that, through the agency of the Holy Spirit, sinners are made the recipients of mercy, in conformity to the Divine plan, founded on the wisdom and knowledge of God; the fruits of which are manifested in the recipient by works of repentance and faith; and without which no man, coming to years of discretion and able to choose between good and evil, can have an interest in the blood and righteousness of Christ.

"Art. VII. I believe that Jesus Christ is an offering of God to sinners for their redemption from sin, and that those who believe in his name may take him by faith, go to God, and find mercy; and that such will in no wise be rejected.

"Art. VIII. I believe that Jesus Christ was the sacrifice for sin which justice demanded; and that all those who confess their sins on the head of this victim, may expect forgiveness of sin through the blood of the atonement, which is in Jesus Christ, the great High Priest in the Holy of Holies.

"Art. IX. I believe the atonement to be made by the intercession of Jesus Christ, and the sprinkling of his blood in the Holy of Holies, and upon the mercy-seat and people; by which means the offended is reconciled to the offender, the offender is brought into subjection to the will

of God; and the effect is, forgiveness of sin, union to the Divine person, and to the household of faith.

"Art. X. I believe all those for whom Christ intercedes, who are united to God by a living faith, and have received the forgiveness of sin through the sprinkling of the blood of Christ, can never perish; but are kept by the mighty power of God through faith unto salvation.

"Art. XI. I believe that all the promises of God are and will be accomplished in Christ Jesus; and that none of the human family are or can be entitled to the promises of grace, but those who are born of the Spirit in Christ Jesus, any more than the antediluvians could have been saved from the deluge without entering the ark.

"Art. XII. I believe that Jesus Christ will eventually take away the sin of the world, and cleanse the earth from all pollution, so that this earth will become the abode of the saints forever, by means which he has appointed; all believers being regenerated, sanctified, justified and glorified.

"Art. XIII. I believe that all final impenitents will be destroyed from the earth, and sent away into a place prepared for the Devil and his angels.

"Art. XIV. I believe Jesus Christ will come again in his glory and person to our earth, where he will accomplish his Divine purposes in the saving of his people, destroying the wicked from the earth, and taking away the sin of the world.

"Art. XV. I believe that the second coming of Jesus Christ is near, even at the door, even within twenty-one years,—on or before 1843.

"Art. XVI. I believe that before Christ comes in his glory, all sectarian principles will be shaken, and the votaries of the several sects scattered to the four winds; and that none will be able to stand but those who are built on the word of God.

"Art. XVII. I believe in the resurrection, both of the just and of the unjust,—the just, or believers, at Christ's second coming, and the unjust one thousand years afterwards,—when the judgment of each will take place in their order, at their several resurrections; when the just will receive everlasting life, and the unjust eternal condemnation.

"Art. XVIII. I believe in the doctrine of election, founded on the will, purpose and fore-knowledge of God; and that all the elect will be saved in the kingdom of God, through the sanctification of the Spirit and the belief of the truth.

"Art. XIX. I believe in the ordinance of baptism by immersion, as a representation of Christ's burial and resurrection,—also of our death to sin and life to holiness.

"Art. XX. I believe in the ordinance of the Lord's supper, to be"⁸—Here the writing breaks off.

⁸ Ms., in Sheriff's Record Book; also printed in Bliss, *Memoirs*, pp. 77-80.

2. FUNDAMENTAL GOSPEL PREMISE PRECEDES PROPHECIES.—

We are here carried along logically from basic belief in an inspired and authoritative Bible, on through Miller's concept of the Godhead, the creation and fall of man, the covenanted death of Christ for the redemption of man, the work of the Holy Spirit in that salvation, Christ's substitutionary atoning death, the atonement continued and applied by the intercession of Christ and His ministry in the heavenly holy of holies, the keeping power of Christ through faith, the necessity of the new birth, the earth first to be cleansed by fire, then to become the eternal abode of the saved, and the finally impenitent to be destroyed from the earth at the second coming of Christ in glory, when He will punish the wicked and save the righteous as the climax of the divine plan of the ages.

All fourteen of these fundamental premises of the gospel are laid down *before* Miller comes to Article XV, which sets forth his belief in the imminent second advent of Christ, about "1843." Then follows his belief that only those established in the Word of God will survive the impending wrath of God. And next comes the two literal resurrections—that of the righteous at the beginning of the millennial thousand years, and the wicked at its close—with the last three points on election, immersion, and the Lord's Supper. He is clearly premillennialist.

Prophecy, and Miller's belief concerning the "last things," are thus held in subservience to the fundamentals of the gospel, and their logical place depicted in the light of the over-all plan of salvation. They fit logically into their related place in the latter phases of the divine plan of the ages. Miller does not here give the reasoning process and the evidence for his belief in Christ's return about "1843." That comes later.

VI. Miller's First Statement of Prophetic Faith

Miller's manner of study is also faithfully recorded. Though rather widely read in theological and Bible lore, in this period of intense study he "laid aside all commentaries, and

used the marginal references and his Concordance as his only helps.”⁹ He had previously studied various commentaries. But he resolutely put aside “all preconceived opinions” and traditional teachings, in order to seek out the “natural and obvious of Scripture meaning.” He wrestled with puzzling passages until they became clear, often devoting whole nights, as well as entire days, to their study. “The great plan of God for the redemption of fallen man” was his abiding theme. Here is his own statement of the process followed for the two years mentioned:

“I determined to lay aside all my prepossessions, to thoroughly compare Scripture with Scripture, and to pursue its study in a regular and methodical manner. I commenced with Genesis, and read verse by verse, proceeding no faster than the meaning of the several passages should be so unfolded as to leave me free from embarrassment respecting any mysticisms or contradictions. Whenever I found anything obscure, my practice was to compare it with all collateral passages; and, by the help of Cruden, I examined all the texts of Scripture in which were found any of the prominent words contained in any obscure portion. Then, by letting every word have its proper bearing on the subject of the text, if my view of it harmonized with every collateral passage in the Bible, it ceased to be a difficulty.

“In this way I pursued the study of the Bible, in my first perusal of it, for about two years, and was fully satisfied that it is its own interpreter. I found that, by a comparison of Scripture with history, all the prophecies, as far as they have been fulfilled, had been fulfilled literally; that all the various figures, metaphors, parables, similitudes, &c., of the Bible, were either explained in their immediate connection, or the terms in which they were expressed were defined in other portions of the word; and, when thus explained, are to be literally understood in accordance with such explanation. I was thus satisfied that the Bible is a system of revealed truths, so clearly and simply given that the ‘wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein.’”¹⁰

1. UNDERSTANDING THE FIGURES OF PROPHECY.—Miller formulated some fourteen “Rules of Interpretation.” Certain of these are worth noting carefully, as they show his processes and procedures in the study of prophecy, and in reaching his conclusions. Observe seven examples:

⁹ *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, p. 6; also in Bliss, *Memoirs*, p. 69.

¹⁰ Bliss, *Memoirs*, pp. 69, 70.

"IV. To understand doctrine, bring all the Scriptures together on the subject you wish to know; then let every word have its proper influence; and if you can form your theory without a contradiction, you cannot be in error. *Proof*, Isa. 28:7-29; 35:8. Prov. 19:27. Luke 24:27, 44, 45. Rom. 16:26. James 5:19. 2 Pet. 1:19, 20.

"V. Scripture must be its own expositor, since it is a rule of itself. If I depend on a teacher to expound to me, and he should guess at its meaning, or desire to have it so on account of his sectarian creed, or to be thought wise, then his guessing, desire, creed or wisdom, is my rule, and not the Bible. *Proof*, Ps. 19:7-11; 119:97-105. Mat. 23:8-10. 1 Cor. 2:12-16. Ezk. 34:18, 19. Luke 11:52. Mat. 2:7, 8.

"VI. God has revealed things to come, by visions, in figures and parables; and in this way the same things are oftentime revealed again and again, by different visions, or in different figures and parables. If you wish to understand them, you must combine them all in one. *Proof*, Ps. 89:19. Hos. 12:10. Hab. 2:2. Acts 2:17. 1 Cor. 10:6. Heb. 9:9, 24. Ps. 78:2. Mat. 13:13, 34. Gen. 41:1-32. Dan. 2d, 7th & 8th. Acts 10:9-16."

"VIII. Figures always have a figurative meaning, and are used much in prophecy to represent future things, times and events,—such as mountains, meaning governments, Dan. 2:35, 44; beasts, meaning kingdoms, Dan. 7:8, 17; waters, meaning people, Rev. 17:1, 15; day, meaning year, &c. Ezk. 4:6."

"X. Figures sometimes have two or more different significations, as day is used in a figurative sense to represent three different periods of time, namely, first, indefinite, Eccles. 7:14; second, definite, a day for a year, Ezk. 4:6; and third, a day for a thousand years, 2 Pet. 3:8."

"XII. To learn the meaning of a figure, trace the word through your Bible, and when you find it explained, substitute the explanation for the word used; and, if it make good sense, you need not look further; if not, look again.

"XIII. To know whether we have the true historical event for the fulfilment of a prophecy: If you find every word of the prophecy (after the figures are understood) is literally fulfilled, then you may know that your history is the true event; but if one word lacks a fulfilment, then you must look for another event, or wait its future development; for God takes care that history and prophecy shall agree, so that the true believing children of God may never be ashamed. Ps. 22:5. Isa. 45:17-19. 1 Pet. 2:6. Rev. 17:17. Acts 3:18."¹¹

2. CHALLENGES "TEMPORAL MILLENNIUM" AND RETURN OF JEWS.—The first major conclusion reached by Miller was that "the popular views of the spiritual reign of Christ—a

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 71.

temporal millennium before the end of the world, and the Jews' return—are not sustained by the Word of God." All the Scriptures upon which these "favorite theories" were based were as clearly expressed as those that had been "*literally* fulfilled" at the first advent, and other events of the past. Applying this principle to the second advent, he reasoned:

"I found it plainly taught in the Scriptures that Jesus Christ will again descend to this earth, coming in the clouds of heaven, in all the glory of his Father: that, at his coming, the kingdom and dominion under the whole heaven will be given to him and the saints of the Most High, who will possess it forever, even for ever and ever: that, as the old world perished by the deluge, so the earth, that now is, is reserved unto fire, to be melted with fervent heat at Christ's coming; after which, according to the promise, it is to become the new earth, wherein the righteous will forever dwell: that, at his coming, the bodies of all the righteous dead will be raised, and all the righteous living be changed from a corruptible to an incorruptible, from a mortal to an immortal state; that they will all be caught up together to meet the Lord in the air, and will reign with him forever in the regenerated earth: that the controversy with Zion will then be finished, her children be delivered from bondage, and from the power of the tempter, and the saints be all presented to God blameless, without spot or wrinkle in love; that the bodies of the wicked will then all be destroyed, and their spirits be reserved in prison until their resurrection and damnation; and that, when the earth is thus regenerated, the righteous raised, and the wicked destroyed, the kingdom of God will have come, when his will will be done on earth as it is done in heaven; that the meek will inherit it, and the kingdom become the saints."¹²

Then continuing, Miller reached these conclusions as to the millennium and the return of the Jews:

"I found that the only millennium taught in the word of God is the thousand years which are to intervene between the first resurrection and that of the rest of the dead, as inculcated in the twentieth of Revelation; and that it must necessarily follow the personal coming of Christ and the regeneration of the earth: that, till Christ's coming, and the end of the world, the righteous and wicked are to continue together on the earth, and that the horn of the Papacy is to war against the saints until his appearing and kingdom, when it will be destroyed by the brightness of Christ's coming; so that there can be no conversion of the world before the advent; and that as the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, is located by Peter after the conflagration, and is declared by him to be the

¹² *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, pp. 7, 8.

same for which we look, according to the promise of Isa. 65:17, and is the same that John saw in vision after the passing away of the former heavens and earth; it must necessarily follow that the various portions of Scripture that refer to the millennial state must have their fulfilment after the resurrection of all the saints that sleep in Jesus. I also found that the promises respecting Israel's restoration are applied by the apostle to all who are Christ's,—the putting on of Christ constituting them Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise."¹³

It is worthy of remembrance that the reaching of these major conclusions preceded Miller's specific study of the chronology of the prophecies, rather than the reverse. *The primary and separating issue was really the premillennial advent as against the popular roseate scheme of world betterment and a temporal millennium.*

3. YEAR-DAY PRINCIPLE FOR TIME PROPHECIES.—But the chronological prophecies likewise had a determinative bearing on all this. So Miller next applied himself to their study. His early conclusions on the prophecies were basic to all his future utterances, as will be seen from his next words:

"Another kind of evidence that vitally affected my mind was the chronology of the Scriptures. I found, on pursuing the study of the Bible, various chronological periods extending, according to my understanding of them, to the coming of the Saviour. I found that predicted events, which had been fulfilled in the past, often occurred within a *given time*. The one hundred and twenty years to the flood, Gen. 6:3; the seven days that were to precede it, with forty days of predicted rain, Gen. 7:4; the four hundred years of the sojourn of Abraham's seed, Gen. 15:13; the three days of the butler's and baker's dreams, Gen. 40:12-20; the seven years of Pharaoh's, Gen. 41:28-54; the forty years in the wilderness, Num. 14:34; the three and a half years of famine, 1 Kings 17:1; the sixty-five years to the breaking of Ephraim, Isa. 7:8; the seventy years' captivity, Jer. 25:11; Nebuchadnezzar's seven times, Dan. 4:13-16; and the seven weeks, three score and two weeks, and the one week, making seventy weeks, determined upon the Jews, Dan. 9:24-27; the events limited by these times were all once only a matter of prophecy, and were fulfilled in accordance with the predictions."¹⁴

Miller thus came to see that the second advent was the grand focal point of all prophecy. And his acquaintance with

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 10. (Italics supplied.)

"the standard Protestant commentators" is particularly noted:

"I saw that, as the events predicted to be fulfilled in prophetic days had been extended over about as many literal years; as God, in Num. 14:34, and Ezek. 4:4-6, had appointed each day for a year; as the seventy weeks to the Messiah were fulfilled in 490 years, and the 1260 prophetic days of the Papal supremacy in 1260 years; and as these prophetic days extending to the advent were given in connection with symbolic prophecy, I could only regard the time as symbolical, and as standing each day for a year, *in accordance with the opinions of all the standard Protestant commentators*. If, then, we could obtain any clue to the time of their commencement, I conceived we should be guided to the probable time of their termination; and, as God would not bestow upon us an useless revelation, I regarded them as conducting us to the time when we might confidently look for the coming of the Chiefest of ten thousand, One altogether lovely."¹⁵

These conclusions he considered wholly orthodox and in harmony with the best expositors. He did not consider himself an innovator or an originator.

4. BELIEVES PROPHETIC PERIODS TERMINATE ABOUT "1843."
—And now, with such clearly established premises and procedures, he reached certain sobering, yes, highly startling conclusions. Here again his expressed familiarity with the "best chronologers" and the "best historians" is to be particularly observed:

"From a further study of the Scriptures, I concluded that the seven times of Gentile supremacy must commence when the Jews ceased to be an independent nation, at the captivity of Manasseh, *which the best chronologers assigned to B.C. 677*; that the 2300 days commenced with the seventy weeks, *which the best chronologers dated from B.C. 457*; and that the 1335 days, commencing with the taking away of the daily, and the setting up of the abomination that maketh desolate, Dan. 12:11, were to be dated from the setting up of the Papal supremacy, after the taking away of Pagan abominations, and which, *according to the best historians* I could consult, should be dated from about A.D. 508. Reckoning all these prophetic periods from the several dates *assigned by the best chronologers* for the events from which they should evidently be reckoned, they would all terminate together, about A.D. 1843."¹⁶

5. REACHES SETTLED CONCLUSIONS ON PROPHECIES.—The

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11. (Italics supplied.)

Bible had now become a new book to Miller. The dark mists of seeming obscurity and mysticism in the prophecies had been dissipated before "the clear light that dawned from its sacred pages." The alleged contradictions and inconsistencies of past deistic days had largely vanished. But he was almost stunned by his tentative yet astonishing conclusions. They had not been anticipated; yet they seemed inevitable. Could they be true? Here is Miller's summarizing statement:

"I commenced their study with no expectation of finding the time of the Saviour's coming, and I could at first hardly believe the result to which I had arrived; but the evidence struck me with such force that I could not resist my convictions. I became nearly settled in my conclusions, and began to wait, and watch, and pray for my Saviour's coming."¹⁷

Such was Miller's specific prophetic faith, slowly developed out of his two years of intensive study and review, as he has placed it on intimate record. His mind was filled with mixed emotions. From then on, for several years, while this was a matter of practically settled conviction, he continued to review and study, and to ponder his relationships and responsibility, in the light of his convictions. He lived a devoted Christian life, was a Sunday school teacher and even superintendent. In church he sometimes served as reader and exhorter, and was exemplary in his support of religious worship. But if his conclusions on prophecy were sound, and such momentous events were actually due within a short space of time, it was obviously important that the world know about it. He knew that it would draw the opposition of the ungodly, but never dreamed it would be opposed by any true Christians. He supposed that they would rejoice in the glorious prospect. Moreover, he was concerned lest others might accept the conclusions without carefully examining the subject. In fact, he feared to present it lest there be some inadvertent error that he had not discovered.¹⁸

6. REVIEWS EVIDENCE AND RESOLVES OBJECTIONS.—Objections and difficulties would, of course, arise in his mind. So

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

he kept on studying to test these out. For example, there was the text, "Of that day and hour knoweth no man." How then could the Bible reveal the time? But he found that we could know when it is "nigh, even at the door"—so we could know the proximity. That was as far as he ever dared to go—"about 1843." And thus he continued his study of the texts commonly used to teach the temporal millennium, a single resurrection, and the return of the Jews—reviewing and testing. Thus he went on from 1818 to 1822 weighing various objections and resolving them. In this way he anticipated all the objections later advanced by opposers. Of this he says:

"But, however strong they at first appeared, after examining them in the light of the Divine Word, I could only compare them to straws, laid down singly, as obstacles, on a well-beaten road: the car of truth rolled over them, unimpeded in its progress."¹⁹

Becoming firmly settled in his personal conclusions, which had been reached some seven years prior, his "duty of presenting the evidence of the nearness" of Christ's advent began to press upon him. He had thrown out occasional hints of his views. Now he began to speak more expressly about it and to write occasional letters about it.²⁰ But the majority regarded it as an idle tale. Nevertheless, he was becoming more and more convinced that he had a personal duty to perform in making known his convictions on the second advent.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

²⁰ Letter, June 25, 1825, to "Dear Brother and Sister," in Bliss, *Memoirs*, pp. 83, 84.

From Initial Sermon to Full-Time Preacher

I. The World Must Be Warned of Coming Events

For several years Miller continued to tell others, in his quiet way, of his faith in the impending second advent, and to write about it to acquaintances, to ministers, and even to strangers. To his astonishment and disappointment, only a few appeared interested, and fewer still appeared at all convinced. Nine years passed in this way. Miller was always a respected and prominent citizen. He was even one of the delegation chosen to meet and entertain General Lafayette when he visited Whitehall. Occasionally he wrote for the papers, and often gave vent to his poetic bent. But the conviction that he must go and tell the world of its impending danger grew upon him. There was a deepening sense of compulsion—that the blood of others would be required of him, if he warned them not, as in Ezekiel 33.

By 1831, when he was now fifty, fourteen years had elapsed since his profession of Christianity. During this period he was a successful farmer, a justice of the peace, and a prominent citizen in the community. He was also Sunday school teacher and superintendent, church clerk, and lay reader and exhorter in the public services of the Hampton, New York, Baptist church. And all this time his special field of interest and study was the prophetic Scriptures, which became clearer and clearer to him.

Then the conviction became inescapable that, *if the end is near, it is important that the world should know it, and that it*

should be proclaimed publicly. But he shrank from such a task. Truman Hendryx, a young Baptist preacher, had learned from his sister of "Squire Miller," who had considerable influence in the community, but who had curious notions on the prophesies. Hendryx decided he would go and see Miller, and prepared well for the ordeal. Miller courteously asked him his views on the millennium, and Hendryx advanced the customary post-millennial theory. "Well," said Miller, "prove it; remember, I only accept the Bible as evidence." Hendryx turned to Revelation 20 and tried to find the supporting text, but could not get his eye on it.

Somewhat confused, he said, "I'll go home; and next Monday I'll return and give you all the passages when I come." But when he came back he had changed over to the premillennial view of the advent. He acknowledged his mistake, and a friendship began between the two that continued for twenty-eight years. He became, according to Miller, his "dearest friend on earth." Incidentally, their correspondence through the years, which has been preserved, reveals the most intimate glimpses of Miller's real character, growth, and strength to be found on record.¹

Many epithets were hurled at Miller. He was called "Crazy Miller," "Prophet Miller," the "end of the world man"—a visionary, fanatic, and dreamer. There was, for example, a neighboring doctor who said that Miller was a fine man and a good neighbor, but that he was a monomaniac on the subject of the second advent. Miller set his heart on winning him. Miller's child became ill, and he sent for this doctor. Meantime Miller sat still, during the visit, quietly simulating illness. The doctor inquired, "What ails you?" Miller answered, "I don't

¹ The basic sources here used are Miller's own personal, autograph letters—written by Miller and received by Miller—and which were retrieved by Bliss for his *Memoirs* of 1855. Along with these are Miller's own handwritten manuscripts, articles, expositions, addresses, charts, diaries, and textbooks, as well as printed articles. The originals are in the Aurora (Illinois) College Library Adventual Collection, with a photostatic set in the Advent Source Collection at the S.D.A. Theological Seminary, another at Review and Herald Publishing Association, publishers of *Prophetic Faith*, in Washington, D.C. The University of Chicago also has a set. Further description in connection with the illustration appears on p. 464.

know, Doctor, but I want you to examine me and prescribe for me." The doctor took his pulse and respiration, and gave him a physical going over, but could find nothing wrong with him.

Miller then ventured, "Doctor, I fear I am a monomaniac. Can you tell? What are the symptoms?" "Well," responded the physician, "a monomaniac is sane and balanced on all subjects but one; on which he is eccentric and sometimes becomes wild and raving." "Well," said Miller, "I insist that you find out. I want you to sit down with me for two hours while I present the subject of the advent. If I am a monomaniac, then you can surely discover it, and can cure me." The doctor demurred, but Miller stated that he could charge at the regular rates for the time required. So they studied Daniel 8 and 9—the cross in A.D. 33, at the end of the 70 weeks of years, which were "cut off" as the first part of the 2300 years, with the 1810 years remaining leading to "1843."

Miller was quiet but convincing. The doctor, sensing the ruse, left the house in anger, still calling Miller a visionary, a dreamer, and a fanatic. But three days later he returned and said he was a lost man, and wanted Miller to help him to find Christ—which he did, and the doctor accepted both Christ and the second advent hope. Through such personal witness as this, and by writing out his views to friends, Miller hoped that he would fulfill his obligations. But he could not escape the deepening conviction that he must "go and tell it to the world." And in time this conviction became a demand to which he must soon yield.

II. Prophetic "Evidences" Outlined for Andrus Early in 1831

Little is actually known of these largely silent years. But Miller made notes in what he called a "Text Book," on the special sermons preached at Hampton by visiting ministers between January and August, 1829. This, fortunately, has been preserved. There were usually two services at the church, one in the "A.M." and one in the "P.M." "Elder Andrus" was the

preacher most frequently noted. There are also outlines of sermons by "Elder Fuller," of Poultney, who later was one of the first ministers to accept Miller's positions on the advent. Some of these outlines are fairly complete. He was thus unconsciously becoming acquainted with the construction of sermons, which was to prove highly helpful to him later.

Andrus evidently was one of those to whom Miller candidly expressed his convictions on the second advent, as an eight-page manuscript attests, written to him on February 15, 1831. It bears the heading, "A Few Evidences of the Time of the 2nd Coming of Christ to Eldr. Andrus by Wm. Miller." It is a somewhat formal presentation of prophetic evidences, made six months before Miller's first public address. It is highly revealing, as it discloses that Miller's views had at that time fairly well crystallized into a system of exposition, with each prophecy tied into the other prophecies in balanced relationship. The opening sentence is quite comprehensive and defines the terms under discussion. It reads:

"The 1st proof we have, as it respects Christ's 2nd coming as to time, is in Dan'l, 8.14. 'unto 2300 days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed'—by days we are to understand years, sanctuary we understand the church; cleansed we may reasonably suppose means that compleat redemption from sin, both soul and body, after the resurrection, when Christ comes the 2nd time 'without sin unto salvation.' " ²

1. REITERATES STANDARD POSITIONS ON DANIEL 7 AND 8.—Then Miller presents a bird's-eye view of the evidence from Daniel 7 on the four successive world empires—Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome—which lead on through to the second advent. The Little Horn is declared to be the Antichrist, and the time of his reign, 1260 years, with the judgment day as the climax of the outline. Next follows a discussion of Daniel 8, depicting Medo-Persia, Grecia, and Rome, and the 2300 years extending to the end of the prophecy. And Daniel 9 is given as the explanatory key to unlock the vision of Daniel 8. Miller is

² Ms., "A Few Evidences of the Time of the 2nd Coming of Christ to Eldr. Andrus by Wm. Miller," Feb. 15, 1831, p. 1.

not at this time as positive on the dating of the 2300 years as he became by the time of his first sermon, on August 14. Now, in February, in writing to Andrus he simply places it, approximately, from "about 455" to "about 1845."³

2. CHALLENGES POPULAR VIEW OF TEMPORAL MILLENNIUM.—Miller turns next to the book of Revelation to "consult the times spoken of there," which he said were similarly drawing to their close. And the "prevailing opinion of the day," on the temporal millennium, is vigorously discussed by Miller, who plainly and emphatically declares, "I know of no scripture to warrant such a conclusion." He then alludes to the "mystical meaning" deduced from the six days of creation week, and avers that the prevalent false millennial theory "has led mankind into more delusion than any other thing or manner of explaining Scripture ever did." That was always the crux of his difference with the popular theologians of his day, as is clearly noted here.⁴

3. ENDS 1335 YEARS WITH 2300 IN "1843."—Miller now surveys the positive New Testament evidences on the second coming of Christ. These he lists as follows: Christ will come when His "mediatorial" work is finished. He will come when Antichrist is destroyed after his 1260-year reign ends; when the earth is under the third woe; when the seventh trumpet sounds and the seventh vial is poured out; when the last great battle between the kings of the earth takes place; and when Daniel's 1290 year-days have ended. Then he observes: "Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to 1335 days, which is 45 years more [than the 1290 years] and it will bring us down to 1843—the same time of Daniel's 2300 days."⁵

4. ENDS 1260 YEARS IN 1798; 391 YEARS IN 1843.—The slaying of the "two witnesses," which he held to be the Old and

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3. He had possibly been influenced by some of the British expositions then in circulation in this country.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5. To this Dowling, an opponent of Miller, agrees.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

New Testaments, was placed from 1793 to 1796, as related to the pope's loss of power for a time in 1798. Since then the Bible Societies have caused the Bible to arise again, and missionary societies have been formed to distribute and expound it. Miller felt that mankind had entered upon the time of the last woe, and that the 391 years of the sixth trumpet, in Revelation 9:15, were from the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to 1843. He thought they were likewise living in the period of the preaching of the special gospel message of Revelation 10:12, when prophetic "time" should be no more. The sixth vial, he felt, had been poured out on the Turks, and their strength was in process of being dried up to make way for the coming of the kings of the East.⁶

5. LAST GREAT CRISIS EXPECTED IN 1843-1847.—The "last woe, the 7th trumpet, and the seventh vial closes the scene of this world," Miller averred. "Then Christ comes with his saints, and destroys the wicked, burns up the world, and lives and reigns with his people a 1000 years in the new earth and new heavens." Then he brings his summary of "evidences" to a close with this comprehensive statement:

"From the force of the scripture testimony I am led irresistibly to believe that the civil Power of the Pope (antichrist) did end in 1798 since which time she has not trod the Chh [church] under her feet, nor reigned over the Kings of the Earth, and that in 45 years more Danl vision will end, and Christ will come. One thing only remains to be accomplished, that is the great Battle in which all the Kings of the Earth will be engaged, *the Kings, Antichrist—and the Mahomatans* are 'the 3 unclean spirits' which will be engaged in this war, against those who will contend for Liberty, and the rights of conscience, and 1843 or 1847 at most Christ will come the 2nd time without sin unto salvation."⁷

Such were Miller's views as they were crystallizing, shortly before his first sermon on the prophecies in the summer of 1831. In the main they corresponded with what scores had written and published in the early decades of the nineteenth century, in both the Old World and the New, before Miller had written

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

out his convictions. But writing such a manuscript to a ministerial friend could not free his mind from that impelling sense of duty that he must publicly proclaim his faith.

III. Miller's First Sermon Based on Daniel 7 and 8

Miller's deepening distress and inward struggle of conscience over his duty to tell his convictions to the world came to a climax one eventful summer's day in 1831.⁸ It was the second Saturday of the month, which was August 13,⁹ and Miller was at home in Low Hampton. He had finished breakfast, and had spent a little time at his old-fashioned desk in the pleasant east room of his sturdy farm house, checking further upon "some point" in his study. As he rose to go about some task, the conviction came to his mind with greater urgency than ever before, "Go and tell it to the world." It was just as if God had spoken the words. The impression was so realistic and so powerful that he sank back into his well-worn chair and entered into an actual colloquy about the matter. "I can't go, Lord," he said. "Why not?" seemed to come the answering question.

Miller marshaled all the old threadbare excuses that he could summon—about his age, not being a preacher, his lack of training, want of ability, slowness of speech, and the like. But not one of them, or all of them together, could silence the voice of conviction that insisted it was his bounden obligation to share his faith with others in a public way. His distress of soul became so great that he entered then and there into a solemn covenant with God, sealed with prayer, that if God definitely opened the way he would go and perform his duty to the world. "What do

⁸ This recital of Miller's first sermon is drawn from four sources: (1) Joshua V. Himes, "Memoir of Miller" in *Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology* (1842), p. 12, which was based upon Miller's own letters to Himes, and published with his knowledge and approval; (2) *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence* (1845), pp. 16-18, his own personal statement; and (3) Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs* (1835), pp. 97-99, together with (4) Miller's correspondence, especially his manuscript letters to Hendryx, in 1831 and 1832.

⁹ In his later *Apology and Defence* (1845) Miller dates the time of that first sermon from memory—"as nearly as I [Miller] can remember, was about the first Sabbath in August, 1833" (page 18). So Bliss, his biographer, simply repeats the inaccurate "first Sabbath in August" phrase (Bliss, *Memoirs*, p. 98, note). But contemporary correspondence indicates the second Sunday, or August 14, and the year is definitely established as 1831. Bliss clearly states this. (*Ibid.*, pp. 97, 98.) And Dr. E. N. Dick, after painstaking investigation of the Millerite movement so places it. (*Founders of the Message*, p. 1831.) See also F. D. Nichol, who has likewise made an exhaustive study of the sources. (*The Midnight Cry*, pp. 41-43, 53.)

you mean by opening the way?" the voice seemed to ask. "Why," he replied, "if I should have an invitation to speak publicly in any place, I will go and tell them what I have found."¹⁰

So, after the long, hard struggle, he had consented to go out and attempt to speak on the subject—if *the Lord should open the way*. Little did he dream that within a scant half hour he would be confronted with just such an opening. He had thought himself safe, through the terms of his condition, from having to carry out his compact. His burden seemed lifted, and he felt relieved. But at that self-same moment a lad of sixteen was riding down the road on horseback from nearby Dresden to Low Hampton, bearing an invitation to Miller to come and tell the members of the Baptist church of Dresden his views on the second advent.

This lad, Irving Guilford, was Miller's nephew, the son of his sister Sylvia, who, with her husband Silas, was a faithful leader in the Dresden Baptist church. They had been discussing the absence of their pastor for the next few days, and Silas had proposed that they ask "William" to come over for Sunday, and tell them of his convictions on the second advent, based on his years of personal Bible study. They would gather in their neighbors, mostly Baptists, and he could just talk to them about it if he did not care to preach. The church group could even meet in the large living room of their log home, instead of in the church, if that would make it easier for him. So they had dispatched the lad, who reached Miller's home soon after his solemn covenant with the Lord.

Then came the knock at Miller's door, and Irving Guilford entered and delivered his message—that "our minister is away, and the folks want you to come and talk to the people on the second advent of Christ. We'll have the neighbors come to our house, and you can have the whole church there." The astonished Miller was thunderstruck, and was angry with himself for the covenant he had made. He himself says of the episode, "I

¹⁰ Wm. Miller's *Apology and Defence*, pp. 16, 17.

rebelled at once against the Lord, and determined not to go.”²¹ Without a word he turned and stalked rather stormily out of the house. He went down the sloping yard, heading for the adjoining maple grove, where he could battle it out on his knees.

The struggle was intense. He had come to that crucial moment of decision that comes to many a life that is moved by deep conviction. In the shadows of the maple grove, hard by his home, Miller fell to his knees and first prayed that God would release him from his promise. But the only answer he seemed to receive was the now familiar, “Go and tell it to the world.” And in the somber silence of the grove his conscience thundered, “Will you make a covenant with God and break it so soon?” He had promised that if he were called upon to speak forth his faith in public he would go. God had taken him at his word, and now in less than half an hour he had had that call. That was obviously the issue, clear and simple.

There was but one answer that a man of Miller’s caliber and character could return. He who had been an officer in the Army, under orders from his commander in chief, and who had come from stern New England fighting stock, must not, and would not, renege. His word of honor was at stake. He had specifically promised that he would respond if he were invited to go and tell his faith. And here was the call. So then and there upon his knees, he surrendered to the clear mandate of God, and said, “Lord, I will go.”

He returned to the house with the peace of God in his heart. The lad was waiting for the answer, and Miller told him that after they had had dinner he would go with him. So that sultry August afternoon, taking his thumb-worn Bible and hymn-book, they left for Dresden, sixteen miles distant—and for Miller’s first public discourse. The next morning dawned—Sunday, August 14—and the neighbors who belonged to the little Baptist church of Dresden came flocking into the comfortable Guilford home. Miller found himself facing a well-

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18. (See also Hiram S. Guilford, Ms. letter to A. W. Spalding, Jan. 24, 1907.)

filled house. Many sat on quilt-covered planks stretched from stool to chair, and chair to wood box or chopping block. Miller sat in the big armchair, and the people waited to hear. After prayer and a hymn Miller began. Here are his own words:

"As soon as I commenced speaking, all my diffidence and embarrassment were gone, and I felt impressed only with the greatness of the subject, which, by the providence of God, I was enabled to present."¹²

The scene reminds one vividly of the epochal discourse of Archbishop Eberhard II, of Salzburg, in the long ago, at the Council of Regensburg in 1240—the first sermon recorded in history which identified the Little Horn historically as the Papacy; and then of the similar episode, three centuries later under John Knox of Scotland, and his very first discourse, on Daniel 7, in old St. Andrew's Castle in 1547, at the outset of the Scottish Reformation.¹³ But Miller was another three centuries this side of Knox, as in 1831 he first read and expounded to the little Baptist church group the message of Daniel 7.

Like Knox, he showed just how the four empires of Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Grecia, and Rome under the symbols of the lion, bear, leopard, and the terrible beast with iron teeth had each come and gone, and how that papal "Little Horn" had appeared among the divisions of Rome, and had persecuted the saints of God during the course of the long 1260 years. But Miller then did what Knox did not do back in his day—he added another division to his discourse. He next turned to Daniel 8, and explained that chapter along with Daniel 7 and its 1260 years—how 2300 years after the command to restore and rebuild Jerusalem the sanctuary would be cleansed, which he thought meant the cleansing of the earth by fire at Christ's second advent.¹⁴

That, he solemnly stated, was the special truth due for the time then present. And he showed how the commandment went

¹² *Ibid.* Aside from sources, intimate and accurate accounts of this Dresden meeting appear in A. W. Spalding, *Footprints of the Pioneers*, chap. 2; and F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, chap. 3.

¹³ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 796-806; Vol. II, pp. 450-452.

¹⁴ A. W. Spalding, *Footprints of the Pioneers*, p. 23.

forth in 457 B.C., and they could figure out for themselves that the 2300 years would then end "about 1843." They must prepare for the coming of the Lord. Prophecy was thus the throbbing heart of his first public discourse, just as it continued to be the central theme throughout the approximately four thousand sermons he preached from that day on, up till 1844.¹⁵ The little group was profoundly moved. They had never heard anything like it before. The message reached home, and tears came to the eyes of strong men, while gentle women wept under his earnest appeal. After the meeting they crowded around Miller and plied him with questions—about the "beasts" meaning kingdoms, and the "days" standing for years, and about the "sanctuary" that was to be cleansed. Others went away, pondering silently but soberly the unusual message of the man from Low Hampton, who had come to "fill in" while their pastor was away. It was a fateful day, that August 14, of 1831.

This maiden "lecture," as Miller described it, must have made a marked impression upon his listeners, for they wanted to hear more. His message could not be given in just one sermon, so they made him promise to continue his lectures throughout the week, closing the next Sunday. He stayed on, stopping at his sister's house. The remainder of the series was evidently transferred to the modest Baptist church in nearby Dresden, now called Clemons. (Photograph appears on p. 487.) A number who had grown cold were converted again, and active church members confessed their sins and sought to get ready to meet their returning Lord. All but two of the members of thirteen families were "hopefully converted" to Christ, and began to prepare for His second coming—and the Guilfords were among those who accepted Miller's views.

People came not only from the community but from nearby towns, and a revival developed. Many began to believe Miller's message. And the preaching of the approaching second advent naturally led his auditors to seek to be ready for that

¹⁵ *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, p. 22.



SCENES OF MILLER'S EARLIEST SERMONS ON THE IMMINENCE OF THE ADVENT

(Left) Little White Baptist Church in Dresden Township (Now Clemons), New York, Where Miller Gave His Initial Series of Sermons on the Second Advent in the Light of Prophecy During the Week Beginning August 14, 1831. Immediately Afterward He Preached a Similar Series in East Poultney, Vermont, in the Stately Baptist "Meeting House on the Green"—an Architectural Gem in White (Right). On the Bell Calling to Worship the Inscription Reads, "Let Him That Heareth Say, Come." "Elder Fuller" Was Its Pastor

transcendent event. Rooted and grounded in prophecy, his very first addresses had indeed made a profound impression upon the community. A work had begun at Dresden, during that fateful week in August, the significance of which no one realized at the time.

And the sequel is equally interesting and important. Miller had no sooner returned to his home the next Monday, from this first series of public lectures in Dresden, than he found a letter awaiting from "Elder Fuller," the Baptist minister of Poultney, Vermont, only a few miles distant—where Miller had lived several earlier years as a deist—asking him to come and tell his congregation of Miller's belief in the second advent. At that time Fuller had not as yet heard of the Dresden episode.¹⁶

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

Thus the door of invitation opened the second time. Miller responded, speaking in the Poultney Baptist church, and with similar results. (Photograph appears on p. 487.) But these were not the end; they were only the beginning. He went on, by request, to Pawlet and to other towns in the vicinity. The die was cast. The Dresden and Poultney experiences were destined to be repeated scores, yes, literally hundreds and hundreds of times, in Baptist, Methodist, Congregational, and other churches throughout New England, eastern Canada, and finally as far west as Ohio and as far south as Maryland. Backsliders were reclaimed and worldlings converted.

Incidentally, Elder Fuller, of Poultney, became Miller's first ministerial convert to his second advent views.¹⁷ And it is also worthy of note, in passing, that the geographical proximity of these earliest invitations reveals the esteem in which Miller was held locally, and the effectiveness of even his earliest attempts at preaching. Soon he received so many invitations that he could not possibly respond to them all. But that will be noted later. Of this Miller testifies:

"The most pressing invitations from the ministry, and the leading members of the churches poured in continually, from that time, during the whole period of my public labors, and with more than one half of which I was unable to comply. Churches were thrown open everywhere, and I lectured to crowded houses, through the western part of Vermont, the northern part of New York, and in Canada East."¹⁸

The Millerite movement was now definitely, though locally, under way.

IV. Intimate Glimpses Afforded by Personal Letters

A revealing series of intimate personal letters, beginning in 1831, was exchanged between Miller and Truman Hendryx, the Baptist minister designated as his "best friend."¹⁹ These missives unfold the expanding views, the experiences, and early

¹⁷ Bliss, *Memoirs*, p. 105, note.

¹⁸ *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, p. 19.

¹⁹ Ms. letter. Miller to Truman Hendryx, Feb. 25, 1834.

activities of Miller more candidly than any other documents extant. His quaint and often whimsical expressions are highly interesting. They bring out the humanness, the wholesomeness, the strong sense of humor and balance, and the real spirit of Miller, in a way not found in any other records. Miller was normal in his attitudes, and the deepening friendship between the two was based on love of the Bible. A few excerpts must suffice.

Miller's acquaintance with Hendryx dated from July 6, 1831, when the latter visited the Baptist church of Hampton on a successful preaching mission and revival. It was during this visit that Miller persuaded Hendryx of the fallacy of the "world's conversion a thousand years before the Advent" theory. And Miller's first letter to him, penned August 9, 1831—just a few days before his own first sermon at Dresden—was to report on the successful aftermath of the Low Hampton revival meetings and to expound further his views on the prophecies and the second advent in response to Hendryx's appeal for "more light." Miller's response is so illuminating that the vital portion of this initial letter, hurriedly written, is reproduced:

"You say, Bro. Hendryx, you want '*more light*.' I wish that you might receive it, and I shall be willing to assist you with what little I have at every convenient opportunity. Do not be discouraged, when you have studied 14 years, if you do not find '*more light*,' then you may complain. But you say in 12 years the mystery of God will be finished.²⁰ Agreed. You know I proved this 4 ways—1st by the length of Daniels vision, 2d by Dan'l reign of Antichrist & 45 years beyond [the 1290], 3d by the two days or 2000 years, & 4th by the sounding of the sixth trumpet.

"1st. Then, Daniel's vision is 2300 years, see Daniel 8:13, 14 which vision began when the Persian Kingdom was pushing its conquests, see Daniel 8:4 & 20. It also began in the reign of Artaxerxes when the Decree went out to restore & build Jerusalem in troublous times. See Dan'l. 9:25. Ezra 7:2. It also began in the reign of the 5th King of Persia, or the 4th from Daniel, viz. Cyrus under whose reign Daniel lived. See Daniel 10:1st. Cambyses, Darius, Xerxes (or Ahasuerus) and Artaxerxes. See Daniel 11:2, 3. Now these 3 events happened at one and the same time, and were

²⁰ Hendryx also apparently believed, as did many others at the time, that some crucial event would take place about 1843—"12 years" from 1831.

457 years before Christ's birth & 70 weeks or 490 [years] before Christ's crucifixion, thus take 457 out of 2300 leaves 1843."²¹

This missive then expounds his own view of Bible prophecy, which he felt was definitely due the world. It was obviously about what he presented to the Dresden Baptist church group but a few days later. In another letter to Hendryx, early in 1832, Miller tells of preparing certain articles for the Baptist Vermont *Telegraph*. And in March he tells his friend of a discussion with a young preacher who had come to point out Miller's "errors." This contact extended over a number of days, and affords a glimpse of Miller's method. He wrote:

"We went to work, night and day, and he has just left me, Monday 3 o'clock P.M. He has got his load. And as he says he never was so loaded before. You may say this is boasting. *No, No*, Br. Hendryx you know better. I only made him read Bible. And I held the concordance, no praise to me, give God the Glory. At any rate he will find it hard to resist the truth. He wants me to let him come and board with me two or three months to study BIBLE. He is a young man of brilliant talents."²²

Here we catch a glimpse of Miller's remarkable vigor, his drive, and earnestness. Here we see the Bible as his textbook, the source of all spiritual wisdom and authority. Such intense personal work was constant. And a growing concern in some of the churches over the second advent is also revealed in this quotation:

"I have somebody to labor with almost daily. I have been into Poultney [a return visit], and some other places to lecture on the coming of Christ. And in every case I have had large assemblies. There is an increasing anxiety on the subject in this quarter."²³

And here is disclosed his philosophy of preaching and teaching—thoroughness, earnestness, and sincerity. It was wholly Biblicocentric, and uplifted Christ. This he likewise shares with Hendryx:

"I would therefore advise you to lead your hearers by slow and sure steps to Jesus Christ, I say *slow* because I expect they are not strong enough to run yet. *Sure* because the Bible is a sure word. And where your hearers

²¹ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, Aug. 9, 1831. Josephus, Rollin, and Mosheim are cited.

²² Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, March 26, 1832.

²³ *Ibid.*

are not well doctrinated, you must preach *Bible*, you must prove all things by *Bible*, you must talk *Bible*. You must exhort *Bible*, you must pray *Bible*, and Love *Bible*, and do all in your power to make others Love *Bible* too. One great means to do good is, to make your parishiners sensible that you are in earnest and fully and solemnly believe what you preach. If you wish your people to feel, feel yourself; if you wish them to believe as you do, show them by your constant assiduity in teaching, that you sincerely wish it. You can do more good by the fireside, and in your conference circles than in the pulpit.”²⁴

Some time elapsed before the letter was finished. Meantime “two numbers [of his earliest articles] in the *Telegraph*” had appeared, and “more will soon follow.” He is confident they will start “some inquiries,” which they did. Then he tells of growing “opposition” from those who ought, instead, to be teaching the truth of the advent. Six months pass, and he expresses the wish that he might again see Hendryx so they might sit down and “have a good dish of Bible together,” as he puts it quaintly. His own strong personal convictions are repeated. The breadth of the gospel and the relationship of the second advent to the over-all plan of redemption appears:

“The light is continually breaking in; and I am more and more confirmed in those things of which I told you, when you were here, (to wit) Redemption by Grace, the efficacy of Christ’s blood. Justification by his righteousness imputed to us. Sanctification through the operation of the Divine Spirit and Glorification by our gathering together unto him at his coming and his appearing.”²⁵

Miller’s traveling, preaching, and correspondence was increasing, though to this time it had been only a little more than a year since his first sermon. His articles in the *Telegraph* were now beginning to bear tangible fruit. Then early in 1833 he received a letter from a Congregational minister, Henry Jones, agent for the circulation of temperance papers, and destined to become a rather prominent associate in the Millerite movement. His interest had been aroused by Miller’s views on the millennium, as presented in his articles in the *Telegraph*, over the signature, “W.M.” He wishes to discuss the question with

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, Oct. 1, 1832.

Miller. Serious-minded ministers were now beginning to take note. Congregationalist Henry Jones says:

"I am aware, that most of our Bible men, would consider you very visionary or fanatical, were they to be informed of your views, & tho' I know not, but you are truly so, & running wild, I should be very glad to see you, & talk with you, several hours, as I was told, that you had made the subject your great study for many years, & now stand ready to talk upon it, & to defend it against all plausible objections." ²⁶

Then in a second and a third letter Jones plies Miller with a whole series of searching questions. Soon Miller writes to Hendryx:

"The Lord is scattering the seed, I can now reckon eight ministers that preach this doctrine more or less beside yourself, and whether you do or not, your letter does not state. I know of more than 100 private [lay] brethren that say they have adopted my views as their belief, be that as it may 'truth is mighty and will prevail.'" ²⁷

Then he tells Hendryx of the license to preach just issued to him by the Low Hampton Baptist church. Meanwhile, Miller was going hither and yon, lecturing on the prophecies. One day on a steamboat on the Hudson he expounded the prophecies to a group of men entranced with the developing marvels of the day. Having expressed himself on the times, he withdrew to the other end of the boat. But the whole group followed, and requested him to continue. So he led them through the prophecies, and then handed them copies of his newly printed sixty-four page pamphlet. ²⁸

Next, the Low Hampton Baptist church (his own home group) had been without a preacher for some time, and Miller was called upon to "supply," which bespoke confidence. So he writes to Hendryx:

"We have no preacher as yet—except the *old man* with his *concordance*. And he is so shunned with his cold, dull & lifeless performance, that I have strong doubts whether he will attempt again—but hush, not a word of what I tell you. Send us a minister if you can. . . .

"I wish I had the tongue of an Appollos and the powers of mind of a

²⁶ Ms. letter, Henry Jones to William Miller. Dec. 27, 1832.

²⁷ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, Feb. 8, 1833.

²⁸ Bliss, *Memoirs*, p. 106.

Paul, what a field might I not explore, & what powerful arguments might not be brought to prove the authenticity of the Scriptures, but I want one thing, more than either, the spirit of Christ and of God, for he is able to take *worms* and thrash *mountains*.”²⁹

In their frank exchange, Hendryx evidently had twitted Miller gently on his age, who quickly retorted:

“You laugh Br. Hendryx: to think old Brother Miller is preaching. But laugh on, you are not the only one that laughs, and it is all right. I deserve it. But if I could preach the truth, it is all I could ask. Can you tell me how old Noah was when he began to preach? And Lot, Moses etc.”³⁰

But the ability that he soon developed to hold the rapt attention of great audiences for rather extended periods—one and a half to two hours was then the custom—evidences Miller’s remarkable acquaintance with Bible prophecy coupled with interest-holding delivery. Miller was a man of tremendous drive and thought, and acted intensely. His language was fervid and colorful, and he drafted heavily on adjectives and adverbs. Few younger men could have followed his strenuous pace. But periodic ill health had evidently made him conscious of his advancing years, for he constantly refers to his age. He often writes with a play on words. Then he tells of enough openings for preaching to consume a full year. He now gives a week’s series at most appointments. Matters are moving rapidly. Here is the current picture, in 1834, told by his postscript:

“Spend about a week in a place, have very crowded assemblies, generally more last day, than preceding. Many say it looks rational and go to reading, some scoff and ridicule, others believe it is true. Ministers generally are the hardest to be convinced, yet they say ‘They can bring no argument but what the *old* man will remove.’ You know Ester, he happened in one evening where I was lecturing (tho’ he laughed & jeered before,) next day sent me an invitation. Case of Cornwall, laughed and ridiculed. I went & lectured four nights. 5 ministers present. Case was first to believe.”³¹

V. Miller Becomes a Full-Time Preacher in 1834

From his initial sermon in Dresden, on August 14, 1831, up to October 1, 1834, Miller’s preaching was simply an avocation,

²⁹ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, April 10, 1833.

³⁰ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, Feb. 25, 1834. Miller was then fifty-two, and had begun preaching when about fifty.

³¹ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, Nov. 28, 1834.

and more or less intermittent. He still operated his farm, and still served as justice of the peace. Between his other duties he would go at his own expense, when and where invited. He still had the responsibility for his farm and his livelihood. So his preaching was something extra—a labor of love, the discharge of a moral obligation, the carrying out of his solemn vow to God, and always in response to the invitations of others. At the same time he was in the afternoon of life, without the advantage of a formal academic education, with little experience as a public speaker, and until now without ministerial papers. There was, moreover, considerable prejudice on the part of many against attempting to understand the prophecies. Yet for years he traveled extensively, at his own expense, and endured hardship and scoffing—and all the while having his family to support.

Then, in 1834, came the time when he could put his farm into the hands of his sons—reserving only one hundred dollars yearly toward his own expenses. Not till his journeys became long and expensive did he permit the people among whom he preached to pay his traveling expenses. And he received no profit from the sale of his books.

At first Miller had no authorizing papers, no churchly credentials. When he spoke he did so solely on his own responsibility. But with the issuance of a license to preach, by the Low Hampton Baptist church in 1833, the recognition of the church was now added to his own inner conviction of the call of God to preach. And so, in 1834, with both his sixty-four page pamphlet and his license to give added force to his message, he gave himself fully to what now was to him a clear mandate from God, attested by the church. In October, after the harvesting was over, he entered upon this new relationship to his task of witnessing. In one of those delightfully human letters with its refreshing candor, written to his friend Hendryx, he simply declares, “I devote my whole time, lecturing.”³²

Preaching now became Miller's vocation, his supreme busi-

³² *Ibid.*

Let Brotherly love continue

The Baptists Church of Christ in Hampton
and White-Hall Co. certify that Br Wm Millers
is a member in regular standing in this
Church - Br Millers has been improving his gifts
with us in expounding the words of Divine Truth
in Publick for some time past to the appreciation
and edification of the Church -

We are satisfied Br Millers has a gift to improve
in Publick and are willing he should improve
the same wherever his lots may be cast in
the Zion of God - that the name of the Lord
may be glorified and His followers edified

Done in Church Meeting Thursday September
12th 1833 By wisdom of the Church

Byron S. L. Harlow Ch. Clerk

INITIAL MINISTERIAL LICENSE GRANTED TO MILLER IN 1833

Issued Jointly by the Hampton and White-Hall, New York, Baptist Churches,
Miller Was Thus Given Ministerial Standing, and Soon Devoted His Entire Time
to Preaching. This Was Followed by a Unique Interdenominational Credential
Signed by Seventeen Clergymen From Various Denominations

ness in life. Telling the world of his faith in the approaching
advent, which he premised on the prophecies, became his one
great mission. He now began a diary, or journal, of his travels,
in which he listed all of his preaching appointments. This he
called his "Text Book," doubtless because in it are recorded the
main texts used with each sermon preached. These texts were
usually two in number, one often from the Old Testament
and the other from the New. At the top of the first page the line
appears, "Beginning October 1st, 1834."

It was the beginning of a new and intensive travel life.

All of New England became his parish, together with Ontario and Quebec, or Canada West and East, and then gradually extending westward and southward. There was a marked expansion of his activities and an acceleration in the tempo of his lecturing. His first Text Book covers a period of "four years, six months, and nine days." This systematic tabulation of his preaching career, to which details from his correspondence can be added (and much of which has been preserved)—along with the records of the secular and religious press, and the writings of close associates—taken together comprise a picture that is most revealing. Such is the unfolding panorama of a developing movement without a parallel in modern times, and perhaps not since Reformation days.

Through his preaching, infidelity was made to yield its iron grip on hundreds of minds, Deism was forced to confess the truth of the Inspired Word, and the sandy foundations of Universalism were shaken whenever men were persuaded to attend Miller's whole course of lectures. And hundreds of sound, independent thinkers came to have an experimental knowledge of the blended justice and mercy of God and the sacrifice of Jesus Christ.³³

VI. "Text Books" Disclose Amazing Accomplishments

Two little Text Books, or diaries, covering his preaching tours, speak volumes. Recording date, place, sometimes the meeting place, and always the texts used, they tell of amazing personal perseverance and accomplishment. The mere physical travel feature in itself, achieved by the slow stage, steamer, train, and horse and buggy accommodations of the time, is phenomenal—4,560 miles of it in the second book, just between October 1, 1839 and October 1, 1840.³⁴ And Miller's amazing speaking program—comprehending some four thousand ser-

³³ Joshua V. Himes, "Memoir of William Miller," *Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology*, pp. 12, 13.

³⁴ See "Text Book," under April 15, 1841.

Handwritten tabular chart from Miller's Text Book. The header row reads: "Text Book Preaching Ser. 1st. 2d." and "Place Book Chpt. Ser. Ser. Chpt. Ser." Below this, the entries are as follows:

Text	Place	Book	Chpt.	Ser.	Ser.	Chpt.	Ser.
1831	Trenton, Oct. 1 st	15	18	Rea.	8	13	
1832	Theraville, 5.	Rea.	34	20	Tab.	33	24
1833	Bethmanton, 6.	8	3	Paul	13	14	

Handwritten summary entry from Miller's Text Book. The text reads: "These entries may later enter into Chap. Making 800 lectures from Oct 1 1834 June 7 1839 4 years 6. Mon 9 days."

SAMPLE ENTRIES IN MILLER'S FIRST TEXT BOOK

In Addition to the Tabulation of His Increasing Appointments, With Place, Date, and Texts, There Are Periodic Entries Summarizing His Travels, the Results of His Meetings, and Related Interesting Data

mons in nine years³⁵—is likewise a remarkable achievement, for many of these were given in the largest auditoriums, churches, halls, tents, and tabernacles available. And they included immense outdoor audiences of eight to ten thousand people—and all without benefit of public-address systems or augmenting amplifiers.³⁶

³⁵ Wm. Miller's *Apology and Defence*, p. 22.

³⁶ In order for one to obtain an accurate over-all picture of Miller's activities and achievements, a comprehensive tabular chart was worked out for guidance here in Part II. The first notation begins with Miller's first sermon, or sermon-series, August 14-21, 1831, at Dresden, New York. The entries continue, based on whatever records are available from letters, *Memoirs*, manuscripts, and historical notes. "Text Book" No. 1 runs from October 1, 1834, onward to September 14, 1839. There were 318 separate series of lectures in all, usually continuing from four days to two weeks each, and often with two or three speaking appointments a day. "Text Book" No. 2 opens with the entry for "Westford, Vt., June 16, 1839," and closes with "Sept. 20, 1844," as the last notation.

This tabular chart was, for convenience, labeled "Miller's Preaching Appointments, Emphasis, and Results." Reading from left to right, the sections are: Serial Number (1 to 318),

These Text Books become eloquent with meaning when the circumstances and details are filled in from other sources, such as contemporary correspondence, public press, and periodical reports. Meetings in many of the towns cited were, of course, without any unusual incident or feature. Others were highly significant. Both Text Books are dotted with human interest items, and are athrob with dramatic episodes, when we can get to the attendant circumstances. Some of these places are shrouded with hallowed memories. Some were the scene of crisis hours in the lives of ministers faced with vital and sometimes fatal choices. Others were scenes of bitter opposition and even persecution. Still others record triumphant advances.

Most impressive of all, perhaps, is the definite progression revealed in Miller's preaching emphasis—the steady growth in effective presentation of his special message and the intensification of that message as the time of expectancy drew nearer. Analysis of the texts used with increasing frequency in his speaking appointments, as the movement progressed, likewise reveals the focal point of emphasis almost as well as if we could turn back the pages of time and distance and hear Miller in person. Miller's first Text Book closes with the appointment of June 9, 1839. As his tour of Massachusetts ends at Lynn, these simple words appear: "Making 800 lectures from Oct. 1, 1834-June 9, 1839, 4 year 6 mon 9 day." And the second Text Book closes with the simple sentence, "Now I have given, since 1832, 3200 lectures." What a record!

VII. Initial License in 1833; Broader Certificate in 1835

For the first two years Miller preached or lectured simply as a layman—on his own, without any authorizing papers. He had been "expounding the words of Divine Truth in public," to

Date (month, day, year), State, Town or City, Population (where pertinent). Returns (where Miller preached two, three, four, or up to seven series in a given locality), Meeting Place (church, hall, tent, tabernacle), Denomination, Minister's Name (when in his church), Texts Used, Theme Developed, Outstanding Features, Results, Publications Issued, Side Lights From Correspondence, Participation in Conferences, Opposition, Press Comments, Invitations for Meetings—and of course the Reference. The entries follow consecutively in vertical columns,

the "approbation and edification of the church." This his home church desired to encourage, and to approve and authorize. So on September 14, 1833, the Baptist church of Hampton—of which Miller had been a member for seventeen years, or ever since his conversion in 1816—unsolicited by him and "unknown" to him, and in conformity with Baptist procedure, voted in regular "Church Meeting" to issue him a "license to preach."²⁷ Immediately after it was handed him, at Low Hampton, Miller wrote to his sister and voiced his reactions to this license with its vote of confidence:

"I have just returned from Dresden, where I have been to spend a Sabbath, and to preach to them the word of life. My texts, yesterday, were Hosea 13:1; Isa. 61:7; and Psa. 102:16. . . . I do feel anxious to come and see you; and, if the Lord will, and your people should not object, to try to speak to them of the things of the kingdom. My brethren have given me a license—unworthy and old and disobedient as I am. Oh, to grace how great a debtor!"²⁸

The 1833 certificate itself reads:

"Let brotherly love continue: the Baptist Church of Christ, in Hampton and White-Hall, do certify that Brother William Miller is a member in regular standing in this Church. Brother Miller has been improving his gifts with us in expounding the words of Divine Truth, in public, for some time past, to the approbation and edification of the church. We are satisfied that Brother Miller has a gift to improve in public; and are willing he should improve the same, wherever his lot may be cast among the Zion of God,—that the name of the Lord may be glorified, and his followers edified. Done in Church Meeting, Saturday, Sept. 12, 1833. By order of the Church.

"(Signed.)

"BYRON S. HARLOW, *clerk pro tem.*"²⁹

Now that he was authorized as a recommended and "regularly licensed preacher," his friend Hendryx started to address him as the "Rev." William Miller. This brought an emphatic

Only in this way could an accurate composite picture be assembled with its multiple factors, as one point checks against another. Otherwise, generalizations could easily produce a distorted picture. The data drawn from this scientific procedure are drafted upon constantly throughout Part II. It may be observed that one of the chief reasons for distorted emphasis and erroneous conclusions is often due to failure to pursue such an obviously essential procedure in research technique.

²⁷ *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, p. 19; Bliss, *Memoirs*, p. 109.

²⁸ Bliss, *Memoirs*, p. 109.

²⁹ Original in Adventist Collection, Aurora (Illinois) College; photostat in Advent Source Collection; see also Bliss, *Memoirs*, pp. 108, 109.

rejoinder in a letter to Hendryx on the propriety of such a title:

"Dear Br. Hendryx, I wish you would look into your bible and see if you can find the word Rev. applied to a sinful mortal as myself and govern yourself accordingly."⁴⁰

Then, two years later, in 1835, Miller received a far broader and more weighty credential, transcending denominational bounds and further commending him to the public, specifically as a "lecturer on the prophecies." This certificate was signed by over a score of Baptist ministers as well as by nearly a score of clergymen from other denominations in New York, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Canada.⁴¹

The full implication of these two ministerial papers should not be missed. The first was issued by Miller's home church, which had known his personal life and beliefs intimately for years, where he had attended divine service even before his conversion in 1816, and of which he had been a member ever since—for seventeen years. They knew his specific views on the premillennial second advent and on prophecy in general, as well as on the millennium in particular.

Furthermore, during 1832, his sixteen articles along these very lines had been appearing in the Baptist Vermont *Telegraph*,⁴² of Brandon, and then were put into pamphlet form for circulation among the Baptists and others of New England.

Yet even more significant than the Baptist license was the united action of the large group of Baptist ministers, scattered over New York, Vermont, and Canada, who had personally heard Miller's rounded course of lectures in their own churches, or had read them in the newly printed form. They, too, freely

⁴⁰ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, March 22, 1834.

⁴¹ *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, p. 19.

⁴² The Vermont *Telegraph*, started in 1828, was a Baptist newspaper of considerable circulation. It continued as a religious journal until 1835, when it passed into the hands of Orason S. Murray. It was then transformed into an antislavery paper, but soon developed strong infidel sentiments, which were raging like a desolating scourge at the time, and so came into direct conflict with the views of its founders. It was then disowned by the Baptists, who started the *Vermont Baptist Journal*. Miller's articles, appearing in the *Telegraph* in 1832, were therefore issued when this journal was a respected and influential Baptist paper. (David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850*, pp. 38, 61, 141, 142, 172; Henry Crocker, *History of the Baptists in Vermont*, pp. 461, 462.)

declared it wholly proper for him to preach these specific doctrines and prophetic positions in the various churches to which he might be invited.

But that is not all. To this imposing list were added the willing signatures of some seventeen other ministers of other denominations in New York, Vermont, and Massachusetts, who similarly felt his preaching to be proper and orthodox. And it was definitely designated as a "Ministerial Recommendation." This was most unusual, surpassing all merely routine credentials. In recording this unique document, Bliss gives this introductory statement:

"These lectures and sermons of Mr. Miller met the approval of a large number of the ministers of his denomination, with whose approbation, from this time, he went forth as a public laborer, endorsed and sanctioned by the following certificate."⁴³

The 1835 certificate itself, with two appendices, reads as follows:

"March 19, 1835.

"This may certify, to whom it may concern, that we, whose names are hereunto affixed,—being ministers in the denomination of regular Baptists,—are personally acquainted with Bro. William Miller, the bearer of this certificate; that he is a member, and a licentiate in good regular standing, in the particular Baptist church, in Hampton, N.Y.; that we have heard his lectures on the subject of the *Second Coming and Reign of our Lord Jesus Christ*; and that we believe his views on that particular subject, as well as others pertaining to the gospel, are worthy to be known and read of all men. As such an one, we commend him to God, and the affectionate acceptance of our brethren in the precious Saviour.

"J. Sawyer, Jr., South Reading.
E. Halping, Hampton.
Amos Stearns, Fort Ann.
Emerson Andrews, Lansingburgh.

"June 28, 1836.

"Having heard the above-mentioned lectures, I see no way to avoid the conclusion that the coming of Christ will be as soon as 1843.

"R. S. Palmer, Stockholm, N.Y.
Joel H. Green, Parishville.
Silas Pratt, Nicholasville.
Wareham Walker, Shaftsbury, Vt.

⁴³ Bliss, *Memoirs*, p. 120.

Edw. B. Crandall, Lansingburgh, N.Y.
 James Ten Brooke, Panton, Vt.
 Edward Mitchell, Canada.
 Samuel B. Ryder, Jr., Canada.
 S. C. Dillaway, West Granville, N.Y.
 Wakeman G. Johnson, Whiting, Vt.
 B. Carpenter, Addison.
 J. Fuller, Poultney.
 Holland Turner, Plattsburg.
 A. Jones, Jr., Middlebury.
 Anthony Case, Cornwall.
 Albert Stone, Johnston.
 Prosper Powell, Troy, Vt.
 Samuel Marshall, Fort Ann, N.Y.
 Isaac Wescott, Stillwater.
 William W. Moor, Bristol.
 Edward S. Soullard, Middletown.

"I do cordially recommend the above, and its bearer, Brother Miller.

"George Norris, Granville.
 Jehial K. Wright, Weybridge.
 M. D. Miller, Monkton.
 Simon Fletcher, Bridgeport, Vt.
 John A. Dodge, Ferrisburg.
 Elias Hurlbut, Andover, Vt.
 Samuel Pollard, Weston, Vt.
 Edmund Goodnough, Agent B.G.T.S.
 Arurah Allen, West Haven.
 Hiram Safford, Keeseville.
 Friend Blood, Brookfield.
 Benjamin Willard, East Williamstown.
 Lyman Culver, Barre.
 Isaiah Huntley, Jericho.
 John Lord, East Randolph, Mass.
 James M. Beeman, Westford, Vt.
 Oliver Ayer, Littleton, Mass.

"The above I certify to be a true copy of an original Ministerial Recommendation, signed by the above-named persons. The sentiments I believe correct, and according to the word of God. I think it will be fulfilled in 1843, or thereabouts.

"Justus Da Lee, Cambridge." ⁴⁴

Miller was thus a licensed minister with an interdenominational certificate.

⁴⁴ Photostat of original in Advent Source Collection; see also Bliss, *Memoirs*, pp. 120-122.

From Individual Effort to Group Endeavor

I. Preaching Alone Over Small-Town New England

With rapid steps, let us retrace briefly the trail of Miller's early preaching experience as he starts out alone on his mission. In the latter half of 1831 he lectured in towns near his own Low Hampton—such as Dresden, Poultney, and Pawlet. These appointments were all in Baptist, Congregationalist, and Methodist churches, usually as a result of a pressing invitation. His messages were also presented to "crowded houses" in western Vermont, northern New York, and Canada East.¹ The early part of 1832 was devoted largely to preparing the first articles on his faith for the Vermont *Telegraph*, to be noted later. In March there were some studies with a young minister, and Miller's insistence upon a solid Bible foundation for all beliefs and practices. The secret of his growing power is disclosed in these simple sentences which tell of sunrise meetings for prayer in behalf of the speedy return of Christ:

"I have just come from a prayer meeting this morning, at our school house, at sunrise. We are praying for the second coming of our Dear Redeemer when the 'sanctuary will be cleansed.' Pray with us my Br. I am more and more satisfied that the end of the world is at hand. The evidence flows in from every quarter."²

Miller kept on lecturing in various places, making the observation:

¹ Bliss, *Memoirs*, pp. 98, 99.

² Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, March 26, 1832 (last part of letter dated May 20, 1832).

"Many people believe that the calculation is right. Some are afraid of it and others will not believe. But among them all it makes a great deal of talk."²

The summer and autumn witnessed Miller's participation in a number of "protracted meetings" on the revival order, then common in that section. By February, 1833, in a letter to Hendryx, Miller rejoices that he "can now reckon 8 ministers who preach this [Advent] doctrine, more or less, like yourself," and refers to more than a hundred lay "brethren that say they have adopted my views."⁴ Then came the issuance of the pamphlet made up of the Vermont *Telegraph* articles brought into convenient form. His contacts multiply—such as on a steamboat, with men of high standing listening in; then filling in as supply preacher in Low Hampton, his home church. Next, he receives a preacher's license from the Low Hampton church, and continues to speak in nearby towns in New York and Vermont.⁵

In 1834 Miller's preaching gathers momentum as he begins full-time preaching. He turns north, speaking thirty-two times while away from home for twenty-eight days, lecturing on the second advent and coming reign of Christ—at Keene (with eighty as the "fruits"), at Forks, and Keeseville (to a "great course"), and in Peru Village. In a letter to Hendryx he bursts forth in poetic vein with one of his periodic blends of rhyme and Biblical-prophecy truth with text—not meant for publication. While this is only a personal letter, Miller's prophetic faith at this time is aptly epitomized. This he writes under the conviction that in a few short years he will stand "before the solemn bar of our omnipotent Judge."⁶ It is saturated with Bible texts, and at the moment his "pen refuses to write anything except in verse" to his friend.

Here is a short excerpt:

"When from the East we see the cloud arise. Acts 1:9, 11
And bring to view a Saviour long despised. Rev. 1:7

² Ms. letter, Miller to "Dear Br. and Sister," March 27, 1832.

³ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, Feb. 8, 1833.

⁴ Bliss, *Memoirs*, pp. 106-110.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

When we shall hear the trump's portentous roll, Isa. 27:13
 That shakes the earth from center to the pole. Psa. 18:7
 When from the great white throne indignant ire Rev. 20:11
 Shoots forth its blaze, and sets the world on fire. Mala. 4:1
 Then all the wicked, all that pride could boast, Mala. 4:1
 Shall be as stubble, saith the Lord of hosts. Mala. 4:1
 When Kings, and Captains, tyrants mighty men, Rev. 19:18
 Are the last supper, for the fowls of heaven. Rev. 19:17
 And kingdoms, thrones, powers, dominions riven, Danl. 2
 Like chaff before the Angry whirlwind driven. Danl. 2:35
 The dragon papal beast, the great arch foe, Rev. 19:20
 Shall sink to endless night eternal woe: Rev. 20:10
 The orb of day, his face, be hid in gloom, Isa. 24:23
 And the old reeling earth in nature's tomb. Isa. 24:20"⁷

Then having filled up the sheet, he desists. But his prophetic and doctrinal creed was thus committed to paper in verse form.

Miller had kept no complete diary of all the places visited and invitations to preach received until October 1, 1834. Then, starting at "Fork," he kept a methodical record in a little Text Book, as he begins his full-time preaching. Here are the first nine entries, as a sample, from October 1 to 16, 1834.

<i>Place</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Text</i>
Fork, 1834	Oct. 1st,	Luke 15:18	Rev. 8:13
Keeseville,	Oct. 5,	Rev. 1:20	Job 33:24
Beekmantown,	Oct. 6,	Danl. 8:13, 14	Danl. 10:14
	Oct. 7,	Rev. 20:6	
Plattsburgh,	Oct. 8,	Danl. 8:13, 14	Rev. 20:6
Keeseville,	Oct. 11,	1 Cor. 3:11	
	Oct. 12,	Rom. 8:6, 7	Luke 15:18
Westport,	Oct. 14,	Danl. 8:13, 14	Danl. 10:14
	Oct. 15, 16	Rev. 20:6" ⁸	

A terse note to Hendryx tells of a six-week tour of Clinton County, New York, adding, "I gave 36 lectures on the 2nd coming of Christ, was at two covenant meetings, and attended two protracted meetings in said time."⁹ In the same letter he also mentions the disheartening side.

⁷ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, Aug. 17, 1834.

⁸ "Text Book," No. 1, p. 1; also quoted in Bliss, *Memoirs*, p. 115.

⁹ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, Oct. 23, 1834.

"The evidence is so clear, the testimony is so strong, that we live on the eve of the present dispensation toward the close of the glorious day, that I wonder why minister and people do not wake up and trim their lamps. . . .

"In every church where I have lectured on this important subject, many, very many, seem to awake, rub open their eyes, and then fall back to sleep again.

"Some ministers try to persuade their people not to hear me: but the people will go, and every additional lecture, will bring an additional multitude, until their meeting houses cannot hold them. Depend upon it, my br. God is in this thing."¹⁰

With steadily increasing momentum Miller entered the year 1835, sounding the "midnight cry" in ever clearer, more appealing tones. Revivals followed according to the now familiar pattern—Christians quickened, wanderers brought back, sinners awakened and converted. Doors opened faster than he could enter. He names nineteen calls, or invitations, outstanding, and speaks of others too numerous to mention. Upon invitation he spent a week in Stillwater, New York, then at various other towns—returning to some of them for a second series of lectures. Writing to Hendryx he remarks:

"In every place I have visited the Lord has given me some fruits. Oh! Br. Hendryx this is marvelous in our eyes that he should take such an old 'dry stick' as I am, and bring down the proud & haughty infidel, yet blessed be his name he can & will work by whom he will, pray for me . . . that I may be kept humble, for I am exceeding jealous of my proud heart. The churches are waking up in this quarter to the subject, & Ministers are appointing ministerial meetings to examine the subject. Br. Wescott, is full in the faith, & is preaching it, many more are quivering in the wind. I now have four or five Ministers to hear me in every place I lecture in, I tell you it is making no small stir in these regions."¹¹

Then he adds the significant sentence, "Old Elder Fuller is preaching this same doctrine in Connecticut, & writes me that it has a powerful effect." This, apparently, is the first record of another minister *preaching* Miller's views of the prophecies.¹² But it is only the beginning. In August Miller is still traveling and preaching:

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, March 6, 1835.

¹² *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, p. 19.

"I am yet engaged in my occupation in warning the inhabitants to be prepared for the great day of God Almighty, and am endeavouring to prove by the scriptures that it is near even at the doors."¹³

Then follows a long list of cities in which he had recently lectured. He ends his letter with the news that he had just received an invitation to lecture in Stillwater, and closes with this hurried word: "Shall be under the necessity of starting in a few minutes. I shall be absent [from August 28] until about the first of October." The first help toward his expenses comes at about this time—two half dollars from Canada.¹⁴

The year 1836 is notable for the publication of his complete set of *Lectures*.¹⁵ Spells of illness broke the continuity of his preaching, but still he drove on. In one place the meeting hall was "filled to overflowing for 8 days in succession." Many clergymen were attending—Baptist, Methodist, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Christian, Universalist.¹⁶ And the sale of his books now increased and crystallized the interest. After eight weeks in St. Lawrence County he tells of "82 lectures," and was about to leave on another tour.¹⁷

Miller began the year 1837 at Shaftsbury, Vermont, with a full course of sixteen lectures on the prophecies. At the close a Baptist clergyman who had come to confound Miller had himself been "convicted, confounded, and converted."¹⁸ The effect upon the audience was profound. When Miller wrote to Hendryx he gave the particulars:

"Elder Mattison got up at the close of my last discourse, and in a most solemn and impressive manner told the congregation that he 'had been convicted, confounded, & converted,' and confessed he had written and said things, against the speaker of which he was now ashamed, he had called him, 'The end of the world man,' and 'The old visionary,' 'dreamer,' 'fanatic,' etc. And said he, I came to meeting with a determination to not believe, and to expose him, and his folly to the people who should be present. And had therefore watched with a close attention and a jealous

¹³ Letter, Miller to Hendryx, Aug. 28, 1835. See Bliss, *Memoirs*, pp. 124, 125.

¹⁴ *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, p. 20; Bliss, *Memoirs*, p. 122.

¹⁵ *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, p. 20.

¹⁶ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, July 21, 1836.

¹⁷ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, Dec. 23, 1836.

¹⁸ Isaac C. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message*, pp. 65, 66.

eye, & after hearing the whole course of lectures, he would confess he had not, neither could he raise one single objection."¹⁹

The year wore on, with series of meetings in some nineteen Vermont towns, and ending with Stillwater, New York, on December 31. The number of adherents grew, not merely unlearned laymen, but trained ministers now being constantly added as believers in the premillennial advent. That in itself is remarkable, for preachers do not change readily. There was an appeal, an earnestness, and a logic in the marshaling of Miller's evidences that drew trained minds to his side. It was at this time that Charles Fitch, a Brown University man and Presbyterian preacher, wrote Miller a letter of inquiry, to be noted later.

At the beginning of 1838 Miller began a second series of lectures at Lansingburgh, New York, continuing nine days in response to the urgent request of E. B. Crandall and his Baptist church. There were large, attentive audiences, and the strongholds of infidelity were visibly shaken. One hundred, holding infidel opinions, were brought to believe the Bible.²⁰ Upon returning to Low Hampton, after a number of engagements, Miller tells Hendryx of the important letter from Fitch, then pastor of the important Marlboro Chapel, Boston. It was the beginning of acquaintance and a friendship that ripened into the closest service together.

Miller's work was both intensive and extensive. As to results, back in 1834 he told of being in a town for twenty-two lectures, with eighty converted.²¹ In 1835 he tells, tersely, of preaching "three times last Sabbath. Had a Solemn time. God was there."²² And in 1837 he writes of spending ten days in Morick, where he "gave two or three lectures a day. People were very much interested. Five hundred and more attended the meetings, night and day."²³

¹⁹ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, Feb. 21, 1837.

²⁰ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 67.

²¹ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, April 17, 1834.

²² Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, April 28, 1835.

²³ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, Oct. 26, 1837.

A copy of Miller's *Lectures* was put into the hands of Josiah Litch, Methodist minister, with a request for his opinion upon its positions. The general thesis of the book was at first so distasteful to him that he could scarcely make up his mind to read it. He thought he could overthrow the whole system in five minutes. But to gratify his friend, he read it. However, Litch found the arguments "so clear, so simple, and withal so scriptural, that it was impossible to disprove the position which Mr. Miller had endeavored to establish."²⁴

By midsummer Miller wrote Hendryx that he had been absent from home more than three fourths of the time. Hendryx wanted him to come to Pennsylvania, but Miller replied:

"You speak of my coming there, and the house being crammed. I need not go there to see a house, not only crammed, but jammed, last Sabbath I preached in Benson & saw the house jammed full, lobby and all. But my br. there is no pleasure to me particular in that. The multitude may to day cry '*hosanna*,' & to morrow '*crucify him*.' Lord what is man?"²⁵

Then he tells of charges of exhibiting a wrong spirit, made by an "Elder West," and an "Elder Claflin" holds that Miller advocates wrong views on salvation. Here is Miller's unique observation:

"I think if we could take Eldr. West, & Eldr. Claflin, and boil them well over the fire of persecution, stir them well together with the rod of christian experience, cool them off in the kettle of practical godliness, and strain them both through the sieve of Electing love, then stir in a little leaven of christian piety. Then let them stand in a by place until supper time, when the blessed Savior should come they would be fit for use."²⁶

There were many outspoken expressions. Miller's attitude under criticism is revealed in this observation:

"I have finally come to this conclusion that I must read the Bible for myself. try all that in me lies to divest myself of prejudice, judge with candor, get rid of self, preach what I believe to be truth, try to please God

²⁴ Josiah Litch, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, pp. 54, 55.

²⁵ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, July 27, 1838.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

more than man. And then leave all in the hands of my divine Master, and wait for his decision."²⁷

The year 1839 marked Miller's entrance into Massachusetts to lecture at East Randolph, Lowell, Groton, and Lynn. Up to June 10 Miller had given eight hundred lectures since July 9, 1834.²⁸ His introduction to Massachusetts was largely through Elder Timothy Cole of Lowell, of the Christian Connection, who became one of his first adherents in that State. Miller returned in the autumn and winter and lectured in Exeter, New Hampshire, and Haverhill, Massachusetts, with good success. It was at Exeter on November 12, that Miller first met Joshua V. Himes of Boston, minister of the prominent Chardon Street Chapel (Christian), who invited him to come to his church in Boston, to which Miller gladly responded. His first series of lectures in Boston constituted the beginning of "altogether a new era in the history of Adventism"—entry into the larger cities.²⁹ A deep interest sprang up in Boston which demanded another series, and molded the public mind. So Charles Fitch's large Marlboro Chapel was secured for the series. And along with this came a second edition (of five thousand) of Miller's *Lectures*. Miller's period of solitary labor had ended.

II. Publication of Miller's Views Gives New Impetus

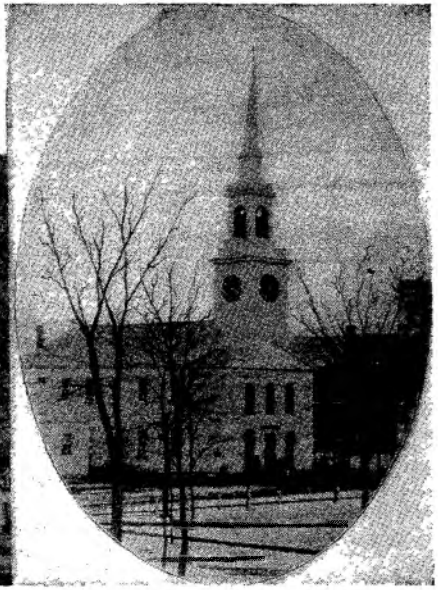
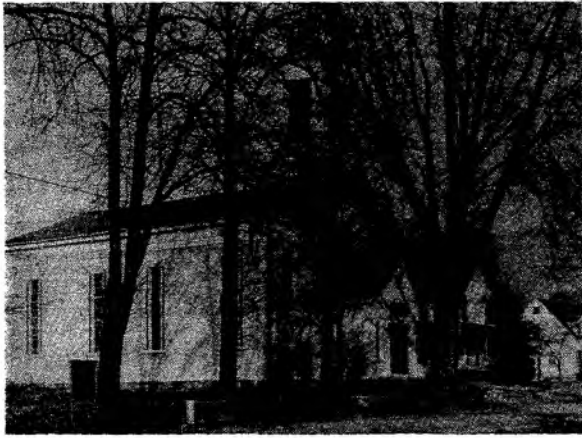
From this recital it is evident that, from 1834 on until the great Disappointment in the autumn of 1844, there was scarcely a pause in Miller's public proclamation of Christ's soon coming, which was always presented in the setting of the prophecies. But up to the close of 1839 his efforts had been confined to the small towns and rural sections. The pastors of these smaller churches plied him with urgent, and often importunate, invitations to come and preach to their congregations on the second advent. They were not so prejudiced against his earnest messages, and revivals followed. Reformations were wrought and

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, p. 20.

²⁹ Litch. "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 57.

For Years Urgent Invitations Came From All Over Eastern North America for Miller to Preach in Churches of All Faiths. Here Were Two: (Left) Baptist Church, at Penfield, New York, and First Congregational Church, of Westfield, Massachusetts



MILLER PREACHED IN CHURCHES OF ALL FAITHS

a gratifying ingathering of souls resulted. Miller never separated the prophetic and doctrinal from the spiritual and practical. He was in good standing in his own church and in other churches. And while, at the outset, this attitude of friendliness was particularly true of Baptist congregations—because Miller was a Baptist—he nevertheless responded to calls from churches of various faiths to which he was constantly invited.

Almost from the beginning of his public labors, Miller received many more invitations than he could respond to. It was then that he thought he would attempt to publish his views in printed form, as he had frequently been urged to do. He accordingly prepared the series of articles, sending them as anonymous contributions to the Baptist weekly at Brandon, the Vermont *Telegraph*. But the paper declined to publish them unless informed as to the identity of the author. When this information was received, as their content and emphasis did not appear to the editor to be inconsistent with Baptist teachings, the editor proceeded to publish them under the initials "W.M.," the first article appearing on May 15, 1832.³⁰

³⁰ Bliss, *Memoirs*, pp. 99, 100. The manuscript of these first eight articles, incidentally, has been preserved.

The series resulted in widespread discussion. Indeed, they awakened such an interest among ministers and other Bible students that considerable correspondence was opened up with Miller. In fact, he was flooded with inquiries about his views on the second advent and the prophecies. Then a further step was taken. The articles were assembled, in 1833, and issued in a sixty-four-page pamphlet form, entitled *Evidences From Scripture & History of the Second Coming of Christ About the Year A.D. 1843, and of His Personal Reign of 1,000 Years*.³¹ This too was published by the same Baptist "Telegraph Office," at Brandon, Vermont. Obviously there had been no unfavorable reaction from the readers. And again, in 1835, a second edition of fifteen hundred was issued.

III. Miller's Three Progressive Literary Efforts

The original manuscripts of these first eight articles are intriguing.³² Penned in Miller's characteristically strong and regular handwriting, they bear very few editorial marks—just the headings, an occasional paragraph mark ("¶"), and once in a while a word added or deleted. The phrasing is quite acceptable, and Miller's spelling, punctuation, and capitalization necessitated relatively few changes. As to form and phrasing, they would be quite acceptable copy for most modern editors. The initials "W.M." appear at the close of each installment. And to the initial series of eight articles was added a second group of eight, or sixteen in all. They were all, of course, vigorously premillennial.

In the resultant sixty-four-page pamphlet, there is a four-page "Introduction," which modestly sets forth the "Rules of Interpretation" employed by Miller in expounding the prophecies. They cover much the same ground tabulated back in 1818. They deal with the figurative character and meaning of such symbols as "beast" for kingdom; "waters," or "rivers," for

³¹ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³² Originals in Adventual Collection, Aurora, Ill.; photostat copies in Advent Source Collection.

peoples and multitudes; the obvious parallelism of such prophecies as Daniel 2, 7, and 8; the pivotal character of the two advents;³³ the literality of the historical fulfillment of prophecy; the identity of Antichrist; and the application of the year-day principle for all time prophecies.³⁴ These accord with the standard principles of the best Christian scholarship of the centuries. Miller concludes:

"The foregoing rules are the principal keys by which I have attempted to unlock the prophecies of Daniel and John, and to give the time when we may look for the fulfillment, and the mystery of God to be finished."³⁵

Like the prior declaration of "J.A.B." of England, in 1810—which initial exposition of the terminus of the 2300 years in 1843 was published in both the London and Boston editions of the *Christian Observer* in 1810³⁶—Miller also modestly says:

"If I have erred, I hope others may see where, and shun the danger. I have no desire to mislead any, but my principal aim is to excite others more able than myself to investigate the subject. The time is at hand that will try my views on this point."³⁷

Miller was candid, but never heady. He declared that if time should prove his prediction of the specific time to be erroneous, he would frankly acknowledge it, which he did in his *Apology and Defence* of August 1, 1845. The spirit that animated Miller is evidenced in the closing sentences of this Introduction:

"I have daily made this subject a matter of prayer for more than fourteen years. I have often felt my weakness, and I wish I could feel it more. I have endeavored to adopt no opinions hastily, until they were well matured, and well supported by bible proof. I have felt satisfied only when I had scripture evidence, or facts well attested. I have never dared, knowingly, go one step beyond revelation, fearing that I might have too much of self."³⁸

So Miller's first pamphlet was started on its way to help

³³ William Miller, *Evidences From Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ*, (64-page pamphlet, 1833), pp. 3, 4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁶ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 291, 293, and Vol. IV, p. 140.

³⁷ Miller, *Evidences From Scripture and History* (1833), p. 6.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, "Fourteen years," i.e., since his "Statement of Faith" in 1822.

spread his views on prophecy. It was a pioneering pathfinder, followed three years later by the larger, full-fledged book bearing virtually the same title: *Evidence From Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ, About the Year 1843: Exhibited in a Course of Lectures*. The Introduction is largely the same—merely expanded a bit. However, the text of the chapters is greatly enlarged, now presenting sixteen chapters instead of six, yet following the same general line of argument and evidence. The influence of this volume was pronounced. Its main outline became Miller's standard series, or "course" of lectures, delivered orally in varying forms in an amazing number of cities and communities. And not only was it the norm for Miller, but soon it became the general pattern for hundreds of Millerite preachers and lecturers.

The publication of these lectures is often referred to as marking the beginning of a "new era" in the expansion of the growing cause.³⁹ Wherever Miller lectured in person, his printed lectures were now left behind to follow up, amplify, and enforce his oral teaching, so that it ceased to be "like writing upon the sand," as often it had been prior to their publication. It affords a marked demonstration of the power of the press. And these books began to circulate where Miller had never been in person, creating a wide interest, and preparing the way for his personal appearances.

IV. Serial Reprints Appear in Boston "Daily Times"

Impressed by the news value of Miller's book, George Roberts, editor of the Boston *Daily Times*, was the first to give Miller's views favorable publicity through the public press. His plan to reprint the key sections was announced on March 13, 1838—before any minister had publicly espoused Miller's cause in print. Then follows this remarkable editorial note from Editor Roberts, under the bold type heading, "*Miller on the*

³⁹ See Litch, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 53.

Prophecies—the Second Coming of Christ, and the End of the World.”

“The book recently written by the Rev. William Miller, of Hampton, N.Y., on the Prophecies—principally the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St. John—is destined, as we believe, to create a tremendous excitement in the Christian world. Indeed, this excitement is already beginning to be felt. We have just read the principal part of the work; and although we are not prepared to sanction it as containing incontrovertible truth either in its facts or inferences, yet we must say that it shows a depth of research into the prophetic portion of the Scriptures, and a boldness of conception, which we have not met with in any other work on the prophecies. The Rev. author . . . possesses a thorough knowledge not only of the Levitical Law, but of the traditions of the Jewish fathers. The ground assumed . . . is that the second coming of Christ is identical with the destruction of the world, or rather its purification by fire from all its sinful elements, so as to render it a fit habitation for the Saints in Glory during the thousand years of millennial peace.

“This he thinks constitutes the first resurrection. The prophecies relating to circumstances which are to happen previous to this consummation he thinks are now chiefly fulfilled, and that the great event which is to consume the wicked on the whole face of the earth will happen in the year 1843—only *five years from the present!* . . .

“We shall probably commence, on Wednesday, giving copious extracts from this extraordinary work. We know of nothing at the present time calculated to excite more deep and universal interest. The Infidel or free-thinker, even, cannot but feel interested in this explanation of those dark and mysterious givings out contained in the book of the Revelations; and the Christian—he whose hopes and whose faith are strong in celestial things—he who looks upon the grave as the pathway to paradise—cannot but feel his heart quickened to new life by this tremendous exposition of what has heretofore been deemed the dark and inscrutable manifestations of divine power and will.”¹⁰

Then, between March 14 and 28, nine separate articles appeared—extended extracts, averaging two full columns each. These ran in under the general full caps heading, “END OF THE WORLD!” “Extracts from the Explanation of the Prophecies, by the Rev. Wm. Miller.” Roberts went to the heart of Miller’s exposition and started with a portion of chapter 3, on Daniel 8:14. His friendly editorial foreword on the fourteenth, with its observation on the universality of recognition of the year-day principle, stated:

¹⁰ George Roberts, *Boston Daily Times*, editorial, March 13, 1838, p. 2.

ment. The work itself is so far connected in its various parts, and the several prophecies on which it treats so interwoven with each other, that it is impossible to give a thorough idea of the whole work by extracts, however copious. The more important points of interpretation may, however, be understood with sufficient distinctness, however abrupt and disconnected we are obliged to make them for brevity's sake. It may be necessary to premise that the book consists of twelve lectures, and that it follows the rule adopted by all the writers on the prophecies, in *reckoning a day for a year*, as God commanded the prophets, in Num. XIV. 34."⁴¹

The impress of these articles upon the public mind was pronounced. Miller's message came out from obscurity and immediately began to constitute a definite challenge. This favorable publicity through the *Times* led the Rev. Ethan Smith to submit two articles to the editor in rebuttal, in the hope of counteracting their influence. So, opposition through the press began in written form, matching their favorable publicity. However, it was not very effective, for men were simply led to study Miller's message the more. And even Smith opened his discussion with this interesting observation:

"I wish to encourage the study of the prophecies and signs of the times: and have been much tried, to see so little attention paid to them; and to hear so many *ministers* speaking most disrespectfully of this study! I view this fact to be a very *dark sign of the times!* I think such ministers have got to *repent* of this sin, or they must sink under it. It is a great insult offered to the Holy Ghost, who inspired the prophecies and commanded us to study and understand them."⁴²

V. The "1843" Phase of the Millerite Movement

And now we shall trace the rise and remarkable progress of the 1843 phase of the Millerite movement, stripped of diverting detail, so as to get a general bird's-eye view of the whole. This will carry us from 1838, when Miller was joined by his earliest all-out ministerial associates in proclaiming the soon coming of the Saviour, up to and through the spring of 1844, or the close of the important "1843" phase of the Miller movement. The fact is now familiar to us that the basic principle

⁴¹ Editorial Note, *Ibid.*, March 14, 1838, p. 1.

⁴² *Ibid.*, April 3, 1838, p. 1.

of the "70 weeks" of Daniel 9, as the initial 490 years of the 2300 year-days of Daniel 8:14, which Miller ever stressed, had first been enunciated in the Old World by Petri and Wood before the close of the eighteenth century. And after crossing the threshold of the nineteenth, in 1810 and 1811, individuals on both sides of the Atlantic, apparently without knowledge or connection with each other, began independently to agitate this principle still more definitely, and agreed approximately on the time of ending—namely, in 1843, 1844, or 1847. This all, of course, took place several years before Miller had even become a professing Christian, much less a student of prophecy. This fact should be borne in mind.

The convictions of these other men had been published both in the Old World and in the New, but as Litch says, "without making much of an impression upon the public by their attempt."⁴³ And the number of expositors with this common concept grew steadily prior to Miller's first sermon, and were still larger in number before his book of *Lectures* was issued in 1836. (See complete tabular chart in Part I, pp. 404, 405.) Though Miller reached his own conclusions independently, it is obvious that this interpretation was clearly not original with him, but was rather the simultaneous conviction of men in different countries and of various persuasions, who felt it to be a truth whose time for enunciation had come. Miller was therefore but one of a chorus of voices declaring it, and not one of the first at that. But with him it soon took on a form and a force before unknown. And under him it became a definite religious movement that was ere long to sweep the nation.

1. MILLER'S FIRST BOOK AROUSES WIDE INTEREST.—It was not until Miller had been presenting his message publicly, and rather constantly for a number of years following 1831, that it began to receive much attention. His first articles in the Ver-

⁴³ Litch, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, pp. 49 ff. The remainder of this section will largely epitomize Litch's authoritative contemporary history, written by the first full-time ministerial associate to join Miller—a competent minister of Methodist background, an editor and a discerning writer—and penned, April 24, 1844, just after the spring disappointment (p. 51). On Litch see pp. 528-533.

mont *Telegraph*, as noted, had been published in 1832, gathered into pamphlet form in 1833—the same year he received a Baptist license to preach—and enlarged into book form in 1836, before his presentation began to attract any general notice. But these published *Lectures* were the means of creating a definite interest in his views, particularly in Massachusetts. Men began to investigate the thesis set forth. The Boston *Daily Times* republished sections of them in 1838. They were thus given a wider popular reading and really created quite a sensation.

They induced a public answer, as noted, in the form of two letters by Ethan Smith, but who sought only to show that the 2300 year-days had already ended in 1819, when the Greek revolution began to operate, and resulting in the fall of the Ottoman power. He declared that the sanctuary of Palestine was thus already "cleansed," for, he contended, the Little Horn of Daniel 8 was Mohammedanism. He denied any connection between the visions and time periods of Daniel 8 and 9. But he admitted that the 2300 days were years ending in the nineteenth century.

Observe the sequence. It was about this time that the copy of Miller's *Lectures* was placed in the hands of Josiah Litch, a Methodist minister in Massachusetts, who soon became persuaded of its essential soundness, and began to write and publish on the subject. Practically the same experience came to Charles Fitch, pastor of the Marlboro Congregational Church of Boston. Meantime Miller was lecturing in some of the moderate-sized towns of Massachusetts, such as Lowell, where he was invited to preach by Timothy Cole, a minister of the Christian Connection, who was likewise greatly impressed.

2. HIMES INTRODUCES NEW EPOCH OF EXPANSION.—Then came Miller's eventful acquaintance, in the autumn of 1839, with J. V. Himes, minister of the Chardon Street Chapel of Boston. This contact led to a distinctly new era of expansion and acceleration in the infant Advent Movement—entry into the great cities of the land, along with publication of the first

Millerite paper, the *Signs of the Times*, and a new edition of five thousand copies of Miller's *Lectures*, thus reaching larger numbers. This aggressive advance provoked a new published attack, this time by David Campbell, through his *Illustrations of Prophecy*. It was somewhat similar to Ethan Smith's counter-interpretation, only he believed, like Miller, that Daniel 9 is definitely the key to Daniel 8, which was in direct conflict with the hostile Smith position. Nevertheless, both were anti-Miller.

During the winter of 1839-40 Miller was lecturing in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Portland, Maine. At this time Litch's prediction—first published in 1838—of the loss of Ottoman supremacy in August, 1840, aroused widespread interest, and spurred the study of prophecy. As a result many infidels became persuaded of the inspired origin of Bible prophecy. But most eventful of all was Miller's series of lectures in Himes's church in Boston, which resulted in Himes joining in whole-hearted partnership in the advent cause. And other ministers, one by one, began to profess the advent faith.

3. CONFERENCES AND SOCIAL MEETINGS INTRODUCED.—Prior to this, all endeavors had been by individual effort. But the need of a Second Advent Conference of the numerous ministers now supporting Miller's positions became obvious, and was appointed for Himes's Boston church. It met in October, 1840, with the well-known Episcopalian clergyman, Dr. Henry Dana Ward, of New York City, as chairman, and Congregationalist Henry Jones, likewise of New York, an abolitionist and temperance lecturer, as secretary. This was convened in an endeavor to unify the efforts of these men of divergent backgrounds, and to give added force and unity to their coordinated endeavor. This was effectively implemented through its widely distributed published *Report*. And along with the conference idea, the plan of "Social Meetings" was launched to strengthen one another's faith through personal public testimony.

At this time John Dowling, Baptist clergyman of New York, brought out his *Review of Miller*, advocating the old Antiochus

Epiphanes theory for the Little Horn of Daniel 8, with the 2300 evening-mornings constituting but half days, or 1150 literal days in all, and these back in the second century B.C. And, along with this, was stressed the thousand years of a temporal millennium *before* the second advent. So each attack differed from the others, and each onslaught actually tended to neutralize or discredit the others. Nevertheless, each Millerite advance was matched by a countermove. This Dowling volume led to a *Refutation* by Litch, and suggested to Miller the idea of a complete system of Bible chronology, with the six thousand years of earth's history ending about "1843." Litch also wrote *An Address to the Clergy*, which moved many ministers to examine the question candidly, persuading not a few of them. Conviction was now breaking out in all directions.

Litch then faced the issue of severing his close and congenial ties with the Methodist Church, so that he might be untrammelled in proclaiming his convictions on the second advent. His experiences in speaking before three Methodist Conferences at this time were unique—with the resulting dictum that, while he did not teach *contrary* to Methodism, he had gone *beyond* it. Then came the succession of further Millerite General Conferences—at Portland, then in the giant Broadway Tabernacle in New York City, and at Low Hampton, Miller's home town. These in turn were followed by various other important conferences during the winter of 1841 and 1842, in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Vermont. Their very vigor aroused many ministers to their sense of duty, and led a goodly number to preach publicly on the second advent.

4. CAMP MEETING PLAN PROVES A SUCCESS.—Next, Apollo Hall on Broadway, in New York City, was secured for large public meetings. But the religious press quickly sounded the alarm, and aroused considerable prejudice. Nevertheless, a permanent interest was established in America's great metropolis—then numbering some 391,000. Meantime, the Melodeon

Auditorium was secured in Boston (with a population of 93,000) for an Advent Anniversary Conference, lasting a week. There was deepening interest and heavy attendance. Next, the plan of utilizing the Methodist camp meeting idea was brought forward and endorsed. Litch, headed for Canada, spoke to large concourses of people. Indeed, so great was the interest that two camp meetings were conducted as a try-out in Hatley, Canada East (Quebec), on June 21, and in Bolton. Five or six hundred conversions resulted from this tour. Then on June 28 the first camp meeting in the States was held at East Kingston, New Hampshire, where an "immense multitude" assembled. The masses were now, for the first time, being touched and impressed. Great gatherings throughout Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine followed, which, according to Litch, literally "shook the nation."⁴⁴

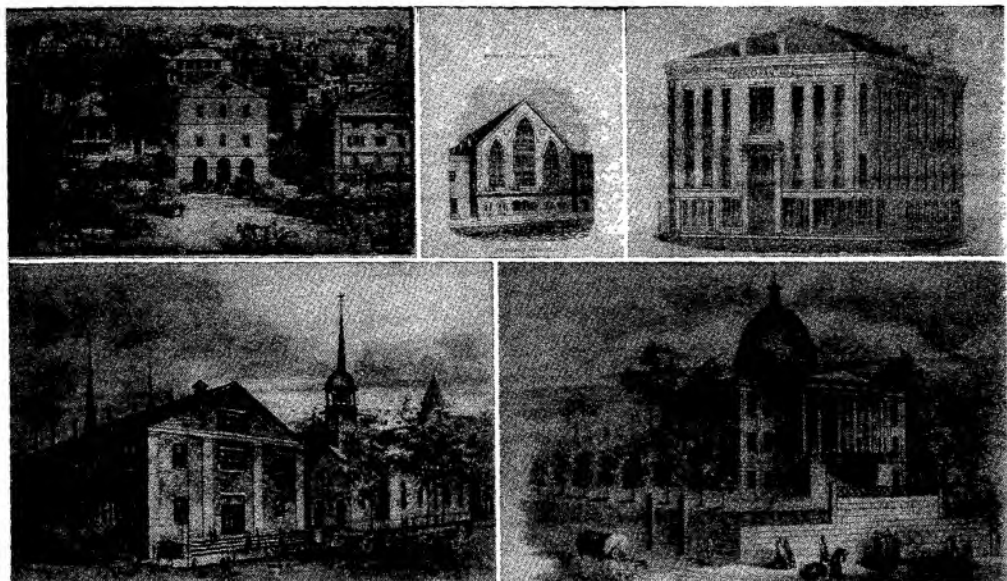
5. DAY OF LARGE THINGS IS REACHED.—The Big Tent, seating four thousand—but soon enlarged to accommodate six thousand—was then introduced. It was pitched six times that first season, distributed as follows: At Concord, New Hampshire, Albany, New York, Springfield and Salem, Massachusetts, Benson, Vermont, and Newark, New Jersey. Marked results attended. Meantime, six or eight large camp meetings and numerous courses of lectures covered New England, given by ministers of various faiths who had now definitely cast in their lot with the accelerating movement. Fitch proclaimed the second advent message to the faculty and students of Oberlin, and elsewhere in Ohio, and then established himself in Cleveland. Of this time Litch declares:

"The work spread with a power unparalleled in the history of religious excitements. And had it been the object of Adventists to form a sect, never was there a more favorable opportunity to carry all before them, given to any people. But higher and holier objects were in their vision;—the saving of sinners from death, and the obtaining a preparation for the coming of the Lord, were the objects of their highest ambition."⁴⁵

6. MAJOR EXPANSIONS WEST AND SOUTH.—The winter of

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*



SUNDRY BUILDINGS WERE SCENES OF ADVENTIST MEETINGS

Market House at Providence, Rhode Island; Athenaeum Theatre at Boston, Massachusetts; Corinthian Hall at Rochester, New York; Old Town Hall and South Church, at Worcester, Massachusetts; Courthouse at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Scores of Others of Various Sizes and Uses, All Echoed to the Heralding of the Same Message

1842 and 1843 saw Miller and Himes back in New York City lecturing in a large church where George Storrs, of the Methodist ministry, had been holding forth at Catharine and Madison streets, and in Enoch Jacobs' Methodist Protestant Church on Anthony Street, where Apollos Hale did the preaching. Almost the entire church, including the pastor, embraced the teaching. Such was the interest that an Adventist *daily* paper—the *Midnight Cry*—was launched in New York City, in November, 1842, with editions of ten thousand copies a day, under the able editorship of J. V. Himes, L. D. Fleming, and Nathaniel Southard.¹⁰ Litch, assisted by Hale, went to Philadelphia, where they soon found an open door, though before long the churches closed against them. They were then obliged to open a separate meeting place where all could come. Hale went on to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in January, 1843. And at this time a

¹⁰ With volume 2 it becomes a weekly.

tract, translated into German, was produced for use among the German population.

Then Miller and Himes came on to Philadelphia (also with 93,000 population), and the city was tremendously moved. The "Saints rejoiced, the wicked trembled, backsliders quaked, and the Word of the Lord ran and was glorified," according to the report. It was the beginning of marked expansions, south and west. A book room was opened. And a paper, the *Philadelphia Alarm*, was issued, but soon changed to the *Trumpet of Alarm*. Washington, D.C. (with only 23,000), was visited, and meetings were held in the Methodist Protestant Church in the Navy Yard. Pittsburgh and Cincinnati (45,000 each) opened up. About this time three prominent ministers, Dr. N. N. Whiting (Baptist, of Williamsburgh, Long Island), J. B. Cook (Baptist, of Middletown, Connecticut), and F. G. Brown (also Baptist, of Worcester, Massachusetts), accepted the advent faith and began to proclaim it, and there were impressive results. Litch again records:

"The effect of it was electrical. Very many, who had previously looked upon the subject as beneath their notice, began to feel that it was possible, after all, that there might be something in it. This induced examination of the evidence, and that again produced conviction of the truth of the doctrine." ⁴⁷

Other second advent papers were established by Fitch in Cleveland, and by H. B. Skinner and Luther Caldwell in Canada. The advent cause now moved forward with rapidity. Literature poured from the Adventist presses—books, pamphlets, tracts, and broadsides. Handbills and Bible text-stickers for letters were employed. And the number of periodicals soon launched was amazing. (See chart on pp. 624, 625.) Millions of pages were distributed to create interest, lead to decision, and establish in the new-found faith.

7. POINTS OF "INTEREST" IN THE YEAR "1843."—All calculations of prophetic time were then believed, by the Millerites, to end sometime in or about the Jewish year 1843. But there

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

was no specific set time. Miller had understood that the 70 weeks ended in A.D. 33, with the cross marking their *close*, and the longer 2300-year time period consequently ending about "1843." Miller had always said "*about* 1843." Pressed to be more specific, he finally said, probably sometime between the spring equinoxes of March 21, 1843, and March 21, 1844—for he knew the Jewish sacred year ran from spring to spring. Some in the movement wondered whether the French entry into Rome on February 10, 1798, or perchance February 15—when the pope was taken prisoner and the Roman Republic established—might afford a clue to the time. But this was purely personal and speculative, not dogmatic.⁴⁸ It was generally believed by the Millerites that the 1290 years (of Daniel 12:11) ended jointly with the 1260 years in 1798, and that the 1335 years (Daniel 12:12) would end forty-five years later, along with the 2300 years, in "1843."

There was also the Passover season, in April, when the crucifixion took place, and on which day God had originally delivered ancient Israel from Egypt. By this time various Millerite leaders had come to feel that the prophesied *midst* of the seventieth "week" of years could not be the extreme end. Others were not entirely clear that the "cleansing of the sanctuary" meant the coming of Christ, or the purification of the earth. Possibly it was the cleansing of the church from false doctrine. Still others wondered whether the anniversary of Pentecost might bring the advent, and yet others looked to the Feast of Tabernacles in the autumn. These, however, were individual ideas, and not any general expectation. Meantime, doors were opening everywhere, and the calls for preachers were so many that not half could be filled. So the movement swept on with ever-increasing momentum.

8. EXPANSIONS EAST, WEST, AND NORTH.—As the spring

⁴⁸ Idle tales began to be circulated at this early time about ascension robes—going out to the graveyards to watch, or from the housetops—but with "not a word of truth to the whole story." These continued. (*Ibid.*, p. 74; see also F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, where these charges are examined and effectively answered in detail, and the tale traced to its source; see also Nichol, in the fully documented, "The Growth of the Millerite Legend," *Church History*, December, 1952, pp. 296-313.)

and summer opened, tabernacle and camp meetings and conferences were held in East, West, and North. There was a widely growing anxiety to hear what these earnest men had to say. Himes took the Big Tent to Rochester and Buffalo, in western New York, then on to Cincinnati, Ohio. And in connection with each of these major series of meetings in the larger cities an aggressive advent paper was usually published. (See chart on pp. 624, 625.) There were penetrations into the South—by Storrs to Norfolk, Brown to Washington, D.C., Bates to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and Chandler and Brewer to Virginia and North and South Carolina. Miller had been ill during the spring and summer of 1843, but by fall was again touring New England and western New York, and with greater results than ever.

One place visited by Miller was Lockport, New York, where for several months the well-known Baptist clergyman, Elon Galusha, had been deeply exercised over the question of the second advent. Miller's lectures, given in his church, fully persuaded him, and he too now became an active and ardent advocate of the doctrine. Litch went to Baltimore, first using the lecture room of a Universalist church, and then the Odd Fellows Hall. J. R. Gates went to central Pennsylvania. Miller and Himes went on to Washington, D.C., in February, 1844, to "sound the alarm" vigorously in the capital of the nation, going by way of New York and Philadelphia, where they stopped to deliver courses of lectures to large audiences. Appointments in different parts of the city of Washington brought about a revolution in public sentiment in the national capital regarding the second advent. In connection with this visit the *Southern Midnight Cry* was issued in Washington and in Baltimore. Thus we come to the end of the "Jewish year 1843," and of the 1843 phase of the rapidly spreading Millerite movement. A tremendous impression had been made.

9. MILLERISM MORE THAN TRACING TIME PERIODS.—When the "Jewish year 1843" passed (in the spring of 1844)

without the return of the Lord, the public expected the Millerites would "yield the whole question." But, Litch emphasizes significantly, "The [advent] doctrine does not consist in merely tracing prophetic periods." Prophecy as a whole gives indisputable evidence of the fact that the world is approaching a crisis. And, Litch concludes, "no disappointment respecting a definite point of time can move them, or drive them from their position, relative to the speedy coming of the Lord." And he strongly suggests that they were "only in error relative to the event which marked its close."⁴⁹

There were among the Millerite ministers men of commanding talent and attainment—only a few have thus far been named—who were the equal of the wise and learned opposers of the land, raised up, they believed, at a time when such help was needed. As to the actual number of ministers in the Millerite movement at this time Litch frankly said, "We have no means of ascertaining the number of ministers, and others, who have embraced the Advent faith. We only know that there are several hundred congregations, and a still larger number of ministers, who have publicly professed the faith, besides many who still remain in the churches of the land." These, he explained, were associated together for the accomplishment of a definite objective—to "sound the alarm." And any organization that existed was of the most "simple, voluntary and primitive form."

There is one other point that should be mentioned here. Whenever Millerite writings were circulated they stimulated the sale and study of the Bible. It was known as pre-eminently a Bible movement, and Litch asserts that "a course of lectures in a village, would open a door for the sale of more Bibles in a week than would have been sold before for years."⁵⁰ And, moreover, it was fundamentally Protestant in tone—the Bible, and the Bible only as the rule of faith and practice.

⁴⁹ Litch, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 60.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-91.

Earliest Ministerial Recruits

Join the Cause

Let us drop back again to 1838 and become better acquainted with Miller's earliest ministerial recruits, the first four men to rally unreservedly to his second advent banner, in 1838 and 1839. Let us scan their backgrounds, their talents, training, standing, and diverse religious affiliations. Let us note their special characteristics and individual contributions. They formed a unique and outstanding quartet. Few movements have drawn together such a diversified and able leadership as soon allied itself with the advent cause led by William Miller. First, we would introduce Josiah Litch, able Methodist minister. Then will follow Charles Fitch, godly Presbyterian revivalist. Next, Captain Joseph Bates, stalwart sea captain and world traveler, and finally Joshua V. Himes, peerless publicist—both of the Christian Connection. These four, however, were soon to be joined by a host of other lights, some of lesser and some of even greater brilliance. Miller, of course, was a Baptist.

I. Litch—First Methodist Minister to Espouse Adventism

The first well-known minister in New England to take his stand openly and aggressively by the side of William Miller and his cause was the scholarly DR. JOSIAH LITCH (1809-1886). He was born in Higham, Massachusetts, was converted at the age of seventeen, and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. He received his earlier education at the Wilbraham Academy, and subsequently became an able minister in the New England



MILLER AND EARLIEST QUARTET OF MINISTERIAL RECRUITS

From Left to Right: Charles Fitch, Eloquent Presbyterian Preacher and Designer of the Famous "1843" Chart; Joshua V. Himes, Christian Connection Minister, Publishing and Organizational Genius of Movement; William Miller, Baptist Pioneer Leader in the American Great Second Advent Movement; Josiah Litch, Redoubtable Methodist Clergyman, Editor, Organizer, and Preacher; and Joseph Bates, Former Sea Captain, of the Christian Faith, and Rugged Pioneer Following 1844

Methodist Conference. He also studied medicine, which he practiced in later life.¹ Litch espoused the Adventist cause in 1838, and took his place publicly as a colaborer of Miller. He had a strong and vigorous mind, a bent for investigation, and the courage to advocate what he believed to be truth. He was a deep and original thinker, and became widely known as an able preacher and writer on prophecy. (His portrait appears above.)

Litch was thoroughly conscientious. He was a humble man; but his humility was not the result of cowardice, for in the early days of the slavery and temperance agitation he was constantly in the forefront of the conflict. He was ever the courageous champion of neglected truth and downtrodden causes. He was a power in the pulpit, and often held the unwearied interest of five thousand for an hour and a half, proclaiming the imminent advent of Christ on the basis of Bible prophecy. He was equally forceful with his pen, both as an editor and an author, his books and tracts having an extensive circulation.

¹ He was listed as "physician" in the 1867 *Providence, Rhode Island, Directory*, when he moved there. And in the last *Directory* entry, of 1886, he is still listed as "physician," as well as clergyman.

² *Providence Journal*, Feb. 5, 1886, p. 3.

Early in 1838 he received a copy of Miller's *Lectures*, as we have seen, with the request that he read it and give his opinion on its merits. However, the idea of anyone trying to discover the time of Christ's second advent was so distasteful to Litch that at first he was scarcely willing to examine it. He felt he could with ease overthrow its argument in a few minutes. He was already well aware that the Protestant world generally believed that Antichrist, under the various prophetic symbols of Daniel, Paul, and John, was the Papacy. And he knew that Protestants generally believed that this power was to continue for 1260 year-days, and that quite a few of these learned writers began the period with the decree of Phocas in 606, and consequently would not terminate until 1866. To Litch this evidence had seemed rather decisive.

However, to please his friend—as well as from personal curiosity to know what arguments could be summoned to support so novel a doctrine—he began to read Miller's *Lectures*, as his book was popularly called. As he progressed his prejudice began to melt, and he came gradually to feel that Miller had many good points of truth—especially the idea that Christ's coming reign of glory would be “*on the earth renewed.*”³ In fact, the more he read, the more weighty Miller's arguments appeared to be. Nor did they seem to conflict with his stanch Methodist beliefs and convictions.

Miller's evidence for the 1260 years, as from 538 to 1798, really seemed stronger than for that of the more common later dating. And the reasoning and the Scriptural evidence convinced Litch that there could be no millennium until Christ comes in person. The reign of the Man of Sin and the glorious millennium obviously could not coexist. Before he had finished the book he became fully satisfied that the arguments were so clear, logical, Scriptural, and conclusive that it was virtually impossible to disprove Miller's fundamental contentions. Prejudice had given way to definite acceptance of the advent faith.

³ Josiah Litch, “The Rise and Progress of Adventism,” in *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 54.

Then the sobering issue confronted him: If these positions be true, must he not also, as an honest and sincere minister of the gospel, proclaim them? A tremendous struggle took place in his heart. And what if these postulates should prove to be false? What then would happen to his reputation? It was an uncomfortable thought. Yet the teaching of the Scriptures seemed conclusive. It was obvious that, if Biblical, the doctrine of the imminent advent should be made known; if un-Biblical and false, its error should be exposed. But the prophecies and the time period were assuredly there, and their meaning was seemingly what Miller presented.

Now fully persuaded that it was Biblical truth, he felt there was only one course open for him as an honest believer in the Bible—that it was his duty to make it known to others to the extent of his ability. And on the question of willingness to bear the reproach of an unpopular cause, Litch solemnly resolved at any cost to present the truth as he saw it.⁴ He then and there consecrated his talents to the advocacy of the advent message, whatever the reproach.

Litch was studious of habit and keen of mind, and soon began to write on the theme. His first production was a forty-eight-page synopsis of Miller's views entitled *Midnight Cry, or a Review of Mr. Miller's Lectures on the Second Coming of Christ, About A.D. 1843*. This had a wide distribution, and created many friends for the advent cause. And wherever Litch went he preached the imminent advent of Christ. At this time there was not another minister in all New England so identified—except Charles Fitch, pastor of Marlboro Church, Boston, who, for a brief time, had taken his stand publicly with Miller. But Fitch had, at the moment, relapsed into his former views of a temporal millennium before Christ's coming.

Undaunted by Fitch's temporary retreat, and by the solitariness of his own position, Litch began the preparation of another book in April, 1838—a two-hundred-page volume entitled

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 55.

The Probability of the Second Coming of Christ About A.D. 1843. In the preface Litch definitely declared his belief in the certainties of prophecy. So much had already been fulfilled that he profoundly believed the predictions of the Bible to have been "written by the direction and influence of the unerring Spirit of the Holy One, and will, in due time, be fulfilled."⁵

It was at a meeting in Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1839, that Litch first met Miller personally. He was on the Committee of Arrangements for the first general conference, held in October, 1840, and was one of the leading speakers. He was likewise a frequent speaker in the lengthening series of subsequent general conferences.

In June, 1841, Litch attended the Methodist Episcopal Conference at Providence, Rhode Island. Here he was closely interrogated by the presiding bishops as to his relation to the Millerite teachings. After Litch had expounded his convictions, the bishop asked, "Do you think that is Methodism?" Litch replied, "I do. At least it is not contrary to the articles of the Methodist Episcopal Church." After considerable discussion the conference also came to the conclusion that Litch held nothing contrary to Methodism, though he had at points gone beyond it. So they reluctantly granted his request to devote himself principally to the dissemination of the second advent truth.⁶

But Litch soon came to the conclusion that he must dissolve his connection with the Methodist Church, in which he had ministered for eight years, and throw his entire time and talents into the second advent enterprise. In July he had "entered the field," lecturing as a "general agent" of the Committee of Publication, ready to respond to calls and traveling in behalf of the publications—a customary practice among religious bodies of the time.⁷ He soon became one of the editors of the pioneer Millerite paper, *The Signs of the Times*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶ *Signs of the Times*, Sept. 1, 1841, pp. 85, 86.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1841, p. 72.

He traveled extensively and preached on the prophecies with great effect, and was a strong leader in the growing band of Adventist ministers. His three weeks of lectures in Newark, New Jersey, in 1841, made a profound impression. He continued to travel and lecture, and was the companion of Miller on trips to Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and New York. He was also editor of the *Philadelphia Alarm* (thirteen numbers), and thereafter of the *Trumpet of Alarm*, also of Philadelphia, which succeeded it, where he became the leading Millerite representative.

II. Fitch—Presbyterian Western Apostle of Advent Message

Next was CHARLES FITCH (1805-October 14, 1844), who came from Hampton, Connecticut. He was trained at Brown University, and after ordination to the Congregational ministry served successively at Abington, Connecticut; Warren, Massachusetts; and Hartford, Connecticut.⁸ From thence he went to the Marlboro Congregational Chapel in Boston, in 1836, and later to Newark, New Jersey, and Haverhill, Massachusetts. His major contribution was doubtless made at Cleveland, Ohio, after he had become the western apostle of the advent message. Fitch's interest in foreign missions is attested by his membership in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.⁹ (Photograph appears on p. 529.)

His concern over slavery is revealed through a pamphlet, dated 1837, entitled *Slaveholding Weighed in the Balance of Truth, and Its Comparative Guilt Illustrated*. The argument is clear and forceful, and the title page identifies Fitch as then "Pastor of First Free Congregational Church, Boston." His courage and spirit are disclosed by such expressions as, "the press was bribed, the pulpit gagged, and the lips of the

⁸ When Charles G. Finney's Broadway Tabernacle Church, in New York City, was organized May 13, 1836, in the newly completed giant tabernacle, built to seat three thousand, Fitch, then of Hartford, was secured to preach the sermon. He next read the roster of new members, and then the Declaration of Principles, the Rules, Confession of Faith, and Covenant, to which they all gave public assent. To close, he then pronounced them a church, and offered the benedictory prayer. This indicates the high esteem in which Fitch was held. (Susan H. Ward, *The History of the Broadway Tabernacle Church*, p. 28.)

⁹ Original certificate, dated Nov. 7, 1832, in Advent Source Collection.

multitude padlocked"—as concerning slavery. A series of comparisons is presented: specifically, Roman Catholic subjugation to the pope, the making of ardent spirits, and the problems of theft, robbery, murder, and treason. "Every man has a tongue," he adds pointedly, "and he can use it; he has influence, and he can exert it; he has moral power, and he can put it forth." Then Fitch issues the summons: "Up my friends, and do your duty, to deliver the spoils out of the hands of the oppressor, lest the fire of God's fury kindle ere long upon you."¹⁰

1. INITIAL ADVENT INTEREST LAPSES UNDER RIDICULE.—It was while pastor of the Marlboro Street Congregational Church in Boston, early in 1838, that Fitch was given a copy of Miller's *Lectures*, containing his views on the second advent. On March 5 he wrote to Miller, confessing an "overwhelming interest" in it, "such as I never felt in any other book except the Bible."¹¹ Painstakingly studying it, and carefully comparing it with Scripture, Fitch states that he had come to believe in "the correctness of your [Miller's] views." As a result, on March 4, he preached two discourses on the second advent, creating a deep interest. Then he adds that at a meeting of "our Ministerial Association" on March 6, he purposed "to bring up this whole subject for discussion, and I trust that I may thereby do something to spread the truth." He arranged to secure a dozen copies of Miller's *Lectures* for distribution, and asked a question regarding historical data that would sustain the view Miller had published concerning A.D. 508. He closed by declaring that as a "watchman on the walls" he desired to "give the trumpet a certain sound."

Fitch's sermons produced a sensation in the community. But his ministerial associates treated the question with such searing ridicule and contempt that for a time he lost confidence in it, and lapsed into his former views of the world's conversion.¹²

¹⁰ Charles Fitch, *Slaveholding Weighed in the Balance*, pp. 5, 31, 32.

¹¹ Ms. letter, Fitch to Miller, March 5, 1838.

¹² Litch, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism." *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 56.

However, his mind was not at rest. He was dissatisfied, and thirsted for truth. He longed for holiness of life. That Fitch was a deeply spiritual man is evident from a series of letters, which have been preserved, that were written to his wife between 1840 and 1844.¹³ The blending of human affection for the "dear companion of my heart," together with his divine love for his Lord, is beautiful and impressive.

2. CLASH WITH PRESBYTERY OVER SANCTIFICATION.—Shortly after, while serving as pastor of the Free Presbyterian Church of Newark, New Jersey, to which he had transferred, Fitch wrote out his *Views of Sanctification* (1839). It was his statement of faith, and stressed sanctification by divine grace through the Word. This resulted in the appointment of a committee by the presbytery to confer with him over his views on perfection.¹⁴ They in turn passed a "Resolution of Censure," declaring Fitch's views to be a "dangerous error," admonishing him "to preach them no more." Fitch answered in a *Letter to the Newark Presbytery* (1840), defending his views. Though the presbytery had passed the resolution of censure, he steadfastly replied, "I cannot regard your admonition," and offered his reasons.¹⁵

After years of unsatisfactory living, he had found, personally and experimentally, the enabling grace of Christ. He had learned the secret of reckoning himself dead to sin. The world had lost its charm, and his heart was filled with joy. He had entered into a new life—and supported his position with an imposing array of texts. He took this stand, he adds, "in view of an approaching judgment." Then he avers, "If you still adhere to that opinion, I must consider myself as no longer of your number."¹⁶ The presbytery must do to him as they think our Lord requires. This he soon followed with his *Reasons for Withdrawing From the Newark Presbytery* (1840), the title

¹³ Originals in Advent Source Collection.

¹⁴ Charles Fitch, *Views of Sanctification*, Preface, p. 3.

¹⁵ Charles Fitch, *Letter to the Newark Presbytery*, p. 3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

page adding, "By Charles Fitch, Pastor of the Free Presbyterian Church, Newark." The Preface states that he felt called to preach the "blessed doctrine of sanctification by faith in Christ." He recognized that if he did not withdraw he would be excommunicated. So he states, "I do hereby withdraw from you."¹⁷ Thus he bade adieu to his Presbyterian brethren.

3. WON TO ADVENT FAITH BY LITCH.—Fitch began to travel through New England and New York, then on to Buffalo and the new and undeveloped "West." But in 1841 he was back in Massachusetts, at Haverhill, forty miles from Boston. Near the close of 1841 he re-examined the subject of the second advent. It was Litch, of Philadelphia, who had known of Fitch's experience in 1838, who brought him again to the definite acceptance of the advent faith. He called at Fitch's home in Haverhill on a cold December day, urging him to restudy the theme and to write him on the result of his investigation. This Fitch did in a 72-page printed *Letter to Rev. J. Litch, on the Second Coming of Christ* (1841).¹⁸ In this extended statement Fitch refers to the three and a half years that had elapsed since his first reading of Miller's *Lectures*, following which he had succumbed to the "fear of man,"¹⁹ and had laid it aside.

Fitch had been deeply troubled and uncertain. He was constrained to speak on holiness, but found no opportunity to call men to the higher level of living. The churches seemed closed. Then, as Fitch explained his perplexities to Litch, the latter said, "What you need is the doctrine of the second advent to put with the doctrine of holiness." In response Fitch read Miller's book through, not for the second or third time, but for the sixth.²⁰ He compared it with his Bible, and studied all other available writings on the subject of the advent. Thus he gathered together all possible evidence. He reviewed the Lord's

¹⁷ Charles Fitch, *Reasons for Withdrawing From the Newark Presbytery*, pp. 3, 12.

¹⁸ This cites the supporting testimony of Colonial preachers Cotton Mather and Thomas Prince. (On these see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II.)

¹⁹ Charles Fitch, *Letter to Rev. J. Litch, on the Second Coming of Christ*, pp. 8, 9.

²⁰ "I devoured it with a more intense interest than any other book I had ever read; and continued to feel the same interest in it, until I had read it from beginning to end for the sixth time" (Fitch, *Letter to Rev. J. Litch, on the Second Coming of Christ*, p. 6).

leading ever since he had left Brown University. All this he brought before the Lord with fasting and prayer. His own words reveal his heart attitude:

"When Dear Bro. Litch named the second advent, I went to the Lord; I read my Bible, & all the works that I could obtain. I possessed myself of all the evidences in the case that I could; & then with fasting & prayer I laid them & myself with my all before the Lord, desiring only that the Blessed Spirit might guide me into all truth. I felt that I had no will of my own, & wished only to know the will of my Saviour. Light seemed breaking in upon my mind, ray after ray, & I found myself more & more unable to resist the conviction that it was indeed the truth, that the coming of the blessed Saviour was at the door."²¹

He passed through an intense struggle, fearing that he would be considered an outcast. He had lost many friends through teaching the unpopular doctrine of a holier plane of living. And now, by heralding the second advent he could expect only further alienations. It was like plucking out his right eye. But once convinced, he made the great decision, and threw his full ardor into the proclamation of the advent message. Fitch now found the ears of the people open to hear, and doors opened wide on every hand, as he joined Miller and Litch, and soon Himes and a steadily growing company of Adventist preachers. Fitch covered New England, speaking to large congregations. Indeed, he was unable to answer all the calls. Here are his own words:

"And now so soon as I was ready to come out on the Second Advent, the door before me was thrown wide open, & I have been wholly unable for the last 8 months to meet one half the calls which I have received. Wherever I have been God has been with me. Since the 1st of Dec. last, I have preached as often as every day & about sixty times besides. I have been in all The New England States, congregations have been large in all places. Wherever I have been I have preached holiness. My usual practice has been to preach on Holiness in the afternoon, & on the Second Advent in the evening. I have seen saints sanctified & sinners led to Christ."²²

Some turned against him; but many others accepted the advent truth, including Dr. W. C. Palmer and his wife Phoebe, who wrote many advent hymns, including the appealing—

²¹ Ms. letter, Fitch to "Brother and Sister Palmer," July 26, 1842.

²² *Ibid.*

"Watch, ye saints, with eyelids waking;
Lo! the powers of heaven are shaking;
Keep your lamps all trimmed and burning,
Ready for your Lord's returning.

"Kingdoms at their base are crumbling,
Hark! His chariot wheels are rumbling;
Tell, O tell of grace abounding,
Whilst the seventh trump is sounding.

"Nations wane, though proud and stately;
Christ His kingdom hasteneth greatly;
Earth her latest pangs is summing;
Shout, ye saints, your Lord is coming.

"Sinners, come, while Christ is pleading;
Now for you He's interceding;
Haste, ere grace and time diminished
Shall proclaim the mystery finished."

His travels by stage, steamboat, train, horse, and foot took him away from home most of the time, but he was joyous in his faith. The *Signs of the Times* commented, "This dear brother has come into the full faith of the Second Advent."²³ From then on he was one of the most fearless, aggressive, and successful Millerite leaders.

4. DESIGNS FAMOUS "1843" PROPHEPIC CHART.—In 1842 Fitch was still at Haverhill, Massachusetts, as pastor of the Winter Street Church, which Apollos Hale usually attended. At this time Fitch, assisted by Hale, designed the famous "1843" prophetic chart, painted on cloth, which he presented to the Boston General Conference of May, 1842, of which Joseph Bates was chairman. Plans were there laid to proclaim the "Midnight Cry" more vigorously. After the presentation of the chart, with its graphic symbols and time periods, to the conference, three hundred lithographed copies were authorized for use by the Adventist preachers.²⁴ Fitch, in explaining it, told of his purpose to simplify and integrate the prophecies,

²³ *Signs of the Times*, Dec. 15, 1841, p. 144.

²⁴ Joseph Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*, pp. 10, 11.

and to make them so plain that whoever saw the prophetic message might read and run with it. (Habakkuk 2:2.) That he personally used a copy is indicated by his allusion to distress over its loss (but subsequent recovery) while traveling by stage between towns in Massachusetts.²⁵ (Facsimile reproduction appears on p. 616.)

5. COGENT REASONER AND POWERFUL PREACHER.—Fitch was well educated, deeply pious, and a lover of truth. In appearance he was slender but well built, with an engaging smile and a genuine kindliness of heart. He was a cogent reasoner and a powerful preacher, deep solemnity characterizing his style. There was warmth and glow in his public address. His audiences were profoundly moved by his earnest appeals for preparedness to meet the Lord, and hundreds went forward for prayer at his altar calls, and found salvation. Here is an example:

"To bring about an extensive and permanent reformation in this crazy world, I am convinced, is a hopeless thing. Never, till fire purifies it, and the wicked are destroyed out of it, and the devil chained and put into the pit, shall we have peace without—though we may within, thank God, have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."²⁶

Fitch exerted a marked influence wherever he went. There were many more calls for his lectures than he could meet. Crowds gathered to hear wherever he spoke, people coming five, ten, or fifteen miles—a long distance in those days of primitive travel. In one of his letters he tells of "hastening over hill and dale to carry the light of God's blessed truth."²⁷ Of his intensive labors he writes in two subsequent missives, and affords us a glimpse of their strenuous character:

"I reached this place [Montpelier] at about half past twelve o'clock on Wednesday. I had then preached 13 times in a week, & attended many prayer meetings & then at the end of it instead of taking rest I had had a most fatiguing ride of 75-miles. A meeting however was appointed for me here on the evening of my arrival. Accordingly I went to bed, & after sleeping 2 hours & a half, I arose exceedingly refreshed, & preached in

²⁵ Ms. letter, Fitch to his wife, June 3, 1842.

²⁶ *Midnight Cry*, Feb. 3, 1843, p. 15.

²⁷ Ms. letter, Fitch to his wife, June 14, 1842.

the evening. The audience was tolerable for numbers—though by no means such as I had left at Claremont. Yesterday I preached twice, & the audience in the evening was much increased. The spirit of the Lord was present, & truth had power.”²⁸

A few days later he wrote:

“This morning I Lectured at 5 o’clock on the 2ⁿ Advent—I expect to Lecture once or twice more, in the course of the day & evening. Tomorrow morning I leave for Richmond 60 miles toward the north west, where I am to tarry till Monday morning, when I set out for home. I have preached already 39-sermons since I left.”²⁹

Fitch used interest-arresting visual-aid methods. When he lectured in the Big Tent on Daniel 2, he used a large statue made in sections to represent the great image. As he told of Babylon’s fall he removed the head, and so on with other sections. When only the feet of the modern nations were left, the people understood that we are truly living in the last days.³⁰

6. CARRIES MESSAGE TO CLEVELAND AND OBERLIN.—In the latter part of 1842 Fitch again started for the West, this time to proclaim the advent message. In those days the “West”—the territory beyond the Appalachian Mountains and the Great Lakes—was sparsely settled. No railroads had as yet penetrated this region, but the rivers and great lakes were plied by steamers. And a canal connected Lake Erie with the Ohio River. Cincinnati, to which Enoch Jacobs had been called, was Ohio’s largest city, with over forty thousand population, while Cleveland, on Lake Erie, had as yet only some six thousand. But Fitch was asked to go to Cleveland and vicinity. So he brought his family and labored there for about two years. He and Elon Galusha and other pioneer Adventist ministers went out over the State preaching to the growing cities and little towns, such as Akron and Marietta, and the neighboring county seats. The people everywhere were receptive. They were, in fact, more ready to believe the advent teaching than were the people in many of the older sections of the East.

²⁸ Ms. letter, Fitch to his wife, June 17, 1842.

²⁹ Ms. letter, Fitch to his wife, June 28, 1842.

³⁰ *Midnight Cry*, June 6, 1844, p. 372.

The new settlers in Ohio were deeply interested in education, and had established schools, like Oberlin College, near Cleveland, where students and teachers alike supported themselves through the farm and industries and where Christian education was strongly encouraged. Despite determined opposition, a definite interest in the advent message developed at Oberlin through the preaching of Fitch. He had recognized ability and standing, or he would not have been given opportunity to deliver an initial series of lectures on the second advent at the college in 1842, doubtless through Finney's friendship. A second series followed in 1843—though members of the faculty took issue with his positions. Of the growing opposition at Oberlin he wrote:

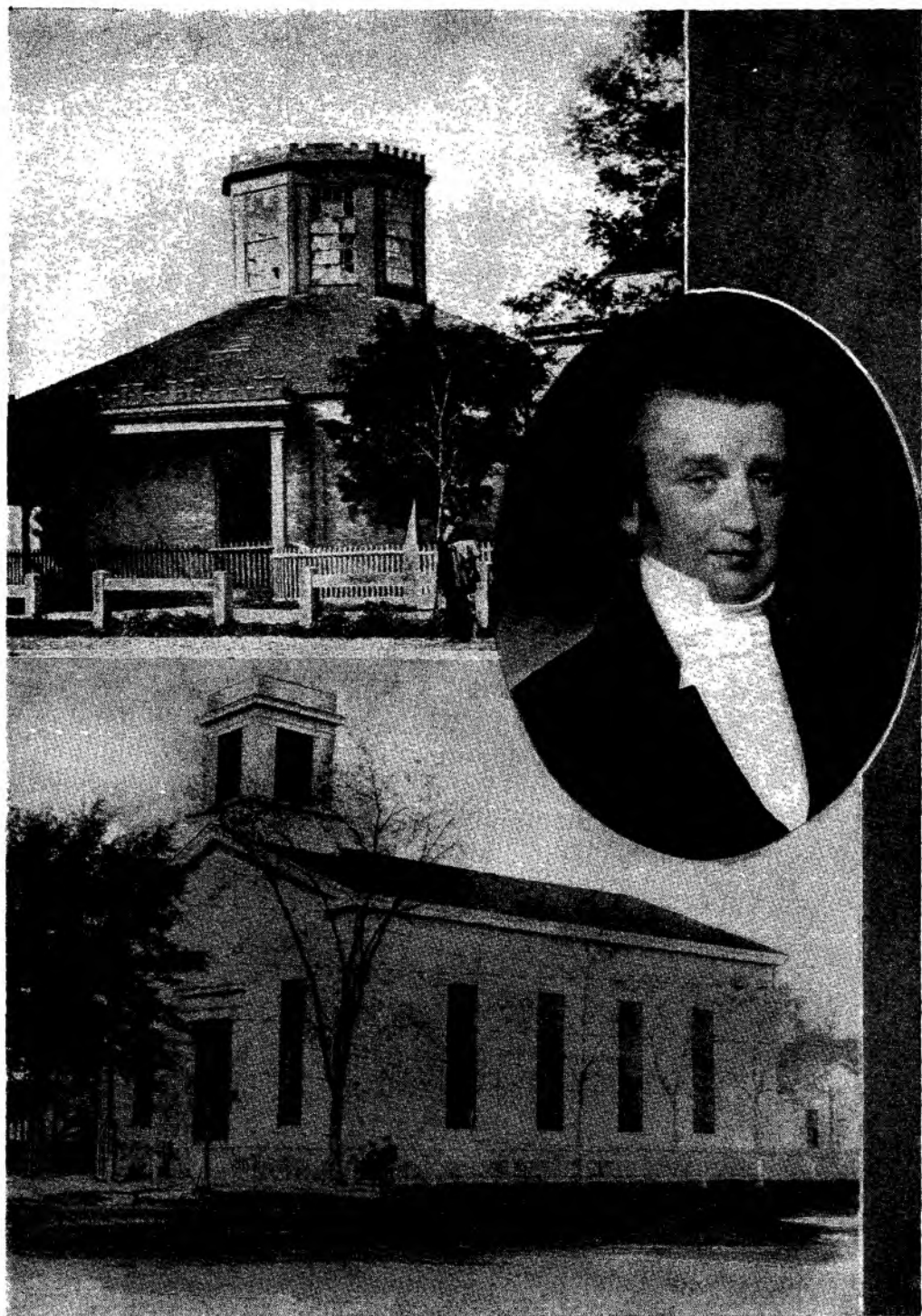
"I have never seen the glorious truths of the Bible, teaching the kingdom and coming of Christ, met with more determined opposition, contempt and scorn, than they have been by the Oberlin Faculty; and never, in all my life have I felt such anguish at my heart's core, or shed such bitter, burning tears as I have at their rejection of the Word of the Lord."³¹

In the latter part of 1842 Fitch, in Cleveland, was preaching in a large wooden church fronting the public square. Built in 1832 by the Congregationalists, it had been sold to the Presbyterians. In 1842 and 1843, in order to aid in the debt, the congregation first rented it part of the time to the second Adventists, and then sold it to them. Here Fitch preached nightly, his clear ringing voice reaching large congregations.³² (Pictured on p. 542.) Hodge, who was present when the incident occurred, tells how Fitch—"a good speaker and a man of great energy"—on one occasion called upon the penitent to come forward for special prayer. The church had a gallery around the sides and the back, with two stairways leading down to the front.

A big "lumbering fellow" started with others down the stairway, and stumbled while responding to Fitch's altar call for repentant sinners to come forward. The crowd started to laugh. Fitch quelled this outburst with an apt remark, instantly calling out, "Never mind, brother, it is better to stumble

³¹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1843, p. 167.

³² O. J. Hodge, *Reminiscences*, p. 30.



CHARLES FITCH—ADVENT HERALD ON WESTERN OUTPOST

(Upper) Octagonal Brick Tabernacle, Used in Latter Period of the Advent Movement at Cleveland; (Lower) Large Cleveland Church Where Fitch Proclaimed the Imminent Second Advent of Christ; (Inset) Presbyterian Charles Fitch, Powerful Preacher of the Advent and the Prophecies

into heaven than to walk straight into hell.”³³ Early in 1844 contemporary newspaper editorials tell of Fitch’s acceptance and preaching of the doctrine of the final destruction of the wicked,³⁴ brought to him by George Storrs. This was similarly true of baptism by immersion, leading to some twenty, including Fitch, being baptized; and then of an instance when Fitch baptized twelve persons in the Ohio Canal in the piercing cold of March, amid a driving snowstorm.³⁵ His own understanding of baptism is revealed in a letter to his wife: “Since I last wrote you I have been buried by baptism into the death of Christ.”³⁶

7. PUBLISHES “THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST.”—Not only did Fitch preach his message, but, like many of the leading Millerite ministers, he published a paper. He started a weekly journal, on January 18, 1843, called the *Second Advent of Christ*, which carried the advent message out over that western region where he could not go in person. It was conducted along lines similar to the Boston *Signs of the Times* and the New York *Midnight Cry*. It ably heralded the expected advent and expounded the prophecies along standard Millerite lines. Many of the articles and discussions with opposers, appearing in the Eastern papers, were reproduced. A second advent conference for Cleveland, scheduled for March 9, 1843, was publicized.³⁷ Fitch’s discussion with the Oberlin faculty is presented in two numbers.³⁸ A second advent camp meeting is noted for June, 1843, at Warrensville, a few miles from Cleveland,³⁹ as well as other camp meetings in the West. There is a description of the newly erected big Boston Tabernacle, 84 by 110 feet.⁴⁰ And finally, the notable sermon by Fitch, “Come Out of Her, My People,” was published entire.⁴¹

8. INITIATES CALL “OUT OF BABYLON.”—Fitch, who by 1843 was one of the most prominent of the Millerite leaders, preached this epochal sermon from the figurative language of

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, March 18, 1844, p. 31.

³⁸ *Second Advent of Christ*, March 8, 1843.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, June 7, 1843.

³⁴ Editorials, *Cleveland Herald*, Jan. 23 and Feb. 13, 1844.

³⁵ Ms. letter, Fitch to his wife, April 16, 1844.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, May 10, 17, 1843.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, June 21, 1843.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, July 26, 1843.

Revelation 14 and 18—a mighty angel crying, “Babylon, the Great, is fallen,” followed by the warning voice, “Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.” In this Fitch contended that Babylon was no longer limited to the Roman Catholic Church, as held back in Protestant Reformation days, but now included also the great body of Protestant Christendom. He maintained that, by their rejection of the light of the advent, both branches of Christendom had fallen from the high estate of pure Christianity. Protestantism was either cold to the doctrine of the second advent or had spiritualized it away. Fitch first published this address in the summer of 1843, in his weekly paper,⁴² and then put it into pamphlet form. Later it was reprinted in various prominent Millerite papers.⁴³

After the spring expectation in 1844, Elon Galusha preached in Cleveland in July,⁴⁴ and William Miller and J. V. Himes out on a tour of the West, came to Cleveland, Cincinnati, and other points.⁴⁵ There they found crowds eager to hear them preach, while at the same time important developments were taking place in the East. According to the press, the “Round Tabernacle” (pictured on p. 542) was thronged in October by “Second Advent friends,”⁴⁶ waiting and watching in the Tabernacle on the fateful day and night of October 22.⁴⁷

The Cleveland Adventists had built this octagonal, or circular, brick church at Wood Street in 1844. It was sixty-two feet in diameter, with a sloping roof, and a cupola on top for the lighting. This was the scene of “enthusiastic and joyous meetings and the delightful music of those stirring themes.” It was early in October, 1844, when Fitch, with most other leaders—such as Himes, Litch, Bliss, and Miller—accepted the “seventh month” concept, looking to October 22 as the anti-typical Day of Atonement. Fitch was ill in Buffalo at the time,

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ See *Midnight Cry*, Sept. 21, 1843.

⁴⁴ *Cleveland Herald*, July 6, 9, 1844.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1844, p. 2.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, p. 2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, p. 3.

and someone read him the articles setting forth the "seventh month" view.⁴⁸ This he embraced heartily.

9. DEATH FROM PNEUMONIA ON OCTOBER 14, 1844.—But Fitch did not have much longer to live and labor. He was in Buffalo, New York, in October, 1844, when a large number of new believers requested baptism. Others had not yet fully made up their minds. Arrangements were made, and the company who were ready went with him to the lake shore and were baptized in the chilly autumn water. A cold wind was blowing as Fitch started for home in his wet garments—for they had no protective baptismal robes or waterproof waders in those days. But just then he was met by another company of tardy candidates, on their way to the lake, who similarly desired baptism. So, cold as he was, Fitch went back with them and immersed them. And then came a belated third company who had at last made their decision. At their request he turned back a second time, and baptized them also. But Fitch was seriously chilled.

Ill as he was from the effects of this prolonged exposure, he nevertheless rode several miles the next day in the cold wind to meet another appointment. This proved too much for him, and he was stricken down with fatal illness, doubtless pneumonia, which speedily brought on his death at the early age of thirty-nine. His last triumphant words on October 14, shortly before the day of expectation, were, "I believe in the promises of God." It may confidently be said that none of the Adventist preachers was more widely loved than Charles Fitch. Courageous and resourceful, helpful and hopeful, he interpreted the love of God in word and deed, in the light of the second advent, to the thousands to whom he ministered.

III. Captain Bates—Pioneer in Southern Territory

JOSEPH BATES (1792-1872) sprang from a Congregational background, spending his childhood in Massachusetts not far from the landing place of the Pilgrim Fathers. When he was

⁴⁸ *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 12, 1844, p. 124.

but a lad his father, who had been a captain in the Revolutionary War, moved to New Bedford, which was divided during the War of 1812, the eastern part (across the Acushnet River) being renamed Fairhaven. Joseph early took to sea, sailing for Europe as a cabin boy in 1807. Many thrilling adventures marked his life at sea—collision with an iceberg; commandeered as a gunner on the H.M.S. *Rodney*; on blockade duty in the war between England and Spain against France, with attempts to escape, and recapture; a prisoner of war for two and a half years; and finally reaching home after six years' absence. But he continued to ply the seven seas, and rose to rank of captain in 1821.⁴⁹ (His picture appears on p. 529.)

During his first trip as captain he forbade the drinking of "ardent spirits" aboard ship. On the next he resolved personally to drink no wine, and later even gave up smoking. In 1826, just before starting on another voyage, his wife placed in his trunk a New Testament, which proved to be the beginning of a genuine spiritual awakening. The sickness of one of the crew intensified Bates's unrest. After a struggle he began to pray. Then the death of the stricken crew member, and his own responsibility, as captain, for the funeral service, brought him still closer to God, and he surrendered to Christ and began daily Bible study and prayer. Upon reaching home he was baptized and joined the New Bedford Christian Church. But the minister who administered the rite strangely refused to join him in the fight against liquor. So he turned to the Congregationalist minister in Fairhaven, who helped him form the Fairhaven Temperance Society. He even gave up the use of tea and coffee.

Bates had strong and sturdy convictions. On shipboard he gathered his crew and read the rules for the trip—no intoxicants, no swearing, no washing of clothes on Sunday, and daily worship. Two men were converted on the voyage. Then Bates retired from sea service in 1826 with a comfortable for-

⁴⁹ Based on *The Autobiography of Elder Joseph Bates*.

tune. He now turned his attention to serious church work and reform movements, ever taking the side of the oppressed. And each time he took up a new reform movement he lost some friends. Despite opposition and denunciation, he formed an antislavery society. Then he projected a manual training school. To provide labor, he planned to produce silk for market, and planted three mulberry orchards. These activities, of course, covered a number of years.

Just at this time, in 1839, a ministerial friend invited him to attend a lecture on the second advent of Christ. After hearing it through he exclaimed, "That is the truth!" He had been associated somewhat with J. V. Himes in various reform activities. And now Himes himself had become interested in Miller's views on the second advent. Bates obtained a copy of Miller's *Lectures*, and shortly thereafter fully accepted their teaching, regarding premillennialism as the "fountainhead of reform" for the time. When the call for the first General Conference at Boston, for ministers interested in the second advent, was issued by sixteen men, Bates was one of the authorizing committee. At his earnest solicitation Miller held a series of meetings in Fairhaven in March, 1841. In 1842, while delayed at the Salem railway station, Bates led out in the singing of advent hymns. Such interest was created by this unusual venture that Silas Hawley, a Presbyterian minister who had but recently accepted Millerism, was invited to preach the next Sunday to an estimated audience of seven thousand.

Bates soon became an active and successful Millerite minister. He continued his participation in various General Conferences, and by May, 1842, was chosen chairman of one of the most important of the conferences—the one that authorized the lithographing of Fitch's famous "1843 Chart," and approved the conducting of camp meetings, which were destined to be such a noteworthy success.

Bates attended various camp meetings, and was a prominent member of different important committees. However, opposition to the advent message by members of his Fairhaven

Christian Church led him to withdraw from its membership. In 1843 he sold his home, and most of his other real estate, and prepared to go where needed to herald the second coming of Christ. He had a burden to go down to the slaveholding States of the South, where other lecturers had been driven out by hostile inhabitants. Bates was warned that he would probably be killed because of his well-known abolitionist principles.⁵⁰ Undeterred, he went into Maryland and preached to large numbers, H. S. Gurney, baritone singer, accompanying him. This very success aroused resentment and opposition, and a fiery Methodist class leader threatened to have them ridden out of town on a rail. Bates made the instant but telling rejoinder, "If you will put a saddle on it, we would rather ride than walk." This nimble reply disconcerted the man, and Bates continued:

"You must not think that we have come six hundred miles through the ice and snow, at our own expense, to give you the Midnight Cry, without first sitting down and counting the cost. And now, if the Lord has no more for us to do, we had as lief lie at the bottom of the Chesapeake Bay as anywhere else until the Lord comes. But if he has any more work for us to do, you can't touch us!"⁵¹

The Baltimore *Patriot* learned of the episode and after relating the story, said significantly: "The crush of matter and the wreck of worlds would be nothing to such men."⁵²

In another incident in a little Maryland town, Bates made this reply:

"Yes, Judge, I am an abolitionist, and have come to get your slaves, and *you too!* As to getting your slaves *from* you, we have no such intention; for if you should give us all you have (and I was informed he owned quite a number), we should not know what to do with them. We teach that Christ is coming, and we want you all saved."⁵³

Completing their mission, they turned homeward again by boat. No time or opportunity was to be lost, so on shipboard they hung up their prophetic chart, sang an advent hymn, and proceeded to give a lecture on the coming crisis. When the

⁵⁰ Joseph Bates, *Autobiography*, p. 277.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁵² Newark *Daily Advertiser*, March 2, 1844.

⁵³ Joseph Bates, *Autobiography*, p. 281.

passengers transferred to the train at the port, Bates even continued his lecture on the train. He visited the many islands scattered along the Massachusetts coast, leading many to accept the second advent faith.

Bates was one of the important leaders in the Exeter (New Hampshire) camp meeting in August, 1844, when the "true midnight cry" was first presented. Bates, it happened, was the preacher chosen for that morning's service at the camp. He was exhorting his hearers to be faithful and calmly assuring them that God was simply testing them, that they were in the tarrying time, and similar sentiments, when Samuel S. Snow rode into the camp on horseback. Taking a seat beside his sister, Mrs. John Couch, Snow reiterated his conviction that Christ would appear at the time appointed. Greatly stirred, Mrs. Couch startled the audience by rising and declaring, "Here is a man with a message from God!" (The full story appears in chapter 38.)

There the eyes of all were turned to the date October 22, and conviction gripped the camp that this would be the day of Christ's emergence from the heaven of heavens, or holy of holies. From this encampment men went forth everywhere with the zeal of crusaders to warn men in the few weeks that remained. Bates's later activities—his acceptance and proclamation of the seventh-day Sabbath, his participation in the 1848 Sabbath conferences, and related matters, must be reserved for their chronological place. He was a great trail blazer, holding key positions all through the Advent Movement, from 1840 on. His *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps* (1847) was a short history of the advent cause from 1840 to 1847, the first of its kind.

IV. Himes—Publishing and Publicity Genius Joins Hands

Judged by any standard of measurement, JOSHUA VAUGHAN HIMES (1805-1895) was a remarkable character. Courageous, versatile, and a born leader, he was the great publicist, promoter, and organizer of the Millerite movement. While he

was a power in the pulpit, he was an even greater power in the editorial chair. He was a really remarkable publisher, with the knack of knowing how to appeal to the public. His daring and his swiftness of action is illustrated by the speed with which he produced the first copy of the *Signs of the Times*. After Miller's first suggestion, coupled with his own conviction of its need, it was under way within one week, starting from nothing.

He had business acumen and organizational ability to a marked degree—managing conferences and giant camp meetings, as well as evangelistic and revival meetings, and keeping a great publishing and distribution project going smoothly and without needless duplication. (Portrait appears on p. 529.) Under his guidance the best publishing facilities the country afforded were enlisted to send forth the advent message. It is perhaps not too much to say that his was a feat unequaled in the annals of American church history, or of any other land so far as we know.

This indefatigable publishing and publicity genius of the Millerite movement was born in Rhode Island. His father had planned to educate him for the Episcopal ministry at Brown University, but financial disaster overtook the family and made it impossible to send the son to college at that time. Instead, he went to New Bedford to learn a trade. He was converted in 1823, joining the First Christian Church. He quickly showed ability in evangelism, and felt he was called to preach. He began as an exhorter, and was soon commissioned to hold meetings in neighboring schoolhouses, where revivals followed.

In 1825 he entered upon the ministry as his lifework. He began to preach in Plymouth, and was appointed an evangelist by the Massachusetts Christian Conference. After raising up a church of 125 at Fall River, he was called to become pastor of the First Christian Church of Boston in 1830, resigning in 1837 to organize and build the Second Christian Church, with its Chardon Street Chapel, seating five hundred. It was here that the advent message reached him.

Himes, a reformer by nature, was always crusading against the prevalent evils of the day. He fought the liquor traffic energetically, and was an assistant to William Lloyd Garrison in his spectacular battle against slavery. In fact, Himes's Chardon Street Chapel was the birthplace of Garrison's New England Antislavery Society.⁵⁴ Himes promoted a manual labor school, and was also one of the founders of the Peace Society, for the prevention of war and strife. Indeed, his church became the headquarters for all kinds of reform meetings in Boston. Garrison was very reluctant to release Himes from the antislavery activities, but did so when he had come to feel he must give his whole talents to the Advent Movement.

On November 11, 1839, William Miller began a series of meetings in Exeter, New Hampshire. The very next day, the twelfth, a conference of Christian Connection ministers convened there, Himes being one of the group. During the session they adjourned, out of curiosity, to call on Miller in a body, and began to ply him with every sort of question. It was here that Himes first heard and met Miller, who for eight years had worked alone and untiringly in the small towns and rural sections of New England, telling of the soon-coming Saviour. Greatly impressed with Miller's humble yet effective answers to the many pointed and sometimes tricky questions put to him, Himes invited him to hold a series of meetings in his own church in Boston. Miller accepted, and that eventful day marked a turning point in both lives and launched a new epoch in the advent cause and movement.

Himes combined deep spirituality and strict integrity with a true instinct for popular presentation. He was just thirty-five, pleasant and genial, neat in dress, and possessed of a charming personality. (Portrait appears on p. 529.) He was the embodiment of energy, and had marked initiative. And his entire manner begot confidence and gave assurance of his honesty and sincerity. He was dignified in bearing, but was ever a restless

⁵⁴ *The Liberator*, May 20, 1842; see also Everett Dick, *Founders of the Message*, pp. 70, 71.

and energetic promoter of some cause in which he believed. Miller stayed in Himes's home while giving his first series of lectures in Boston. Here they had many talks about Miller's position on the second advent and on the millennium and the prophecies related thereto.

Himes became convinced of the general points, and felt a burden to get this premillennial truth before the people. He asked Miller why he had not gone to the large cities. Miller responded that he only went where he was invited, and he had not been invited to the cities before. Himes asked him if he would go if the doors opened, and Miller responded that he was ready to go anywhere. Himes then told him to prepare for a great campaign—that the doors would be opened in every State in the Union east of the Mississippi. And this ere-long was literally fulfilled—beyond Miller's fondest expectations at that time.

Miller had felt the need of a printed medium that would get his views before the public and shield him from abusive stories circulated. During the second series in the Boston Chardon Street Chapel, he bared his heart's burden to Himes, who immediately offered to start the *Signs of the Times*. This he did the very next week—without patrons or a single subscriber, and with only a dollar of capital. This dollar was given by an elderly sea captain from Maine. The initial issue was dated February 28. And when a permanent publisher was found, a Boston firm of antislavery publishers, that first number was reissued as Volume I, No. 1, under date of March 20, 1840.

The paper was hailed with joy by believers in the advent, while opponents of the advent were disturbed. It was first launched as a medium for discussion of the second coming of Christ, prophecy, prayer, Bible study, revival, consecration, et cetera. It was nonsectarian, and at the outset its columns were a forum for opponents as well as proponents to present their views. But as time passed, it was restricted to presenting the positions of the Adventists.

A new edition of Miller's printed *Lectures* was agreed

upon, and Himes cheerfully undertook the revision and supervision of the publication. Five thousand additional copies were sold without profit to Himes. As opposition grew heavy, Himes became the unwearying friend of Miller, always in the thickest and hottest of the battle. Himes then brought out a third edition of Miller's *Lectures*, and was thenceforth in charge of the publication and distribution of Advent literature. He published charts, pamphlets, books, tracts, songbooks, broadsides, and handbills. The scarcity of presses made the distribution more difficult. But the ingenious Himes built up quantities of literature and sent them to the post offices and newspaper offices over the country, and to various depots, distributors, and reading rooms. Ship and harbor workers placed bundles on ships starting out for the various ports of the world. Lighthouse tenders that plied the Atlantic Coast left literature with the lighthouse keepers, in order that they might read the advent news.

In an effort to acquaint New York City with the advent message, Himes established a daily paper, *Midnight Cry*, in connection with a great evangelistic series. Ten thousand copies were printed daily for a number of weeks, and hawked on the streets by newsboys, or given away. When the meetings closed, the paper continued publication as a weekly. The policy of starting a paper for a few weeks or months in a new place while a major evangelistic effort was in progress, was followed rather consistently thereafter. Sometimes these temporary papers were discontinued, the subscribers being transferred to the permanent papers. In other cases the interest was so great that the printing of that interim journal was continued.

Himes was noblehearted, generous, and self-denying. The funds accruing from the publication venture were turned to the spread of the tidings of the second advent.⁵⁵ He traveled some twenty thousand miles, giving a lecture a day much of

⁵⁵ Litch, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, pp. 57, 58, 85, 86.

the time, and held some five thousand meetings, including a remarkable series of all-day camp meetings. In many ways Himes was the leading figure in the Millerite movement—a human dynamo of energy, ever pushing the cause of publishing and preaching, and organizing the various enterprises connected with the movement. Although Miller was the actual leader, he delegated much authority to Himes, who had his complete confidence. The relationship between the two was like that of father and son. Of this fellowship Himes touchingly said:

“We had rather be associated with such a man as *William Miller*, and stand with him in gloom or glory, in the cause of the living God, than to be associated with his enemies, and enjoy all the honors of this world.”⁵⁶

Next to the publishing work, perhaps his chief contribution was his part in the great camp meetings. At the Boston General Conference in May, 1842, the decision was made to attempt certain camp meetings, a plan which had been very successfully used by the Methodists. The first, as noted elsewhere, was pitched in Canada, with the first in the States at East Kingston, Massachusetts, both in June, 1842. At the latter Himes was superintendent, and arranged everything with his customary efficiency. The grounds were close to the Boston and Portland Railroad. Tall hemlocks furnished the shade and adjacent groves provided retreats for prayer. Seven to ten thousand people attended daily, coming from all over New England. At one meeting Himes had the people tell how the advent message had come to them—through Miller’s lectures, the *Signs*, et cetera. The offerings in gold, silver, and jewelry amounted to one thousand dollars—a large sum for that day.

Although Himes led out in the camp meeting project, it grew beyond all expectation, and was beyond the ability of any one man to supervise.

But more of Himes later.

⁵⁶ Himes, *Views of the Prophecies*, p. v.

Successive Conferences

Solidify the Movement

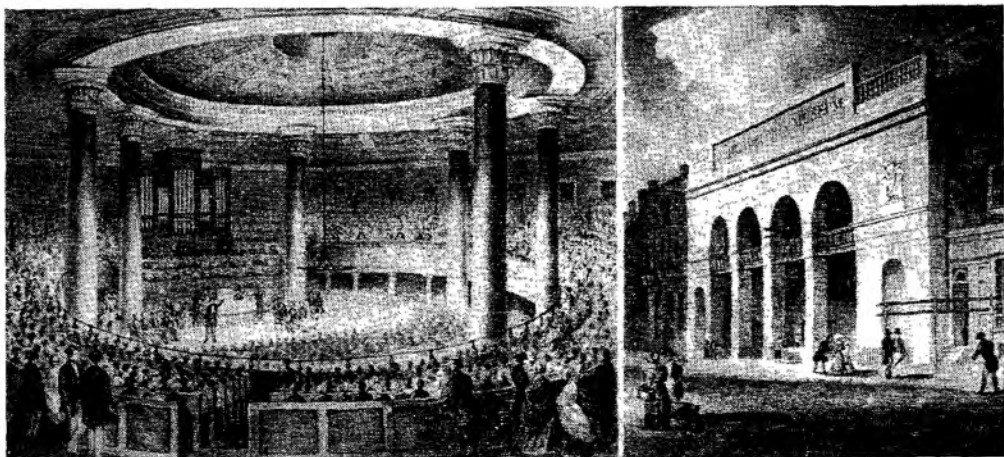
A panoramic preview of the entire series of General and local conferences characterizing the Millerite movement will first be presented. Then, with the general survey before us, we shall be prepared to grasp the important features and particulars of individual conferences that played such a major part in the onward sweep of the movement.

I. Characteristics of General and Local Conferences

The leading facts and deductions, based upon full work-sheet data,¹ covering both the General and local conferences, are as follows:

1. As to *time spread*, these sixteen General Conferences cover four calendar years—one in the autumn of 1840, six in 1841, five in 1842, and four in the spring of 1843.
2. As to *location*, they were scattered over six States—five in Massachusetts (four being at the headquarters in Boston), one in Maine, five in New York State, one in New Hampshire, two in Vermont, and two in Pennsylvania.
3. As to *meeting places*, twelve out of the sixteen were held in churches. But in four instances—numbers 6, 11, 12,

¹ The same general work-sheet plan for tabulating the sixteen General Conferences on the second advent of Christ was followed as was developed for Miller's lectures and for the camp meetings. These conferences began in Boston (Oct. 14-16, 1840) and likewise closed in Boston (May 29, 1843). Tabulated from left to right, the following headings for the columns appear on the work sheet: Serial Number, Location, Date, Meeting Place, Chairman and Assistants, Secretaries, Committees, Features, Purposes, and References. From this composite picture—drawn from published reports, Millerite periodical reports, letters, the public press, and the memoirs of various participants—fair and balanced conclusions can be reached.



MILLERITE GENERAL CONFERENCES FILL LARGE AUDITORIUMS

(Left) Large Broadway Tabernacle Built for Charles G. Finney and Seating 3,500, Scene of Fourth General Conference; (Right) Philadelphia Museum Auditorium, Seating 5,000. Both Resounded to Expositions of Prophecy and Exhortations Concerning the Imminent Advent

and 15—halls and auditoriums were necessary, because of heavy attendance and growing hostility among the established churches. The Broadway Tabernacle in New York City, seating 3,500, was filled; and the Chinese Museum, or Auditorium, in Philadelphia, seating 5,000, was “packed to suffocation.” The last General Conference was convened in the Boston Millerite Tabernacle, seating 4,000, for structures of their own for worship had begun to be imperative.

4. As to *leadership*, eleven different men served as chairmen, Miller presiding in only four out of the sixteen. Nine different men served as secretaries of the various General Conferences.

5. These General Conferences were the unifying, directing, driving force of the expanding Advent Movement, the crystallizing and authorizing bodies, and the source of the formal published “Addresses to the Public,” presenting the united Millerite case before the world. Because of their group, or representative, character, they therefore constitute the most authoritative declarations of the movement.

6. The twelfth General Conference at Boston, with Joseph Bates as chairman, proved to be perhaps the most im-

portant in the list, for it authorized the great camp meeting project, which, beginning in June, 1842, developed into an amazing series of some 130 camp meetings in two years' time, thus opening a new epoch. It also endorsed and authorized the lithographing of three hundred of the Charles Fitch "1843 Chart," for standardized use by the leading Millerite lecturers.

7. The *General* Conferences lapsed just after the "Jewish year 1843" phase of the movement was entered—in the spring of 1843. They were not continued during that year and had no place in the "1844" phase. *Local* conferences, however, increased in number and effectiveness from 1842 up until October, 1844. And these latter were spread all the way from Eastern Canada and New England on throughout the Eastern and Middle States, and out to Ohio in the Midwest.

II. Significance of Local Conferences, Covering 1842-1844

The following points are likewise based upon the full data covering the more than a hundred local conferences. These are similarly presented so as to afford a panoramic view of the entire series for analysis and comparison. Inasmuch as these conferences practically cover the remainder of the Millerite movement, this summary is in reality a portrayal of the larger course of the movement.

1. Approximately 120 local conferences were held between January, 1842, and October, 1844, thus beginning about two thirds of the way through the series of General Conferences.

2. The local conferences were distributed over three years of time—about forty were held in 1842, twenty convened in 1843, while fifty-eight were scheduled in 1844, up to October.

3. They were spread over twelve States and Canada—ten in Maine, fifteen in New Hampshire, twenty-one in Vermont, four in Connecticut, one in Rhode Island, twenty-three in Massachusetts, twenty-five in New York State, five in Pennsylvania, five in Ohio, one in Indiana, and one in Michigan, with seven in Canada.

4. They were held in various types of meeting places. Where the place is indicated in the record, twenty-nine were in churches, fifteen in halls, fourteen in tabernacles, three in tents, one in a grove, and one rural conference was even held in a large barn.

5. Aside from the smaller meetings, the larger local conferences were variously described as large, crowded, filled, thronged, mighty gatherings, multitudes. There is record, where tabulated, of one with one thousand, one with fifteen hundred, three with two thousand, one with four thousand, two with five thousand, and one with seven thousand. Both the portable big tent pavilion and the permanent Boston Tabernacle, seating about four thousand each, were used for local conferences.

6. The number of ministerial speakers attending the various gatherings ranged from but one speaker each, in twenty-five of the small conferences, to two speakers in nineteen conferences, three each in twelve more, four in eleven others, five speakers at six conferences, six each at six others, seven lecturers in six, nine at one conference, ten at another, and as many as fifteen speakers in still another of major local conferences.

7. These local conferences were primarily evangelistic and revivalistic in nature—only four organizing with a chairman and secretary, and only seven sending out addresses, local statements of faith, or resolutions. And these simply reiterated or reinforced the authoritative statements of the General Conferences.

8. The communion service was frequently held in these gatherings, with participants numbering two hundred, five hundred, and eight hundred. One ordination is recorded at a conference in 1843, and baptisms are noted as well.

9. These local conferences were frequently combined with camp meetings in 1843 and 1844, and in the latter year were often superseded by them.

10. During the conferences, extending from 1840 to 1844,

the transition from friendliness to hostility on the part of the clergy and the churches generally, became increasingly acute. At first the believers in the advent were advised to remain in their respective churches, and witness. But by 1842 note is taken, in the conferences, that opposition was developing, conflict with the clergy increasing, and egg- and stone-throwing beginning to be experienced. By 1843 counsel began to be given to withdraw from the churches when oppressed, and to separate where necessary. And by 1844 the call rang out clearly in sermon, periodical, and conference that "Babylon is fallen." The summons was given not only to separate from the world, but to come out from those churches that continued to oppose and reject the advent truth. A great separatist movement resulted, with fifty thousand to one hundred thousand responding. Such is the general summarizing story of the Millerite conferences.

Now we are prepared to survey the various General Conferences, the men who led out in them, the addresses and group statements, and the influences that sprang from them.

III. First General Conference Inaugurates New Advance

The very fact that various ministers of strength and prominence had now joined hands with Miller in heralding the approaching advent of Christ, created the need for some kind of conference where they could exchange views and harmonize any variant viewpoints on minor matters. The hour had come to bring a united and positive testimony to the world. Prior to this there had been no particular need for such coordination, as Miller had been about the only active spokesman. The ministers who had now come to share Miller's views had corresponded among themselves, but many had never seen each other. So in September, 1840, a call was issued by an authorizing committee, headed by William Miller, for a "General Conference on the Second Coming of Christ," to convene on October 14 at Boston, in Himes's Chardon Street Christian Chapel.

The walls of his church had often echoed to the voices of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, Bronson Alcott, Maria Chapman, William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips as they formulated their plans to strike the fetters from the slaves of America, and had gathered in other conventions. And now this same edifice was about to become the cradle, as it were, of the newly forming Advent Movement. It was the first prophetic conference to be called in America,² and was destined to mark the beginning of a distinctly new era of unity, witnessing, and expansion—a new epoch in the enlarging Advent Movement.

Through this united effort far-reaching expansions resulted. Large numbers of ministers were awakened and led to join their voices and employ their pens in proclaiming the advent message, many of whom now began to devote themselves to full-time service in the advent cause. There was marked advance into hitherto unentered territory, and a sharp increase in adherents was the result. This conference was not called just for Methodists or Baptists, for Congregationalists or Presbyterians, or for Episcopalians or Lutherans, but was truly interdenominational in composition. However, as remarked, it might more accurately be called *intrad denominational*. It was an emphasis *within* the churches. It was for all ministers who loved the soon-coming second appearing of Jesus Christ. It was to afford opportunity to compare notes, exchange thoughts, worship together, and above all to come into essential unity, so as to present a common front to an antagonistic world. It did not dissolve their denominational affiliations. And the day of convocation brought together a gratifying delegation—twenty or thirty ministers and many able laymen of various categories, representing nearly all the evangelical denominations—some two hundred in all.

The friends in Boston provided their simple board in semicafeteria style—long tables supplied with bread, cheese,

² The small Albury Park Prophetic Conference had previously convened in England in 1826, followed by others; see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 449-454.

cold meats, apples, and similar fare. After gathering around the tables for grace they stood while they ate, soon making way for others to follow. Thus the more than two hundred were quickly cared for, and several baskets of fragments gathered and given to the poor of the city.³

The organization of the conference was simple—just a chairman (Dr. Henry Dana Ward,⁴ prominent Episcopal clergyman of New York), a secretary (Henry Jones, Congregational minister, likewise of New York), and certain committees. Four men were scheduled for the leading addresses—Litch, Jones, Miller, and Ward. Able addresses were given. Miller, however, detained by a case of typhoid fever, had to send on his dissertation concerning the judgment to be read by another. The conference was a pronounced success, and it was voted to publish a representative *Report*, including the addresses. When printed, it totaled 126 pages, and was sent to all the clergymen of the country, as well as to the theological seminaries, prominent laymen, and missionaries throughout the world.

Some two thousand copies of the full report were first published,⁵ as well as additional copies of the various separate addresses. This was made possible because Himes raised the funds to care for the printing costs. In all some ten thousand copies were distributed⁶—really an extraordinary feat for those of the Adventist, or Millerite, persuasion. Besides these, three thousand extra copies of the brief report in *Signs of the Times* for November 1, 1840, were sent out in addition to the regular list. This combined distribution reached the most representative men in America, and brought the case of Adventism squarely before the religious leadership of the country. It made a profound impression, and many were converted thereby to the faith of the premillennial advent.

³ *Signs of the Times*, Nov. 15, 1840, p. 127.

⁴ Ward had been editor of the *Anti-Masonic Magazine* and chairman of the National Convention of the Anti-Masonic Party and was well versed in parliamentary usage. His portrait appears on p. 570.

⁵ *Signs of the Times*, July 15, 1841, p. 61.

⁶ Albert C. Joinson, *Advent Christian History*, v. 99.

Litch, in his introductory address, said significantly:

"It is with deep emotion, friends and brethren, I stand before you at this time and on this interesting occasion. The purposes of our meeting are so novel, the objects to be accomplished so grand and vast, and the theme to be discussed and contemplated so glorious, as to inspire the heart with the most sublime and ennobling views and feeling."⁷

And stressing the fact that theirs was not a new or novel doctrine, Chairman Ward said:

"Sound Christians in every age have cherished it; it was the universal faith of the primitive church; it is the plain doctrine of the New Testament."⁸

In the "Circular" address, unanimously adopted by the conference to give expression to their united views, the declaration was expressly made that a great "apostasy" had corrupted the faith of the early church, and darkness had "overcast the horizon of Christendom" during the Dark Ages. Thus it was that the second advent belief was obscured under the domination of the Roman bishop and church. Then the intrepid Protestant Reformers threw off the papal yoke and "revived" the earlier hope of the Lord's return for "the overthrow of the antichrist, and the dispensation of the final judgment."⁹ This primary aspect of their common beliefs was thus thrust out into the forefront of discussion and emphasis.

Next, they declared that a majority in nominal Protestantism had by this time likewise "forsaken her *first* love, and hold the doctrine of the kingdom in *this* world," but which had not been the position of the Protestant churches "until within the last century," that is, until the Whitbyan postmillennial hypothesis developed in the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Then the objective of the conference, duly signed by the chairman and secretary, was set forth:

"Our object in assembling at this time, our object in addressing you, and our object in other efforts, separate and combined, on the subject of

⁷ *First Report of the General Conference of Christians Expecting the Advent* (1841 ed.), p. 25.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁰ On Whitbyanism, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 651-655, 805-807.

'the kingdom of heaven at hand,' is to revive and restore this ancient faith, to renew the ancient landmarks, to 'stand in the ways, and see and ask for the old paths, where is the good way,' in which our fathers walked and the martyrs 'found rest for their souls.' We have no purpose to distract the churches with any new inventions, or to get to ourselves a name by starting another sect among the followers of the Lamb. We neither condemn, nor rudely assail, others of a faith different from our own, nor dictate in matters of conscience for our brethren, nor seek to demolish their organizations, nor build new ones of our own; but simply to express our convictions like Christians, with the reasons for entertaining them which have persuaded us to understand the word and promises, the prophecies and the gospel, of our Lord, as the first Christians, the primitive ages of the church, and the profoundly learned and intelligent reformers, have unanimously done, in the faith and hope that the Lord will 'come quickly,' 'in his glory,' to fulfil all his promises in the resurrection of the dead. . . .

"Though in some of the less important views of this momentous subject we are not ourselves agreed, particularly in regard to fixing the year of Christ's second advent, yet we are unanimously agreed and established in this all-absorbing point, that the coming of the Lord to judge the world is now specially 'nigh at hand.'"¹¹

This specific statement was most significant, inasmuch as it shows that the very heart of the conference appeal was to again stand squarely on the *historic premillennial platform* of the purer church of the centuries, in contrast to the more recent postmillennial theory, so popular at the time. There could be no further compromise, or reconciliation, on these two opposing concepts or philosophies of redemption. Here are other key paragraphs:

"We are also agreed and firmly persuaded, that the popular theory of a thousand years, or more, of the spiritual and invisible reign of Christ '*in this present evil world*,' where death reigns unto the coming of the Lord in his glory, is altogether unscriptural, and naturally tending to comfort sinners in their evil ways, and to dishearten the faithful; inasmuch as it takes away heavenly and eternal promises from the latter, only to convert them to the temporal use of the former, should they live, as they hope, to witness and enjoy millennial bliss in the conversion of themselves, and of this world.

"We are also agreed, that at the very commencement of the millenium the Lord will come in the glory of his Father and all the saints with him,

¹¹ *First Report of the General Conference of Christians Expecting the Advent* (1841 ed.), pp. 20, 21.

and that the sinners then remaining alive and ungodly will be slain by the sword of the Lord, or 'taken' and 'cast alive, with the beast and the false prophet, into a lake of fire burning with brimstone,' instead of being all converted to the obedience of the gospel.

"Again, we are agreed and harmonize with the published creed of the Episcopal, Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches, together with the Cambridge Platform of the Congregational church, and the Lutheran and the Roman Catholic churches, in maintaining that Christ's second and only coming now will be 'to judge the world at the last day.'

"The popular creed, that he is coming to reign invisibly and spiritually in this world, first, at least, a thousand years, is so modern that it has never gained admission into the public creed or confession of any denomination in Christendom. . . .

"The gracious Lord has opened to us wondrous things in his word, whereof we are glad, and in view of which we rejoice with trembling. We reverently bless his name, and we offer these things, with the right hand of our christian fellowship and union, to all disciples of our common Lord, of every sect and denomination, praying them, by the love of the crucified Jesus, to regard 'the promise of his coming,' and to cultivate 'the love of his appearing,' and to sanctify themselves in view of his approaching with power and great glory. . . .

"We appeal to the sectarian standards, to history, and to the primitive churches before 'the falling away;' but we rely mainly on the holy oracles of divine revelation for the support of our views, convinced that the Old Testament also is able to make us wise through faith unto salvation. We deeply feel that the success of the gospel of the kingdom at hand depends on our faithful use of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; and that the secular interpretation of the Old Testament is fearfully heretical which considers it as being silent on the subject of Christ's coming to judgment, to raise the dead, and to dispense everlasting rewards."¹²

IV. Significance of the Conference Report

According to the foreword, the addresses of the first conference were prepared by "men of devout habits, of independent and thinking minds, who do not fear to combat error because it is intrenched in high, and even in holy places: men who fear God." And in speaking of Chairman Ward's address on the millennium, it is said to contain "matter of high interest, drawn from original fountains; and seems completely to over-set the commonly received doctrine on that subject." It adds:

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22.

"For it must be confessed by intelligent divines, that the popular doctrine of the millennium is a modern one, totally unknown to the primitive and martyr church; so modern that it has never [had] a place in the formula of the faith of any church, Catholic, Greek, Roman, or Protestant; but all their creeds involve the contrary."¹³

And, in closing, the hope is expressed that—

"learned and gifted minds will be faithful to examine, and bold to speak the truth on this world's Millennium, with a view to dissipate the thick-darkness which shrouds from the sight of thousands 'the blessed hope and glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.' "¹⁴

The very cover of this bound *Report* (listed as "Vol. 1, No. 1, of *Second Advent Reports*") is deeply significant. At the top of the left-hand vertical column are the words, in bold type: "*No Millennium Prior to the Resurrection of the Dead.*" And at the top right is the paralleling declaration, "*No Return of the Jews Prior to the Resurrection of the Dead.*" First, the "Divine Testimony" is given—a group of Bible texts in proof of each statement. And then, occupying nearly the full length of the two matching outer columns, are the scholarly human "*Witnesses*" of the centuries. At the left are listed the supporting "*Fathers*"—including Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, Methodius, Jerome, and others. Then the "*Reformers*"—Luther, Melanchthon, Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley, followed by the Protestant creeds and catechisms, and then Mede, Newton, Knox, Gill, et cetera. A matching list, including medieval Jewish writers and modern Old and New World contemporaries, appears in the column at the right. This visualizes the emphasis and scope of the conference. (Reproduced on p. 566.)

The plan of social meetings, for the purpose of strengthening each other's faith, was heartily adopted. But perhaps the most important action of all was the one authorizing the calling of "another General Conference, as soon, and at such place, as they [the committee] may deem expedient." The actions were all passed unanimously.¹⁵ Thus these successive conferences,

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Watch, for ye know not when your Lord doth come. Be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh.

No Millennium prior to the Resurrection of the Dead.

WITNESSES.

The Fathers.
HARNAHAB.
CLEMENT.
IGNATIUS.
POLYCARP.
JUSTIN MARTIR.
TERTULLIAN.
CYPRIAN.
CRISPIN.
DIONYSIUS.
MACCARIUS.
Council of Nice.
Cyril.
Jerome,
and others, to
gelive with the
Roman Catholic
Church.

The Reformers.

LUTHER and
MELANCTHON in
the Confession of
Augsburg, A. D.
1530.

LATHAM, CHAL-
MER, and HINLEY
in Articles of the
Church, Ed. VI.,
A. D. 1532.

Congregation-
al, Presbyterian,
Risk or Scotland,
and Dutch Re-
formed. Creeds,
Art. Judgment.

Catechism of
Edward VI., and
of Westminster
Assembly. "Thy
Kingdom come."

JOHN MARY.
JOHN HIXSON.
BROOK, New m.
JOHN KNOX.
CHALMERSWORTH.

DR. GUTH.
CONVENT.
HUGH.
FOLLO.
DR. GREENHILL.

And I John saw
the holy city,
New Jerusalem,
coming down
from God out of
heaven, prepared
as a bride adorned
for her husband.
—Rev. xxi. 2

CONTENTS.

1. PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE.
2. DISCUSSION ON THE SECOND ADVENT.
3. THE CHRONOLOGY OF PROPHECY.
4. THE RESTORATION OF ISRAEL.
5. PROPHETIC CHRONOLOGY.
6. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.
7. DISCUSSION ON THE JUDGMENT.
8. THE MILLENNIUM.

Joseph, Editor.
Joseph Litch.
Henry Jones.
William Miller.
William Miller.
William Miller.
Benny Dana Ward.

SERMON, I. GREAT NEW HEAVENS, AND A NEW EARTH.

NO MILLENNIUM PRIOR TO THE RESURRECTION.

DIVINE TESTIMONY.

Gen. vi. 4—19; 22. Luke
xvii. 33—36. Mark xvi.
16—19. 1 Thess. iv. 14—
18. 1—4. 2 Thess. ii.
7—10. Rev. xiv. 13—20.

NO THOUSAND YEARS FOR COMMON TO GENTILES.

DIVINE TESTIMONY.

Rom. x. 12. 1. 16, 17. 11. 7—11.
28. 33. 11. 1, 2. 1st. xi.
16, 17. Mark xvi. 27. 7m.
xxii. 37, 40. Gal. vi. 15.
Amos. ix. 15. Heb. x. 9—13.

REPORT

OF THE

GENERAL CONFERENCE

OF

CHRISTIANS

EXPECTING THE ADVENT

OF

OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

HELD IN BOSTON,

OCT. 14, 15, 1840.

Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jesus, which is raised up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air.

1 Thess. i. 11; 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.

AND HIS VOMER SHALL NOT BE REMEMBERED.

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11 DEVONSHIRE STREET.

ELEVEN

Postage—Under 100 miles, 16 cents; over 100 miles, 27¢ etc.

SHEETS.

Take heed—
lest in any time
your hearts be
overcharged with
sorrowing,
and I come of this
life, and so that
day come upon
you unawares.

No Return of the Jews
prior to the
Resurrection of the Dead.

WITNESSES.

The Fathers.
JUSTIN MARTIR.
TERTULLIAN.
CYPRIAN.
CRISPIN.
DIONYSIUS.
MACCARIUS.

Jewish Rabbis.
ELIAZER.
JONATHAN.
KIMCHI.
GAMALIEL.
MENASHE BEN
JEMER.
SIMON
MOSHE GERSHON-
NOR.

*Distinguished
Ministers and
Laymen.*

DR. HIDE.
HUGHES.
TAYLOR.
FARR.
BROOKS.
BICKNAP.
BANK.
W. N. NAY.

Rev. Wm. Scott,
of the (Wesleyan)
Confer-
ence. See two
unpublished articles
in Methodist Ma-
gazine, Oct. 1839,
and April, 1840.
Articles: "The
Case of the Jews
considered with
particular refer-
ence to their sup-
posed moral gath-
ering." These ar-
ticles are written
with great ability,
and are indisput-
able. A host of
names might be
added, naming the
same testimony.

And he said,
Gethsemani, for
the words
are stood up and
stand all the
time of the end.
But the who
shall understand.
—Dan. xii. 8, 10.

NO LITERAL RETURN OF THE CARNAL JEWS AS A NATION TO PALESTINE.

NO MILLENNIUM PRIOR TO THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

COVER PAGE OF FIRST GENERAL CONFERENCE REPORT

Summarizing Statement of Basic Millerite Beliefs. Here in Vertical Columns Is the Impressive Roster of the Great Expositors of the Centuries. These Men Were the Continuators of the Premillennial Second Advent Position in the Early Church, Reformation Period, and Nineteenth-Century Churches, With Jewish Writers Added. It Constitutes a Comprehensive Summary

following one upon the other, formed the coordinating bond of the rather loosely knit intra-church movement. In this way they gave to the world an expression of the fundamental principles of their platform and program.

Reports of progress were made from different sections. The *Signs of the Times* was accepted, by resolution, as the chosen organ of the movement, and the *Literalist* series of British reprints was also commended. Litch discussed the second advent and the chronology of prophecy—including the 2300 year-days from the seventh of Artaxerxes, in 457 B.C., beginning synchronously with the 490 years, and reaching to A.D. "1843"—citing Scaliger, Ferguson, and others, as well as quoting Lorenzo D. Fleming of Portland, Maine. The sanctuary to be cleansed was, at the time, understood to be the "church of God."¹⁶ Henry Jones spoke on the restoration of *spiritual* Israel.

One of Miller's prepared addresses was likewise on prophetic chronology, dealing not only with the 2300 years, but the 1260 years of papal domination (538-1798), and the "seven times," or 2520 years (677 B.C.-A.D. 1843), the 1290 years (508-1798), and the 1335 years (508-1843). His chief stress, however, was on the relationship between the 490 years and the 2300—the latter extending from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1843.¹⁷ Miller's second address was on the judgment—as destined to follow soon after the close of the 1260 years, as seen from the grand prophetic outline of Daniel 7.¹⁸

The leading address of the conference was by the chairman, Henry Dana Ward, Episcopalian scholar with Harvard training, and occupied seventy-four of the printed pages. It was titled "History and Doctrine of the Millennium." And it was just that. Comprehensive, scholarly, and thoroughly documented, it was a masterful presentation. Ward's acquaintance with the millennial expositors of the centuries—ancient, medieval, and modern—is astonishing. And his mustering of

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-58.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-94.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-102.

the vital witnesses of the years discloses a master's hand. Few men have made such a study of this theme. Century by century he summons the testimony of the greatest expositors—giving exact citations, and carefully building his case. And his grasp of the Scriptural basis is likewise most remarkable. He was an able Biblical scholar.

The same thoroughness marks his Part II—his second address—reaching from the Reformation to the Second Advent Conference in which they were assembled. The historical confessions of the church on the Continent and in Britain are marshaled. And Ward praises other modern champions of the advent most warmly. He then leads directly into the comparatively modern innovation of Whitbyan postmillennialism, and its first American proponents—Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins.¹⁹ After setting forth the revolutionary innovation of this new hypothesis, Ward cries:

"My heart is sick of the new gospel, which is not the gospel our Lord preached, or that his ministers preached, until within about a century and a half past; and already it has so fastened upon the public mind, that it is exceedingly dangerous to attempt to remove it. lest we pluck up the wheat with the tares."²⁰

He closes Part II with the words:

"Joseph Mede, of illustrious memory, revived the distinction of a thousand years' reign, and has distinguished followers to this day. But Daniel Whitby, among men of renown, first denied the coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead to that reign, and limited it wholly to the flesh and blood. The eminent Christians who promulgated it after him, were careful to hedge the carnal doctrine around with such thorns to the flesh as no man would desire to encounter. But the more perfect lights of this age, seeing clearer than Hopkins, Edwards, and others of their school, and turning their back to Luther and Cranmer, and setting at naught the faith of the church in the primitive ages, have removed the hedge, and opened a highway on every side, for all nations to enter, and have a feast of fat things of wines on the lees a thousand years or more, with none to molest, or to make them afraid."²¹

¹⁹ On Edwards and Hopkins, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 181-185, 217-221.

²⁰ *First Report of the General Conference of Christians Expecting the Advent*, 2d pagination, p. 42.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Part III presents the Scriptural aspect, showing the post-millennialists as opposing the faith and contradicting the Word. Ward then gives the prophetic basis of the millennium from Daniel, Paul, and John. He presents the millennium of the Bible as coming at the close of Daniel's grand line of empires, and Paul's prophecy of the Lord's second coming to overthrow the Man of Sin at the seventh trump, along with the last vials, the overthrow of Babylon, the resurrection, and the New Jerusalem. The conference closes with the final words from Dr. Ward ringing in their ears:

"This is our millennium. Our faith sees no other, our hope anchors in no other, our heart embraces no other, for ourselves, for faithful Abraham, or for any of his seed, or for any of the seed of Adam."²²

That was the dominant note, the spirit of the first General Conference—militantly premillenarian. It was feeling its way, establishing a firm foundation on which to stand. But let us tarry a moment with Chairman Ward, and then with Secretary Jones, and become acquainted with them.

V. Ward's Expositions Match Those of Miller

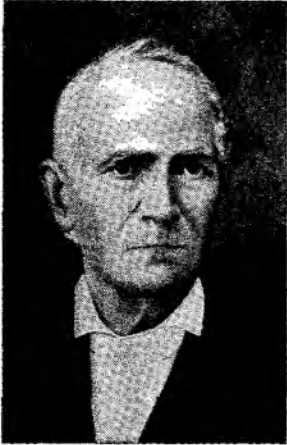
Before he had made any contacts with William Miller, and before the first three of Miller's ministerial recruits had joined his cause in 1838, in the public preaching of the prophecies and the advent, HENRY DANA WARD,²³ Episcopalian clergyman of New York City, of brilliant talent and outstanding ability, had made a deep personal study of prophecy and had inde-

²² *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²³ HENRY DANA WARD, D.D. (1797-1884), grandson of soldier-statesman Artemas Ward, first commander of the Revolutionary forces, was born in Shrewsbury, Massachusetts. He was graduated from Harvard with a B.A. in 1816 and an M.A. in 1819. He had recognized classical attainments and was a successful teacher. After ordination in Charleston, West Virginia, he was made rector of St. Jude's Church, New York City. He wrote much for the *Signs of the Times*, and as an eyewitness of the meteoric shower of November 13, 1833, wrote of it as a sign of the last times and a fulfillment of Matthew 24:29.

The earliest located writing by Ward is an exposure of *Free Masonry* (1828). His other books included *Glad Tidings* (1838), *Telescope of Faith, Promises to Abraham, Kingdom of God, Restitution of the Earth, and Israel and the Holy Land*. His *History and Doctrine of the Millennium* (1840), was a really scholarly work. Ward's later writings include *The Gospel of the Kingdom . . . Not of this World*; *The Bible, Its Testimony and Promises*, *The History of the Cross*, *The Faith of Abraham*, *The Everlasting Covenants of Promise*, and *Israel and the Holy Law*. Ward's early exposure of *Free Masonry* (1829:399 pp.) evinces the same characteristic thoroughness of research in its forty documented chapters and its extensive bibliography. He was a careful student, going to the bottom of whatever he was investigating.

pendently reached conclusions remarkably similar to those of Miller and his immediate associates. These Ward published in 1838, under the title *Glad Tidings*. He was one of that growing group of earnest students who, led as he believed by the same Spirit into similar lines of study with others, yet independently,



DR. HENRY DANA WARD

Episcopalian Rector of New York City, Chairman of the First "General Conference" on Prophecy and Author of *History of Premillennialism*. His *Researches Into the Antiquity of Premillennialism and the Modernity of Postmillennialism* Formed the Classic of Their Day

had come to strikingly similar conclusions. Tall and handsome, vigorous of mind and serious, Ward was every inch a Christian gentleman. He was possessed of brilliant talents and wide experience and was deeply pious. He began his Christian life as a Congregational layman, but soon entered the Episcopal ministry in New York City.

Small wonder, then, that when the widening line of cleavage appeared between the popular clerics, and what he firmly believed to be their un-Biblical postmillennial scheme of gradual world betterment—in contrast to Miller's emphasis on the catastrophic end of the age impending—that Ward took his stand with Miller on the unpopular side. And little wonder that, at the convocation of the first General Conference in Boston, late in 1840, this well-trained and well-informed premillen-

nialist should be chosen chairman of the conference, and asked to give the leading address, and that he should present the most thorough and really exhaustive study on the millennial issue to be presented in the entire movement. He had been studying and preparing for years. Now he came to the forefront. This was his great opportunity and his special contribution. To understand his virtual identity of view with that of Miller that reaches back to 1838, let us scan his really remarkable treatise *Glad Tidings* "*For the Kingdom of Heaven Is at Hand.*"

1. PRESENT CHURCH NOT THE COMING KINGDOM.—Ward's Introduction plunges at once to the heart of his thesis, which is that the restitution of all things impends, with the resurrection of the dead, of which the gospel is fundamentally the "glad tidings" to man. Challenging the doctrine that the present church is the promised kingdom, Ward declares that material concept to be a concoction of the Man of Sin, unknown before the "general apostasy of the church." This subtle confusion of the kingdom with the gospel dispensation has brought "inextricable confusion," and as a result has multiplied "divisions and dissensions."²⁴ Dilating on the seriousness of changing the message of God, Ward twice stresses the appropriateness of the message from God now due—"Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come," appearing in Revelation 14:7. Contending the kingdom to be verily at hand, Ward sets forth its time sequence following the four monarchies of Daniel, namely, Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome.²⁵ The kingdom of God, he maintains, is the "world to come."²⁶

Resting the Biblical argument briefly, Ward examines the papal claim of the present world and church as God's kingdom, with the pope on his throne as its vicegerent. "By challenging the existence of the kingdom of heaven in this world, the Roman is dethroned at once," Ward says. The church is not the

²⁴ Henry Dana Ward, *Glad Tidings* "*For the Kingdom of Heaven Is at Hand,*" pp. iii-vi.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19, 37, 38.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-61.

kingdom, but is instead "the *preacher* of the glad tidings of eternal life." Origen perverted all this in the third century by his "figurative interpretation," and turned it into the "church militant."²⁷

2. KINGDOM FOLLOWS DESTRUCTION OF WORLD POWERS.—Dealing next with the various parables of the kingdom, Ward comes directly to "the Prophet Daniel." These prophetic outlines, he declares, "plainly show" through the metallic image and the four beasts, that—

"the kingdom of heaven comes from heaven with its king, in a moment, with overwhelming destruction of this world's kingdoms, and thrones; and it rules over all the earth for ever and ever; and is yet to come."²⁸

3. 2300 YEARS ARE NEAR THEIR CLOSE.—Ward then launches into a discussion of the prophetic "days" of the time periods, and declares they are to be "understood" as years, just as "king" means kingdom. Taking this principle as demonstrated and commonly acknowledged, he continues:

"Daniel's term of twenty-three hundred is near its close. For the seventy weeks, (or seventy times seven days, equal to four hundred ninety,) to the death of Messiah, added to eighteen hundred ten, since that memorable event, make twenty-three hundred exactly. And, according to Bible chronology, Jesus was born four years before the common date, and so was crucified in the year 29, but at the age of thirty-three: and eighteen hundred thirty-nine will be precisely eighteen hundred ten years, since his crucifixion.

"I shall not attempt to fix the beginning of the era of Daniel's twenty-three hundred days. If the four hundred ninetieth year of it, were the year of our Lord's crucifixion, the next will be the last year of it. And the wise will at least strive to understand."²⁹

He then concludes soberly: "It would seem, therefore, that the period of 2300 years, in Daniel, is very near its end." His reasoning is therefore essentially the same as Miller's, but independent thereof. The dating simply differs four years because of a slightly different calculation.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-67. On Origen see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 310-324.

²⁸ Ward, *Glad Tidings*, p. 96.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 98.

4. 1260 YEARS IS PERIOD OF BABYLONIAN HARLOT.—On the placement of the 1260 years, however, Ward seems less clear, but recognizes it to be the period of the “Babylonian harlot.” He appeals to men to heed the prophet Daniel. He condemns Christendom at large because it looks for a millennium in this world, “without the living presence of the Lord Jesus, as the Jews did, after they had procured his crucifixion.”³⁰

5. MESSIAH’S KINGDOM TO SMITE MODERN NATIONS.—The heathen poets of antiquity sang of a golden age, followed by silver and bronze ages, and these in turn by the iron age—from which there was to be a return to golden times. Discoursing more fully on the metallic image of Daniel 2, Ward asserts that “no difference of opinion scarcely exists” on the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman kingdoms. Those are the “last of the series of this world.” In the days of the divided kingdoms, therefore, the God of heaven sets up His kingdom. “Nothing can be plainer,” he adds. And irrespective of the precise names of the ten kingdoms, Rome was “dismembered.” The modern nations are therefore “the Roman empire in its divided state.” And that modern nations mingle but do not adhere to each other is incontestable. The smiting stone is plainly Messiah’s kingdom. The feet are not yet broken, but they will be broken in pieces and blown where they can no more be found. This is no “gentle abrasion.” The crushing “blow” has not yet been struck, but it is imminent.³¹

6. DAY OF JUDGMENT FOLLOWS EMPIRE SERIES.—The same four world powers are portrayed in Daniel 7 beyond “any shadow of doubt.” Ward then depicts the Babylonian lion as existent for two centuries, the Medo-Persian bear as likewise for two hundred years, the Macedonian leopard for some three centuries, with the “indescribable dominion of Rome” as the fourth. The “ten horns accord with the ten toes.” The “admixture of the miry clay with the iron” occurred at the time

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-100.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-114.

of Constantine, in the union of the Christian church and the state. The ten horns are the "last form of the fourth and existing empire,"³² and the eleventh horn pushes up among the ten.

"The four empires have successively followed each other, and the fourth is to be followed by the day of judgment, and the endless reign of Messiah. This is the order of events; and only the last and endless kingdom remains to come, to complete the series."³³

7. TRIPLE-CROWNED HORN PERISHES AT ADVENT.—Now follows the observation that the "admixture of the clay and iron in the feet of the image, symbolizes the union of church and state." And the Little Horn symbolizes the power that "wears a triple tiara." This power continues till the judgment, and the time that the saints possess the kingdom. So Ward concludes:

"No room is here for the millennium, until after the Ancient of days comes to judgment; until after the little horn ceases to make war with the saints, and to prevail; until the stone from on high smites the image in the feet and toes of it, and destroys it altogether, so that no more place is found for any particle of it. This dispensation under which we live, is that of the tribulation of the saints, in which the enemy overcomes them, and slays them with all manner of persecution. This is not the kingdom of heaven: this is the kingdom of the fourth beast and of his last horn; which is 'the man of sin, and son of perdition,'—'that wicked, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming.'"³⁴

8. HERALDING MESSAGES PRECEDE ADVENT.—The concerted testimony of the prophecy, Ward insists, is focused on the destruction of "Babylon," or the Man of Sin, which makes war with the saints. And the destruction of the Papacy at the advent is connected by Ward with the message of the angel "pleading with the nations at this moment," and followed by another angel saying, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen." He who set the bounds for the seas, and who gave the planets and moons their times and seasons, determines their motions to the second for years to come. For long centuries men were in confusion re-

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 115-118.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 124.

garding the motions. But when they came to understand that the sun is the center of this planetary system, and its changes and seasons, then beautiful order and harmony was seen to prevail. Thus the "kingdom of heaven at hand" is the center of the scheme of prophecy that brings order and harmony to everything.³⁵

In a later section Ward gives the testimony of early church writers on Antichrist to come. These include such men as Hilary, Jerome, and Lactantius. Ward knew his history. He gives similar testimony in regard to mystical Babylon, which was the outgrowth of the falling away. Then comes the simile of the bride looking for the Bridegroom, and the tragedy of how the church no longer longs for and expects Him. But at midnight the cry heralding His coming will be made.³⁶

9. SPIRITUAL REIGN SUBSTITUTED FOR MILLENNIAL REIGN.—Exposing the fallacy of the spiritual reign of Christ as a substitute for the millennial reign to come, Ward cries out:

"Amen! so let HIM come, who will bind the strong man, and spoil his goods. Then we shall have, not a spiritual coming merely, but the coming again of the Lord Jesus, in the clouds of heaven; and, also, the resurrection of the dead, and the kingdom of Jesus and of heaven, never to be shaken."³⁷

Ward distinguishes between Christ as a prophet, in the day of His humility—prophesying of the kingdom of heaven—and that of His subsequent roles. He did not then in any manner discharge the office of priest, and wholly declined the exercise of regal power. These offices are not concurrent. The office of priesthood, which He is now discharging in heaven, is distinct from His earthly office of prophet. And His coming kingship and throne will be eternal.³⁸

10. PREPARING WAY FOR THE COMING GLORY.—This living faith was the lively hope of the primitive church. But after the open apostasy of the fourth century, the power of the Holy

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 125.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-144.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 159.

Spirit in the early church was corrupted and usurped by the pope, who was a hard taskmaster over the nations. This faith of the primitive church is attested by the historian Gibbon.³⁹ And now we live in the day of the preparatory work of Elias. Just as with John before the first advent, Elias is even now in the deserts and lonely places, preparing the way of the Lord for the coming glory. Such, declared Ward, is the message of the Lord.⁴⁰ It also discloses the caliber of Ward the student and preacher.

Small wonder, then, that with such a prophetic belief, Dr. Ward should soon find himself in essential accord with much that Miller and his associates were teaching. Thus he came to make common cause with them against the perversions of a postmillennialism that denies the unanimous testimony of the prophecies. That is why he was fitted almost immediately to assume a prominence and a leadership in the message of the great advent hope as chairman of the first General Conference, comprised of ministers of various persuasions who met in Himes's Boston church in October, 1840. In common with many others, Ward had been led independently, by his personal study of the prophecies, to essentially identical conclusions and expectations. Obviously, the way had been prepared for a widespread and united move, soon destined to be felt mightily throughout the land.

VI. Jones—Logical Secretary of First Conference

And now we come to the secretary of that first conference, HENRY JONES (1804-1880), Congregationalist minister, teacher, and ardent abolitionist. He was born in New Hampshire, and in 1835 graduated from Dartmouth. Little is known of his early life. We first hear of him as an anti-Masonic writer, but seceding from them in 1828. Next we find him pastor of the Congregational church of Cabot, New York. Jones was one of

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 177.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-188.

the first to take serious note of Miller's views on the prophecies. In fact, he wrote a succession of letters to Miller over the years which reveal the steps leading up to his inevitable entry into the Millerite movement. He had first been stimulated by a conversation with a fellow minister who, in turn, had been influenced in his thinking on the millennium by Miller's pre-millennialist articles in the *Vermont Telegraph*. As a result, Jones secured the first eight articles of the *Telegraph*, and later sought an extended interview with Miller, and an opportunity to discuss certain points.⁴¹

His first contact was through a letter to Miller in 1832, when traveling in New York State as agent for the circulation of temperance literature. Temperance reform was then just beginning to receive serious attention, and was being bitterly attacked on all sides, much of it, strangely enough, coming from the clergy. Jones had an inquiring type of mind. When first he heard of Miller's teachings he was led to read the book of Revelation through again and again, together with the other prophecies of Daniel, Christ, and the apostles. And he prayed earnestly about them and their meaning. In his intensive reform activities, taking him from town to town, he not only combated the drink evil but undertook to instill, "practically" as well as in theory,⁴² "temperance in regard to food and dress." These activities made it difficult, at the time, for him to give the time that he desired to the study of prophecy.

Jones was similarly allied with the abolition movement. And in those days identification with antislavery reform was often fraught with grave personal danger. But he was a man of conviction, and fearless in his make-up. He kept on studying prophecy as best he could, attempting to lecture upon it before small groups in 1833. And he was even then engaged in writing a dissertation upon Matthew 24 and the signs of the times, and upon Revelation 20 and the second advent as coming at the

⁴¹ Ms. letter, Jones to Miller, Dec. 27, 1832.

⁴² Ms. letter, Jones to Miller, Feb. 21, 1833.

beginning of the millennium.⁴³ His early grasp of the great fundamentals of prophetic interpretation was really astonishing, and unusually comprehensive.

He greatly desired to visit Miller at Low Hampton and to study the prophecies under his personal guidance. He already knew full well what it meant to be allied with an unpopular cause, and to be debarred from preaching in many of the churches because of his abolitionist views. The acceptance of Miller's views would mean still further alienation. Nevertheless, he began to contemplate just such an association. In 1834, nine years before Fitch put similar views into print, Jones wrote to Miller on the need of coming out from "Babylon" according to Revelation 18. And Babylon, he contended, was more than the Papacy. Here are his words:

"In the 18th chapter [of Revelation] the saints are commanded to come out of Babylon. Will you tell me, brother, does Babylon here mean the papal church, the united wickedness of the wicked, or the present visible church of various names? When I look at the slavery, intemperance, wars, Sabbathbreaking, lewdness, gambling, extravagance, pride, covetousness, persecution of saints, etc., now fellowshipped by the church, I inquire, does this Babylon mean particularly *our churches*?"⁴⁴

He studied and restudied the entire book of Revelation. By that autumn he had committed the entire Apocalypse to memory, and had begun to summarize the writings of all the prophets in relation to the Revelation.⁴⁵ He even wrote two books on prophecy in 1837, and shortly after, and his name is attached to the call made through the *Signs of the Times* for the holding of the first General Conference, in October 1840, in Himes's church in Boston.

Thus it was that Jones came to embrace the advent truth with all his heart. He was a man of brilliant talents and a very active worker. He wrote the *Scripture Searcher*. And for a time he published a paper in New York City, called *Second Advent*

⁴³ Ms. letter, Jones to Miller, Sept. 1, 1833.

⁴⁴ Ms. letter, Jones to Miller, May 19, 1834.

⁴⁵ Ms. letter, Jones to Miller, Nov. 14, 1834.

Witness, really the forerunner of *Midnight Cry*. Small wonder, then, that he was chosen secretary of the first General Conference of ministers of varying faiths, coming together to study the prophecies and to unite in their effective proclamation. In 1842 he organized the "Second Advent Association of New York and Vicinity," with Dr. A. Doolittle as chairman,⁴⁶ who was also chosen chairman of the eleventh General Conference, held in the Apollo Hall in New York City, in May, 1842.

Like Ward, Jones also demurred on the point of the "specific time" of "1843." But there was something vastly larger than "time" that attracted men of such training and reputation to give their time and talent to an unpopular cause. It was the basic issue of premillennialism and a soon-coming Saviour. Jones's various other writings include *The Seven Churches in Asia* (1831); *Principles of Interpreting the Prophecies* (1837); *Dissertation on the Nature and Manner of Christ's Second Coming* (1841); *American Views of Christ's Second Advent* (1842); *The Restoration of Israel* (tract); *Compend of Parallel and Explanatory Scripture References, of Christ's Second Advent at Hand* (1843); *Modern Phenomena in the Heavens, or Prophetic Great Signs of the Near Approach of the End of All Things* (1843).⁴⁷

VII. Epitome of Jones's Fundamental Beliefs

Jones stresses the great conflict between the powers of light and darkness, which will end only at the second advent, after the great battle of the day of God, when the saints will come into possession of the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world.⁴⁸ Jones is not yet certain on the year-

⁴⁶ *Signs of the Times*, July 6, 1842, p. 110.

⁴⁷ Jones's leading lectures were assembled in 84-page book form in 1842, entitled *Christ's Second Advent; or, Lectures Delivered Before Late General Conventions in the Cities of Boston, Lowell, and New York; Vindicating the Lord's Personal and Glorious Appearing on Earth to Judge the World, "at Hand" Without Fixing the Time: Without a Previous Millennium; or Return of the Jews to Jerusalem* (1842). One address was before the Eleventh Methodist Protestant Annual Conference for New York and New Jersey, according to the minutes of March 10, 1841, recorded by Enoch Jacobs, secretary, who soon after became a Millerite. Formal thanks from the conference, and endorsement of Jones's position was passed by vote, with an extensive report appearing in the *Methodist New York Luminary*, of March 10, 1841.

⁴⁸ Henry Jones, *Principles of Interpreting the Prophecies*, p. 46.

day principle pressed by many, though he takes the mystic 666 to be the years of pagan Rome. He believes the seven churches of Revelation to stand for seven prophetic periods, or states of the church, and that the Laodicean message applies to the latter-day, or present, state of the church. The "beasts" are the nations, and Antichrist is the same as the Son of Perdition, the Man of Sin and identical with Babylon, the Mother of Harlots. He lists the signs of the latter times—some twenty in all. And to him, "generation," in Matthew 24, means the age, or race.⁴⁹

In *A Scriptural Synopsis* of Christ's second advent he declares that the second advent will be "personal, glorious, and visible," and that a general conflagration will destroy the earth. The "first resurrection" is of the saints only (the "dead in Christ"), and will be matched by the translation of the living saints, while the living wicked will be cut off. The reign of the saints with Christ, during the millennium, he believes to be on earth; and the second resurrection, at its close, is of the wicked (the "resurrection of damnation"), when there will ensue a battle for the beloved city. The set time for the beginning of this series of final events is "at hand, but not precisely known." The prophecies, however, will be entirely fulfilled "without the world's conversion to Christianity, or a millennium of any kind first."⁵⁰

His *Compend . . . of Christ's Second Advent* insists that the advent is "at hand," when Christ will break the bondage of the saints, and when the rewards will be given. Then they will reign with Christ, beginning at the resurrection. Babylon will be destroyed at the advent; and the devouring fire and the hailstones and the harvest are all tied in with the judgment, when the kingdoms of this world will be destroyed.⁵¹

But concerning the dead, Jones differed from some. He interestingly held that they are "resting in sleep" until the resur-

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 67, 128, 129. (Evidently the Jewish race.)

⁵⁰ Henry Jones, *A Scriptural Synopsis of the Doctrine in General, of Christ's Second Advent "at Hand."*

⁵¹ Henry Jones, *Compend of Parallel and Explanatory Scripture References, of Christ's Second Coming at Hand*, pp. 1-9.

rection, with "final extinction," or ultimate nonexistence, as the fate of the wicked—after "suffering the penalty of the divine law, literally." Thus they are "consumed" completely, are "devoured with fire," perish utterly, are destroyed forever, and have no place, when Satan and his works are destroyed—and he fortifies each phase with a battery of texts.⁵² This, incidentally, was before Storrs joined the Advent Movement and stressed the same positions.

Emphasizing the "signs of the advent at hand," Jones contends that they are fulfilled and fulfilling in the heavens and on earth. The "abomination of desolation" is the corruption in the church, and the beasts of wickedness, or wicked powers, still reign, false teachers yet practice, and the Man of Sin is cloaked in the Christian church—and Michael, the Archangel, is Christ. Moreover, the midnight cry is now sounding, and the tribulation of the last days is upon us, while we pray "for the Advent quickly."⁵³

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11, 14-16.

Momentum Increases as Conferences Progress

Throughout the series of General Conferences the plan was followed of having only a few chosen speakers. These were leading, representative men, selected to speak for the Millerite movement, voicing its fundamental positions, and setting forth its spirit and basic objectives. The personnel of these conferences was made up of clergymen representing the various sections and churches within the area who had espoused the Millerite positions. There were consequently no more responsible and authoritative voices than those who gave the main addresses, and no more authoritative statements of faith than the united declarations of these assemblages of their leading men. They constituted the dependable voice of the movement, and their public presentations supersede in authoritativeness all individual expressions of belief.

The second, or Lowell, conference will be considered more fully than some that follow, because after this second report in book form, the rest of the reports were confined largely to brief presentations appearing in the *Signs of the Times* and other papers. The foundations were laid in these united gatherings. These two, in book form, performed a major task and brought the movement impressively before the public, particularly before the religious leadership of the land. Here we can find the temperature, pulse, and respiration, as it were, of this movement, now rapidly growing in size and momentum.

I. Second Conference at Lowell in Christian Church

The first General Conference had proved so successful that the committee, appointed to arrange for a second and similar conference, chose Lowell, Massachusetts, and arranged for the session to be held June 15-17, 1841, in the Lowell Street Christian church. That was eight months after the first conference. Sickness again prevented Miller from attending—a combination of inflammatory rheumatism and erysipelas. Thus he was once more deprived of the long-cherished privilege of meeting with his fellow heralds of the advent. Dr. D. I. Robinson,¹ Methodist pastor from Portsmouth, was chosen chairman, with Joseph Bates as one of the assistant chairmen, who presided part of the time.

It was a large gathering for that early time. Practically all evangelical denominations were again represented. Once more there were some two hundred in attendance, the delegated representatives coming from thirty towns in Massachusetts, twenty-two from New Hampshire, seven from Maine, and four from Vermont. That bespoke rapid growth and expansion. The Freewill Baptist Church of South Boston sent greetings and four delegates. In addition to the various addresses, reports of progress were received. The avowed purpose was to give "another blast to the trumpet so loud that all the land might hear."² A 106-page report was published and widely distributed. Six hundred dollars was raised for evangelism, and the Lord's Supper was impressively celebrated in free communion.

The different reports indicated that the way was wide open for the rapid promulgation of the advent faith throughout New England, and a most earnest desire for definite light on the fulfillment of prophecy was plainly evident. The delegates resolved to throw their full time, talents, and influence into the spread of the message of Christ's return. The tremendous responsibility resting upon believers in this advent truth,

¹ Biographical data lacking.

² *Signs of the Times*, July 15, 1841, p. 61.

now urgently due the world, was stressed. The *Signs of the Times* was again approved as the representative printed voice, and the Second Advent Library plan was strongly endorsed. The burden seemed to be to recruit competent men who believed in the coming of the Lord, who would rally to the great task before them.³

A formal address, or "Circular," was drafted and approved, to be sent out to all believers in the second advent, framed in the light of the speedy coming of the "day of the Lord." Its nine points, in brief, were:

(1) "Personal consecration to God;" (2) "personal conversation with others" concerning the soon coming of Christ; (3) widespread "formation of Bible classes" to study this great question; (4) "social meetings for prayer and exhortation" as far and wide as possible; (5) "questioning your ministers on the subject" by propounding texts for explanation; (6) a vast "circulation of books" through the lending or giving of books on the advent; (7) advice on remaining in, or withdrawing from, churches that oppose the advent teaching, definitely counseling the former attitude wherever possible—for church affiliation troubled many; (8) patience and forbearance in meeting opposition, scorn, and reproach; and (9) establishment of a Second Advent Library in every town and village, with no time to be lost over the imposing task.⁴

II. Second Advent Library a Major Contribution

This Second Advent Library was now a sizable series of pamphlets and books on the advent and the prophecies, uniform in page size, but varying in the number of pages from leaflets to full book dimensions. This series was just getting nicely under way, published at the Boston headquarters, and written largely by the Millerite leaders. To it were added a few

³ *Ibid.*, July 15, 1841, pp. 61-63.

⁴ *The Second Report of the General Conference of Christians Expecting the Advent*, "Proceedings of the . . . General Conference," pp. 8-12; *Signs of the Times*, Aug. 2, 1841, pp. 69, 70.

reprints of especially pertinent treatises. Money was pledged for their circulation, and Josiah Litch was chosen as traveling, or "General Agent," for the Committee of Publications of the movement—an established custom among religious bodies of the time. His support was provided, along with an appropriation for the circulation of second advent publications. A glance at the titles and authors will disclose the scope and reveal the writer personnel of this vital series of books and pamphlets that played such a major part in the movement.

The authors, and the number of their respective treatises in the series, were: Miller (13), Himes (4), Litch (8), Bliss (8), Cox (1), Cook (1), Sabine (1), Storrs (1), Whiting (1), Hawley (1), Hervey (2), Starkweather (1), and Gunn (1). Then there were also two anonymous works, and three reprints—by Spalding, Hooper of England, and Bernard. In range, they covered the second advent, Biblical exposition, prophetic interpretation, reviews, declarations of principles, lectures, charts and explanations, prophetic symbols, time periods, cleansing of the sanctuary, types and the jubilee, the kingdom of God, history of Advent Movement, return of the Jews, paraphrases of the prophecies, Babylon's fall, warnings to watch, appeals to ministers, new heavens and new earth, millennium, and age to come. These, along with the battery of some forty periodicals, and broadsides and charts and hymnbooks, comprised a formidable array of highly effective literature.

III. Typical Millerite Messages at This Time

The heartthrob of the addresses at these conferences can still be felt, even in their printed form a century later. They were both convincingly logical and earnestly persuasive. Henry Jones's lecture on "The Nature and Events of Christ's Second Coming," at the Lowell Conference, is an example. First, he shows that Christ's second coming is not the death of the individual. It is not the conversion of the individual, not the periodic spiritual awakenings that come to the church, not the

setting up of the church, not the destruction of Jerusalem, and most emphatically not a temporal millennium. Christ will come the second time as soon as the gospel has been preached in all the world as a witness, and not before. He will come personally and visibly, in the clouds of heaven. His coming will be seen as the lightning's flash that shines from east to west. He will not keep silence, and a tempestuous fire will devour before Him. He will come with vengeance, to gather all nations before Him and execute judgment upon the ungodly.

The concurrent events are the resurrection of the dead, followed by the millennium and the final conflagration, and at last the new heavens and the new earth. There can be no millennium until Christ comes, Jones insists, no conversion of the world first, no antecedent return of the unbelieving Jews, no return of Christ until the gospel is preached everywhere first, and the church is first awakened, like the virgins in the parable. But worldly business will go on "as usual" until Christ comes.⁵ In his continuing second address, on "The Signs of Christ's Second Coming, 'Quickly,'" Jones stresses the telltale recentness of the new and popular postmillennial theory, and remarks:

"It seems from a retrospect of the past, only for a short time, that the theory of a long paradisiacal state of the church in this world, to authorize the delay of the Lord's coming, or to hedge up its way, has gained, perhaps, ninety-nine hundredths of its present popularity within the last century, and that it may be considered as the fruitful source, or legitimate parent, of the multiplied and gross evils which have since made havoc of the faith of the church."⁶

Jones stresses the "great signs from heaven" to be seen shortly before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes—celestial harbingers, such as the "darkening of the sun, in the year 1780," commonly called the "dark day," and the subsequent "showers of meteors," as in the early morning hours of November 13, 1833, when the very stars of heaven appeared

⁵ *The Second Report of the General Conference of Christians Expecting the Advent*, "The Nature and Events of Christ's Second Coming," by Henry Jones, pp. 13-23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28.

to be falling to the earth, as the fruit of a tree when shaken off violently, and was so recognized at the very time.⁷ The foretold deceptions have come to pass. The predicted spiritual darkness is here. The deceptions from peace and war arguments have appeared. The foretold abominations are now seen, along with the scattered power of the church. The predicted inquiry on prophecy has undeniably arisen—the searching question, “Watchman, what of the night?” and the ringing answer given, “Behold, the morning cometh.” The foretold “Midnight Cry” is now being extensively heard, and the last-day scoffers have appeared just as forecast.

It was expository preaching, heavily buttressed with Scripture. It produced conviction and led to decision. Men were definitely turned from darkness to light, and from sin to righteousness, as well as persuaded on premillennialism.

IV. The “Turk” One of Litch’s Favorite Subjects

Josiah Litch discussed the fifth and sixth trumpets of Revelation 9—a typical emphasis at the time, particularly for him. The “fallen Star” was Mohammed, and the symbolic “locusts” the Moslem hordes of horsemen. The “five months” of tormenting are 150 years—“each year a full solar year”—the period of Turkish torment of the Greeks. The “king” over them was Othman, who, near the close of the thirteenth century, founded the Ottoman government, or empire. (This had all, of course, been previously presented again and again by others.) His name meant the “destroyer.” And then, according to Gibbon, he entered Nicomedia on July 27, 1299. One hundred fifty years would therefore reach to 1449, he figured, during which time the Turks warred against the Greeks, but without conquering them.

The sixth trumpet was to remove the restraints, and to loose the “angels” bound in the river Euphrates, said Litch. In 1449 Paleologus, the last Greek emperor, died, and Greek in-

⁷ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. IV. chap. 13.

dependence was surrendered into the hands of the Turks. The symbolic "hour, day, month, and year," or widely acknowledged "391 years and fifteen days," would therefore end, Litch held, in August, 1840, when "the Sultan would voluntarily surrender his independence into the hands of the Christian powers, from whom he received it." Litch then submitted a series of supporting historical statements, appearing in the *London Morning Herald*, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, *Moniteur Ottoman*, and *London Morning Chronicle*, maintaining, in brief, that the ultimatum of the powers was put into the hand of Mehemet Ali about the eleventh of August.

Then he pressed on the next event—Behold the third woe cometh quickly, when the mystery of God is to be finished, and the kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of our Lord, who is to reign forever and ever. This cannot be afar off, he solemnly declared. The address carried conviction, and persuaded many a skeptic, deist, and infidel.

V. Litch Places "Trial Judgment" Before Second Advent

Particular attention was paid to the next address, on the evening of June 15, likewise given by Litch, for this question lay at the heart of Millerite difference from others' expositions, and will be met again later. He presented in logical sequence the premillennial character of Christ's second advent, in direct conflict with the "prevailing opinion" of a "period of Christ's universal spiritual reign on earth for one thousand, or three hundred sixty thousand years, before Christ's personal appearing to judge the quick and the dead." Here are his own words:

"The prevailing opinion of the present age on the doctrine of the millennium is, that it is a period of Christ's universal spiritual reign on earth for one thousand, or three hundred and sixty thousand years before Christ's personal appearing to judge the quick and the dead. This happy state of things, it is thought, will be introduced by the universal diffusion of the gospel through the earth, and the conversion of the world to Christ; the destruction of the man of sin, the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, and their conversion to Christianity. During all this happy period Satan is bound, and exerts no influence on earth over the human mind until the

millennium expires. When that period ends, it is believed Satan will be let loose and go out to deceive the nations, when a very general apostasy will take place; and, in the midst of the prevailing wickedness of that apostasy, that Christ will appear in the clouds of heaven to judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom."⁸

Litch challenges the Biblical basis of such a roseate view in this fourteen-page presentation, and emphatically declares it is not sustained by Revelation 20, the millennium chapter. He contends:

"The doctrine taught in this passage is not the doctrine of Christ's spiritual reign on earth a thousand years before his personal appearing, but the doctrine of *the order of the resurrection of the dead*."⁹

There are two resurrections, he explains—the first, in order, is that of the "blessed and holy"; and the second, that of "the rest of the dead," including the unholy. And, he explains, "these two resurrections will be a thousand years apart." The first includes the martyrs and the saints of the ages, and those who have not worshiped the Beast or have received his mark in these latter days. The Scriptures do not teach a general resurrection of all men at the same time, according to 1 Thessalonians 4:16 and 1 Corinthians 15:22-26. The "dead in Christ rise first"—"they that are Christ's at his coming." This, Litch stresses, is "not a spiritual resurrection from spiritual death." Instead, it is a literal resurrection of the body, like Christ's. As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive—but each "in his own order." At Christ's coming, at the end of the age, "none but his own will be raised." Our great Mediator then reigns with His saints during the thousand years, and death will be destroyed at the close of the thousand years. So John and Paul agree perfectly. And Satan will be bound during this thousand years.

They that "have done good" come forth "unto the resurrection of life" at the beginning of the thousand years. (John 5:28, 29.) This is "a distinct resurrection" for "a distinct class

⁸ *The Second Report of the General Conference of Christians Expecting the Advent*, "Dissertation on the Millennium," by Josiah Litch, pp. 2, 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3. (Italics supplied.)

of persons, and for a distinct purpose." And the same is true of those brought to life a thousand years later—theirs is also a "distinct resurrection of a distinct class, for a distinct purpose." In Daniel 12:2 "many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake," when Michael (Christ) stands up and delivers His people; but not all. Ultimately the rest will come forth. Thus some are brought forth unto everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. At the end of the thousand years Satan will be loosed, as the wicked are similarly raised at its close. These are the subjects of his service and deception. They seek to compass the camp of the saints about, and make an assault on the Holy City, and a tempest of fire comes "down and destroys them. Then Satan, who deceived them, is destroyed; and the wicked are all swept away under this fatal deluge of fire."

Litch maintains that the thousand years is a *literal*, not a figurative, number, for the chapter is "a literal description of what will actually take place." The "long cherished opinion of six thousand years" for this sinful world, followed by the thousand years of the great Sabbath, or earth's jubilee, "requires it to be understood literally." Then comes the logical conclusion:

"If the foregoing explanation of the twentieth chapter of Revelation is correct, and the doctrine of two resurrections is sound and scriptural, then the prevailing view of the millennium must fall to the ground."¹⁰

And now comes the heart of Litch's presentation:

"If there are to be two distinct resurrections of the dead, when is the general judgment to take place? Will it be at the first or second resurrection? *At neither*; but before either of them takes place. Perhaps there is no one point in the 20th chapter of Revelation that has been the cause of greater obscurity and more confusion among biblical students than the introduction of the judgment at the close of the chapter, and after the close of the millennium."¹¹

The difficulty, he says, seems to be over the "order of the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

judgment," in Revelation 20:11-15. God is the judge. The subjects are the dead—"not in their resurrection bodies, but the dead as such, and before the resurrection." These are judged according to their works. Then Litch continues, "The judgment is here most certainly placed prior to the resurrection." The doctrine of two resurrections—the just and the unjust—he insists, renders it necessary. It is necessary in order to determine who are to be the "subjects of the first resurrection." The book of life is "opened for the purpose of determining who are written there." So Litch concludes, "The judgment, must, therefore, be before the resurrection." This "general judgment" must be "prior to the first resurrection" to harmonize with and explain Revelation 20:4.¹²

Coming next to the "nature of the judgment before the resurrection," two ideas should be kept in mind, he states. One is the judicial character of the proceedings—"trial according to law and evidence, for the acquittal or condemnation" of the person at the bar. And the other part is the "execution" of the judgment. In human tribunals a prisoner, if innocent, is at once discharged from the hands of the executive power. If guilty, he is either taken forth to execution at once or is "kept for a season" in prison. So in the heavenly assize, the proceedings are according to law and evidence. The books are opened, and the book of life. And from these the character and doom of each is determined. When the trial judgment closes "those who are acquitted are discharged from custody at once, at the first resurrection." The other phase is that Christ has the power to "execute judgment," at the resurrection of damnation. Those wicked who remain in their graves shall hear His voice and come forth "when the sentence already passed will be executed."¹³

As to the living when Christ comes, Litch holds that "character and conduct of men cannot be decided on until their probation ends and their character is finally fixed." And the

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

judgment of this group must likewise be "prior to the resurrection," before the appearing of Christ. Here Litch adds:

"If we may be allowed to look upon the destruction of the old world by water, as typifying the final conflagration at the second coming of Christ, there is certainly reason to believe there will be a period in the end of time, before his advent, when the door of mercy will be closed."¹⁴

A period of seven days elapsed after God had called Noah and his family into the ark. There were no further admissions. So will it be in the day of the coming of the Son of man. Men will knock, seeking entrance, but the door is shut forever! So all the time of the seventh seal there is silence in heaven for a short space. This will be a time of great tribulation, when the seven last plagues will be poured out. Then Litch takes this unusual position, for the time, on the plagues as yet future: "There are strong reasons for believing all expositors are mistaken who think six of the vials, or indeed any of them, already poured out."¹⁵

There will be a separation when Christ comes—the precious from the vile, the wheat from the chaff. When Christ comes He will gather together His elect from the four winds. Then follows his appeal:

"O, sinner, it will be to thee a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness. Will you run the risk of being found unprepared? Dare you defer coming to Christ, and washing your robes white in his blood? Can you harden your heart and refuse to hear mercy while she calls and entreats? If so, be assured you will call, but God will not answer. O, bethink thee of that worm that dieth not, and the unquenchable fire in which the chaff shall be burned up. Ye worldlings, too, think of that day that shall burn as an oven, when all the proud and such as do wickedly shall be stubble, and the day that cometh shall burn up both the world and its votaries. What will it advantage thee to gain the whole world, if it must so soon perish and its possessor with it? Love not the world, nor the things that are in it; for how hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of God. *Christian professor*, 'it is not every one that saith Lord, Lord, that shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.' Remember this. See to it, that thy profession and practice correspond; that thy lamp was not

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

only once lighted, but that it so continues, with oil in thy vessel. Then, when he appeareth, shall you also appear with him in glory. Amen.”¹⁶

VI. Prophetic Setting for the Coming Kingdom

Litch's final address, "The Glorified Kingdom of God on Earth, at Hand," is typical of the prophetic interpretation always presented at these conferences. His first point was that Christ's kingdom of glory is not simply the gospel dispensation, introduced by the first advent of Christ. Even His immediate disciples had a misconception concerning it—believing it "should immediately appear." But Christ gave the parable of the nobleman and the pounds to correct that—the nobleman went away to receive the kingdom, and when he returns he will then reward his servants. So at the advent will come the resurrection of the righteous and the translation of the righteous living. This was confirmed by the transfiguration—with Moses and Elijah representing the raised and the changed saints in the last day. This was the figure and forecast of the coming kingdom. So, "beyond all successful controversy," the kingdom is "subsequent to the second coming of Christ," and will be glorious and immortal. That kingdom will be "everlasting" in duration. (Dan. 7:13, 14; Rev. 11:15.) Moreover this kingdom is at the door. But it cannot come "until all the prophecies which are to be fulfilled before it, shall be fulfilled." First, it cannot come until the great Antichristian papal apostasy has had its day. This is found in Daniel 7. In the prophetic imagery of this vision, four beast-kingdoms—Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Grecia, and Rome—arise out of the sea of humanity. And out of the fourth and fifth centuries—as the standard lists of Machiavelli, Lloyd, Lowth, and Hales attest. And the blaspheming, persecuting Little Horn is the Papacy, permitted to have dominion over the saints, or church for $3\frac{1}{2}$ "times," or 1260 year-days. The four world powers, and the division of the Roman fourth, precede it. Then Justinian passed his edict constituting the Bishop

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 14.

of Rome the head of "all the holy churches." Three of the ten horns—the Arian Heruli, Vandals, and Ostrogoths—were plucked up before him. As long as they held Rome, the decree "could not be carried into effect."²⁷

Then in February, 1798, the pope's dominion was temporarily taken away by Berthier, the French general. From 538 to 1798 was the period of the 1260 years. True, "Popery still exists." But its dominion in the medieval sense was to be taken away. In Revelation 13 this same power is presented under the symbol of the ten-horned beast from the sea, having power over the saints for 42 months, or the same 1260 year-days. And he foretold that this period was to be terminated by the stroke of the sword, when the papal government received its "deadly wound."²⁸

Then, under the second, or two-horned, beast from the earth, Litch understood, it is to be healed. In 1804-1805 Bonaparte was crowned emperor of France and king of Italy. Speaking like a lamb at first, he came to exercise "unlimited power in modelling religion to his own liking, and imposing its observance on his subjects." And he causes all to worship the first beast (popery) whose deadly wound was healed. This he did by reconstituting popery. So the Papacy was restored after its fall in 1798. And the deadly wound was healed when a new pope was elected.²⁹ (In this Litch differed sharply from Miller.)

Daniel 7 therefore predicts the course of empire down to the second coming and kingdom of Christ. It is likewise predicted by Paul in 2 Thessalonians 2, for the Man of Sin to be destroyed by the brightness of Christ's coming. The kingdom of God was not established during the 1260 years. That was not the millennium, but its opposite. And there is no place for the millennium, Litch assures us, between the close of the 1260 years, in 1798, and the second coming of Christ. He then brings his exposition to a close with this threefold appeal:

²⁷ *The Second Report of the General Conference of Christians Expecting the Advent*, "The Glorified Kingdom of God on Earth, at Hand," by Josiah Litch, pp. 6-11.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 14.

"The doctrine of a temporal and spiritual reign of Christ for a thousand years before his second coming, is but a cunningly devised fable, and in its very nature only calculated to lull men to sleep in their sins, and to induce them to say, '*My Lord delayeth his coming.*'"

"*Perishing sinner!* if this argument is sound and conclusive, then you have no time to lose in preparing for the judgment. Then delay not, but haste thee to Christ for refuge, while he waits to be gracious.

"*Christian professor!* you have a great work to do to clear your skirts of the blood of souls, and to have your own lamps trimmed and burning, and oil in your vessels with your lamps. Remember, only perfect love can cast out fear, and give boldness in the day of judgment. Seek, then, and live it day by day.

"*Minister of the gospel—Watchman on Zion's walls!* lift up thy voice like a trumpet, cry aloud, spare not; show the people their sins, arouse them from their lethargy, lest, like the inhabitants of the old world, they know not till the door is shut. *Amen.*" ²⁰

Such is the heartthrob of a typical Millerite lecture—rooted in Scripture, buttressed by history, and enforced by logic as they saw it. It therefore appealed both to head and heart.

VII. Portland—Unity of View Really Remarkable

Brief reference will suffice for the third conference, on October 12-14, 1841, in Portland, Maine—just a year after the first conference. It met in Fleming's Casco St. Christian Church, and was the first gathering of its kind in the State. It had a large attendance, with Abijah Bridges as chairman and Himes and Litch as secretaries. Himes, Litch, and Jones were again to be the leading speakers. There was therefore continuity and unity in the public presentations. The main themes were: The prophecies and prophetic chronology, repentance from all sin, the signs of Christ's imminent advent, the character of the kingdom of God, the restitution of the earth, the nature of its inhabitants, and the millennium. The duty of living wholly for the Lord was the continuing overtone. Miller, though absent, provided written addresses. There was also a sacramental service, in which members of all denominations joined, for all

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

minor considerations were swallowed up in the one great absorbing thought of soon seeing the Master at the head of His table. It was one of those scenes in which the angels must take delight.

Miller's address stressed humility. He appealed to the advent believers not to slip into the use of clerical titles that minister chiefly to pride; the practices of the world should be abandoned. His counsel was heeded, and the Biblical term *Elder* was rather uniformly employed in addressing ministers of the movement. His theme was the manner and object of Christ's coming, with the time of His coming as "about 1843." Miller was unusually concerned about reaching men of conspicuous talent—ministers, educators, editors, and other able men—who could do exploits for God once they were gripped by the advent message. He stressed the types—the six days of creation week, and the seventh of rest, the seven years of bondage and the release, or antitypical jubilee. Then there were the prophetic outline prophecies and the time periods, and the 2300 years to the cleansing of the sanctuary.^m

VIII. Grove Meetings in God's Great Out-of-Doors

Still another form of preaching employed was the outdoor grove meeting. This sprang out of the need for a short rally, and was held in a grove of trees near some town. Less pretentious than the camp meetings, these assemblies nevertheless partook of the same general characteristics. A speaker's stand was erected, with temporary seats for the people constructed under the trees. Folk gathered from the country and small towns around to hear the advent message, the majority presumably returning to their homes for the night and coming again on the morrow. Contemporaries tell us that shapely trees extended their long branches to form arches of noble beauty. And hemlock spires, piercing heavenward, adorned these majes-

^m Report in *Signs of the Times*, Nov. 1, 1841, pp. 113-120.

tic churches of the forest in God's great out-of-doors, thus contributing to the spirit of worship. These meetings usually lasted but a day or two, though in instances for several days.²² On November 3, 1843, the report appeared in the *Midnight Cry*:

"We have had no less than ten or twelve grove meetings, of one and two days continuance, where the people would assemble from ten to fifteen miles around, to hear about the coming of the Lord."²³

The Millerites surely adapted themselves to circumstances. In New York City, and other cities, theaters or halls were leased, or tabernacles built, as noted elsewhere. But in rural environs the grove meeting was popular. They all had the same objectives, and were rewarded with similar results.

²² *Signs of the Times*, June 14, 1843, p. 120; Sept. 13, 1843, p. 29; *Midnight Cry*, July 13, 1843; *Advent Herald*, July 17, 1844; Aug. 1, 1844, p. 24.

²³ *Midnight Cry*, Nov. 30, 1843, p. 121.

Conferences Make Impress on Great Cities

I. New York City Comes of Age

Let us break the recital of the conferences long enough to get the historical background and contemporary setting of some of the larger General Conferences that follow, such as the sixth, held in the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City. Prior to 1825 New York City was only a provincial town. The actual city was then born, and Knickerbocker New York ended. In that year the Erie Canal was completed, and the city at the mouth of the Hudson was joined to the great West. The Great Lakes were thrown open to commerce, and the Ohio and Mississippi valleys brought close to her doors. A new life began. It was the beginning of a new and expansive era.

1. GREAT MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL CHANGES.—The years from 1825 to 1840 were filled with ferment and confusion, progress and revolutionary developments. There was intense intellectual, moral, and religious activity. Mighty forces were gathering and consolidating. The population leaped from 166,000 to 312,000—phenomenal for that day. New Englanders poured in by the thousand, and sons from foreign soils came in increasing numbers, large groups planting themselves on Staten Island. Then the fire of 1835 was followed by the financial crash of 1837, sweeping New York City like a tempest.

The city became a boiling cauldron in which divers nationalities and hostile temperaments commingled, intensified

by commercial forces let loose by the opening of the canal. The throbbing thirties were followed by the fateful forties. Buildings of wood gave way to structures of brick and stone, and climbed heavenward—first to seven or eight stories, then to twelve or fourteen. Horse-drawn cars of strange construction had just started running in the streets. Vanderbilt's steamboats were plying the sound, but through trunk-line railroads had not yet appeared. There were no telegraph lines, although Morse was experimenting. And there were no electric lights or electric cars, no telephones, typewriters, phonographs, or bicycles, and of course no automobiles, radios, or television sets.

Intellectual life became aggressive. Horace Greeley and Wendell Phillips were just twenty-nine, Holmes and Lincoln thirty-one. Longfellow was only thirty-three and Garrison but thirty-five. Emerson was just thirty-seven, and Bryant and Vanderbilt forty-six. Religious life was active, as New York then had thirty-two Presbyterian, twenty-seven Episcopal, twenty Baptist, sixteen Methodist, fifteen Dutch, eleven Catholic, five Universalist, three Lutheran, and two Unitarian churches.¹ And now it was about to become one of the principal scenes of the great second advent awakening and the exposition of prophecy.

Newspapers were launched to satisfy the voracious hunger of an increased population—the *Tribune* in 1831, the *Sun* in 1833, and the *Herald* in 1835. The foundations of New York University and Union Theological Seminary had just been laid. The air was vibrant with attempts to set the poor against the rich, and there were riots among the foreign populations. So New York City in the thirties was quarrelsome and obstreperous.

2. ANTISLAVERY AGITATION BREAKS FORTH.—The land was seething with new ideas and principles, and a deep sense of personal responsibility seemed to prevail. Promulgators of doctrines that disturbed the old order were all about. Antislavery

¹ Charles E. Jefferson, *The Broadway Tabernacle of the Past and Future*, p. 14.

and temperance became test questions, with the bulk of society frowning on their advocates and showering them with obloquy. The New York Anti-Slavery Society was organized in October, 1833, with a mob battering at the doors before the members were out of the building. Both a Young Men's and a Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society were organized in 1834. And the second anniversary of the emancipation of the West Indian slaves was held in the large Broadway Tabernacle in 1837.² Hard names were bandied about, and the churches were mobbed by proslavery advocates.

3. THE BIRTH OF TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES.—Temperance advocates fared no better. Arthur Tappan,³ ardently active in spiritual reforms, advertised pure juice of the grape, without alcohol, for communion service, and the newspapers uttered a "howl of derision." Dr. George B. Cheever was cowhided, tried for libel in a Massachusetts court, and suffered thirty days' imprisonment for his little temperance skit, "Enquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery." Yet, by 1834, New York State was credited with having 2,500 branch temperance societies, and temperance societies for young men flourished in the churches.⁴

Meanwhile the political pot was boiling. Citizens had only begun to vote for the mayor in 1834. Campaigns were violent, and the Presidential campaign of Harrison versus Van Buren was exceptionally heated and furious. It was a tense time.

4. REVOLUTIONARY ATTITUDES IN RELIGIOUS FIELD.—Every department of life was tempest-tossed, and the church did not escape. The old Calvinism of the eighteenth century had lost out to various newer concepts, and not a few who remained in churches under the Westminster Confession worked their way

² Susan Hayes Ward, *The History of the Broadway Tabernacle*, pp. 32, 33.

³ ARTHUR TAPPAN (1786-1865), American merchant and philanthropist, set up a large importing business in New York City, in 1812. Later he helped to found Oberlin College, and the American Tract Society, and endowed Lane Theological Seminary of Cincinnati. He was an ardent abolitionist, and was first president of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society, founding the New York *Emancipator* in 1833. He rescued William Lloyd Garrison from imprisonment at Baltimore in 1833, and founded the New York *Journal of Commerce* in 1828.

⁴ Susan Hayes Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

out into wider interpretations of its ancient phrases. And one of these religious innovators in Calvinism was Charles G. Finney, whose Broadway Tabernacle must now be noted.

II. Broadway Tabernacle—Center of Revival and Reform

The story of the famous Broadway Tabernacle of New York City, erected on Broadway between Leonard and Anthony Streets, is a fascinating one. Here the fourth Millerite General Conference was convened on October 26 and 27, 1841. The tabernacle congregation was a cross between the Congregational and Presbyterian organizations. This great structure arose in 1835-1836 out of the religious, social, and political storms of the time.

Charles G. Finney⁵ had passed through a spiritual experience that made all things new to him. He was soundly converted at twenty-nine. After he had seen the love of God in the face of Jesus Christ, many of the Old School interpretations of the past became abhorrent to him. Justification by faith came to be a glowing spiritual reality, not merely a theological term or principle. Finney was carried along as by an irresistible influence into the work of evangelism. Wherever he went churches were revived, until he came to be called the prince of revival preachers. Yet all the while he was maligned, and dubbed an innovator and a heretic. He was called from small towns to the cities, but no invitation was extended to him to come to New York City. Then Anson C. Phelps determined he should be heard, hired a vacant church, and invited him to come. He accepted, and a wonderful revival followed.⁶

Out of this revival sprang a number of Free Presbyterian churches. At that time New York had a large population of non-churchgoers unable to pay the price asked for pews. By abolish-

⁵ CHARLES G. FINNEY (1792-1875), noted Congregational clergyman and educator, was born in Connecticut. After he became famous as a revivalist, in 1835 he was appointed professor in Oberlin Institute or College, and subsequently was president, as well as pastor of the First Congregational Church there. He later engaged in revivalism in England from 1848 to 1857. His New School views, and Oberlin's antislavery principles, made the Institute obnoxious for years to many "orthodox" clergymen and ecclesiastical bodies.

⁶ Charles E. Jefferson, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10.

ing high pew rents, these free churches drew large numbers from the unchurched masses. Lewis Tappan, likewise a noted merchant, organized a new church in an old remodeled theater, calling Finney there as minister in 1832. Here Finney built up his membership from the unchurched, as hundreds were converted. In the summer of 1834 Finney made a voyage to the Mediterranean to recover his health. The abolitionist riots of 1834, in New York City, therefore occurred during his absence, when clergymen of antislavery societies were attacked and their homes broken into. But Finney's convictions were well known, and upon his return he forbade slaveholders to participate at the communion service. And in December, 1834, he began his famous series of *Lectures on Revivals*.⁷

Matters went well between Finney and his own congregation. But there was grave difficulty with the presbytery, so Finney decided to withdraw from the presbytery and to organize an independent church. Friends offered to put up a large tabernacle on Broadway, and Finney outlined the plans and specifications. He wanted a commodious auditorium where all could hear without effort, as there were no public address amplifiers in those days. He insisted on "acoustics rather than esthetics," and had no sympathy with the idea that a church should be just for a few chosen families of a special social set. Finally, after a battle with the architects and builders, the seating was arranged in circular fashion, with a series of wide galleries of eight tiers of seats extending around the entire structure. (Illustration on page 556.) The choir and orchestra occupied the space back of the pulpit, running from the floor to the gallery.

By its very size the Tabernacle appealed to the rank and file. Its great galleries were capacious, and the poor were not afraid to enter. It became the popular church, and because of its excellent acoustics was ideal for the discussion of great themes and the assembling of immense audiences. The greatest

⁷ *The Evangelist*, Nov. 8, 1834; Susan Hayes Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 27.

orators and reformers of the nation came to the Tabernacle, which was opened to many worthy causes. It became the rallying point for patriotism, reform, and virile religion. Various national benevolent and welfare societies for the advancement of education, home and foreign missions, as well as abolitionist and temperance organizations, and Bible and tract societies, all held their conventions in the Broadway Tabernacle, which soon became famous as the ideal place for great mass meetings.

In February, 1835, Finney was appointed professor of theology in the new Oberlin Institute in Ohio, which was about to establish a theological department. He accepted the appointment with the understanding that he would continue to preach in New York during the winter months. The building of the Broadway Tabernacle began in May. In the winter of 1835-36 Finney was back in New York, but found himself increasingly out of harmony with the Presbyterian discipline and doctrine of the Old School. As previously mentioned, at the organization of the Tabernacle Church, in April, 1836, the services of Charles Fitch, pastor of the Free Church of Hartford, Connecticut, were enlisted by Finney.⁸ Fitch read the names of those who were to constitute the new church, then the Declaration of Principles, Rules, Confession of Faith, and Covenant, to which they all gave public assent. He then pronounced them a duly organized church—the Broadway Tabernacle Church.⁹ The church prospered, and there was a continuous revival.

But the dual responsibility proved too great a strain upon Finney's health, as the demands of Oberlin became more exacting. So in the spring of 1837 he was compelled to resign from the Tabernacle because of ill health, and to leave New York permanently for Oberlin. Things did not go too well at the Tabernacle, and dissension broke out. George Duffield, prophetic interpreter already noted,¹⁰ was made acting pastor.

⁸ See pp. 540, 541.

⁹ Susan Hayes Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁰ See pp. 330-339.

Then, in 1839, Joel Parker was installed as pastor, but resigned in June, 1840. The Tabernacle was advertised for sale and the mortgage foreclosed. David Hale, one of the founders of *The New York Journal of Commerce*, bought the building in June, 1840, for \$34,363, and invited the members to form a Congregational Church, which was formally organized. Edward W. Andrews¹¹ was installed as pastor the first of January, 1841, and the church continued under the name of Broadway Tabernacle Church.¹²

The holding of the fourth General Conference of the Millerites in the Tabernacle will be discussed in the next section. But during the winter of 1841-1842, an interesting three-month revival occurred in the Tabernacle. Many, especially young people, were converted. Andrews had a charming personality and an "imposing oratory." He had a fascinating voice, and his style was clear, direct, and forceful. Great crowds came to hear him expound his belief in the premillennial second advent and the prophecies, in which he was deeply interested. The Tabernacle historian says:

"The Tabernacle would hold, though it could not seat, somewhat more than 3,000, but the crowds that surged into the building filled the seats, and eager listeners stood thronging the aisles. Particularly was this true when the seven Sunday evening lectures on the Second Advent were delivered in 1843. Mr. Andrews was an ardent advocate of the doctrine that Christ's Second Coming will precede the Millennium. 'He preached much on Daniel, and expounded the Prophecies,' says one of his old hearers; and the *New York Herald* stated with reference to the last of these popular discourses that 'ten thousand people tried in vain to get into the already overcrowded building.'"¹³

Thus we see that prominent religious leaders were tied in strongly with the second advent emphasis of the forties, without integral connection with the Millerites, and that pro-

¹¹ EDWARD WARREN ANDREWS came from a distinguished ministerial family. He was a student at Union College, and was then employed by the American Sunday School Union in the West. After a course of legal study he practiced law successfully for three years. But he abandoned law for the pulpit and was licensed to preach. He was ordained in 1837, taking a church at Hartford. He had unusual gifts as an orator. He was installed at Broadway Tabernacle when only twenty-nine.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. xiii; *Manual of the Broadway Tabernacle Church*, pp. 5, 6.

¹³ Susan H. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

phetic exposition was widespread and eminently respectable. We now return to the Millerite conferences.

III. Fourth Conference in Large Broadway Tabernacle

The formal call for the fourth conference, to be held in the large Broadway Tabernacle, in New York City, on October 26, 27, 1841, was published in the *Christian Herald and Journal* and in *Zion's Herald*, as well as in the *New York Herald*, which gave a daily report. The *Tribune* also noted the conference at some length. A copy of the call, with an explanatory note, was addressed personally to all the clergy of New York City, many of whom read the "call" in their churches. There were addresses by various clergymen, including Litch, Jones, Himes, and Ward. The topics included the leading prophecies, the great apostasy, the premillennial advent, preparation for the coming day of the Lord, and the resurrection. Business transactions were held to the minimum, evidently waiting until Miller could be with them and give his views and counsel.

One of the unique sessions, under the chairmanship of the well-known Methodist pastor, John Lindsey of New York City, was introduced by him in these words: "The kingdom of heaven preached in the Gospel is a future dispensation near to come." Then followed a symposium on the kingdom—its nature, glory, and imminence—with Josiah Litch of Boston, Henry Dana Ward of New York City, and J. V. Himes of Boston as speakers. It was the first successful impress on the nation's metropolis. The *New York Tribune's* retrospective comment on this session was:

"The meeting was profoundly attentive, and the remarks of the speakers were received with unequivocal approbation, save only the *fixing* a time, which . . . failed to convince and satisfy the audience. But so far as the awakening of public attention goes, the Convention has been attended with the happiest results. The pastors of churches direct their studies toward the interesting theme in many cases with new emotions; and many Christians read the Bible with an inquiring mind, to learn whether these things are so, and some are becoming daily more and more

convinced of the truth and importance of the sentiment expressed by the chairman and made the theme of the evening's discourses."¹⁴

At the closing session a remarkably large audience was present. The report says:

"The most profound attention was paid to the stirring eloquence of the last speaker, and stillness of the audience throughout the services was proof of their deep interest in the sentiment of discourse, that the kingdom of God preached in the gospel is a future dispensation near to come."¹⁵

"A deep and solemn impression was made on many hearts" as J. V. Himes presented the basis on which he rested his belief. The 1260 days, the 2300 days, the overthrow, the jubilee, and the end of the sixth millennium, all lead to the consummation and the sounding of the last trump. The signs of the times, the wars and rumors of wars, and the Laodicean state of the church, all indicate the nearness of the consummation. Christ will soon "dash" the nations with the rod of His power, and give them, with the Beast and false prophet, to the burning flame, which devours before Him as He comes again to judge the earth with righteousness and the people with equity. Again the glow and the fervor and the heartbeat of men on fire for God were felt. The impression was profound.

IV. Fifth Conference in Miller's Home Town

Illness and other circumstances had prevented Miller from meeting with his fellow Adventist leaders in the first four General Conferences, so the fifth was brought to his own home town, Low Hampton, New York, convening from November 2 to 5, 1841. It will be recalled that it was from Low Hampton—where he had been a member in the Baptist church since 1816—that Miller set out for Dresden to give his first sermon on the prophecies in August, 1831, just ten years before. It was likewise from the Low Hampton Baptist Church that

¹⁴ *New York Tribune*, Oct. 12, 1841, p. 2.

¹⁵ *Signs of the Times*, Dec. 1, 1841, pp. 129-133.

Miller received his first license to preach in 1833. And now the fifth General Conference of the growing Millerite movement was being held in that same Baptist church, with William Miller as chairman, and with many of his converts as delegates. The attendants were not only from the towns of New York and Vermont, but from more distant points, including Canada.

Great strides had been made in those few years. Strong men had joined the movement, and had dedicated their lives to the proclamation of the imminent advent. And ministers of various denominations who had not yet declared themselves, were present to listen and observe. The spirit of inquiry was spreading. And Miller was greatly moved by the scene. The first two resolutions to be passed read:

"1. *Resolved*, That we utterly discard the doctrine of a Millennium previous to the advent of Christ in the clouds of heaven. . . .

"2. *Resolved*, That, in our opinion, the time has fully come for announcing the midnight cry—'Behold the bridegroom cometh,' and that all who would have part in the first resurrection, should, without a moment's delay, arise, and trim their lamps, to be ready to meet the bridegroom."¹⁶

It was here also that it was voted to hold four more General Conferences—one in New Hampshire, one in Massachusetts, one in New York State, and one in Vermont. Josiah Litch and William Miller were the leading speakers in Low Hampton, and a general "Circular," or declaration and admonition, was authorized, expressing the conviction of the conference.

Another one of the resolutions passed expressed confidence in Miller, Himes, Litch, Jones, and Ward, and those "according with them" in heralding the advent. And it bespoke for them the "confidence, prayers, and cooperation" of all believing in the advent near.¹⁷ Most of these ministerial leaders were "more confirmed" than ever as to the "time" feature of "1843" for the advent. There were some, however, who still were not

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

clear. As mentioned, Ward, chairman of the first conference, was one of these, who frequently voiced his hesitancy over this specific time feature of the advent message. His differing viewpoint is well expressed in a letter from him printed in the *Signs* near the close of 1841.

"This is the length and breadth of our opinion relative to fixed times. It is not forwarded to you, Messrs. Editors, in a controversial spirit, but with the desire, humble and honest, to be held personally responsible, only for that I personally hold; and to be instructed in any matter on which I may seem to differ without reason. It is one of the blessed fruits of the doctrine of our Lord's near coming, that men can walk together, who differ on other points, while they accord in '*that blessed hope*.' I wish to encourage your circulation, and to multiply the number of your readers, and I ask the insertion of this, not for debate, but for the liberty of opinion to hold with our Lord. 'It is not for you to *know* the times, *or the seasons*, which the Father has put in his own power,' while I am with you expectant of his coming and kingdom."¹⁸

It was, of course, promptly printed. And Henry Jones, secretary of the same first conference, likewise disagreed over this specific time feature, as did some others of prominence, such as Prof. Nathan N. Whiting, who soon joined the advent cause. Nevertheless, they had an accepted and vital part in the movement, without teaching the precise "year 1843." It is worth repeating that the movement stood for something vastly more than just the "time" feature. It stood for the literal, personal, premillennial advent of the Saviour as nigh at hand—in contradistinction to the popular world-betterment program. That is essential to remember.

Numerous smaller conferences developed. They were more local in character, but serving as an effective evangelizing agency for the movement. A single lecturer would advertise a conference in the *Signs*, at a chosen time and place, holding Bible studies and social meetings in the morning, and lecturing in the afternoon and again at night. This was their solid building program. The attendants became firm believers in the "advent nigh."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

V. Four Smaller Conferences in Four States

The next four General Conferences, numbered 7 to 10, were held in Dover, New Hampshire (December 14-16, 1841), Pomfret, Connecticut (January 18-20, 1842), Sandy Hill, New York, near Albany (February 1-4), and Colchester, Vermont (February 8-10). These were smaller gatherings, and all four were held in churches, largely Baptist, though one was Presbyterian. Miller, Himes, Litch, and Robinson were the chief speakers. The attendance at Dover (the seventh) was heavy, and the prophecies were diligently studied. The Little Horn was held to be the Papacy, its special 1260-year period having ended in 1798. All were called upon to give the Midnight Cry.¹⁹ Belief that the second coming of our Lord was near, without specifying the year, was deemed sufficient. Miller was the chairman.

At the Pomfret (eighth) Conference, under the chairmanship of William Thayer, Himes and Litch were the principal speakers. The fallacy of the temporal millennium was studied, and the various prophecies—especially the 2300 years. It was considered a decided success.²⁰

The Sandy Hill (ninth) Conference, held in the Presbyterian church and the courthouse, likewise registered a large attendance, resulting in part from the previous Low Hampton Conference. And numerous calls for other conferences were registered. The impression was deep rooted that the widespread giving of the Midnight Cry is in itself a sure precursor of the coming Bridegroom. In the courthouse many declared themselves to be converts, including a prominent lawyer, H. B. Northrop. He had come to hear the evidence, expecting to be able to overthrow it with ease, but instead had been persuaded of its truth.²¹ After this, local conferences for the public were held with increasing frequency, not only all over New England and the Middle States, but in the adjacent Canadian

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1842, pp. 153-156.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1842, p. 174; I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

²¹ *Signs of the Times*, Feb. 15, 1842, pp. 172, 173; I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

provinces as well. These also registered a gratifyingly large attendance.

The Colchester (tenth) session, under the chairmanship of Deacon T. Galusha, was similarly "well attended." Numerous ministers were present to consider the evidence. The significance of the Midnight Cry, ringing out over the land, was again stressed. Strong emphasis was also placed on the 2300 years, as reaching to 1843-1844. This was stressed in a letter to the conference by James Sabine, rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Bethel, Vermont. The editor of the *Signs* remarked at this point, "Second Advent Conferences have within the last year become numerous and important."²² Actually, there was a grand total of 132 in two years. Thus we are brought to the important New York Conference, and its preparatory meetings.

VI. Momentum Slower in New York City

Progress in New York City had been unusually slow. But in the spring of 1842 Himes and Miller hired the large and expensive Apollo Hall, on Broadway, for a series of lectures. But there were so many major attractions in the metropolis that Miller's name and preaching did not draw the multitudes as in smaller places. Advance was difficult, and adverse press reports created deep prejudice. There seemed to be few friends of the advent cause. Litch says of the prevailing sentiment:

"An impression had gone abroad in reference to the Adventists, that they were monsters, or almost anything but civilized beings. So strong was this impression, and so general, that a number of days had passed and scarcely a lady dared to make her appearance in the meetings."²³

It was a depressing moment. But those who came told others of the impressive meetings, and the prejudice finally melted away. The audience grew until the hall was filled with attentive hearers. The New York *Luminary* and the *Journal*

²² *Signs of the Times*, March 15, 1842, p. 189.

²³ Litch, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 67.

of *Commerce* gave fair reports,²⁴ and a permanent interest was established, auguring well for the future.

Twenty-one lectures by Miller preceded the three-day General Conference session, May 10-12, which was organized with Dr. A. Doolittle as chairman, and Henry Jones and Joshua Himes as secretaries. The addresses were by Miller, Litch, Aitkins, Jones, and Kenney. They stressed the supremacy of Scripture, the current "running to and fro" in study of the prophecies, no literal restoration of the Jews, Antichrist to be destroyed at the advent, and the need of discerning the signs of the times. The conviction was expressed that the "whole truth" had been declared. And an elaborate statement of the "sentiments" passed appeared in the *Signs*. They also voted for an association to be formed, which was done on May 18,²⁵ with Dr. A. Doolittle as chairman, the members paying a monthly sum to defray expenses. And they opened a depository for Adventist publications.

That autumn Himes and Miller returned to New York City, preaching in the church where George Storrs ministered, at Catharine and Madison. The interest increased steadily. And this was followed by another series of lectures on the approaching advent by Apollos Hale, held in Enoch Jacobs' Methodist Protestant Church on Anthony Street. As a result the number of adherents in New York City was materially increased. Just at this point Himes determined to launch an Adventist paper—a daily—for at least a few weeks, to give to the public the principal views of the Millerites in cheap and popular form. So in November, 1842, the aforementioned *Midnight Cry* was started under the editorial supervision of Nathaniel Southard. It was a unique and highly successful venture. Twenty-four numbers, of ten thousand copies each, were circulated. Then it was changed over into a weekly, increasing steadily in circulation. It continued until after the autumnal Disappointment in 1844, when its name was changed to *The Morning Watch*.

²⁴ Letter of Himes to Litch (April 22, 25, 1842); *Signs of the Times*, May 11, 1842, p. 41.

²⁵ *Signs of the Times*, May 25, 1842, p. 62; I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

VII. Advent Cause Established in Philadelphia

In addition to Boston and New York, there were other important centers of the Millerite cause. One of the most important was Philadelphia. Josiah Litch first visited the city early in 1842, returning in November with Apollos Hale for public meetings. The churches generally were closed against them, but friends secured a hall and meetings began in December. These were hotly opposed. However, Litch obtained a definite foothold. He had a committee of thirty from the various churches who arranged the meeting place and promoted the advent cause. It was a battle, as week after week the churches rang with denunciations against him. But the opposition seemed only to arouse interest and to cause large numbers to examine the message presented.²⁶

Miller and Himes determined on a great campaign in the city of Brotherly Love. Himes spearheaded the way and gave several lectures.²⁷ Then Litch hired the great Chinese Museum Auditorium, seating six thousand,²⁸ for thirteen nights.²⁹ (Illustration appears on p. 556.) Miller began his lectures, February 3, which were held twice a day for a week. The interest reached its peak on February 9, when there was a near panic as someone fainted in the overcrowded building. The hall was jammed and a crowd outside was seeking admittance. When the doors were opened to carry out the woman who had fainted, there was a rush by the crowd outside to effect an entrance. Then a boy shouted "Fire," and the great mass of humanity was instantly thrown into commotion. When order was at last restored it was thought best to dismiss the meeting for the night. A man tried to interrupt the meeting the next day, but was forced to leave by the determined crowd. Fearing more

²⁶ Litch, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 71; *Signs of the Times*, Nov. 15, 1843, p. 110; Jan. 4, 1843, pp. 124, 125.

²⁷ *Signs of the Times*, Feb. 22, 1843, p. 177.

²⁸ The Philadelphia Museum at 9th and George Streets—popularly known as the Chinese Museum, for a Chinese exhibit occupied a portion of one of the floors—had a large auditorium 70 by 238 feet, accommodating some six thousand. It was frequently the scene of important conventions and other secular and religious gatherings.

²⁹ G. C. B. in *Second Advent of Christ*, Feb. 22, 1843.

trouble, the proprietors of the building again closed it for the day.³⁰

On February 10 Miller gave his farewell address to a packed house. It was a touching and solemn occasion. In bidding the crowd adieu he said they would doubtless see his face no more in this life, but he expected in a short time to meet the faithful in the coming kingdom. When he asked how many believed the Saviour's coming to be near, a large number arose, and many were in tears.³¹ According to Litch this campaign rocked Philadelphia from center to circumference.³² Perhaps at no other time in Miller's career was his power more apparent as a speaker. He held the great crowd for an hour and a half, and two thirds then stayed for an after prayer meeting. Litch says:

"Saints rejoiced, the wicked trembled, backsliders quaked, and the word of the Lord ran and was glorified. It is doubtful whether Mr. Miller ever gave a course of lectures with greater effect than at that time."³³

At this time the *Philadelphia Alarm*, a penny paper, was published by Litch. It continued for thirteen weeks, with four thousand copies an issue. A book room was opened, and soon the advent cause was firmly established. The huge Chinese Museum, secured for Miller's meetings, thereafter became the regular meeting place. On May 19, the editor of one of the Philadelphia papers gave this description of his visit to the Museum:

"Upon leaving the lecture room, we entered the mighty assembly of the Millerites—for mighty it was; the large room which once contained the Chinese Museum being literally filled with a dense mass of males and females, old and young, who seemed to hang with a breathless and somewhat excited interest upon 'the very loud outpourings' of the enthusiastic speaker."³⁴

Returning in March, Litch merged his *Philadelphia Alarm* into the *Trumpet of Alarm*, designed for circulation in the

³⁰ *Signs of the Times*, March 1, 1843, p. 189; *The Pennsylvanian*, Feb. 10, 1843.

³¹ G. C. B. in *Second Advent of Christ*, Feb. 22, 1843.

³² *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Feb. 8, 1843.

³³ Litch, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 71.

³⁴ *Signs of the Times*, May 31, 1843, p. 101.

West and South. Between 25,000 and 30,000 copies were distributed. The Philadelphia General Conference then followed upon the heels of the Litch meetings, and continued for two weeks (from May 14 to 28),³⁵ with a large attendance. The daily press called it a "mighty assembly," and the *Midnight Cry* referred to the "vast multitude."³⁶ Himes, Brown, Litch, Storrs, Hervey, Cook, and others were the speakers. Prayer and experience meetings were a characteristic feature. A mission to Virginia was sponsored by Brown and Barry. There was also the formation of the "Philadelphia Second Advent Association," for related missionary purposes.

VIII. Boston Conference Launches Charts and Camp Meetings

While the special meetings in New York City in Apollo Hall were progressing gratifyingly, the leaders around Boston arranged to hold a general rally of Adventist believers in Boston during what was called Anniversary Week. Most of the benevolent societies of New England—Bible, Peace, Educational, Missionary, Pastoral, Tract, Sabbath School, and Foreign Missions—were convening in Boston during the last week of May. So the Millerites announced, "We shall hold ours in common with them, during the entire week."³⁷ The commodious Melodeon Auditorium was accordingly secured, beginning May 24. The meetings opened auspiciously, with a large attendance. This proved to be the most important conference of the series in far-reaching plans and results. The points of faith were defined more sharply than heretofore. Joseph Bates was chairman and J. V. Himes secretary. On the committees were William Miller, Charles Fitch, Josiah Litch, Apollos Hale, T. M. Preble, and various other Adventist ministers and lecturers. And among the anniversary meetings of the week none received a greater share of attention and interest than the Adventist Anniversary Conference.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, June 7, 1843, p. 105; June 14, p. 114.

³⁶ *Midnight Cry*, May 25, 1843, p. 73.

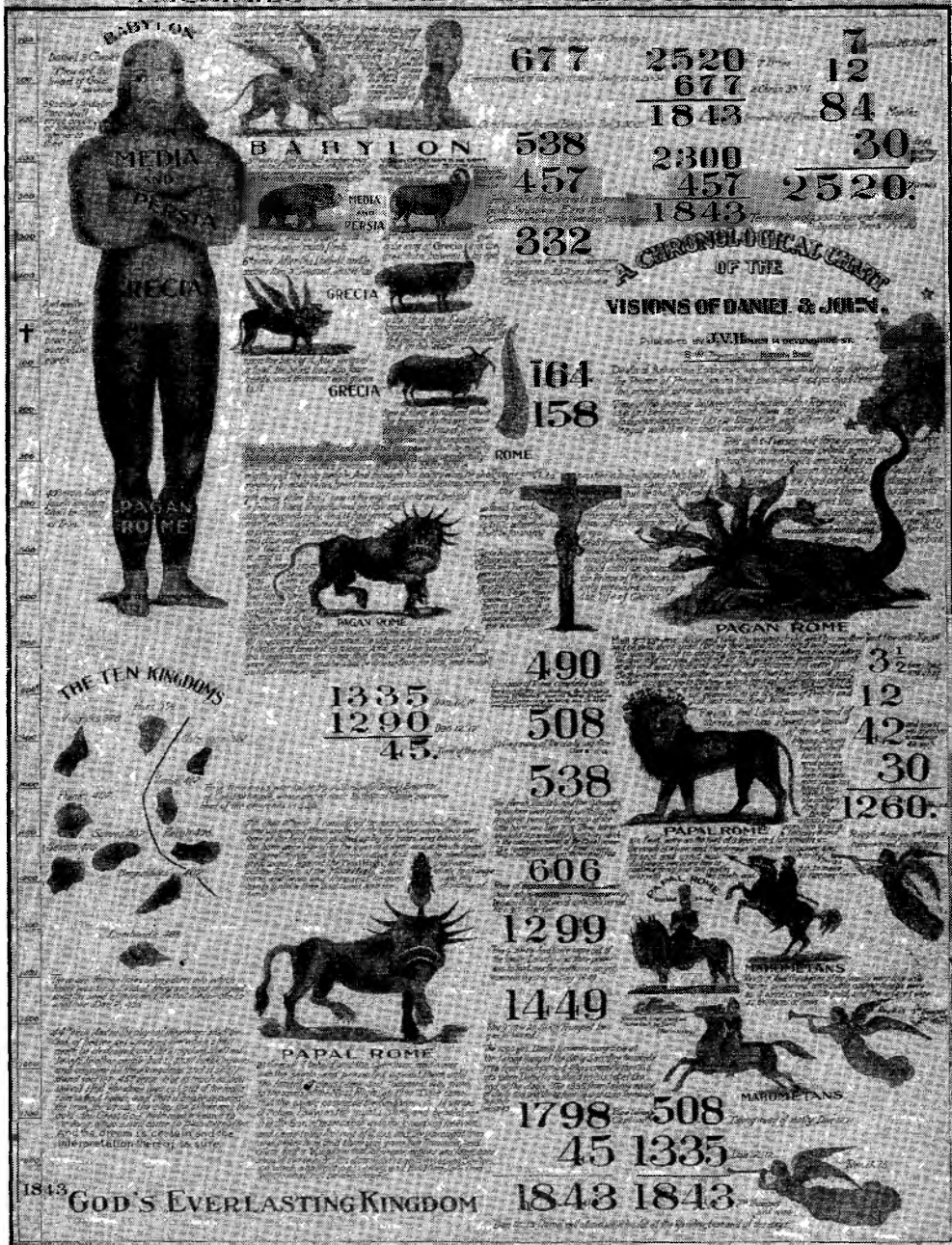
³⁷ *Signs of the Times*, May 25, 1842, p. 60.

This succession of General Conferences, held in different cities, coordinated the thinking and planning of the leadership. They had started out as an interchurch movement, but this was now slowly changing. These conferences constituted the main stream in the onward flow of the movement. They presented to the public a series of considered declarations of belief, and were the most representative reflection of the movement. The Low Hampton (fifth) Conference had stressed the point that the time had come for the "Midnight Cry" to be given concerning the Bridegroom's imminent appearance. And as that was the first General Conference Miller had been able to attend in person, it was apparent that the movement was marching steadily onward, with Miller or without Miller. The Sandy Hill (ninth) Conference had urged the utilization of every opening offered in the churches to herald the approaching advent.

At the very opening of the twelfth General Conference, back again at Boston—where the first conference had convened eighteen months prior—Charles Fitch and Apollos Hale presented their prophetic chart, soon to become famous as the "1843 Chart." It was painted on cloth, and was designed to simplify and unify the public presentations of the Adventist speakers. The conference voted to lithograph three hundred copies, of large size, this quickly becoming the standard chart. It was thenceforth uniformly used by the Millerite preachers and lecturers, superseding the various personal charts of prior days. It is described in a subsequent section, on page 733. (See facsimile on p. 616.) Joseph Bates, chairman of the conference, tells of it:

"At the opening of this meeting Br. Chs. Fitch and A. Hale of Haverhill, presented us the Visions of Daniel and John which they had painted on cloth, with the prophetic numbers and ending of the vision, which they called a chart. Br. F., in explaining the subject said in substance as follows: he had been turning it over in his mind, and felt that if something of this kind could be done, it would simplify the subject, and make it much easier for him to present it to the people. Here new light seemed to spring up. These brethren had fulfilled a prophecy given by Hab.[akkuk] 2468 years before, where it says, 'And the Lord answered

FACSIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL 1843 CHART



FAMOUS "1843" CHART USED BY ALL MILLERITE HERALDS

This Composite Chart on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, Designed by Charles Fitch and Apollos Hale, Was Adopted and Lithographed by Millerite General Conference Action, and Superseded All Previous Charts. Its Use Became an Identifying Mark in Public Representations of the Movement, Until the Seventh-Month Phase, Which Was Based on "1844," not on "1843"

me and said, *write the vision and make it plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it.*' This thing now became so plain to all, that it was unanimously voted to have three hundred of these charts lithographed forthwith, that those who felt the message may read and run with it."³⁸

This conference also took "higher ground," as they termed it, on the question of the advent, because of the "stupidity" of the church and the shortness of time. There was widespread conviction among the delegates that the times require that the Midnight Cry be given in "unequivocal terms," not only the manner, but also the time, of Christ's second advent—about the year "1843." The committee recommended that the conference "distinctly avow this sentiment to the world," and "urge it with double diligence upon all men." Accordingly, a poll was taken of all who rejected the doctrine of a temporal millennium, and of a restoration of the Jews to Palestine, either before or after the second advent of Christ, and declared the first resurrection to be the next great event of prophetic history. The conference then passed a series of thirteen resolutions, which reveal the precise views of the leadership at this time. Because of their importance they are given in full:

"Therefore resolved, that in the opinion of this Conference, there are most serious and important reasons for believing that God has revealed the time of the end of the world and that that time is 1843;

"Resolved, That the time has fully come for those, who believe in the Second Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ in 1843, to show their faith by their works.

"Resolved, That we cannot discharge our duty to God and the souls of our fellow men, without doing our utmost to lay before the world as extensively as possible the truth of God on this subject as we find it in the Holy Scriptures.

"Resolved, That we are all called upon, loudly, and for the last time, to bring to this work the best employment of all the means we have at command.

"Resolved, That we are all bound to make this year such an one as we would wish should close our probation, and carry us to the judgment seat of Christ.

"Resolved, That we should keep it distinctly in mind, that we are

³⁸ Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*, pp. 10, 11.

this year to do our last praying, and make our last efforts, and shed our last tears for a perishing world.

"Resolved, That, as all those portions of prophecy which carry us down to the end of the world, exhibit to us the existence of widely extended political and ecclesiastical powers of iniquity, until the coming of Christ, by whom they are to be destroyed; and as it is impossible, in the nature of things, for the gospel to prevail universally, and the world to be converted during the existence of this state of things; therefore the theory of a 1000 years spiritual reign before the coming of Christ is without foundation in the word of God.

"Resolved, That we regard the notion of a Millennium previous to the coming of Christ, when all the world shall be converted, and sinners in great multitudes saved, as a fearful delusion, a cry of peace and safety, when sudden destruction is at the door, that will doubtless prove eternally fatal to thousands of souls—and that the nearer such a millennium is represented, the more dangerous is its tendency, because the more likely to encourage present impenitence, with the hope of future conversion to God.

"Resolved, That no portion of the New Testament scriptures give the most indirect intimation of the literal restoration of the Jews to old Jerusalem; we believe that the arguments drawn from the Old Testament prophecies are based on a mistaken view of those prophecies; and that they have been fulfilled in what the gospel has already done, or remain to be fulfilled in the gathering all the spiritual seed of Abraham into the New Jerusalem.

"Resolved, That we regard the notion of the return of the carnal Jews to Palestine either before or after the Second Advent, as a snare by which many will be lost forever.

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

*"Resolved, That as our time for giving the *Midnight Cry* is short, it becomes us to avail ourselves of all wise and prudent means for the advancement of our work; and that as Campmeetings afford some facilities which we cannot otherwise avail ourselves of, we recommend to this Conference the adoption of these meetings, for the furtherance of our enterprize."³⁰*

It was thought best to hold several other General Conferences in New England, if time continued during the winter months. But most important of all, during the week the proposal was pressed of trying out some camp meetings during the ensuing summer. These had been popularized by the Metho-

³⁰ *Signs of the Times*, June 1, 1842, p. 69.

dists, and many who held the second advent beliefs were, or had been, Methodists. Some, however, demurred. How could a comparative handful of Adventists undertake such a large enterprise. Others said, "Try!" So they agreed to make the attempt.⁴⁰ A camp meeting committee—Ezekiel Hale, Henry Plummer, and Timothy Cole—was set up to carry the plan into effect, and a most vigorous effort outlined for the "spread of this great light." This will be noted soon.

IX. Last of General Conferences Held in Boston

The last of the General Conferences to be held was again in Boston, during the Anniversary Week of May 1, 1843. Most of the sessions were held in the Millerite Tabernacle, seating nearly four thousand, with certain smaller meetings in Himes's old Chardon Street Chapel. Apollos Hale was chairman, with Nathaniel Southard as secretary. It had an imposing list of speakers—Whiting, Fitch, Litch, Hawley, Hale, Barry, Himes, Brown, and Skinner. Meetings were held morning, afternoon, and evening.

At the night meetings objections were answered, and the history of the advent cause rehearsed—such as the fact that prior to 1798 there was no emphasis on "1843," but since then a host of expositors in different lands have arisen simultaneously acclaiming it. The loss of the evangelical faith in the churches is noted, with the denial of evangelical beliefs, and marked inroads of Rationalism, Socinianism, Transcendentalism, and Neology that were all too evident. The Historical School of prophetic interpretation was now being challenged by newly arisen adherents of Futurism and Preterism.⁴¹ The identification of the Man of Sin as the Papacy was reaffirmed, and cognizance taken of Protestant daughters of the Man of Sin and Mother of Harlots.⁴²

⁴⁰ Litch, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 68.

⁴¹ On Futurism and Preterism, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vols. II and III.

⁴² *Signs of the Times*, June 7, 1843, pp. 105-109.

An important "Declaration of Principles" for the public, prepared by a committee of five, was passed by the assembled conference. It is the fullest and clearest statement yet made of Millerite positions. Epitomized, it sets forth the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice; the personal, second, premillennial advent of Christ; the prophecies as almost all fulfilled; the literal resurrection of the righteous dead at the second advent, and the change of the righteous living at that time; the destruction of the wicked and the earth, the eternal abode of the righteous, or eternal kingdom, the kingdom forever; repentance and faith essential; and the restitution of all things.

The theory of a temporal millennium along with the restoration of the Jews is again declared false. The signs of the times are asserted as all pointing to "1843." But again it is stated that this point of time is not pre-eminent. The Judge is nigh and will not tarry. No confidence is to be placed in private revelations, and all fanaticism and immorality are repudiated. The sole object of the movement is to spread a knowledge of the times, for here all Adventists meet on common ground. Missions to Nova Scotia and England are planned, as well as aid to the colored folk. Matters are now moving at high tempo.

So the General Conference idea began and closed in Boston, and started in Himes's Chardon Street Chapel and ended, in part, in that historic spot.

Unrivaled Battery of Millerite Periodicals

I. Remarkable Range of Periodicals and Editors

Periodical literature played a tremendous part in the Millerite movement. From first to last the power of the press, in this particular form, was one of the foremost factors in the success of this now vigorous, expanding movement. Apart from books, pamphlets, and tracts, the establishment of this amazing battery of periodicals for the propagation of their faith comprises one of the most outstanding achievements in religious journalism in proportion to size.

1. THEIR NUMBER, SCOPE, SIZE, AND FREQUENCY.—The mere number and scope of these Millerite periodicals published between 1840 and 1844, and their geographical distribution and total circulation, is truly astonishing, as can best be visualized from the diagrammatic accompanying chart, on pages 624, 625. This graphic display is worthy of careful scrutiny and provides a view of the Millerite movement not obtained in any other way. As to frequency of publication, these journals included weeklies, biweeklies, monthlies, a quarterly, and—most amazing of all—as already noted, even a daily paper for a time. They went so far as to have a special paper for women, edited by two women preachers.

These periodicals ranged in size from 4-page tabloids up to a scholarly 148-page quarterly. And their places of issuance

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

BOSTON, MARCH 22, 1944

目錄

THE MIDNIGHT CRY.

NEW-YORK, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1842

NUMBER 2

Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, that he may read that which is written. For the vision is not as appointed though a carry word for it, because it will surely come, it will not tarry. Page 1042

ST. JOHN'S A. C. HUNTER

OFFICE NO. 12 PART 1001

THE TRUMPET OF ALARM

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

10

How do the students in your class react to the text material? List all the individuals of the class (include) for the day of the lesson, and if it is high school

BY S. LONG

NOV 40 2111 RECADE

EXAM AND CORRELATION

THE VOICE OF TRUTH

USSSFSR

11-20-72 11:20 AM 11:20 AM 11:20 AM

Garrett Stearns, Editor and Publisher

The Voice of Elijah.

I will send you 1000 francs - for the living of the poor and useful day of 10 July. - Mar. 14/5

1994, p. 132, fn. 20.

FEB 25 1961

HEAVY-METAL CONTAMINATION

1992, 1993, 1994
 1995, 1996, 1997

The group of men and mobility will be...
...the main of the ... and ...
...to the ... and the ...

ADVENT MESSAGE

DAUGHTERS OF ZION

100

BRUNNEN

INTRODUCTION

[illegible]

COMPOSITE VIEW OF LEADING MILLERITE JOURNALS

The *Signs of the Times*, the Parent Journal, Started by Himes in Boston; the New York *Midnight Cry*, at First a Daily; the *Trumpet of Alarm*, Published by Litch in Philadelphia; the *Voice of Truth*, Issued by Joseph Marsh at Albany, New York; the *Voice of Elijah*, Canadian Journal With Inset of Editor, Dr. Richard Hutchinson; and the *Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion*, a Paper for Women Edited by Women. From Maine to the Mississippi, and From Quebec to Washington, D.C., the Land Was Blanketed by Millerite Journals

were spread all the way from Montreal and Nova Scotia in the north, down to Washington, D.C., and Baltimore on the southern border; and they were scattered from Maine, Massachusetts, and New York in the east, out to Cleveland and Cincinnati in the west. The parent *Signs of the Times* of Boston—continuing as the *Advent Herald*—was edited by J. V. Himes, Sylvester Bliss, and Apollos Hale. The daily paper, *Midnight Cry* of New York City, was edited by Nathaniel Southard. The *Western Midnight Cry* in Cincinnati was directed by Enoch Jacobs, and a *Southern Midnight Cry* at Washington, D.C., and then at Baltimore, Maryland, was under the care of J. V. Himes.

The paper for women—*The Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion*—was edited by Mrs. Clorinda S. Minor, of Philadelphia, and Miss Emily C. Clemens, of Rochester.¹ And the scholarly quarterly, *Advent Shield*, also published in Boston, bore the now familiar names of Himes, Bliss, and Hale on its editorial card. There were some five papers in Canada, one of which was quite prominent. And two overseas Millerite periodicals—the *Second Advent Harbinger* of Bristol, England, with Robert Winter and Frederick Gunner as editors, and the British *Midnight Cry* of Liverpool, edited by Charles Dealtry—rounded out the list.

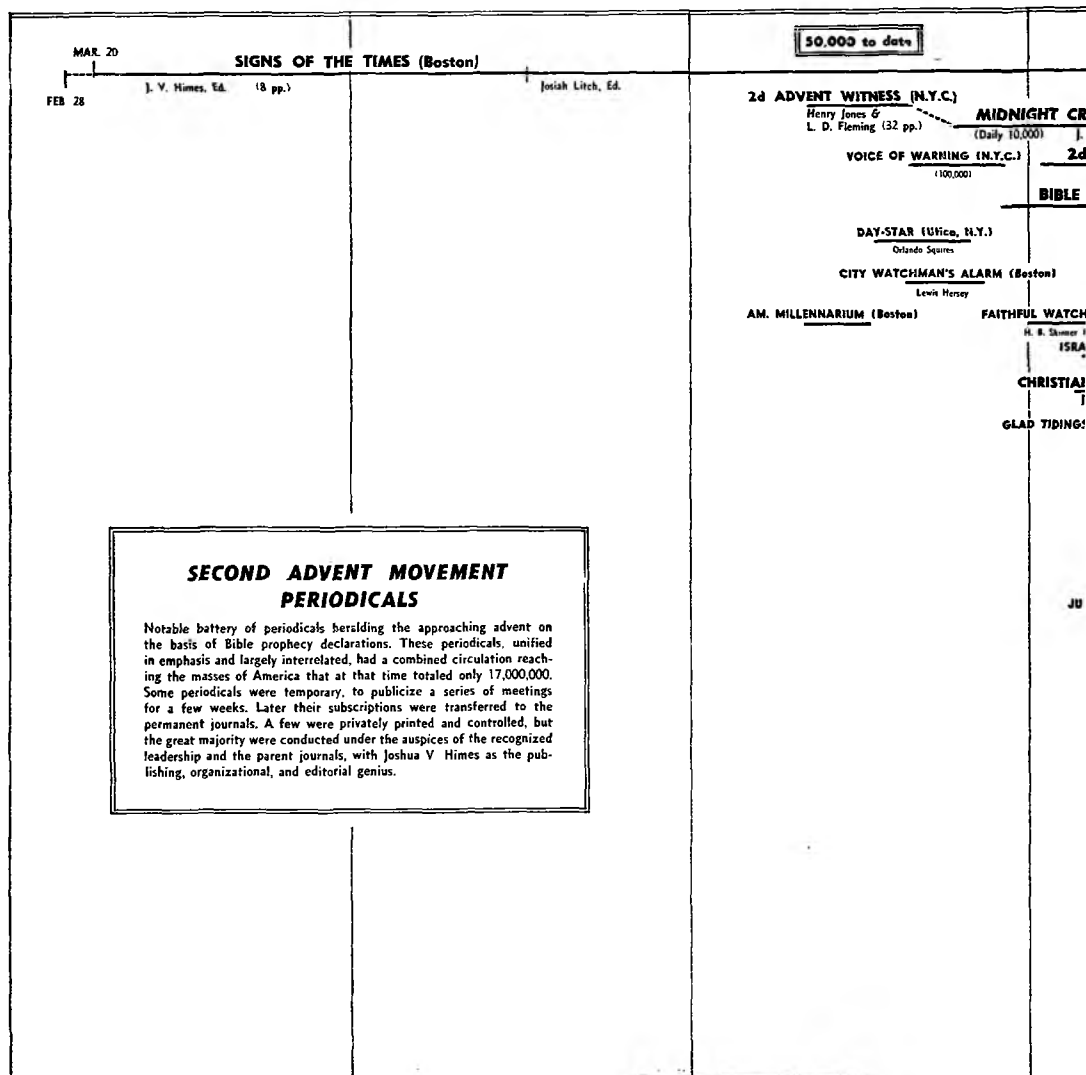
2. SECOND ADVENT EMPHASIS APPEARS IN NAMES.—The dominant advent emphasis of the movement, and the approaching world climax, was portrayed in practically all the periodical names chosen. The very titles themselves gave the distinct impression of bearing a vital message, and created a sense of urgency. Note some of the characteristic names employed. In addition to the *Signs of the Times*, and *Advent Herald*, and the *Midnight Cry*, which were the leading journals of the movement, the following names were used, as listed on page 626.

¹ Miss Clemens, Presbyterian, and teacher in the Rochester Collegiate Institute, had had charge of the "Female Department."

1840

1841

1842



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE

Here Are Portrayed Their Geographical Location and Spread, Their Frequency of Issue, and Their Inter-relationships, Their Length of Continuance, and Number of Pages, Their Respective Editors, and Their Individual and Collective Circulation to a Given Date, Their Mergings and

1843

1844

1845

October 22

<p>(5,000 weekly) Sylvester Bliss 600,000 to date</p>	<p>ADVENT HERALD & SIGNS OF THE TIMES REPORTER Himes, Bliss, Hale</p>	
<p>DNIGHT CRY (N.Y.C.) (275,000) J. V. Himes, Nathaniel Southard ily 10,000</p>	<p>(10,000 weekly) MORNING WATCH N. N. Whiting</p>	<p>VOICE OF THE 4th ANGEL (Cleveland) Cook & Pickands</p>
<p>2d ADVENT OF CHRIST (Cleveland, Ohio) Charles Fitch (4 pp.) Weekly BIBLE EXAMINER (N.Y.C. & Albany, N.Y.) Geo. Storrs</p>	<p>May, 1844 5,000,000 periodicals to date</p>	
<p>HERALD OF TRUTH (Nova Scotia) Martin 116 pp. (10,000)</p>	<p>VOICE OF WARNING (Utica, N.Y.) Orlando Soures</p>	
<p>PHILADELPHIA ALARM Josiah Litch (penny paper)</p>	<p>TRUMPET OF ALARM (Phila.) (30,000) Josiah Litch</p>	
<p>WATCHMAN'S WARNING (Sherbrooke, Can.) H. B. Skinner (C. Green; B. Hutchinson) ISRAELITE (Jeffersonville, Ind.) Field</p>	<p>SURE WORD OF PROPHECY (Albany, N.Y.) M. H. Gros</p>	<p>TRUE MIDNIGHT CRY (Widely Reprinted) S. S. Snow JUBILEE STANDARD</p>
<p>CHRISTIAN PALLADIUM (Union Mills, N.Y.) Joseph Marsh</p>	<p>VOICE OF TRUTH AND GLAD TIDINGS OF THE KINGDOM AT HAND (Rochester, N.Y.) Joseph Marsh</p>	<p>LAST CRY (Exeter, N.Y.) A. R. Brown</p>
<p>GLAD TIDINGS OF THE KINGDOM AT HAND (Rochester, N.Y.) L. D. Fleming</p>	<p>VOICE OF ELIJAH (Montreal, Can.) (Semimonthly) (12,000 Copies) Richard Hutchinson (1,500 Regularly of British)</p>	<p>DAY-DAWN (Canandaigua) O. R. L. Crosier</p>
<p>GREAT CRISIS (Boston) WATCHMAN'S WARNING (N.Y.) COMING OF CHRIST (N.Y.C.) (10,000) Enoch Jacobs</p>	<p>BABYLON THE GREAT IS FALLEN (Oswego) Merrill HOPE OF THE CHURCH (St. Thomas, C.W.) A. A. Swain WORLD'S CRISIS (Kingsville, Ohio) G. W. Eastman</p>	
<p>JUBILEE TRUMPET (Cin., O.) L. Caldwell, Pratt</p>	<p>WESTERN MIDNIGHT CRY (Cincinnati, O.) Weekly Himes & Storrs, Enoch Jacobs (8 pp., 7,000 copies) TRUMP OF JUBILEE (Seneca Falls, N.Y.) Pomeroy (10,000)</p>	<p>DAY-STAR (Cincinnati, O.) Enoch Jacobs BRIDEGROOM'S HERALD (Toronto, Can.)</p>
<p>ADVENT CHURCH & TENT REPORTER (Buffalo)</p>	<p>SO. MIDNIGHT CRY (Wash., D.C.-Ballo.) J. V. Himes, J. Litch WATCHMAN'S LAST WARNING</p>	<p>HOPE WITHIN THE VAIL (Portland) Miss E. C. Clemens TRUE DAY-STAR (N.Y.C.) A. Baker, J. Storwood</p>
<p>1,000,000 2d Advent Papers to Date</p>	<p>ANTI-ANNIHILATIONIST (Phila.) J. Litch ADVENT SHIELD (Boston) Himes, Bliss & Hale (Quarterly)</p>	<p>ADVENT MIRROR (Boston) A. Hale, S. Turner</p>
<p>SIGNAL (Joliet, Ill.)</p>	<p>ADVENT MESSAGE TO DAUGHTERS OF ZION (Boston) (144 pp.) Mrs. C. S. Minor & E. C. Clemens</p>	<p>GOSPEL STANDARD (Cabotville, Mass.) S. Hawley, Jr., David Plumb</p>
<p></p>	<p>HOPE OF ISRAEL (Topham, Me., Portland) Jos. Turner & J. Pearson, Jr. HERALD OF THE BRIDGROOM (Boston) J. V. Himes</p>	
<p></p>	<p>SECOND ADVENT HARBINGER (Bristol, Eng.) Robert Winter & F. Gunter MIDNIGHT CRY (Liverpool) C. Dealing</p>	
		<p>October 22</p>

MILLERITE PERIODICALS

Later Names, When There Was a Change, and the Dominant and Progressive Emphasis of Their Various Journals as Indicated by Their Names. (There Is a Slight Overlapping Where the Two Pages Join to Facilitate Complete Reading of Each Separate Periodical)

<i>Second Advent Witness</i>	<i>Coming of Christ</i>
<i>The Voice of Warning</i>	<i>Trump of Jubilee</i>
<i>The Second Advent of Christ</i>	<i>The Bridegroom's Herald</i>
<i>City Watchman's Alarm</i>	<i>Second Advent Harbinger</i>
<i>Faithful Watchman</i>	<i>Behold, He Cometh</i>
<i>The Trumpet of Alarm</i>	<i>End of the World</i>
<i>Glad Tidings of the Kingdom at Hand</i>	<i>True Midnight Cry</i>
<i>The Last Cry</i>	<i>The Advent Shield</i>
<i>The Voice of Elijah</i>	<i>Watchman's Last Warning</i>
<i>The Great Crisis</i>	<i>The Morning Watch</i>
<i>Watchman's Warning</i>	<i>The Day-Dawn</i>
<i>The Hope of the Church</i>	<i>Sure Word of Prophecy</i>
<i>World's Crisis</i>	<i>The Voice of Truth</i>
<i>Bible Examiner</i>	<i>The Day-Star</i>

All of these—with various others more or less closely tied in with the movement—were issued within the short space of four years, between 1840 and 1844. The cumulative effect of this dominant advent note sounding over the land through this medium can well be imagined. A mighty stir resulted throughout America.

These papers were often brought into existence on this wise: A Millerite leader would publish a paper in connection with a major series of meetings in some important city, frequently for a period of thirteen weeks. If results warranted, the paper was continued as a more or less permanent medium. If not, the unexpired subscriptions were transferred at the close of the meetings to one of the larger permanent journals. And while these various papers reprinted leading articles from one another, each had its own local contributors as well.

Each journal consequently maintained its own characteristic style and personality. There were reports both on the general progress of the movement and on local developments. There were expositions and exhortations, defensive articles and reviews of opposing works, correspondence and discussion. There were notices of camp meetings and conferences, poems on the second advent and the last times, and new second advent hymns as well, often with notes. There were declarations of belief, group statements, charts and prophetic symbols, dis-

cussions, and strong editorials. They were aggressive and progressive, and compared favorably with any of the religious journals of the day.

3. UNUSUAL ROSTER OF CAPABLE EDITORS.—The editors of these journals form a most interesting group, meriting notice. Some, before joining the ranks of Adventism, had previously edited other journals. Looking them over in the light of the biographical data appearing in their sketches, we find they form a stalwart and capable lot. They represent talent, learning, initiative, and consecration. There were some thirty leading editors active in the Millerite movement proper, up to 1844—an unusual number for a movement of its size. And they comprised a diversified group as concerns religious backgrounds and experience, showing former Congregational, Methodist, Wesleyan, Christian, Baptist, and Presbyterian affiliations. Nevertheless, they were remarkably united in conviction and objectives.

And while their papers were more or less autonomous, they were linked together in a common cause under the dynamic leadership of Joshua V. Himes, who started the parent paper—the *Signs of the Times*—at Boston in 1840, and personally launched a half dozen of the others. He arranged for editorial replacements when occasion necessitated, and constituted the general overseer of the literature program. Here are the leading names on the editorial roster:

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. J. V. Himes | 14. Lewis Hersey |
| 2. Sylvester Bliss | 15. Silas Hawley |
| 3. Nathaniel Southard | 16. Enoch Jacobs |
| 4. Apollos Hale | 17. H. H. Gross |
| 5. Charles Fitch | 18. S. S. Snow |
| 6. Josiah Litch | 19. Joseph Turner |
| 7. George Storrs | 20. J. B. Cook |
| 8. Joseph Marsh | 21. Miss E. C. Clemens |
| 9. L. D. Fleming | 22. Mrs. C. S. Minor |
| 10. Richard Hutchinson, M.D. | 23. L. D. Mansfield |
| 11. N. N. Whiting | 24. ——— Penney |
| 12. Orlando Squires | 25. G. W. Eastman |
| 13. Henry Jones | 26. H. B. Skinner |

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 27. ——— Martin | 31. Addison A. Sawin |
| 28. Robert Winter | 32. A. J. Williamson |
| 29. Frederick Gunner | 33. W. Deverall |
| 30. Charles Dealtry | 34. Thomas Tallock |

4. **MILLIONS OF COPIES IN TOTAL CIRCULATION.**—The circulation figures of these various papers are difficult to assemble. The pioneer weekly *Boston Signs* was said to have 50,000 by 1842, with a larger circulation later. The New York *Midnight Cry* had 10,000 copies an issue during the weeks it was published as a daily. There were 100,000 copies of *Voice of Warning* in circulation in 1842. And 600,000 pieces of Adventist literature were circulated in New York City alone in 1842.² The *Second Advent of Christ* of Cleveland had distributed 113,000 by the middle of 1843. The *Trumpet of Alarm* records 30,000. Some of the smaller papers, as *Faithful Watchman* and *Philadelphia Alarm* had only 2,000 each. But the Montreal *Voice of Elijah* mentions 12,000, and the Cincinnati *Western Midnight Cry* 7,000. Approximately 10,000 copies of the *Southern Midnight Cry* were distributed. By the latter part of 1843, 1,000,000 second advent papers were declared to have been circulated, and 5,000,000 copies by May, 1844.³ In Canada there were also the *Hope of the Church* (St. Thomas, C.N.), the *Bridegroom's Herald* (Toronto), and *Behold, He Cometh* (Hamilton, C.W.).

But the greatest distribution of all came in the latter part of 1844, prior to October 22. Then the presses were rolling day and night, and streams of periodical literature were blanketing the eastern part of North America like the proverbial "leaves of autumn." The circulation figures reached by this medium are astonishing in the light of the number of adherents, and the total population of the country at that time. And Himes was the publishing genius of the movement.

5. **SCOPE OF THREE OF THE LEADING JOURNALS.**—We will briefly note just three of the leading journals. First, there was

² *Midnight Cry*, April 13, 1843, p. 1.

³ *Voice of Truth*, June 8, 1844, p. 21.

the parent Boston *Signs of the Times*, which set the pace and maintained the standard for all the other Millerite journals. Its launching in February and March, 1840, marked a new day in the extension of the advent message. It was doubtless the most representative expounder of Millerite doctrine and prophetic interpretation, and was an effective forum for the discussion of issues and the answering of objections. It was the leading reporter of all activities—appointments, conferences, camp meetings, book depositories, and other developments. It was the chief recorder of all plans and accomplishments, evangelistic drives and revival meetings, the chosen channel for disseminating information and releasing declarations of faith and conference addresses. It was a faithful reflector and running commentator on all Adventist activities. Advent hymns were released through its pages. It was ably edited, aggressive and progressive, and in quality compared favorably with any other religious publication of the time.

The *Midnight Cry*, the daily of New York, was, however, a close second. By 1842 the need for more papers and a wider distribution of literature had been felt. The first attempt was to make New York City a new distribution point for the *Signs*, from which it was to be sent out widely. Then, in conjunction with the great New York evangelistic drive in 1842, the *Midnight Cry* was launched on November 17, with ten thousand copies an issue. This unique Millerite daily was hawked by newsboys on the streets, and great quantities were sent to the postmasters throughout the country, to be distributed free of charge. After the first volume it was changed over to a weekly, continuing on throughout the movement. The editorial management was entrusted by Himes to Nathaniel Southard, an experienced editor, assisted by L. D. Fleming, who rendered conspicuous service to the movement.

On the other hand the *Advent Shield* was the learned journal of the Adventists—a substantial quarterly. It was not launched until May, 1844—just after the close of Miller's year "1843"—volume I containing 440 pages. The first number, with

144 pages, opened with a "Confession and Apology," as the early church writers were wont to make. It gave a comprehensive and reliable history of the rise and progress of Adventism, and had several articles on prophetic chronology. It presented Dr. Whiting's translation of Daniel 2, 7, 8, and 9, and closed with several book reviews, which was also a *Shield* feature. These were chiefly critical reviews of opposing works. Restrained in tone, they nevertheless analyzed the arguments incisively, and pointed out fundamental weaknesses with effective frankness. The *Advent Shield* was a journal that would do credit to any religious movement, with its scholarship on a par with that of other scholarly journals.

Other numbers of the *Shield* showed the "Impossibility of the World's Conversion," vindicated the doctrine of the resurrection against the attack of George Bush, professor of Hebrew at New York City University, and competently discussed the basis and significance of the "Seventh Month Movement," and presented it in historical review. The prophesied conflagration of the heavens and the earth was discussed, and withal on a scholarly plane. As its name indicated, it defended Adventist positions against the attacks of its enemies. It met argument with argument, and erudition with erudition. Its chief purpose was to show, (1) that the theory of the world's conversion was a "false millennium," (2) that the popular expectation of the restoration and conversion of the Jews was unsound, and (3) that the positions of the Millerites on prophecy were not only Scriptural but sound, as well as supported by the finest scholars of the ages. Its threefold objective is set forth in these words:

"The design of this publication is of a three-fold character. *First*, to defend ourselves as believers in the Advent *at hand*. *Second*, to exhibit the unscriptural and absurd position of our opponents; and, *Third*, to furnish the truth for those who are convinced that the prevailing interpretations of prophecy are unauthorized by the word of God, and are desirous to find the true and the right way."⁴

Let us now form the acquaintance of the leading editors.

⁴ *Advent Shield*, May, 1844. preface. p. 3.

II. Bliss—Able Editor of "Signs of the Times"

Some who espoused the second advent cause had marked preaching gifts; others were successful in the writing of books and tracts, reviews and criticisms, and careful studies and replies in the papers. One of the latter was SYLVESTER BLISS (1814-1863), ablest of the Millerite editors, and a Congregationalist scholar from Hartford, Connecticut. Awakened by the advent message, he investigated all of its ramifications until fully persuaded of its fundamental truth. He had received a liberal education, and was a member of the Historical Society of Boston. He possessed fine literary discernment, and was both careful and skilled with his citation of authors and authorities, and accurate in his references to history. He was therefore particularly well fitted to examine critically and to analyze discerningly the theological questions that were raised. Bliss painstakingly studied the writings of the chief opposers of the second advent positions, and threw his talents into the theological combat, taking the aggressive as well as defending the bulwarks of the Millerite faith. He was courteous and Christian, but very effective.

A few introductory articles for the *Signs of the Times* made his gifts and qualifications so apparent that he was appointed assistant editor in November, 1842. After serving for two years in that position, he was made the responsible editor, later changing the name of the *Signs* to that of the *Advent Herald*. He was also the business agent of the publishers. Bliss was a devout and faithful Christian and a good logician as well as an able theologian, with a discriminating mind. He conducted his paper with conspicuous ability, and under his management it became a mine of important Biblical, historical, prophetic, and critical information. He studiously avoided the sensational, the unreliable, and the speculative, as well as the opinions of novices and erratics.³ He was also the leading editor

³ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, pp. 227, 228.

of the scholarly Millerite quarterly, *Advent Shield*, and later edited the *Memoirs of Miller* (1853).

So he came to write an effective defense literature, reviewing with ability and candor the lectures of Nathaniel Colver against the views of Miller. The same was true of the O. E. Daggett sermon, designed to overthrow faith in the second advent, as well as the works of Drs. Weeks and Jarvis, and particularly the attack of Dr. George Bush, who reputedly denied the personal advent and the literal resurrection of the dead. He likewise answered Professor Sandborn, who similarly challenged a personal advent, the reign of Christ, and the doctrine of the restitution. Among the works of Bliss are the larger *Commentary on the Revelation*, *The Time of the End*, *Analysis of Sacred Chronology*, and many smaller treatises—some twenty-six in all.

III. Southard—Successful Editor of "Midnight Cry"

NATHANIEL SOUTHARD (d. 1852) was a native of New Hampshire. He was converted in early life, and gave himself wholly to Christian service. He was a successful worker, with many natural endowments. In 1830 he went to Boston, where he took a deep interest in "temperance, antislavery, and education," as well as reforms in church work. He had been editor of a weekly called the *Youth's Cabinet*,⁶ taking a great interest in children, and was acting editor of *The Liberator*, an anti-slavery journal.

But Southard felt impressed to preach the gospel, and quickly entered upon it. Hearing the advent message, he examined its fundamentals closely; and becoming convinced that it was both sound and Scriptural, he began to proclaim it. In 1842 he was made assistant editor, and later full editor, of the *Midnight Cry*, which he conducted with marked ability until the close of 1844. Failing health then forced his return

⁶ Southard edited *Youth's Cabinet* from volume 1, in May, 1837, to volume 5, in January, 1841—with exception of a brief period prior to 1839. It was "Devoted to Liberty, Peace, Temperance, Purity, Truth," and was issued in New York and Boston. In addition to wholesome counsel for youth, it dealt effectively with such varied evils as slavery.

to the hills of New Hampshire, where he taught school. He was a kind and faithful friend and a wise counselor, possessing more power with his pen than with his voice. He was an admittedly skillful editor.⁷

IV. Fleming—Guides “Glad Tidings” Acceptably

LORENZO D. FLEMING (1808-1867), minister of the large Casco Street Christian Church of Portland, Maine, was also a native of New Hampshire. In 1830 he was for a time in Boston and had become deeply devoted to reform work. He was an active and aggressive supporter of educational, temperance, and antislavery efforts, and for a time was also acting editor of the *Emancipator*. But, impressed with his duty to preach, he consecrated himself to that work. Later he heard the advent message, and after most careful and prayerful study of the evidence upon which its emphasis was based, he heartily accepted it, and preached it ably.

Upon Fleming's invitation in the autumn of 1840, Miller gave a series of lectures in his church (pictured on p. 979), continuing for thirteen days, and arousing a deep interest among the godless as well as the Christians—the converts including a group of twelve gamblers and profligates.⁸ Shortly after, Fleming wrote to Miller stating that, in addition to two hundred who had professed conversion since his visit, there was “a good work . . . spreading all over the city” and out into the country. At least 250 more were deeply interested. Grogshops were closed and gambling establishments were broken up and turned into gospel meeting places. From four thousand to six thousand persons witnessed one of the baptisms of thirty from the bay shore. Prayer meetings were started in different parts of the city, and there was an impressive fast day.⁹ In fact, the editor of the *Maine Wesleyan Journal* stated that the meetings had made “a decided impression on many

⁷ I. C. Wellcome. *op. cit.*, pp. 271, 272.

⁸ See *Christian Herald and Journal*, Nov. 28, 1839, and subsequent numbers; W. H. Mitchell, *History of the Second Advent Church in Portland*, p. 7.

⁹ Ms. letter, Fleming to Miller, April 11, 1840.

minds.”¹⁰ Before Miller’s quiet work, infidelity melted and Universalism withered. His was declared to be sound revivalism and evangelism.

Fleming was, for a time, editor of the *Glad Tidings* in Rochester, New York, and wrote constantly in “press and pamphlet” for the promotion of his new-found faith. Then the *Glad Tidings* was transferred to Joseph Marsh, who changed its name to *The Voice of Truth*. In 1842 Fleming served as assistant editor of the *Midnight Cry*. He wrote several large works on the imminent coming of Christ, including *Synopsis of Evidences of Christ’s Second Coming* and *The Midnight Cry*. He was very energetic, but because of serious difficulty with his voice he was obliged to give up public speaking, though continuing to use his pen with telling effect.

Fleming had already started writing on the prophecies in 1839. In a small and compact *New Testament Companion*, his purpose was to foster a larger view of Scripture through book study, thus to get away from considering the Bible as a book of “detached sentences.” So he gives biographical sketches of each apostle and a terse introduction to each book. In connection with the Revelation Fleming gave a condensed history of Christianity. Following the persecution under pagan Rome comes—

“The Apostasy of Christians under Papal Rome; the rise, progress and catastrophe of the son of perdition; the anti-Christian system—are all distinctly narrated in the sacred symbols of prophecy. The ultimate downfall of all opposition; the subjugation of the kingdoms of this world to the dominion of the King of Kings; the final consummation of the present system of things, and the glorious introduction of a new and heavenly state of things—are the wonderful and sublime topics, which are exhibited in this book.”¹¹

V. Marsh—From Christian Editor to Millerite Editor

JOSEPH MARSH (1802-1863) had for twelve years been editor of *The Christian Palladium*, organ of the Christian Church, at

¹⁰ Joshua V. Himes, *Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology*, p. 16.

¹¹ Lorenzo Dow Fleming, *The New Testament Companion*, p. 196.

Union Mills, New York. And at the same time he was pastor of a large Christian church—an important post. He was also secretary of the American Temperance Union. After attending Miller's meetings early in 1842, followed by most "careful and prayerful" investigation, he took his stand for the second advent and fearlessly presented his views. Some of these appeared in the *Palladium*. He preached to a "crowded house" on the millennium, and soon gave up his editorial post so he could be free to declare the full truth.¹²

"I am fully convinced as to the time, and mean to proclaim it fearlessly from the pulpit and the press. My course is fixed—let the consequences follow. I fear not the result. God will defend his cause."¹³

Those who controlled the paper shut out articles and editorials on the second advent, and it was soon placed in other hands.¹⁴ Not long after he severed his connection with the Christian Church and became editor of the Millerite *Voice of Truth*, at Rochester, New York. Marsh's full story is told in a subsequent chapter.

VI. Hutchinson—Canadian Representative and Editor

Another able editor was RICHARD HUTCHINSON, M.D., of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. He was sent from Canada to an institute in England for special theological training, was ordained in 1837, and returned in 1838 to Stanstead, in Canada, as a Wesleyan Methodist missionary. While stationed at St. Armand, Canada East (Quebec), from 1840-1842, he heard the message of Christ's soon coming and accepted it fully in 1842. He proceeded to spread it in the Wesleyan community, with inevitable complications. He was a talented and forceful preacher, serving in various parts of Canada, and was an indefatigable and fruitful worker. He published *The Voice of Elijah* at and near Montreal (Sherbrooke, C.E.), to herald the advent message, and was the Joshua V. Himes of Canada. Large quan-

¹² Ms. letter, Marsh to Miller, April 22, 1842.

¹³ *Signs of the Times*, Dec. 21, 1842, p. 105.

¹⁴ Ms. letter, Marsh to Miller, Aug. 17, 1843.

tities of this journal were distributed throughout the provinces of Canada and sent to the United Kingdom overseas for distribution, where some interests were awakened.¹⁵ Some even reached Australia, with good effect. Perhaps more than any other Millerite journal, it was used for foreign distribution.

Before this, Hutchinson's ministerial superiors had pressed him to keep silent. But his testimony on the imminent second advent and the consummation of the prophetic outlines in his day was a matter of deep conviction. So he conscientiously continued his witness, notwithstanding admonitions to the contrary. Large "inroads" on the Methodist societies resulted. And a strong censure was recorded against him by the district conference for endeavoring to introduce two advent lecturers among the Wesleyans of Montreal in defiance of the admonition by the chairman, and for industriously circulating Adventist publications among the people.¹⁶ So Hutchinson withdrew from the Methodist ministry and came over to the States in 1843, but soon returned to Canada, to promulgate his newly espoused faith.

He issued *A Brief Statement of Facts, for the Consideration of the Methodist People, and the Public in General, Particularly of Eastern Canada*. This tract traces the identification of the Papacy as the Antichrist of prophecy, and cites the witness of the Waldenses, Wyclifites, Hussites, and Art. 31 of the Confession of Faith of Rochelle, in 1603. It is a plea to reject and withdraw from the marks and the spirit of Antichrist in Protestantism as well as in the Papacy.

1. TWO TRACTATES ON THE PROPHECIES.—Two pamphlets were published by Hutchinson at Montreal in 1843. One was entitled *The Throne of Judah Perpetuated in Christ*. It submits evidence that the "sublime event" of the second advent "is nigh at hand, even at the door." It rejects the popular re-

¹⁵ Litch, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 92.

¹⁶ J. Carroll, *Case and His Co-temporaries*, vol. 4, pp. 180, 380, 409 (Toronto: 1874); see also *Remarks on Doctor Hutchinson's Address to the Methodist People*, p. 4, (1850).

turn of the Jews thesis, and climaxes with the "seven times" (or 2520 years), from the captivity of Manasseh, thus terminating them in "1843." This great period, he holds, comprehends the "entire prophetic existence of the four great monarchies of the earth, constituting the whole imperial and kingly dynasty of the Gentile world, after the supremacy of the Jewish Theocracy ceased."¹⁷ In support he cites Matthew Habershon of the Advent Awakening in Britain.¹⁸ The second prophetic line is the 2300 years of Daniel 8:14, which follows the usual Millerite pattern of exposition, likewise climaxing in 1843.

2. HOLDS STANDARD MILLERITE POSITIONS.—The second treatise, *The Abrahamic Covenant*, was issued in 1843 in Montreal and reprinted in Nottingham, England, in 1844, under a similar title, *The Abrahamic Inheritance*. This covers much the same ground as the other pamphlet, discussing the relationship of the 70 weeks to the 2300. The various component parts of the 70 weeks are discussed. Like Miller, he placed the cross in A.D. 33, at the end of the 70th week. Hutchinson stressed the second advent as the sole "Hope of Israel"—the only restoration of Israel remaining is to take place at Christ's return. Then the "land of Canaan" will become an everlasting possession of the saints.¹⁹

VII. Hale—Stout Defender of the Advent Faith

APOLLOS HALE (fl. 1840-1844), able Methodist minister, became deeply interested in the Millerite premillennial advent teaching, and in 1842 decided to engage wholly in the preaching of the advent message. Scholarly, a deep thinker, and a careful and critical writer, he was equaled by few in this field. He was noted for his clarity and logic, and was a stout defender of the democracy of the church and liberty of speech. He assisted Josiah Litch in Philadelphia, having much success

¹⁷ Richard Hutchinson, *The Throne of Judah*, pp. 40, 41.

¹⁸ On Habershon, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 632-639.

¹⁹ Richard Hutchinson, *The Abrahamic Covenant*, preface. Reprint from *The Voice of Elijah*.

in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and vicinity. He was secretary of the first Adventist camp meeting in the States, as well as many similar gatherings. For a number of years he was associate editor of the *Signs of the Times*, and later the *Advent Herald*. He wrote various pamphlets, and contributed many valuable articles on vital subjects. His *Second Advent Manual* cited the original authorities for the historical extracts and evidences upon which the prophetic periods and their fulfillment are based.

When formidable opposition arose he was usually called upon to help. He answered the attack in 1843 by Dr. Abel Stevens, editor of *Zion's Herald*, upon Miller's teaching and influence as a deterrent to foreign missions interest and activities. Hale defended Miller against the accusation, claiming that the religious indifference of the times was caused by the hostility of the churches to the truth of Christ's return, and their consequent loss of its sanctifying, energizing power. Hale assisted Fitch in devising the famous "1843 Chart" on the visions of Daniel and Revelation.²⁰ Author of several works, we shall hear more of him later.

VIII. Whiting—Scholarly Translator of New Testament

One more editor must suffice—NATHAN(IEL) N. WHITING, D.D. (1794-1872), an eminent and accomplished Baptist scholar, then becoming a Millerite lecturer, author, and editor. He was born in Massachusetts and was graduated in 1815 from Union College, Dutch Reformed institution at Schenectady, New York. His training at Union was during the favored period when the noted educator, Eliphalet Nott, was president, who exerted a profound influence upon his students. In fact, a surprising number later became founders or presidents of colleges, or educators or statesmen. Whiting became an able linguist. By 1819 he had become the principal of the Schenec-

²⁰ Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*, pp. 10, 11.

tady Academy, and later received the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

In 1823 he was pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church of Princeton, near Schenectady, New York. Subsequently he accepted the Biblical principle of baptism by immersion, and was baptized and received into the Baptist faith, becoming first pastor of the First Baptist Church of Schenectady. After that he served as second pastor of the Burnt Hills, New York, Baptist Church.

Whiting was chairman of the nominating committee of twelve (including William Lloyd Garrison) which called into being the World Convention on Human Rights at Himes's Chardon Street Chapel, Boston, May 26, 1841—Himes having joined Miller the year before in heralding the second advent. And from 1842 onward Whiting accepted and taught the second advent, likewise identifying himself with the Millerite movement. He had exceptional ability in several languages, especially in Greek and Hebrew, and translated a superior version of the New Testament. One of his advent tracts was in French, *La voix des écritures saintes touchant l'avènement de notre seigneur Jésus-Christ* (*The Voice of the Holy Scriptures Touching the Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ*).

Among the numerous treatises comprising the Second Advent Library was one by Whiting (No. XLII, issued March 1, 1844) on the *Origin, Nature, and Influence of Neology*—the German school of rationalistic theology of the time, which definitely rejected the second advent hope. Many in America who had opposed the advent emphasis had swung over to similar views—hence the tractate. By such critics high literary qualification was stressed as needful for the gospel ministry, while other vital matters had scant attention. Such Neology emphasis was influenced by French skepticism. As to prophecy, Eichorn (d. 1827), noted German rationalist, had contended that it was merely poetic fiction and that the Little Horn was simply Antiochus Epiphanes. Daniel 9 became a rock of offense. Other German "Neologists," such as Bertholdt, Blook, and Herzig,

affected American theological thought, influencing such scholars as Moses Stuart, Nathaniel Colver, and John Dowling, who wrote vigorously against the Millerite positions.

As noted, "Professor Whiting" (as he was constantly designated),²¹ was a man of large experience, thorough education, and extensive training in various languages. He was an able thinker and trenchant writer of the scholarly type. He contributed various articles of importance to the different Millerite periodicals. One, appearing in the May, 1844, *Advent Shield* quarterly, on "Prophetic Chronology," was particularly full and able. He was a frequent contributor to the *Midnight Cry*, of New York City, afterward becoming its editor, under its later name, *The Morning Watch*.

Under the pen name of "Philo," Whiting answered critics of the Adventist view, with skilled recourse to the Hebrew and Greek originals.²² He also entered into learned discussions on the "Jewish Calendar"—the time of the beginning of the Jewish sacred year, the rabbinical calendation in contradistinction to the restoration of the Mosaic calendation by the Karaites (Caraites), and the common celebration of the Passover a month early,²³ as will soon be noted.

Identification of "Philo," as Whiting's pen name, comes out in a letter to two physicians who had heard that Whiting had embraced the second advent doctrine, and the great prophetic outlines of the four empires of Daniel 2 and 7, with the 2300 days as years. In response Whiting says: "Yes, the four world powers were Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece and Rome, the Little Horn the antichristian power," a day stands for a year in time prophecy, with the joint beginning of the 70 weeks of years and the 2300 year-days from 457 B.C., the seventh year of Artaxerxes. And he believes in the imminence of the end, but not the month, week, day, or hour of our Lord's return."²⁴

²¹ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, pp. vii, 271, 272, 375.

²² See *Midnight Cry*, April 13, 1843, pp. 8, 9.

²³ *Ibid.*, April 27, 1843, p. 30.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, May 11, 1843, pp. 56, 57; see also "Philo to Autoptes," March 31, 1843, p. 88; April 7, 1843, p. 104.

Whiting was a man of exceptional learning, and made his translation of the New Testament under the auspices of the Baptist denomination.²⁵ This Whiting translation of the New Testament—similar to our Weymouth, Moffatt, or Goodspeed today—was titled *The Good News of Our Lord Jesus, the Anointed; from the Critical Greek Text of Tittman*, first published in 1842. In the Preface five guiding principles are enumerated. And a series of “New Translations of the Apocalypse” (based on Revised Greek Text of G. C. Knapp),²⁶ also by Whiting appear in the *Morning Watch* from March 27, 1845, onward.

Early in January, 1843, we find Whiting lecturing to “crowded houses” on the prophecies of Daniel in the “Baptist Tabernacle,” on Mulberry Street, in New York City, the notice in the Millerite *Midnight Cry* referring to him as “an eminent Hebrew scholar.”²⁷ By January 20 he was still lecturing there to “very large audiences,” emphasizing the approaching end of the 2300 years in “1843.” His lectures were still continuing at the beginning of 1844.²⁸

Whiting was thus one of several prominent Millerite leaders—such as Henry Dana Ward and Henry Jones, already noticed—who never shared the “definite time” view of his associates.²⁹ But he was, nevertheless, a most efficient herald of the general proclamation of the advent near. He took his stand with the Millerites in opposition to the postmillennialism of the day. Despite the first disappointment, in the spring of 1844, so strong were Whiting’s convictions as to the soundness of the truth of the imminent advent that he contended that “if every Adventist connected with the cause should abandon it to-morrow, God would raise up new instruments to sustain and carry it forward.”³⁰

²⁵ *Signs of the Times*, March 15, 1843, p. 9.

²⁶ *Morning Watch*, April 3, 1843, pp. 104, 105; April 10, pp. 113, 114, by the editor; April 17, pp. 121, 122, etc.

²⁷ *Midnight Cry*, Jan. 6, 1843, p. 1; cf. Jan. 20, p. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1844, p. 189.

²⁹ Ms. letter, Whiting to Miller, Oct. 24, 1844.

³⁰ *Advent Herald*, June 5, 1844, p. 146.

Camp Meetings Bring Millerism Before the Masses

I. Canadian Camps Spearhead for Giant Meetings in States

The Millerite leaders had reasoned that some means must be devised to get their message more generally and prominently before the masses. Churches, halls, and theaters were good, and the conferences had been highly successful, but limited. Some more effective and popular means for broadcasting the news of the soon-coming Saviour must be found. This the camp meeting plan, just authorized, might provide. As soon as the Boston Anniversary Meetings were over, Litch started for Stanstead, Canada East (Quebec), to fulfill a speaking engagement. The interest increased steadily from the very first meeting, and within two weeks the country for thirty or forty miles around was aroused over the question of Christ's soon return. Large "concourses" assembled, the report states. In fact, there was such an interest that Litch decided to try out the camp meeting plan right there, and at once. Ground was secured, the place prepared, and the first Millerite camp meeting was held at Hatley, Quebec, beginning June 21, 1842, and lasted a week.

"Waves on waves of people have flowed in upon us, day after day, until our arena within the circle of the tents has been almost crowded with a living mass of beings, eagerly enquiring 'Watchman, what of the night?'"

So reported Litch. The general effect seemed so wholesome, along with a hundred conversions, that the people of nearby Bolton requested one for their town. Thus the second camp

meeting was undertaken, which ended July 3.¹ During that month some five hundred or six hundred were converted in these meetings. So the plan, launched experimentally in Canada, proved a success.

Meantime, during the last week in June the first camp meeting in the States was undertaken at East Kingston, New Hampshire, where an "immense multitude" likewise "assembled to hear the word of the kingdom." It was the beginning of a farflung movement which literally "shook the nation."² Not only did large numbers of advent believers attend from all over New England, but even larger numbers came from the local scene. The attendance ranged between six thousand and ten thousand. Some six or eight camp meetings were crowded in during the fall. And the obvious success of the plan prepared the way for an impressive series of thirty-one camps during the summer of 1843—with some 130 in the two years of 1843 and 1844.

The plan was simple. A suitable tract of woodland would be secured, having an abundance of water. A large oval place of assembly would be fitted out with rough seats, with a platform at one end and a sounding board at the back. The boughs of the trees formed the canopy. And surrounding the place of assembly would be a circle of tents, about thirty by fifty feet in size, each representing a separate community. And each tent group chose a leader, called a "tent master," who represented them on the general committee of the camp. Here are other interesting details: During the main assembly meetings, the men sat on one side and the women on the other. A long dining tent was erected. And on the outskirts of the camp stable tents were pitched for the horses, while the vehicles stood in the woods. Stages and omnibuses were coming and going constantly. And for the larger camp meetings the nearby railroads sometimes erected a tent as a temporary depot, and trains

¹ Josiah Litch, letter in *Signs of the Times*, July 13, 1842, p. 117; also *Advent Shield*, p. 68.

² Litch, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 69.



CAMP MEETINGS BRING MILLERISM BEFORE THE MULTITUDES

Sometimes Under Canvas, Sometimes in Stately Groves, an Unbroken Succession of 130 Camp Meetings, Ranging From Four Thousand to Ten Thousand in Attendance, Reached Half a Million Persons in 1842-1844. (Inset) Hiram Munger, Redoubtable Camp Meeting Superintendent

stopped to discharge and take on passengers. Ministers, incidentally, were usually carried free.

As to the general program, there were customarily three main meetings a day in general assembly—morning, afternoon, and evening. During the intermissions, prayer meetings and study groups met in the living tents. At the close of the camp a check was made upon the number of conversions.

II. Camp Meetings Introduce New Era in Cause

The village of East Kingston, in southern New Hampshire, but near Lowell, Massachusetts, was the scene of the first Millerite camp meeting in the States. Its grove of stately hemlocks formed an ideal setting. But a venture of this magnitude was really an audacious move, for the Millerites were as yet limited

in numbers and means. It was a venture in faith. But large congregations of earnest Christians of all denominations assembled, coming by stage and horse and buggy, though chiefly by train. They poured in literally by the thousands. It was in every sense a great gathering.

There was so much of novelty and contagious attraction in these Millerite meetings—along with earnest preaching, stirring singing, and stimulating personal testimonies in the smaller “social” or testimony meetings, which were then a new feature in religious circles—that vast crowds thronged the camp. And this continued on in the other camps that followed in almost unbroken succession. The interest swept like a rising tide from State to State. So the actual success of the camp meetings led this agency to become a characteristic feature of the Millerite movement.

Since the Methodists and other religious groups had been conducting camp meetings for forty years, the public was already aware of the camp meeting idea. Many of the Millerite camps had tents of sufficient size to accommodate the crowds. But in others the larger public services had to be conducted in the open, since no canvas was large enough to hold them.

1. INITIAL VENTURE A PRONOUNCED SUCCESS.—That the Millerite leaders were conscious of the significance of this new venture is indicated by the initial report on this East Kingston camp, with its astonishing week-end attendance of a “vast multitude” of “probably ten or fifteen thousand,” according to both public press and Millerite reports. Apollos Hale, the camp secretary, definitely declared in his opening sentence, “The holding of Second Advent Camp-meetings may be regarded as the commencement of a new era in the Second Advent cause.”³ And this they proved to be. They were recognized as “an effectual plan to wake up the slumbering in the churches, and the careless sinner.”

³ *Signs of the Times*, July 13, 1842, p. 116.

This first camp in the States was ideally located close to the Boston and Portland Railroad, and accessible to several cities. There was an abundance of cool shade from the tall hemlocks, and a plentiful supply of cold water. There were secluded groves for prayer and meditation—and friendly neighbors. Despite huge crowds, excellent order prevailed, with no accidents and no incidents of rowdyism. All parts of New England and Canada were represented, and even Old England. Adherents of nearly all creeds were to be found among those present, with many who had been remarkably converted from Deism, infidelity, and Universalism. They had been won to the advent cause by various means—but chiefly through literature, preaching, and personal appeal. However, the bulk of the crowds were just people interested in what the Millerites had to say, or had followed the crowd just from curiosity. There were but naturally some disturbers, and at the later Chicopee meeting it was found necessary to ask the sheriff and his deputies to keep order.

2. SEVEN CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES MARK THE CAMP.—While there were numerous Adventist preachers who participated at the East Kingston camp, Miller was the leading speaker, giving a full series of connected addresses. Seven main features marked these camp meeting exercises—preaching, exhorting, praying, singing, the communion service, the offering, and the parting scene or ceremony. The preaching was dynamic and persuasive, and reached the hearts of people. The singing made the camp ring with its fervor, and enforced the oral message. The offerings of gold, silver, and other valuables amounted to one thousand dollars—a large sum for that time, when an average day's work netted only seventy-five cents.

And the parting scene of these camps was unforgettable. United by the bonds of a common faith, and drawn together by a common hope in the soon coming of Christ, they formed a giant circle, hand clasping hand, in solemn leave-taking. During the camp they had passed certain resolutions by unani-

mous vote. These pertained to the fast-fulfilling signs of the times, and the prophecies that indicated the nearness of the second coming of Christ. They stressed their belief in "1843" as "the time of His coming, of the resurrection, and the judgment."⁴ And they laid aggressive plans for spreading this vital news to all men.

They recognized that the demands of the hour called for complete personal consecration. They looked upon their acceptance of the advent hope as a solemn summons to share their faith with the Christian church at large, and to warn the world of this transcendent coming event. They voted for other camp meetings to follow, as "a most efficient means for spreading the truth on this subject, and for preparing those who embrace it for the coming of the Lord." They called for means to meet the multiplying calls for second advent lecturers and to circulate second advent publications, especially the *Signs of the Times*, as widely as possible. So this initial camp came to its close. The "beautiful village of tents" was soon taken down, and the company separated in the earnest hope of meeting at the Saviour's appearance.

3. SPREADS PREMILLENNIAL POSITION WIDELY.—At East Kingston some thirty community tents were erected, representing Boston, East Kingston, Exeter, Portsmouth, New Market, Haverhill, Nashua, Portland, Lowell, Newburyport, et cetera. Each community tent served as headquarters for an entire church. Friendly press reports appeared in various periodicals, stressing the orderliness of the camp, together with such items as that the women were seated decorously on one side and the men on the other, and commented on the punctuality of the meetings and the meals. They stressed the propriety and solemnity that prevailed—each tent being under the supervision of a tent master, responsible for its order, with lights kept burning throughout the night.⁵

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

The Boston press gave a similar appraisal. The *Daily Mail* stated that not fewer than seven hundred clergymen were then preaching the second advent, a portion of whom were not clear as to the precise year, but believed the advent near. Having rejected the philosophy of a temporal millennium, or one without the previous advent of Christ, they threw their influence with the Millerites in the premillennial emphasis. The number of individuals who shared that general sentiment was by this paper placed at not less than a million. The *Mail* also stated that it was spreading rapidly. The only criticism that it voiced was on the camp regulations which precluded public controversy, or debate by those of "opposite sentiments," but which, the Millerites held, would only create dissension and defeat the very purpose of the meeting.⁶

4. JOHN G. WHITTIER'S CLASSIC DESCRIPTION.—The impressive prophetic charts, devised by Charles Fitch, portraying the mystic symbols of the prophecies of Daniel and of John the revelator were used with telling effect. The distinguished writer and poet, John G. Whittier, was present, and later penned his candid impressions, including this chart feature. Written from the viewpoint of an outside observer, it is a classic description, and worth repeating here:

"Three or four years ago, on my way eastward, I spent an hour or two at a campground of the second advent in East Kingston. The spot was well chosen. A tall growth of pine and hemlock threw its melancholy shadow over the multitude, who were arranged upon rough seats of boards and logs. Several hundred—perhaps a thousand people—were present, and more were rapidly coming. Drawn about in a circle, forming a background of snowy whiteness to the dark masses of men and foliage, were the white tents, and back of them the provision stalls and cook shops. When I reached the ground, a hymn, the words of which I could not distinguish, was pealing through the dim aisles of the forest. I could readily perceive that it had its effect upon the multitude before me, kindling to higher intensity their already excited enthusiasm. The preachers were placed in a rude pulpit of rough boards, carpeted only by the dead forest leaves and flowers, and tasselled, not with silk and velvet,

⁶ *Ibid.*

but with the green boughs of the sombre hemlocks around it. One of them followed the music in an earnest exhortation on the duty of preparing for the great event. Occasionally he was really eloquent, and his description of the last day had the ghastly distinctness of Anelli's painting of the End of the World.

"Suspended from the front of the rude pulpit were two broad sheets of canvas, upon one of which was the figure of a man, the head of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly of brass, the legs of iron, and feet of clay,—the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. On the other were depicted the wonders of the Apocalyptic visions—the beasts, the dragons, the scarlet woman seen by the seer of Patmos, Oriental types, figures, and mystic symbols, translated into staring Yankee realities, and exhibited like the beasts of a traveling menagerie. One horrible image, with its hideous heads and scaly caudal extremity, reminded me of the tremendous line of Milton, who, in speaking of the same evil dragon describes him as 'Swinging the scaly horrors of his folded tail.' To an imaginative mind the scene was full of novel interest. The white circle of tents; the dim wood arches; the upturned, earnest faces; the loud voices of the speakers, burdened with the awful symbolic language of the Bible; the smoke from the fires, rising like incense,—carried me back to those days of primitive worship which tradition faintly whispers of, when on hilltops and in the shade of old woods Religion had her first altars, with every man for her priest and the whole universe for her temple."⁷

5. PROGRAM, ORDER, AND INTERRUPTIONS.—A regular program was followed, a bell announcing the larger meetings for the main assemblies. Other smaller meetings were held in the interim. A lodging tent for strangers was also prepared. And at the appointed times campers made their way to the large dining tent. Shelter for the horses was likewise available. And as the number and size of the later camps increased, trains made special fare concessions and stopped at temporary canvas depots near the grounds. The complete set of regulations, operative at the big Newark camp meeting in November, 1842, was largely followed in the other camps. Refreshment stands, opened near the camp as a commercial venture, were a source of constant annoyance, as liquor was sold at some of them. As a result, such places formed the springboard for irreligious mischief-makers, and gangs of rowdies sometimes attempted to make trouble. But the camp meeting superintendent, HIRAM

⁷ John Greenleaf Whittier, *Prose Works*, vol. 1, pp. 425, 426.

MUNGER,⁸ of powerful physique, who had charge of many of the Millerite camps, was usually more than a match for them."

The Methodist camp meetings had been quite informal, and were often highly emotional, as they were frequently held among the frontiersmen. This had drawn considerable criticism from the dignified and conservative Easterners, as it is often but a step from emotional worship to fanaticism. But the Millerite leaders were steadfastly set against any such excesses, and dealt with it vigorously wherever it sought to inject itself. Theirs was primarily expository, instructional preaching, and devoid of excesses. This was the fundamental difference.

6. THE NUMBER AND ATTENDANCE.—By the middle of the year 1843, Timothy Cole, chairman of the camp meeting committee, sought to reduce the number of camps. He called for more efficient planning, holding that too much labor was being lost. The same controlling policy prevailed in 1844.¹⁰ Notwithstanding, the meetings continued to grow in number. During 1842, the first year, there were about thirty in four months. In 1843, some forty were held, and during 1844, the final year, there was a total of at least fifty-four¹¹—a recorded minimum of approximately 124 in all. In 1844 many notices of camp meetings appeared with the proviso, "providence permitting," or "if time lingers."¹²

The estimated attendance at the various camps ranged from four thousand up to ten thousand on the largest day, the

⁸ HIRAM MUNGER (1806-1902), born in Massachusetts, became famous as the outstanding camp meeting superintendent for the Millerites in their great series of over 125 camps in 1842-1844. He had formerly served the Methodist encampment at Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, in similar capacity. In fact, he accepted the advent faith at the giant Millerite camp meeting at Chicopee Falls just following the Methodist camp on the same grounds. He was a singular character, with giant frame and powerful physique. Rough and ready and full of wit, he was nevertheless of a systematic and helpful disposition. He was six and a half feet tall in his stocking feet, somewhat careless in appearance and a bit coarse in expression. And he was as eccentric as Lorenzo Dow or Peter Cartwright. But on the campground he maintained order competently and strenuously, and any misbehavior by the "sons of Cain," as he called them, received vigorous treatment.

⁹ *Life and Religious Experience of Hiram Munger*, pp. 55-57. (A fascinating account of many of the happenings appears here.)

¹⁰ *Signs of the Times*, June 28, 1843, p. 136; July 5, 1843, p. 144; *Advent Herald*, Aug. 7, 1844, p. 3.

¹¹ *Midnight Cry*, Nov. 17, 1842, p. 3.

¹² In files of *Midnight Cry*, *Advent Herald*, and other Millerite papers, such as *Voice of Truth*, *Second Advent of Christ*, *Western Midnight Cry*, etc.

record customarily being taken on Sunday. Possibly two thousand were resident on the grounds throughout the camp. In a few instances the number of fifteen thousand is given for the Sunday attendance, and only in a very few cases has an estimate of less than four thousand been recorded.¹³ It was believed that a half million persons attended these Millerite camps during 1842, 1843, and 1844.

The expense of the larger camp meetings was heavy for those days. At some of the meetings considerable sums were collected in the form of jewelry. Thus at the Taunton camp meeting the women stripped off rings, earrings, and other jewelry.¹⁴ At the Rochester camp one minister told how literature had been distributed in Boston by the aid of the women's gold rings. Elon Galusha, a leading Baptist, and formerly president of the Baptist Anti-Slavery Society, at once placed a ring in the hands of the speaker. A veritable procession followed his example, with rings, brooches, gold beads, earrings, and other adornments.¹⁵ The abiding emphasis was on the coming of the Lord and individual preparation of heart to meet the Lord.

7. IMPRESSIVE CEREMONY AT CAMP'S CLOSE.—At the close of each camp meeting it was the Millerite practice to form a huge circle and take leave one of another in an impressive "parting" ceremony. An earnest prayer of committal was offered, and a hymn—like "What, Never Part Again?"—appropriate to the occasion, was sung. The Lord might come before another annual camp could convene, so each farewell was an occasion of deep solemnity. Strong feelings marked this "parting circle" pageant. A giant circle was formed of all present, completely encompassing the entire camp. Then, at a given point, the line was broken, and two circles formed, an outer and an inner line, the two facing each other. The outer line facing inward

¹³ *Signs of the Times*, Sept. 28, 1842, p. 16; Nov. 9, 1842, p. 59; *Midnight Cry*, Aug. 29, 1844, p. 61.

¹⁴ Joseph Bates, *Autobiography*, p. 265.

¹⁵ *Midnight Cry*, Aug. 1, 1844, p. 22.

stood still, while the inner line continued to file past them until each one had shaken hands with every one else.

These farewells were never-to-be-forgotten scenes, and presented many a moving spectacle. Brethren and sisters from all points of the compass—many of whom had never seen each other before—were separating after a brief acquaintance amid the hallowed scenes and searching sermons of the camp. They were parting, they felt, perhaps never to meet again until Gabriel should sound the trump of God at the impending day of expectation. As hands were firmly grasped and shaken, the words of courage, comfort, or Godspeed spoken to each other, tears often streamed down the cheeks of strong men and pious women. Voices were choked with emotion as they exhorted one another to remain steadfast until the coming of the Lord of glory. Sobs frequently commingled with earnest prayers that, though they might not meet again in this mortal state, they would meet as an unbroken heavenly circle, where all tears are wiped away. And with this avowed expectation of meeting in the kingdom everlasting uppermost in mind, they made their way slowly homeward.¹⁶ The camp was over.

III. Summarizing Analysis of Millerite Camp Meetings

In order to obtain an accurate over-all picture, and to grasp the total effect of this amazing array, at least 124 camp meetings, a comprehensive tabular work sheet was prepared, as for the conferences, and each camp meeting was systematically tabulated in vertical columns under a series of headings: Serial Number, Location, Date, Equipment, Attendance, and Speakers; and then the Program, Declared Purpose, Special Subjects, Music, Predominant Features, Provision for Food, and of course the Documentation. In this way an over-all picture of this remarkable series of Millerite camp meetings and their results was made possible.

¹⁶ *Signs of the Times*, Nov. 16, 1842, p. 70; Oct. 26, 1842, p. 44; July 13, 1842, p. 116; *Midnight Cry*, Aug. 1, 1844, p. 24.

From this tabular work sheet the data are here summarized, and certain definite conclusions drawn. They were grouped in the three years in which they were operated as follows: In 1842—30, 1843—40, 1844—54, or a total of about 124 in all.¹⁷ In territorial spread they ranged from Canada on the north through all the New England States save Rhode Island, and on through New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and out to Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, with some 14, in addition to the 124, held over in England in the year 1844.

1. ATTENDANCE.—For the most part they ranged, as mentioned, from 4,000 to 10,000, with one instance of "10,000 to 15,000" reported for the weekend, and another of "10,000 to 12,000," and only one of but 2,000. Such terms as "immense throngs," "living masses," "great masses," "overflowing," "multitude," "large numbers," "great gathering," "very large," "thousands," "great concourse," are used constantly in describing the larger camp meetings, which indicate the impressive numbers.

2. SPEAKERS.—The speakers ranged in number from five to fifteen or more (with one up to forty) in the larger camps, and down to two, three, or four in the smaller camps. The public speaking was usually confined to a few for the main meetings, and these speakers varied widely in personnel. The large camps naturally had the most prominent leaders. The smaller ones, and those farthest away, had local leaders. In two instances there were some fifty ministers noted as present—though the majority did not participate as speakers in the public meetings. William Miller's name appears only with a few of the largest camps each year, where he was one of the main speakers. Litch, Fitch, Himes, Cole, and Storrs were listed at more camps than any other speakers. And Hale, Cox, Whiting, Preble, Bates, Bliss, and White were next in fre-

¹⁷ On this tabular chart there were a few others beyond the 124 mentioned as a total in the Millerite journals. On some of the smaller ones the data is incomplete. Possibly a few of the last ones planned in 1844 were not actually held.

quency. There was liberal draft upon local speakers in a given region. And no attempt was made for any one man to take in most of the camp meetings in a given season. Occasionally there was an able woman speaker.

3. OBJECTIVES.—The purpose constantly set forth was to announce the soon coming of Christ and to proclaim the judgment near, particularly to give the “Midnight Cry,” and to awaken the “slumbering virgins,” to prepare the world for the advent and to present the mighty truths for the hour. It was to preach the prophecies, to expound the signs of the times, to herald the glorious kingdom, and to emphasize the premillennial second advent. It was to present the Bible as the only standard and to engage in prayer, to open the gates of salvation and to call for complete consecration. It was to herald the coming of the Bridegroom (in 1843 the emphasis being on “1843,” and in 1844 on “1844”), and above all to protest against the prevalent temporal-millennium fallacy.

4. MUSIC.—The music included songs of praise, exhortation, warning, appeal, and doctrinal truth, the “parting song” with processions formed, and hundreds singing as they marched. New words were set to standard or current tunes. There were occasional duets and trios.

5. SPECIAL FEATURES.—There were also revivals, altar calls, answers to hundreds of inquirers, funds to circulate literature, effective organization and punctuality of services. Men and women were seated separately. The communion service was celebrated, large offerings were received for expenses, many sinners were converted and backsliders reclaimed, many accepted the advent faith in these camps, and numerous baptisms were conducted, despite the attempts of dissenters to break up the meetings. And especially in 1844, there were offerings of rings, pins, beads, and precious stones.

6. MEALS.—The meals were most “reasonable”—\$2.00 a week, \$1.75 or \$1.50, and at one camp only \$1.42.

7. RESULTS.—Those in attendance were awed by God's presence, it is recorded. Many hundreds were converted, wanderers reclaimed, and much literature distributed. The spirit of unity was deepened. There was widespread and effective publicity, and opportunity provided for successful evangelism. In the light of all the facts, it may therefore well be concluded that for meeting the purpose of the Millerite movement the camp meeting was unsurpassed for publicity, propaganda, and reaching the masses of the country. It would be rated high in unifying and solidifying their own ranks, and, next to the major part played by literature, was doubtless the most effective means employed by the Millerites in arresting the attention and gaining the ear of the populace.

IV. The "Big Tent" Becomes a Major Asset

The holding of large camp meetings had at first been considered a hazardous undertaking for the relatively small group. But the results were so gratifying that the daring proposal was made at the East Kingston camp meeting of securing a giant tent—a great canvas pavilion, a "big top," large enough to accommodate several thousand people. This would be used in cities where no churches or halls were open for Millerite lectures. The churches were now fast closing against the Millerite preachers, and the crowds were too large for permanent buildings, which usually were jammed to suffocation. With the big tent the lecturers would have only to secure the ground and erect the large canvas pavilion. There would be no embarrassing incidents of ejection from halls by irate owners. And there were no restrictive city ordinances in those days. The plan met with instant favor, and the proposal was carried out with characteristic vigor. Himes undertook the task,¹⁸ and before the camp broke up hundreds of dollars were subscribed toward this enterprise. The idea originated with Ezekiel Hale, Jr.¹⁹

¹⁸ Litch, "The Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 69; Wellcome, *op. cit.*, pp. 242, 243.

¹⁹ Suit, *In Equity, Ezekiel Hale, Jr., Vs. E. J. M. Hale*, p. 206.



CONTEMPORARY DRAWING OF MILLERITE BIG TENT

This Drawing, Appearing in the Daily Press, Shows the Original 120-foot Size, Soon Enlarged to 120 by 160 Feet by Adding a 40-foot Splice

The Big Tent, popularly so called because of its size, as it was the largest in America, was indeed unique. It was made of heavy canvas, with a center pole fifty-five or sixty feet high, and a spread that covered a circle twenty-five rods in circumference. When closely seated, it would accommodate four thousand. An additional two thousand could crowd around it. But even this proved too small. So a forty-foot splice was later added between the two great poles. Its ultimate size was thus 120 by 160 feet. With this enlargement two thousand more could be crowded in, or a total seating capacity of some six thousand. It had the advantage of novelty. It was much publicized in the press, and people flocked to see it. It was used also as the main pavilion for the larger camp meetings. And when these giant meetings were in session under the canvas, several times a day, a streamer was suspended between the two poles bearing the significant words,

"Thy Kingdom Come."²⁰ J. V. Himes preserved a piece of this unique banner, and later wrote this description of it:

"An Interesting and Valuable Relic"

"A fragment of the Flag of the mammoth Advent Tabernacle in which William Miller and J. V. Himes, and others, preached the doctrine of the Second Advent of Christ to take place in 1844. It was pitched in all the great cities of the Union, including Washington, D.C., from 1840 [1842] to 1844.

"The Tent was 120 feet in diameter, 60 feet at the mast head, and held from 5000 to 6000 people. It was generally crowded when it was known that William Miller and his associates, J. V. Himes and others, were to preach.

"This Flag floated over the big Tabernacle when meetings were in session, in the sight of all, on which was the prayer, 'Thy Kingdom Come.' . . .

"JOSHUA VAUGHAN HIMES,

"The Friend and Helper of Father Miller.

"Battle Creek, Michigan, August 30, 1894."²¹

But even such an immense spread of canvas was unable to accommodate the tremendous numbers that gathered. The crowds on Sunday were so huge that they not only filled the place of assembly and the surrounding circle of community tents but overflowed out over the grounds. So, under the shade of great trees, groups often gathered to hear various lecturers explain the Adventist faith and expectation.

The Big Tent was manufactured by Captain Edward C. Williams,²² tentmaker, of Rochester, New York, and was first pitched on an eminence at the rear of the State House at Concord, New Hampshire, in July, 1842. Before it was used it was first dedicated to the service of God. Then began its unique contribution to the advent cause. Millerism was at last

²⁰ *Signs of the Times*, Aug. 24, 1842, p. 164.

²¹ Original in Advent Source Collection. The wording is printed directly on the fragment.

²² Captain EDWARD C. WILLIAMS (1815-1868), listed in the *Directory of the City of Rochester* from 1840-1844 as an extensive tent and sail maker and ship chandler, espoused the advent message about 1840. He invited Miller and Himes to come to this thriving western city of 23,000, offering to make and seat a giant canvas tent, since they had stated that they had no money to hire an auditorium of sufficient size to hold the crowds that usually came. Williams had been furnishing flags and tents for national conventions, and in 1842 manufactured this largest tent in America for the Millerite meetings. This was his distinctive contribution to the advent cause.

under canvas. It was the first time they had had their own portable pavilion. The plan proved highly serviceable for the propagation of the advent faith, as there was no exorbitant rent to be met. Moreover, the Concord meeting was a combination of camp meeting and series of special lectures.

It was a successful venture. The interest awakened surpassed even that of the regular Adventist camp meetings, and the gatherings were immense. The Great Tent was next pitched at Albany, New York, then at Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, in connection with another camp meeting; next at Springfield, Massachusetts, then Benton, Vermont, Claremont, New Hampshire, and Salem, Massachusetts, with the last location for the summer of 1842 at Newark, New Jersey. The next year it was pitched at other points, chiefly farther west and south.

Despite poor transportation facilities, the Great Tent was pitched, used, taken down, and transported eight times—hundreds of miles apart each time—between July 27 and November 3, 1842.²³ It seems almost unbelievable, but such is the record. The speed with which the Millerites moved this huge pavilion from place to place with the primitive transportation facilities available, is astonishing. For example, the Concord meeting closed Monday, August 8, at 4 P.M., and it was transported and all pitched ready for the next appointment on Wednesday, August 10—a truly remarkable feat.²⁴ At Concord, the wind leveled the tent to the ground, so it was pitched again in a more sheltered place. One publicity notice in a local newspaper, the Albany *Evening Journal*, will be of interest to us, just as it was to the public when it appeared on August 9, 1842. It read:

“BEHOLD HE COMETH”

“Second Advent Tent Meeting”

“This meeting (the Lord willing) will commence in this city Wednesday, August 10th, at 10 A.M. The Great Tent will be set on Arbor Hill at the head of Third and Lumber Streets. This place has been selected as the best we could secure. If the wind should be heavy, we shall be obliged

²³ *Midnight Cry*, Nov. 17, 1842, p. 3; cf. F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, p. 121.

²⁴ *Signs of the Times*, Aug. 17, 1842, pp. 156, 157.

to furl our tent and repair to the most convenient place where we can be sheltered. Meetings to be continued one week.

"Mr. Miller is expected to be present during part of the meeting; also Elder J. V. Himes, Boston, and Rev. Chas. Fitch, Haverhill, Mass.

"The object of this meeting, like those which have already been held, is to arouse both the church and a world to a sense of their peril by sounding the Midnight Cry.

"There will be no room for debate on this or any other subject at this meeting, but all who participate in its exercises will have one great object, their own and other's salvation, before them, and direct their lives to that one point.

"All who love the APPEARING of our Lord Jesus Christ are requested to rally at this feast of Tabernacles. Our time is growing shorter and shorter each day, and what is done must be soon done.

"Preaching each day at 10 o'clock in the morning, at 2 in the afternoon, and seven in the evening.

"J. V. Himes
Philip Burnap
Abraham Covert
Joshua C. Stoddard
George Storrs."²⁵

The city was stirred. Thousands attended, and the meetings became the theme of city-wide conversation on the street and in the home. Charles Fitch was the principal preacher,²⁶ and an effective one. The tent company, responsible for the canvas, comprised four persons, and the moving of the tent by train, steamer, or wagon naturally entailed considerable expense,²⁷ as transportation costs were high.

Another combination camp meeting followed at Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, near Springfield. Here also the Great Tent, seating thousands, protected them from rain or shine, with the seating extended for quite a distance outside the tent walls. The plan had now developed into an effective combination camp and Big Tent meeting. The tent would be pitched in a favorable location, and the people would flock in from the community. But even the great spread of the Big Tent could not accommodate the tremendous crowds at the Salem, Massa-

²⁵ *Albany Evening Journal*, Aug. 9; repeated on 11, 12, 1842.

²⁶ *Signs of the Times*, Aug. 24, 1842, p. 164.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1842, p. 156.

chusetts, camp meeting. But again in the space between the Big Tent and the circle of surrounding tents, the overflow gathered in groups in the groves, where other ministers explained the prophecies from the "1843" charts hung up on the trees.²⁸

The camp was the scene of restless activity, with large concourses of people—some ten thousand people on the final Sunday. Sizable dining and lodging tents were necessary. Between sessions prayer services and social meetings were held in the smaller tents. And candidates for baptism received this solemn rite.²⁹ There were altar calls, but the meetings were conducted with decorum, and confusion kept to a minimum. At the time of the huge Salem camp the *Salem Gazette* commended the conduct of the meetings, and noted favorably the absence of rowdiness and fanaticism. It spoke highly of the talent of the ministers and the spiritual tone of the services. Many who went to scoff remained to pray.

On November 3 the Big Tent was pitched for the last time in the season of 1842, in a field at Newark, New Jersey. It caused a great stir in the city, and an extended account appeared in the *Newark Daily Advertiser*. There was a detailed description of the tent, and how prayer preceded the work of raising the great canvas. The center pole was secured by chains and posts. The smaller poles, around the outer wall of the tent, were about eight feet tall. And a canvas wall, surrounding these, completed the enclosure, with space left for the people to pass completely around the walls of the interior. There were six "doors," or entrances, in this canvas wall, and stoves were installed for heating the tent at this late time in the season. Miller, Litch, Himes, and other ministers were in attendance. Miller arrived on the seventh and gave fifteen discourses up to the fourteenth. Ten to twelve thousand persons were on the ground the first Sunday.

²⁸ Joseph Bates, *Autobiography*, pp. 266, 267.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

The last five days the weather was so inclement that the tent had to be lowered, and the large Free Presbyterian Church used on weekdays, while on Sunday, November 13, the Mechanics' Hall was secured, but proved too small for the crowd. So, in the afternoon, Miller addressed a crowd of five thousand from the steps of the courthouse. The press reported that the meeting was a thrilling and powerful occasion.³⁰ The storm passed, and the tent was re-erected. Then a second rain-storm drove them to a large iron foundry, which had a capacity of five thousand. Thus there were problems.

Early in the spring of 1843 the Big Tent was again set in motion, but this time started westward. It was first unfurled in Rochester, New York, on June 23, in connection with a large camp meeting. But the very next day, while T. F. Berry was preaching, a severe rainstorm blew the Big Tent over. Although a large audience was under the canvas, fortunately not a single person was injured—owing to the quick thinking and fast action of those in charge. When the squall struck the tent, fifteen of the heavy guy chains and ropes parted. Quickly the windward side was pressed in toward the audience, and by pressure of the wind the leeward side was raised, and the crowd passed on out without harm.

The tent company almost despaired of repitching it, because of the great expense of repairing and raising it again. But the citizens of the community were interested, and offered to meet the expense of repairing, erecting, and refitting. So the damaged tent was reduced to 100 feet in diameter, and its total capacity consequently reduced to 3,500.³¹ While the tent was down, Himes gave three addresses to several thousand people who had gathered in from the surrounding country, and who stood throughout the eight hours that measured the time of his three discourses.³²

³⁰ *Newark Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 4, 7, 17, 1842; also *Midnight Cry*, Nov. 17, 1842; *Signs of the Times*, Oct. 19, 1842, p. 40; Nov. 23, 1842, p. 77.

³¹ *Signs of the Times*, July 12, 1843, p. 152; Aug. 16, 1843, p. 191.

³² *Ibid.*, July 12, 1843, p. 152.

It was in connection with these meetings that *The Glad Tidings of the Kingdom* was published at Rochester, continuing for thirteen weeks, and was scattered widely over the city, the surrounding country, and even on the canal boats. Its pages were largely reprints from the *Signs of the Times* and the *Midnight Cry*. Then, during the summer of 1844, the Big Tent was again pitched in various places in Ohio, Indiana, and finally in Louisville, Kentucky, where a series of lectures was begun on September 25, less than a month before the expected second advent. Of these note will be taken later.

Close-ups of Miller's Lesser-known Associates

Intimate glimpses of less-known Millerite leaders likewise reveal unusual character, talent, training, and contribution to the advent cause. Their soul struggles were very real as first they came into contact with the advent faith, and then faced and met the issue of its acceptance or rejection, and consequently of affiliation with or repudiation of an unpopular message. These recitals provide a true cross section of Millerism. We will note a number of these less-publicized leaders, not a few of whom had held posts of importance and honor in the various denominations with which they had been affiliated, but who had made the "great decision" to cast in their lot with the Millerite movement. A survey of a few of these, tracing rapidly their experiences and their writings, must suffice, to catch the pulse of the movement.

I. Sabine—Long a Student of Bible Prophecy

With many other thoughtful men, JAMES SABINE¹ had long been studying the prophecies and watching the times. Back in 1823, at Boston, before Miller's first public address, in a ser-

¹ JAMES SABINE (1774-1845) was born in England. Orphaned as a lad, he was apprenticed as a bookbinder and printer, doubtless one of the factors in his love of books and his later development of an excellent library. He attended the classical and theological school at Hoxton. At seventeen he had become a Dissenter, and at twenty-one entered the ministry as a Dissenting clergyman, serving in several cities up until 1815. Then, love of freedom to worship led him to come over to Newfoundland, where he ministered in the Independent Chapel at St. Johns. Following this, for twelve years, or from 1818-1830, he preached in Boston, first in Boylston Hall, while the Essex Street Presbyterian-Congregational Church was being built. Then in 1828 he joined the Episcopal faith, and became rector of Grace Church, Boston, and finally of Christ Church in Bethel, Vermont, for fifteen years, or from 1830-1845. Earnest and sincere, he was ever regarded as a true friend and faithful teacher.

mon from the text, "Can ye not discern the signs of the times?" Sabine had declared:

"A great and general revolution is about to break upon the moral world. This present century is already fraught with events so clearly in fulfillment of verily believed prophecy, that one may take these cases as the sure precursor of the 'Latter-day Glory.'"²

"All the great monarchies [of prophecy] were founded before the Advent of Christ," he said—Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome. These had tried every basic form of civil polity. And now mankind has lived for centuries in the divided-kingdom stage, and we are nearing the great climax of human affairs. He assured his hearers, "We can discern the Signs of this Time—the sign of the Coming of the Son of Man. We cannot but see it. The subject has attracted much attention of late." In the past, as time advanced, people were increasingly impressed with the times reached in fulfillment of prophecy, as recognized in the days of Babylonia of old, then of Persia, and at the first advent.

God has again stirred up His people to expect a speedy fulfillment of the latter days, he declared. "During the last twenty years," he continued, "this expected glory has been the theme of prayer and doctrine." The various missionary societies inaugurated by the Wesleyans, Baptists, and others, and the Bible societies as well, all attest it. In millennial and missionary enterprises, sectarian spirit is laid aside and men pray for the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth. The latter-day glory is breaking upon us. "The morning beam," he cried, "has streaked with white the dark mountain top."³ Sabine was unconsciously getting ready for the acceptance of the Millerite positions, based on last-day prophecy.

Sabine was of such caliber as to write, back in 1820, an acceptable *Ecclesiastical History* of 650 pages, covering the Christian Era. A glance over its various chapters shows Sabine's

² James Sabine, *The Relation of the Present State of Religion to the Expected Millennium* (1823), p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8, 24.

impressive familiarity with the details of church history and his broad grasp of the vital principles underlying the perpetual conflict between the great apostasy and the protesting groups that has characterized each century in the march of time. That the Papacy as Antichrist, definitely emerging in the sixth century, is succinctly presented, in perpetual conflict with dissentient voices like Claude of Turin, the Waldenses, Wyclifites, and Hussites, the Lutherans and contemporary Reformation groups—and on to the nineteenth century. All this gave Sabine an invaluable background for his interpretation of prophecy in the light of historical fulfillment.⁴

Then, for a number of years prior to 1842, the second advent hope was the object of his belief and presentation. His attention was first called to this great theme by recent writers in the Church of England Advent Awakening—M'Neile, Bickersteth, and Melville of Great Britain. An American publisher had asked him to read one of these English works, seeking advice as to an American reprint. Like others, in 1833 Sabine was unaware of the number in the New World who were believers in the premillennial advent doctrine. When it began to be heralded as at the door, many became uneasy. There was widespread searching of heart. No sooner was the cry given, "Behold, the bridegroom cometh," than both the world and the church rose up in arms, some for and some against the contention. The prophecies, Sabine firmly held, are heaven's timetable.⁵

II. Cole—First Massachusetts Minister to Embrace Millerism

TIMOTHY COLE (1806-1866), pastor of the Christian Church at Lowell, Massachusetts, and already mentioned, was about the first minister in Massachusetts to embrace Miller's views.⁶ He had heard of Miller's fruitful preaching in Vermont,

⁴ James Sabine, *Ecclesiastical History, From the Commencement of the Christian Era to the Present Time*.

⁵ James Sabine, *The Appearing and Kingdom of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (1842), p. 3.

⁶ *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, p. 20.

and in 1834 invited him to lecture in his own church at Lowell. When Miller arrived at the station on May 14, he was met by Cole, who was surprised to see an elderly gentleman, shaking somewhat with the palsy, step off the train. Ascertaining that this was indeed Miller, he was rather chagrined and dubious over the prospect. In fact, after showing Miller to the desk, at meeting time, he himself at first sat down rather anxiously in the congregation. But when the sermon had progressed some fifteen minutes, Cole was so much impressed with Miller's familiarity with and masterful use of the Word that he got up and went into the pulpit with Miller and took his rightful seat. He was thenceforth at his side. A gratifying revival followed, and Cole embraced the positions on the second advent taught by Miller. Some sixty joined the church as the result, according to a later missive. Cole continued strongly to advocate the views of Miller.⁷

III. Cook—Appeals to Baptist Ministry Through Prophecies

JOHN B. COOK (1804-1874), Baptist minister of Middletown, Connecticut, had been a skeptic. Born in Newark, New Jersey, he was converted in 1826, having been persuaded of the truth of Christianity by the then well-known *Leslie's Short Method*, which sets out to prove the authority and inspiration of the Bible. Cook was a Brown University student, ordained in 1820, afterward touring the West. Later, in 1833, he was graduated from the Newton Theological Institution in Massachusetts, and became pastor of the First Baptist Church of Cincinnati. But his health failed after a period of service in Covington, Kentucky. In 1842 he was stationed at Middletown, Connecticut, when he embraced the advent message. He then resigned from the Baptist ministry so as to be free to preach his newborn convictions, and wrote, *A Solemn Appeal to Ministers and Churches, Especially to Those of the Baptist Denomination, Relative to the Speedy Coming of Christ* (1843).

⁷ Letter, July 25, 1839, Bliss, *Memoirs*, pp. 135, 136.

In this Cook insisted that the old question, "Have any of the rulers or Pharisees believed on Him?" is ringing again today. The Jews refused to accept the prophetic evidence, and failed to discern the prophesied signs of the times at Christ's first advent. Consequently they were totally unprepared to recognize Jesus as the Messiah when He came the first time, though He had appealed directly to the Jewish leaders. There is similar danger, Cook admonished, that religious leaders today shall reject the Glorified One, soon to appear the second time, just as the Jews anciently rejected the Crucified One. And he most earnestly appealed to the Baptist ministry and communion not to follow in their fateful steps.

Cook had been impressed to investigate by Litch's *Address to the Clergy*, though seven years prior he had begun to investigate the Bible evidence in a systematic way for himself. The falsity of a temporal millennium soon became apparent, the relationship of the two literal resurrections unfolded, and the other events to come at its close. Next, the fallacy of the literal restoration of the Jews became evident, then the identity of the Man of Sin, who is to be destroyed at the second advent. Next, the prophecy of the 2300 years became clear, with the 70 weeks cut off for the Jews, and involving the crucifixion of Christ, and the 2300 years leading to the cleansing of the sanctuary—and the coming of the Ancient of Days, and the judgment, and the 1335 years reaching to the same year, "1843." The evidence was all so overwhelming that he felt compelled to admit and accept it.⁸

Listen as he proclaims it publicly: The signs of the times are overwhelming. The scoffers have appeared among the ministers and professors. And the question keeps ringing, "When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" Fellow ministers, he appeals, we must also preach Jesus as the Coming One. Then he warns:

⁸ J. B. Cook, *A Solemn Appeal to Ministers and Churches, Especially to Those of the Baptist Denomination, Relative to the Speedy Coming of Christ*, pp. 3-49.

"Beware, how you omit to preach the coming of Jesus. By the terrible splendors of the Day of God, I charge you to preach the coming of Jesus. By your past remissness, I charge you to preach the coming of Jesus. By the doom of the unfaithful watchman and the unfaithful servant, I charge you to preach the coming of Jesus. To all, I say, in view of opening judgment, repent, be baptized and believe in Jesus, *the coming One.*"⁹

Then follow thirteen pages of exposition of Daniel 7 and the coming kingdom that is to be everlasting, universal, and established in connection with the judgment scenes at the end of the time of earthly kingdoms. Which were these kingdoms of prophecy?—Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Grecia, and Rome in that succession. The ten horns on the Roman beast were the ten kingdoms that arose out of its division. These had sprung up by A.D. 476. And the Little Horn was the Papacy, appearing among the medieval nations of Europe. No photographic likeness, he asserts, could more accurately portray the Papacy's rise and career—*after the ten horn-kingdoms had appeared, and three kingdoms had been subdued.*

Then the Papacy was placed in pre-eminence at Rome, the capital, in 538, and the 1260 years began. Croly, King, and others are cited to attest the end of the period, as the aftermath of the French Revolution. But that, he adds, does not mean the extinction of the Papacy, only the end of its time of special power over the saints.¹⁰ We therefore live in that

"section of the vision which is to be closed up by the 'CASTING DOWN OF THE THRONES,'—THE SITTING 'OF THE JUDGMENT,'—THE 'COMING OF THE SON OF MAN IN THE CLOUDS OF HEAVEN,'—AND THE GIVING OF THE EVERLASTING KINGDOM TO CHRIST AND 'THE SAINTS OF THE MOST HIGH.'"¹¹

Having recited the story of a ship that foundered on the rocks off Cape Cod, because the officers would not listen to the warning of one of the sailors aboard, Cook concludes his appeal to his fellow Baptist ministers with—

"The great chart of the voyage, and all the landmarks, tell us we are near its end. Friend, if you are on the *wrong course*, *put the ship about*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-62. On Croly and King see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

while there is time to clear the breakers, and secure a safe harbor before the storm shall break upon us!"¹²

IV. Brown—Struggle of Soul Gives Way to Peace

FREEMAN G. BROWN, likewise a Baptist minister, of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, similarly professed publicly and proclaimed effectively the soon coming of Christ in person to establish His eternal kingdom.¹³ On April 19, 1843, he addressed the New Hampshire Baptist Convention on this paramount theme.¹⁴ Later, when the ecclesiastical pressure in his denomination had become intense, he wrote candidly on the issue of separation from the churches, stating:

"Many [churches] . . . will not have it touched upon in their pulpits, however remotely. Others are determined on excluding those who imbibe the sentiments of Adventists, when the least pretext offers itself."¹⁵

But when speaking before the Baptist convention, he had at that time been earnestly searching for the secret of sanctification and praying for a real revival. He had read Fletcher and Bramwell, and had heard the discourse of Charles Fitch, whose series of lectures blending the second advent and sanctification had greatly impressed him. Then he took the "1843 Chart" and studied its "hideous" beasts. Concerning this he confides, "The repugnance with which I regarded that chart cannot be well conceived." But those symbols manifestly pictured the incapable language of the Bible. Brown was astonished and humbled to see that they actually stood for the kingdoms of Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome—outlined through the prophetic image of Daniel 2. And mankind was unquestionably now down in the feet of iron and clay. Therefore the book of Daniel *must* have been penned by inspiration, and the 490 years assuredly reached to the Messiah and the crucifixion.

Light began to break, he confided, conflict with prejudice ended, and indescribable peace filled his soul. He next came

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

¹⁴ *Second Advent of Christ*, July 12, 1843.

¹⁵ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, pp. 343, 344; *Signs of the Times*, Jan. 10, 1844, p. 155.

to feel that popular Protestantism was "tinctured with a little atheism, and Deism, and Unitarianism, and Universalism, and philosophy, and mysticism." He reached a definite conclusion: "In the midst of such a clashing of opinions," we must take the Bible. Thus Brown testified before the Baptist Association meeting.¹⁶ That, of course, meant a break with lifelong associates.

And Brown's experience was but typical of that of many ministers in the various churches, six of whose crisis hours he knew personally. Thus J. B. Cook of Middletown, Connecticut, wrote to Brown on April 14, 1843, declaring the similarity of his own experience.¹⁷ Light flooded in from the Bible. The seals of the prophecies were broken open and its mysteries unveiled. Error had given way to truth. The millennium had been clarified, and the great prophetic time periods were clearly about to end.

V. Bernard—Explicitly Declares His Convictions

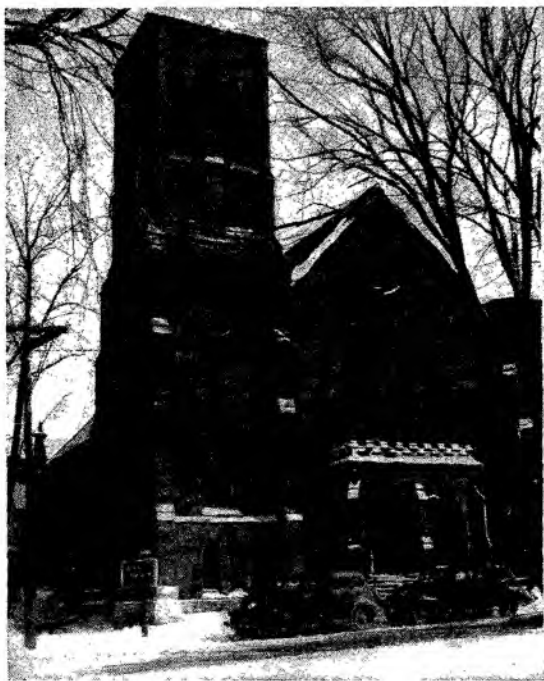
Strong, vigorous letters were printed, like that of another Baptist minister, DAVID BERNARD, of Pensfield, New York, dated January 2, 1843. He had invited Miller to his church, and accepted the advent teaching. Bernard's "letter" is a *multum in parvo*, as a terse, comprehensive marshaling of evidence on the second advent near—the prophecies of Daniel 2, 7, 8, the 70 weeks and the 2300 year-days leading to A.D. "1843," and the 1260 years of Daniel 7 and Revelation 11 extending from 538 to 1798. The 1290 years were from 508 to 1798, and the 1335 from 508 to 1843, when Daniel will stand in his lot. He closes with this emphatic "P.S.":

"If we have made no mistake in our exposition of the Prophecies of Daniel, the Lord will come in 1843. Should there be a mistake—which is possible—still I believe, from the other prophecies, that the end of things is at hand. I SHALL LOOK FOR HIM TILL HE COMES!!!"¹⁸

¹⁶ F. G. Brown, *Views and Experience in Relation to Entire Consecration and the Second Advent*, pp. 28-48.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 49-58.

¹⁸ *Letter of David Bernard, (A Baptist Minister) on the Second Coming of Christ*, p. 12.



MILLERITE MINISTERS HAD PASTORED THESE CHURCHES

(Left) Baptist Church at Lockport, New York, Presided Over by Elon Galusha, Son of Governor Jonas Galusha of Vermont; (Right) Christian Church of New Bedford, Massachusetts, of Which Silas Hawley Had Been Minister

His was another of the churches, near Rochester, where Miller preached. But his appearance and message well-nigh split the church.

VI. Hawley—Cites Supporting Witnesses of the Centuries

SILAS HAWLEY,¹⁹ another Presbyterian-Congregationalist minister, of Groton, Massachusetts, likewise became an able

¹⁹ SILAS HAWLEY (1815-1888) was born in Massachusetts of English ancestry. One of his forebears was president of Cambridge University. Another, according to Bancroft, is credited with originating the idea of an American Republic, with elections and two legislative houses. (*History of the United States*, vol. 3, p. 136.) From the academy at Whitesboro, New York, Silas went on to the Oneida Collegiate Institute, which then gave a full collegiate course. Then, as was the custom of the day, he studied theology privately with the distinguished Presbyterian divine, Stephen W. Burritt, as tutor. Hawley was licensed to preach in 1835 and ordained in 1836. He held pastorates in New York State, then in Massachusetts, and subsequently in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Ohio.

Well trained, with much native ability, and positive convictions, he was a pointed, forceful speaker and accurate writer, and a conspicuous expounder of the Word, as well as a successful revivalist. Hawley was one of the original abolitionists, having taken his stand before Garrison's *Liberator* appeared, and was active in the formation of the Anti-Slavery Society of Utica, New York, when its members were mobbed. He was similarly active in other reforms. In his later years he was a spiritual father, and led a Bible class. He was also president of the Dodge County Bible Society.

Millerite preacher in 1840.²⁰ He delivered the important dedicatory address at the large Boston Tabernacle on May 4, 1843, with nearly four thousand persons present, including a large number of the local clergy.²¹ Hawley here successfully contended that Miller's primary views on prophecy had been held by eminent theologians through the centuries,²² and were thus supported by the ablest scholarship of both Europe and America. He then presented the "seven points" upon which the only serious challenge has been made, but for which positions he cites many renowned authorities, including noted Catholic and Jewish as well as Protestant expositors. This very acquaintance of able Millerite leaders with the whole range of prophetic interpreters gave confidence both to themselves and to their hearers.²³ They knew they were standing on solid ground, backed by the soundest, reverent scholarship of the ages.

Hawley stressed the promises and the prophecies of God as the basis of their faith—the coming personal reign of Christ, the premillennial advent, the preparatory events, and the evidence that it is soon to begin. Let us again listen in, as the

²⁰ On one occasion he reported two hundred converts from an evangelistic endeavor, some of them hardened and apparently hopeless cases. (*Midnight Cry*, Aug. 24, 1843, pp. 6, 7.)

²¹ *Signs of the Times*, May 10, 1843, p. 76.

²² *Ibid.*, June 7, 1843, pp. 110, 111.

²³ Personal examination of the available books of Hawley's library discloses the type of books read by him prior to 1844. These include then-standard works like Symington on the *Atonement*, Charnock on the *Atonement* (1840), M'Ilvaine's *Evidences* (1844), Wayland's *Moral Science* (1844), and Hengstenberg's *Christology of the Old Testament* (1836). Then there were Gausson's *Inspiration of the Bible*, Schmucker's *Popular Theology* (1834), Watson's *Apology for Christianity* (1831), Jenyn's *Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion* (1831), Leslie's *Short and Easy Method With Deists* (1831), Paley's *Moral Science* (1818), and *Evidences of Christianity* (1831). They also included Hopkins' *System of Doctrines* (1811), Planck's *Introduction to Sacred Philology and Interpretation* (1834), *Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation* (1834), and Hatfield's *Universalism as It Is* (1841).

In church history were included Prideaux, Eusebius, Marsh's *Epitome of General Ecclesiastical History* (1835), Riddle's *Ecclesiastical Chronology* (1840), *The Apostolic Fathers* (1834), Punchard's *History of Congregationalism* (1841), *Congregational Catechism* (1844), *Permanent Temperance Documents* (vol. 1, 1835). On baptism there was Fowler and Atwood; on the Sabbath, Phelps's *An Argument for the Perpetuity of the Sabbath*. On the Papacy, Chillingworth and Morse (1837), and Green on *Christian Education*, *Oneida Institute and Ancient Classics* (1841), Finney's *Lectures to Professing Christians* (1837), Johnson's *Household Consecration* (1836).

In the field of prophecy were Frey's *Messiahship of Jesus*, Duffield's *Dissertation on the Prophecies* (1842), Davies on the "Signs of the Times" (Luke 21, in *Sermons*, vol. 3, 1841), Bush's *Harmony and Exposition of Matthew 24*, also Bush on the *Millennium*, Kirkwood's *Lectures on the Millennium*, and Cummings' *Voices of the Day*, and *Voices of the Night*. Special mention should be made of the complete set of *The Literalist*, vols. 1-5 (published by Orrin Rogers, 1840, 1841)—the complete set of reprints of British advent writers before the Millerites began their series. And along with these and scores of others, was Hawley's own *Pastor's Handbook*, with its marriage and funeral services, Rules of Order for Assemblies, with his own specially phrased services, together with a handwritten book of his own expositions of various texts, and little spiritual essays.

Scriptural basis is effectively given. Stalwart strokes against postmillennialism are struck. The clerical scoffers are named and their weaknesses pointed out, as Hawley says:

"Dowling has written *speciously* yet *unfairly*, and therefore without great effect; Smith had written *sneeringly*; Campbell *feebly*; Bush *paradoxically*; the Universalists *bitterly*; all *ineffectually*." ²⁴

Then the convincing evidences of the prophecy of Daniel are marshaled with the touch of a master hand—the four world empires, the Roman fourth, the ten horn-divisions, the papal Little Horn, the horn of the eighth chapter, and the length of the prophetic time periods. These, he asserts, are the "only points of doubt or dissent involved in the system we advocate. If we are sustained in these by the best and highest authorities of the religious world, all must see that the system does not rest on slight or insufficient grounds." ²⁵

Hawley then proceeds to show, with inexorable logic, that every major position advocated is held by revered and noted expositors, past and present, the Little Horn, the Papacy, the 1260 days as years, and likewise the 2300 days as years. Here are the seven fundamental points covered:

1. THE FOURTH KINGDOM IS ROME.—This has had the general consent of the Jewish and Christian churches for more than eighteen centuries. Among the Jews are listed the writers of the Targum, Josephus, Abravanel, Kimchi, et cetera, and in the early Christian church, Hippolytus, Irenaeus, Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, Lactantius, Jerome. Of later Reformation and post-Reformation scholars are noted Luther, Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, Thomas Newton, Hales, Scott, Clarke, Watson, Lloyd, Daubuz, Brightman, Faber, Noel, and in fact practically every Protestant commentator. ²⁶

2. THE LITTLE HORN OF CHAPTER 7.—That this "horn" is the Papacy is the view of virtually the "whole Protestant

²⁴ Silas Hawley, *The Second Advent Doctrine Vindicated*, pp. 60, 61.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 72.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75. On all these expositors, under the seven points, see previous volumes of *Prophetic Faith*.

world." Again Mede, the Newtons, Scott, Daubuz, Hurd, Jurieu, Fleming, Lowman, Clarke, Croly, Horne, Watson, Noel, and Cuninghame are cited in corroboration.

3. THE EXCEEDING GREAT HORN OF CHAPTER 8.—That this is likewise Rome is supported by Luther, Sir Isaac Newton, Prideaux, Horne, Clarke, Hopkins, Cuninghame, and others.

4. THE LENGTH OF THE PROPHETIC PERIODS.—That the symbolic day stands for the literal year is attested by Mede, the Newtons, Faber, Prideaux, Clarke, Scott, Wesley, and practically all noted expositors. Even the unfriendly Moses Stuart, critic of Andover, is quoted as admitting—

"IT IS A SINGULAR FACT THAT THE GREAT MASS OF INTERPRETERS in the English and American world, have, for many years, been wont to understand the *days* designated in Daniel and the Apocalypse, as the *representations or symbols of years*. I have found it difficult to trace the origin of this general, *I might say*, ALMOST UNIVERSAL CUSTOM."²⁷

5. THE BEGINNING OF THE 70 WEEKS.—This decree of the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus ("according to Ezra seventh, B.C. 457") has "long been considered by commentators to be a settled point; and it probably would not now be disputed, were it not for a desire to avoid the conclusion to which it brings us, on the supposition that it is the beginning of the 2300 days."²⁸ On "so settled a point" the testimony of Horne, Prideaux, Clarke, Watson, Howel, Scott, and Cuninghame are adduced.

6. THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE 2300 DAYS AND THE 70 WEEKS.—On this point opponents who agree on the preceding five points do most of their questioning. Yet this also is similarly sustained by noted scholars, as well as by the literal meaning of the Hebrew—to *cut off*, or *cut out*. The vision of the 70 weeks was given to enable Daniel to understand the matter and con-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 78. The date "according to Ezra seventh" evidently means the marginal date; the authors cited agree on the seventh year of Artaxerxes, not all on 457 B.C.

sider "the vision," previously given, as Messiah was to be "cut off" for His people. The 70 weeks must therefore be cut off from the 2300 days, as their first part. Gill, Hengstenberg, and Gesenius so render it, and various Hebrew scholars are cited. Bush, as well as Joseph Wolff, declares they are the first part of the 2300. So also Dr. Joshua Wilson, contemporary Presbyterian authority of Cincinnati, and many others, he adds.

7. THE RISE OF THE LITTLE HORN OF DANIEL 7.—Here Hawley asserts that the Papacy, "symbolized by the little horn, rose by virtue of the decree of Justinian, and not that of Phocas, or any other ruler, or power." This decree, "though issued in A.D. 533, did not, as we conceive, go into full effect until 538, when the enemies of the Catholics in Rome were subjugated." For this he summons as competent witnesses Croly, Noel, Cuninghame, King, and the then-current *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (Fessenden's), article, "Antichrist." Hawley then avers that their positions are sustained by the "highest authorities of the religious world." Therefore, he asserts, we are not "novel, fanatical, and heretical," but are supported by "the most distinguished talent and extensive learning, the highest ornaments of the church, and the best standard expositors."²⁹ The impression was profound.

The conclusion cannot be resisted, he declares, that the "*end is at hand.*" Having established the extent of the prophetic field, the length of the prophetic times, and the dates from which to reckon them, "all must concede that the present period is that which is to witness the grand termination of all earthly things." As the Jews have not yet been able to dispose of the 70 weeks in relation to Christ's first advent, neither, he insists, are Christian opponents today able to dispose of the 2300 years.

"Though he tarry beyond a given time, let us daily watch. We may be fully assured that the great principles on which our faith and hope are based, *are true, AND WILL ABIDE FOREVER.*"³⁰

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 83.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

Here again this comprehensive coverage of past exposition, as well as of contemporary writers on prophecy, is seen in Hawley's marshaling of the evidence. It is another evidence of the wide reading and thorough investigation on the part of such scholarly men concerning the foundations of their prophetic faith. Theirs was obviously not a shallow search. They did not draw haphazard or hasty conclusions, but were familiar with the past.³¹ They were consciously and confidently the perpetuators of the sound interpretation of the early church, then of the Reformation church, and now under their own study they felt they were but continuing and carrying to consummation the enduring principles of the centuries, that they were simply in the line of succession.

VII. Galusha—Casts in Lot With Miller Movement

ELON GALUSHA³² was son of the governor of Vermont during the War of 1812, from whom William Miller received his commission as an officer in the State militia. Elon was given a good education and studied law. Then, in 1810, he was converted and united with the Baptists. Before long the gospel came to be more inspiring to him than the law, and he soon felt it his duty to preach. He started meetings in an old school-house in his home town, preaching every night to large congregations that assembled, and who were moved by the awakening power of the Word. He became an able minister, and was known as a sound reasoner and highly eloquent speaker as well

³¹ The collection of books assembled by the Millerites at their Boston headquarters contained a remarkably large assemblage of Reformation, post-Reformation, and early nineteenth-century expositors of prophecy. Those acquainted with the ground covered in Volumes II and III of *Prophetic Faith* will be impressed with the familiarity and conscious oneness of the Millerite leaders with these past prophetic interpreters. In the British post-Reformation period they had copies of Mede, Tillinghast, Beverley, Goodwin, More, Fleming, Burnet, the two Newtons, Swan, "R.O." (Richard Overton), Nathaniel Homes, Willett, and Blair, Ferguson, and Hales (the chronologists), as well as Jurieu, Faber, Bicheno, Towers, Heylyn, Ussher, Henry, and Scott. In the earlier American period, there were Lathrop, Kinne, Spaulding, Marsh, Imri, Austin, Boudinot, Bray, McFarland; and in nineteenth-century times, Cuninghame, Frere, Noel, Hooper, Bickersteth, Pym, Cox, Brooks, Irving, Duffield, Shimeall, Thomas, Orrin Rogers, and others. (These have been personally examined.—L. E. F.)

³² ELON GALUSHA (1790-1856) was born in Shaftsbury, received a B.A. from the University of Vermont in 1816, and an M.A. from Brown University in 1820. For sixteen years (1816-1832) he was pastor at Whiteboro, near Utica, New York, and subsequently at Utica, Rochester, Perry, and Lockport. He was also president of the Baptist Missionary Convention in New York City.

as a careful writer.³³ Few men could carry an audience along as could Galusha with his glowing enthusiasm and substantial instruction.

In 1843 Miller was making a tour of New York State and came to Lockport, where Galusha resided. For several months he had been earnestly studying the question of the second coming of Christ. Miller's presentation convinced him of the soundness of the premillennial position, and from thenceforth he became its ardent advocate, constantly preaching on the imminent advent, the literal resurrection, and a literal restitution of Eden. His joining the Millerite forces created quite a sensation in ministerial circles, and his example became a determining influence with some of the more timid clergy. (Cut of Galusha's church appears on p. 671.)

The background was this: Galusha's name, as "Pastor of the Baptist Church of Lockport," headed a list of sixty signatures requesting Miller to deliver an entire course of lectures on the second advent, and to correct misunderstandings and misconceptions about his views.³⁴ Up to this time Galusha had not committed himself on Miller's specific teachings. But Miller responded to the invitation, and at the close of the series Galusha became an open advocate, and was thereafter an active preacher in the second advent movement.³⁵ The *Midnight Cry* for February 8, 1844, states that Galusha had just tendered his resignation to the church trustees that he might be wholly free to preach his convictions. The Baptist church in Perry, New York, where he went to be pastor for a time, expelled him from their communion.³⁶

For years Galusha had regarded the world as on the "crumbling verge of time." It is rushing along like a railroad train "on the track of time, to the last depot." He had studied Newton, Gill, Poole, and Matthew Henry, and had received

³³ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

³⁴ Photostat in Advent Source Collection.

³⁵ Litch, "Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 78.

³⁶ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

a letter from Prof. N. N. Whiting, likewise a prominent Baptist, urging a thorough and patient study of the advent and the prophecies. Regarding this as reasonable he resolved to comply. As a result he became fully satisfied that there was to be no restoration of the literal Jews to Canaan, no millennium before the second advent, and no eternal kingdom before the second coming of Christ.

He was convinced that the symbolic prophecies are fulfilled literally; that a day stands for a year; that the 70 weeks ended in A.D. 33, at the cross, and are cut off from the 2300 years; that the 2300 years and the 1335 end in 1843, as well as the seven times, or 2520 years; that the Papacy is the Mystery of Iniquity, and the 1260 years extended from 538 to 1798; that the grand jubilee, or year of release, was due, and the five months (or 150 years) of the fifth trumpet were from July, 1299, to 1449, and the 391 years of the sixth trumpet from 1449 to August, 1840; and that the predicted darkening of the sun came in 1780, and the falling of the stars in 1833. It is an overwhelming array.

Let us, he urged, learn an imperative lesson from the Jewish rabbis, who were so blinded by preconceived opinions as to crucify the very Lord of glory—and still continue to look to the future for Messiah's coming. We have come to the last days, he averred, with their perilous times and scoffers. The days of Noah are repeated. Let us beware lest we be taken unaware. Be ready! he pleaded. Then comes his vivid climax, in swift, tumbling phrases, like staccato notes:

"The song of revelry soon will cease—the voice of mirth be heard no more forever—the chilling horror will suddenly seize upon you—the sheltering rocks will not protect you—the falling mountains will not hide you—the fire stream will not spare you—the wail of anguish will not relieve you—Nor gushing tears—nor Mercy's name—unbleeding Lamb, —will then avail you! 'Now is the accepted time—now is the day of salvation.' *Now*, while the last tide may be ebbing—while the last sand may be falling—fly to Jesus—*swiftly fly*—your sins confess—for mercy *plead*—while He is on the mercy-seat." ³⁷

³⁷ *Address of Elder Elon Galusha, With Reasons for Believing Christ's Second Coming, at Hand*, p. 20.

Then in another vein, through quiet reasoning in an article in the *Southern Midnight Cry*, Galusha asks, "Where Are We in the Chronology of the World?" And his answer is that only the last portions of the great outline prophecies, connected with the imminent second advent, remain unfulfilled—the last link in the long connected chain of prophetic events. We have passed through all the kingdoms of Daniel 2, and are only waiting for the stone to smite the image on its feet, and then to become the glorious kingdom that shall stand forever. The same is true of the series of Daniel 7, which is only waiting for the Ancient of Days to slay the fourth beast and give the kingdom to the Son of Man. We have similarly passed all the kingdoms of Daniel 8, and merely await the breaking without hand of the exceeding great horn, and the final cleansing of the sanctuary. The same is likewise the case with Daniel 11 and 12—only the standing up of Michael, the time of trouble, the deliverance of God's people, and the awakening of those who sleep in the dust of the earth remain of all the many predictions and specifications.

We have passed nearly all the events mentioned by Christ in Matthew 24, except the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven. The various signs of the times admonish us of the nearness of the end—the heaping up of treasures, of James 5; the unwillingness of men to hear sound doctrine, of 2 Timothy 4; the scoffers predicted of Peter for the last times—the perilous times, the departing from the faith, the arising of false teachers. We are clearly under the sixth seal of Revelation 6, between the falling of the stars (in 1833) and the departing of the heavens as a scroll—in the Laodicean state of the church, under the sixth trumpet, with the seventh ready to sound. We must therefore be near the end of the prophetic periods—the six thousand years from creation, the seven times of the Gentiles, the great jubilee of jubilees, the 1335 years from the time the "daily" was taken away—all alike pointing to 1843. After this comprehensive survey comes his sobering conclusion:

"Having therefore seen the fulfillment of all these prophecies, witnessed the appearance of all these signs, and reached that point of time when all the prophetic periods appear to terminate, sustained by the best historical and chronological evidence, we cannot be far from the ushering in of eternal realities. We ought, therefore, not to sleep as do others."³⁸

These are echoes from the lips of Miller's lesser-known associates, all of whom were stalwart characters.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Miller's Power in the Pulpit

I. Foremost Herald of the Approaching Advent

As a spiritual leader Miller was held in highest esteem by his ministerial associates all through the course of the Advent Movement. He was constantly referred to and always regarded as a minister, not a layman.¹ His thorough understanding of Scripture and his power in public address commanded the highest respect, admiration, and love of his supporters, who often affectionately called him Father Miller. He was humble and teachable, ever holding himself subject to correction by his brethren. He never sought power or control, and was remarkably charitable toward those who differed from him.

Irrespective of the speaking and writing effectiveness of a score of able ministers who stood close to him in leadership—and of the two hundred or more other ministers and five hundred associated public lecturers midway through the movement,² many of whom were laymen—Miller remained the acknowledged leader of the American Advent Movement, which was everywhere popularly known as the Millerite movement. And among them, often with pronounced scholarship and

¹ In addition to his ministerial papers of 1833 and 1835 (see p. 501), there is on file a later certificate of endorsement by members of the Vermont Christian Conference, dated November 22, 1838, at Calais, the signatures including Timothy Cole, J. V. Himes, L. D. Fleming, and P. R. Russell. Another was by a Free Will Baptist group, dated January 23, 1839, signed by four ministerial representatives. And a similar certificate, dated January 26, 1839, was signed by three Methodist clergymen. Such interdenominational endorsement was most unusual. These were all, of course, before the churches began to close against him. (All three originals are in the Adventual Collection, Aurora College; photostat copies in Advent Source Collection.)

² Later increased from one thousand five hundred to two thousand. And seven hundred clergymen were believers in premillennialism, and sympathetic toward Miller's positions.

platform and writing ability, there was none who had greater power in attracting and holding giant audiences than did Miller year after year. He was the chief speaker at their greatest gatherings. Miller received tremendous publicity, and was constantly in the spotlight of the public press. The President himself, investigators observed, did not occupy a more prominent place in the news of the day. Millerism even divided front-page space with the hot political campaign between Henry Clay and James K. Polk.

That Miller was in no sense the originator of the system that bore his name is obvious. Rather, every leading tenet of the Millerite faith had been advanced by others over and over again, many of whom were of highest repute in the various religious circles. But Miller was in the succession of unusual men who have held the advent banner conspicuously aloft through the centuries. He was a peerless expounder of Bible prophecy in his time, in what he believed to be its glorious consummation in America in the mid-nineteenth century.

Miller was clearly a genius in the pulpit. The secret of his great power in preaching unquestionably lay in his utter sincerity and conscientiousness, in his implicit faith in the glad tidings he preached, together with his unique capacity for vivid speech. Added to these was the heart burden he bore for his hearers. Of the latter he wrote to Himes:

"Those souls whom I have addressed in my six months' tour are continually before me, sleeping or waking; I can see them perishing by the thousands; and when I reflect on the accountability of their teachers, who say 'peace and safety,' I am in pain for them."³

Miller was a tremendous worker. Although frail in health and afflicted with palsy, he was nevertheless away from home most of the time, traveling by stagecoach, railroad, or boat—with all the hardships attendant upon travel in those early days, and with snowstorms, floods, and poor roads increasing the hardship. In one eight-week trip through New York State

³ Letter. Miller to Himes, March 31, 1840, *Signs of the Times*, April 15, 1840, p. 14.

he preached eighty-five times in this short period, besides discharging the other duties of leadership devolving upon him. Small wonder that the movement spread with amazing speed as scores of other men of ability and drive rallied to his banner. In a published address in January, 1844, he said, "I have preached about 4,500 lectures in twelve years, to at least 500,000 different people."⁴ And this was in more than 4,000 different communities. Such was his unique record.

Miller had unusual felicity in speech. He often rose to heights of real eloquence. For example, after the Great Disappointment had passed, he uttered this gem:

"I have never courted the smiles of the proud, nor quailed when the world frowned. I shall not now purchase their favor; nor shall I go beyond duty to tempt their hate. I shall never seek my life at their hands; nor shrink I hope, from losing it, if God in his good providence so orders."⁵

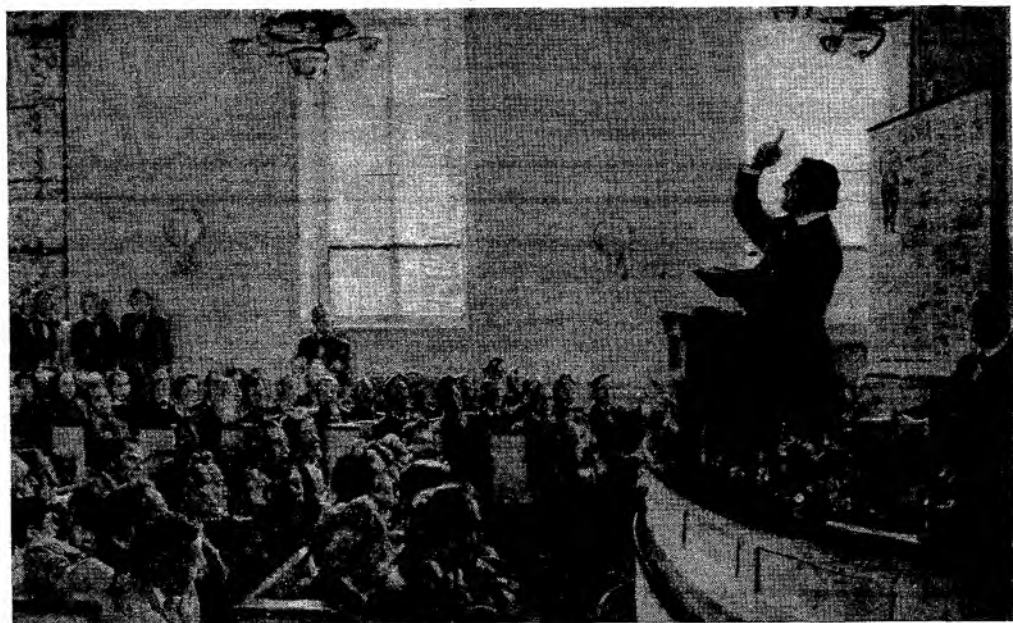
Examination of considerably more than a hundred of Miller's sermon outlines, all in his own handwriting,⁶ reveals that he had a well-disciplined and orderly mind. The outlines are logical but diversified and able in arrangement. Some merely list four to a dozen progressive points under Roman numerals. Others are organized more fully, with subdivisions as well, under Arabic numerals, and often with opening paragraphs and crucial parts in detailed notation. Comparison with the published sermon, in those instances where possible, shows not only a comprehensive grasp of his subject and its logical development, but how much was brought into the finished discourse that was not indicated in the bare outline. This is seen, for example, in the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, available in both forms.

Many of his sermons were simple gospel themes, presenting various phases of saving grace, ever exalting Christ and

⁴ "Address to Second Advent Believers," *Signs of the Times*, Jan. 31, 1844, p. 196.

⁵ Ms. letter, Miller to I. E. Jones, Nov. 29, 1844; also in *Review and Herald*, Aug. 19, 1851, p. 14.

⁶ These were on slips of paper of varying size and shape, ranging from tiny scraps, 2" x 4", up to eight pages, 5" x 8" in considerable detail—but all on the same general pattern and methodical form.



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HARRY ANDERSON, ARTIST

WILLIAM MILLER—EFFECTIVE PREACHER OF THE PROPHECIES

Some Six Thousand Times, in the Decade From 1834-1844,⁷ Miller Spoke to Gravely Attentive Audiences, Which at Times Numbered as High as Ten Thousand. He Was Recognized as a Power in the Pulpit, Speaking in Crowded Churches, Halls, Courthouses, Theaters, and in Open-Air Assemblages

salvation through Him alone—stressing regeneration, justification, sanctification, and glorification, yet always in the setting of Christ's imminent second advent. These outlines show a really remarkable grasp of the fundamental principles and provisions of redemption, his power in the pulpit stemming not only from deep conviction but from his own experience in personal salvation.

II. Characteristics of Miller's Public Address

Miller's preaching was unique.⁷ For one thing, his conspicuous mastery of the Bible was much greater than that of the average clergyman. He was everywhere recognized as pre-eminently a man of the Book, and commonly spoke with an

⁷ The ablest and most comprehensive study of Miller's power in the pulpit is found in Charles Elliott Weniger's doctoral dissertation, "A Critical Analysis and Appraisal of the Public Address of William Miller, Early American Advent Lecturer" (1948). University of Southern California. Draft is here made, by permission, upon some of the leading findings of his painstaking research.

open Bible in his hand. He continually quoted the Bible, exalted the Bible, and employed its imagery. And his draft upon history was likewise remarkable, for he had an unusual grasp of its great outlines and major events. He had the appearance and the speaking style of the trained minister, and compared favorably with his prominent compeers. Contemporary evidence attests that the well read and the scholarly were the most impressed of all his auditors—teachers, lawyers, preachers, civic leaders, and physicians. He was vivid in his diction and was a master of the crowd. There was an intimate conversational quality about his delivery that won and held the interest. And to his logic, balance, and heart appeal was added rhythm, as he frequently employed the rhythmic movement of verse.

There was often an impressive touch of picturesque and homely beauty in his speech. People remembered his fervent words, and his influence upon his audience was profound. Men sat "chained to their seats," as it were, as he expounded, pleaded, and warned. Often his audiences listened to his solemn climaxes with the "stillness of death." These climactic exhortations were unusually powerful. And always his emphasis on the last days was used to lead men to repent and believe and prepare for that great day. But behind it all was the impact of Miller's irreplicable character.

Miller usually made a clear announcement of his text and often of his plan and purpose of presentation. The arrangement was usually simple, with a telling summary when he had finished the outline of his argument. He made effective use of his voice, which was full, distinct, and flexible, and seemed always equal to the demands of large city audiences. His intense earnestness, and his absolute personal confidence in the things that he presented, together with his fearlessness and winsomeness in their declaration, made him a power in the desk. He was an unusual revivalist, and distinctively interdenominational in his emphasis. In fact, some of the greatest revivals that various Eastern cities had ever experienced took place under Miller's preaching. Membership in the various communions

was greatly augmented as a direct result. From any angle, Miller's influence upon men was profound, and a really remarkable movement resulted.

Estimates of his followers run from a conservative minimum of fifty thousand up to a million. A common estimate by the Millerites was "50,000 to 100,000." These were the loyal core. The *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* later gave 150,000 to 200,000 members, while McMaster's subsequent American history cites a top figure of one million adherents.⁸ A similar estimate, of a million, appeared in the *Hartford Universalist* of August 27, 1842.⁹ Miller, however, simply speaks of fifty thousand full-fledged "believers" gathered into "Advent congregations,"¹⁰ though multiplied tens of thousands more consented to his teachings. As to the number of clergymen supporting the movement, the American Antiquarian Society again gives the figure of eight hundred ministers consenting, while Miller himself says two hundred ministers actually identified themselves integrally with the movement, along with some five hundred public lecturers.¹¹ Later, Lorenzo D. Fleming, assistant editor of the *Midnight Cry*, in March, 1844, reported, "Something like *fifteen hundred* or *two thousand* lecturers are in the field proclaiming 'the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' " ¹²

Miller was tremendously popular as a speaker. Hundreds of earnest appeals are in the file of letters preserved by Miller, urging him to come to their various communities or churches to preach at least once, and usually asking for a series. His personal notation of date of receipt is placed methodically on each. These approaches came from both preachers and laymen. Sometimes it was the pastor, speaking for his church, upon vote, and frequently bearing long lists of signatures. Other

⁸ John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States*, vol. 7, p. 136.

⁹ "The number of persons who profess to believe that Christ will make his second advent next year, is estimated to be not less than a million." (*The Universalist*, Aug. 27, 1842, p. 416.)

¹⁰ *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, p. 22.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² L.D.F., *Midnight Cry*, March 21, 1844, p. 282.

appeals were from groups of clergymen in a given community, asking for a joint meeting in some central church. And these requests were spread, geographically, all over New England, New York State, and Canada, and out to the West and way down South. They came from every Protestant group, and seemingly in endless procession. There were offers of use of the courthouse or the largest church—with seventy-seven appeals on record in 1839 alone.¹³ Miller's utter physical inability to accept even half of the invitations tendered, brought expressions of deep disappointment.

Preachers wrote constantly asking for explanations and help on the prophecies, or to express their confidence and pledge their support and prayers for his mission. The persistency displayed by some in attempting to have Miller come to their section is unique, with letter after letter over the period of a year or two. For example, the students at Andover desired to hear him, and the pastor pressed the invitation again and again. There were letters from devoted friends and from bitter foes, and even some cowardly anonymous missives. But always they were answered courteously and filed methodically. How one man compassed it all without secretarial help is difficult to conceive.

III. Unique Effectiveness as a Public Speaker

Let us now familiarize ourselves with Miller's diversified preaching styles. This, perhaps more than anything else, will disclose the secret of his power over the masses. For, along with his transparent honesty and sincerity, and his fearless following of truth as he saw it, was his ability to present it effectively. But first a word as to his appearance and his voice, as described by Dr. Thomas Armitage, in his *History of the Baptists*, who had talked with Miller many times:

"In person he was large and heavily built, his head broad and his

¹³ Filed by years in the Adventual Collection, preserved in Miller's old leather trunk. See cut of trunk on p. 464.

brow high, with a soft and expressive eye, and all the inflexions of his voice indicated the sincerest devotion." "He exerted large influence on all who knew him, from his many excellencies and spotless character."¹⁴

That this word picture corresponds closely to the canvas of the portrait painter will be seen by observing the reproduction on page 460. Another friendly description—a "charcoal sketch" of Miller's appearance and character—was written by an observer as Miller was in the midst of his lectures in the great Chinese Museum Auditorium campaign at Philadelphia in February, 1844.

"There is a kindness of soul, simplicity, and power, peculiarly original, combined in his manner, and he is affable and attentive to all without any affectation of superiority. He is of about medium stature, a little corpulent, and in temperament a mixture of sanguine and nervous. His intellectual developments are unusually full, and we see in his head, great benevolence and firmness, united with a lack of self-esteem. He is also wanting in marvellousness [credulity], and is NATURALLY skeptical. His countenance is full and round, and much like the engraving we have seen, while there is a peculiar depth of expression in his blue eyes, of shrewdness and love. Although about sixty-two years of age, his hair is not grey, but a light glossy auburn, his voice is full and distinct, and his pronunciation somewhat northern-antique. In his social relations, he is gentle and affectionate, and insures the esteem of all with whom he mingles. In giving this charcoal sketch to the public, I have merely sought to correct numerous mis-statements, and gratify the honest desire of many distant believers, with a faint outline of the character and appearance of the man."¹⁵

And the Cincinnati *Commercial*, representing the viewpoint of the public press, makes this observation:

"He is quite an old-fashioned man in his speech, very candid, and commands universal attention from his audiences. Whatever people may think of his belief, which is peculiar, one thing is conceded by all, that he is a Christian at heart."¹⁶

As to Miller's preaching style, the editor of *Zion's Herald* likened his heart-searching appeals to Whitefield's sermons—combining solemnity, ardor, and earnestness. Few speakers of the time, he added, had such power in holding a crowd, which

¹⁴ Thomas Armitage, *A History of the Baptists*, p. 769.

¹⁵ "William Miller by the Fireside," *The Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion*, May, 1844, p. 4.

¹⁶ Editorial, Cincinnati *Commercial*, Aug. 23, 1844.

would hang spellbound on his words for an hour and a half to two hours at a time. Everywhere the press commented on this ability to draw and hold crowds, as thousands were turned away from the largest available auditoriums for lack of room. Fortunately, specimens of his sermons and his preaching style remain. Miller's practice was to close his sermons with powerful appeals to the audience to seek salvation. This excerpt is taken from the same *Zion's Herald* that disagrees with his exposition but acknowledges his preaching power.

"Be warned! Repent! Fly, fly for succor to the ark of God—to Jesus Christ—the Lamb which once was slain, that you might live, for he is worthy to receive all honor, power and glory. Believe, and you shall live. Obey his word, his spirit, his calls, his invitations. There is no time for delay. Put it not off I beg of you; no, not for a moment. Do you want to join that heavenly choir, and sing the *new song*? Then come in God's appointed way. Repent. Do you want a house, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens? Then join in heart and soul this happy people whose God is the Lord. Do you want an interest in the New Jerusalem, the beloved city? Then set your face as a flint Zionward. Become a pilgrim in the good old way. 'Seek first the kingdom of heaven,' says Christ, 'and then all these things shall be added unto you.'

"But you my impenitent friends, who have never wept nor confessed your sins to God, who have been more anxious to have your names written in the book of fame, of worldly honor, of the riches of this world, than in the Book of Life, remember you too will weep when all heaven is silent. When the last seal is broken,— then you will see the book, and your name blotted out! Then you will weep and say, once my name was there. I had a day of probation. Life was proffered, but I hated instruction. I despised reproof, and my part is taken from the Book of Life! Farewell happiness! farewell hope! Amen."¹⁷

IV. Dealing With a "Year-Day" Quibbler

Miller was also the constant object of criticism, slander, scoffing, and abuse. At times he was so aroused by the unfairness of the attack that he became extremely severe in his retorts. He was by nature a past master at irony and sarcasm, and occasionally gave expression to an impatience he afterward deeply regretted. Few have been called upon to bear the amount

¹⁷ Cited in *Signs of the Times*, April 15, 1840, p. 12.

of reproach that fell to his lot, though on most occasions he was severe without being discourteous. Aside from straight exposition, here is an example in forthright dealing with the quibble that the 2300 *prophetic* days of Daniel 8:14 merely mean *literal* days:

“‘But,’ says the critic, ‘it is “evenings-mornings.”’

“No matter: all men seem to understand it *days*; for it is so translated in every language with which we are acquainted at the present day. Therefore, this can never be made plainer, if this compound Hebrew word should be criticized upon until the judgment shall set. I am sick of this continual harping upon words. Our learned critics are worse on the waters of truth than a school of sharks on the fishing-banks of the north, and they have made more infidels in our world than all the heathen mythology in existence. What word in revelation has not been turned, twisted, racked, wrested, distorted, demolished, and annihilated by these voracious harpies in human shape, until the public have become so bewildered they know not what to believe? ‘They have fouled the waters with their feet.’ I have always noticed where they tread the religious spirit is at a low ebb; it becomes cold, formal, and doubtful, at least. It is the mind of the Spirit we want, and God’s word then becomes spirit and life unto us.”¹⁸

Miller then proceeds to expound its meaning, on the year-day principle.

“The words “*evenings-mornings*” convey to our mind the idea of days; thus this vision is 2300 days long,” says the reader.

“‘Yes. But how can all this be?’ says the inquiring mind. ‘Can three kingdoms rise up and become great; from a small people become a strong nation; conquer all the nations of the earth, and then, in its turn, be subdued and conquered by a kingdom still more fortunate; and so on through three successive kingdoms, and do this in little over six years? Impossible.’

“‘But God has said it, and I must believe. Now the only difficulty is in time.’

“‘How can this be?’

“‘Very well,’ says the dear child of God; ‘I remember me: God says I must “dig for the truth as for hid treasure.” I will go to work, and, while I am digging, I will live by begging. Father in heaven, I believe it is thy word; but I do not understand it; show me thy truth.’

“‘I had rather have one humble prayer of this kind, with an English Bible in my hand, than all the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Bro. S.’¹⁹ ever knew.

¹⁸ Bliss, *Memoirs*, p. 207.

¹⁹ Evidently Prof. Moses Stuart, or possibly Dr. C. E. Stowe, both of Andover.

"The child then takes the word *day*, and compares spiritual things with spiritual, to find what his heavenly Father means by days in a figurative sense. The first text he lights upon is in Num. 14:34, '*each day for a year.*'

"May this not be it?" says the child.

"He takes hold of it by faith, carries it home, lays it up in his cell of sweets, richer than a lord, and again goes forth in search of more. He now lights upon Eze. 4:6: '*I have appointed thee each day for a year.*' He is now rich in very deed—two jewels in one cell. He does not stop to criticize, like a Stuart, and query, and reason himself out of common sense and reason too; but, Abraham-like, he believes, and lays up his treasure at home.

"I see," says the child, 'this use of days was so ordained by my Father in two cases; and two witnesses are enough. But I am not certain that I have a right to use these jewels in this place. I will go and beg, and dig again.'

"In this excursion he lights on Daniel 9:23-27: 'Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people.'

"Seventy weeks of what?" says the critic.

"I do not care a fig," says the believing child, 'whether you call it *days* or *years*: I know how long it was in fulfilling.'

"How long?"

"Exactly four hundred and ninety years: from the decree given in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, four hundred and fifty-seven years before Christ, unto his death, thirty-three years after the birth of Christ, making exactly four hundred and ninety years, or seventy sevens of years of the vision.' " ²⁰

V. Direct Exposition on the 1260-years

Miller was an effective reasoner, and at times indulged in effective colloquy. At other times he was very solemn and direct. Maintaining that we must be beyond the close of the 1260 years of Daniel and John from the fact that the church is no longer in the "wilderness," he says:

"Can we be mistaken in the fulfillment of this prophecy? Is the church now in the wilderness? And if you should respond, She is,—I ask you, When, then, was she out? Not in the apostolic age; for she was not more free then than now. And then, let me inquire, where are your twelve hundred and sixty years? They can have no meaning. O, Christian! I beg of you, believe in the word of God; do not, I pray you, discard time, any more than manner. Is it not selfishness in us to discard the set times which

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 208.

God has fixed, and not man? Where is our faith? Why are we so slow of heart to believe? Three times we have witnessed,—yes, in the lifetime of some of us,—the fulfillment of the ‘time, times, and an half,’ in the accomplishment of the ‘forty-two months,’ in the completion of the ‘twelve hundred and three-score days,’ and yet, O God, we refuse to believe! Shame on that professor who will not open his eyes!

“They tell us we cannot understand prophecy until it is fulfilled.

“But here it is three times fulfilled in this day in which we live. What excuse have you now, O ye heralds of the cross? Ah! say you, that is *your* construction; we are not bound to follow your explanations. No, no! But for ages you and your fathers have been telling us that these prophecies were true; and you have told us that when they come to pass we should know what they meant; and, although ages on ages have rolled their rapid course, yet nothing has transpired, as you will own; and we, if we should search, and find, as we believe, the prophecies fulfilling, and tell our reasons, you then can taunt us with a sceptic argument,—‘this is *your* construction,’—and then not dare to tell us what it means! Awake, awake, ye shepherds of the flock! Come, tell us why these things are not fulfilled. Deceive us not. You stand upon the walls, both night and day; then tell us what it means. We have a right to ask, ‘Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?’ An answer we must have; or you must leave your towers. It will not do to answer us, ‘I am under no obligation to tell you.’²¹

“Has Zion no better watchman on her walls than this? Alas! alas! then we may sleep, and sleep, until the trumpet’s dreadful blast shall shake our dusty beds, and the last angel raise his hand and swear ‘that time shall be no longer.’ Why are you thus negligent and remiss in duty? If I am not right in my construction of God’s holy word, pray tell us what is truth, and make it look more plain,—and will we not believe? Thus you will cleanse your garments from our blood, and we must bear the shame. What time of night? Come, tell us plainly. There are portentous clouds hanging over our heads; we hear the murmurs of the fitful winds; we see sad omens of a dreadful storm; and where is our watchman’s voice? Your silence gives us fears that we are betrayed. Awake! awake! Ye watchmen, to your post!

“It is no false alarm. There are judgments, heavy judgments, at the door. ‘Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence; a fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him. He shall call to the heavens from above, and to the earth, that he may judge his people.’ How shall the fearful stand in that great day, when heaven and earth shall hear his mighty voice, and they that hear must come to judgment? Where will the unbelieving scoffer then appear? When God makes inquisition for the blood of souls, and when the undershepherds stand, with their flocks, around the ‘great white throne,’ to have each motive, thought, word, act, and deed, brought out to light, before a gazing world,

²¹ From John Dowling, *Exposition of the Prophecies*, p. 111.

and tried by that unerring rule, 'the word.'—I ask you, scorner, jester, scoffer, how will you appear? Stop, stop, and think, before you take a fatal leap, and jest away your soul!"²²

VI. The Gentle and Persuasive Approach

Miller frequently applied his close reasoning powers. At other times Miller was gentle and persuasive. In speaking of the church, in her various circumstances, he says tenderly and appealingly:

"In tracing her history from the patriarch Abraham to the present day, we find her variable as the wind, and changeable as the weather.

"To-day, she is coming up out of the wilderness leaning on the arm of her Beloved; To-morrow, 'like a young roe leaping upon the mountains, and skipping upon the hills.'

"Now she is seen among the trees of the woods; next in a palace of silver inclosed in boards of cedar.

"There we saw her in the clefts of the rock; here we behold her in the broad way, in the streets of the great city.

"Again we find her among the foxes of the desert; and anon we perceive her seeking him whom her soul loveth.

"She is asleep on her bed by night; and the same night the watch finds her in the city.

"Behold her Lord knocking at the door for admittance, while she is too indolent to arise and let him in. The next moment she is opening to her Beloved, but he had withdrawn himself. At one time the voice of her Beloved, sounding over the hills and echoing among the mountains like the roar of distant thunder, has no impression; next, the soft whisper of love gains all her attention.

"Here blows the rough north wind and strong south wind upon her spices, yet they put forth no fragrancy. And there the lightest breeze makes her roses blossom, and all the air is perfume.

"See her countenance to-day black as the tents of Kedar; and to-morrow comely as the daughters of Jerusalem, and fair as the purple curtains of Solomon. To-day she is 'a garden barred, a spring shut up, a fountain sealed;' to-morrow, 'a garden open, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon.' Now she is weak as a babe; a single watchman can 'smite, wound, and take away her veil;' and then she is courageous and valiant, 'terrible as an army with banners.' To-day she is made to keep another's vineyard; to-morrow she is realizing a thousand pieces of silver from her own. She is truly a changeable being, carried about by the slightest circumstances."²³

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 213, 214.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

VII. Exposition of the Prophetic Parables

We close these exhibits of Miller's varied preaching styles and moods with excerpts from the parable of the ten virgins, expounding what is meant by "trimming" their lamps. This becomes the more interesting in the light of Miller's actual sermon notes in his own handwriting.

"The world, for a number of years, have been trimming their lamps, and the wise and foolish have been engaged in translating the word of God into almost every language known to us upon the earth. Mr. Judson tells us that it has been translated into one hundred and fifty languages within thirty years; that is, three times the number of all the translations known to us before. Then fourfold light has been shed among the nations, within the short period of the time above specified; and we are informed that a part, if not all, of the word of God is now given to all nations in their own language. This, surely is setting the word of life in a conspicuous situation, that it may give light to all in the world. This has not been done by the exertions of Christians or professors only, but by the aid of all classes and societies of men. Kings have opened their coffers and favored those engaged in the work; nobles have used their influence, and have cast into the treasury of the Lord of their abundance; rich men have bestowed of their riches; and, in many cases, the miser has forgotten his parsimony, the poor have replenished the funds of the Lord's house, and the widow has cast in her mite. How easy to work the work of the Lord when the hearts of men are made willing by his power! But shall we forget those who have forsaken the land of their fathers, the home of their nativity, and have spent lonesome years of toil among strangers,—yes, worse than strangers,—among heathen idolaters, and the savages of the wilderness, in the cold regions of the north, and under the scorching rays of a vertical sun, among the suffocating sands of the desert, or in the pestilential atmosphere of India; who have risked their lives to learn a language, and prepare themselves to trim a lamp for those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death? No, we will not forget them; the prayers of thousands have ascended before the golden altar, morning and evening, on their behalf, and Israel's God has been their protector. Surely we may hope that these have oil in their lamps, who have sacrificed so much to bestow a lamp upon others. But remember, my brethren, the Lord he is God, and let him have all the glory. This is the time, and the same time that Gabriel informed Daniel, 'Many should run to and fro, and knowledge should increase.' This, too, is the same time when the angel flying through the midst of heaven had the everlasting gospel to preach to them who dwelt upon the earth. Here are Christ's words, fulfilled, where he says, 'And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come.'

"2nd. It is plain, to any diligent observer of the signs of the times, that all the societies for moral reform in our world at the present day are parts of the fulfillment of the parable, giving more light. What of our Bible societies? Are not these trimming the lamp for millions of human beings? Thirty years past, more than three-fourths of the families in what we call Christian lands were without the lamp of life, and now nearly all are supplied. Many of those who sat in heathenish darkness then are now rejoicing in the light of God's book. And much of this has been performed through the instrumentality of Bible societies; and not only through the agency of the church, but political men, men of the world, the great men, merchants of the earth, and those who trade in ships, all who live under the influence of the gospel,—the 'kingdom of heaven,'—have engaged in the work. Will not the most sceptical acknowledge that this society has succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectation of its most ardent advocates? And is not this strong circumstantial evidence that the Bridegroom is near, even at the door?

"3d. The missionary societies, of all sects and denominations, which have been established within forty years, have as far exceeded all former exertions of this kind as the overflowing Nile does the waters of the brook Kidron. See the missionary spirit extending from east to west, and from north to south, warming the breast of the philanthropist, giving life and vigor to the cold-hearted moralist, and animating and enlivening the social circle of the pious devotee. Every nation, from India to Oregon, from Kamtschatka to New Zealand, has been visited by these wise servants (as we hope) of the cross, proclaiming 'the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God,' carrying the lamp, the word of God, in their hands, and oil, faith in God, in their hearts. All classes of men are engaged in this cause, from the gray hairs of old age down to the sprightly youth of ten years. Who, then, can doubt but that the virgins, in this sense, have and are trimming their lamps, and the bride is making herself ready? 'Go ye out to meet him.'

"4th. The Sabbath-schools and Bible-classes are but a part of the fulfillment of the parable, yet clearly an evidence that the virgins are now trimming their lamps. This system of teaching the young and ignorant took its rise between forty and fifty years since, at the very time that the Christian world were praying, and ardently praying, for the coming of Christ, before that part of the Saviour's prayer was forgotten, 'Thy kingdom come.' From a little fountain this stream of water has become a great river, and encompassed the whole land. Every quarter of the globe is drinking at this fountain or stream of knowledge, and the youth are taught to trim their lamps. And when the Bridegroom shall come may we not reasonably hope that the thousands of the young men and young women, who have assisted in giving light to others, may be found having oil in their vessels, and their lamps trimmed and burning, and they looking and waiting for the coming of their Master, that when he comes they may rise to meet him in the air, with ten thousand of their

pupils, who will sing the new song in the New Jerusalem for ever and ever? Search diligently, my young friends, and see to it that ye believe in this word, 'which is able to make you wise unto salvation.'

"5th. Tract societies are of much use, and are an efficient means to help to trim the lamps. Like snuffers that take away the preventives to the light, so are tracts. They take away from the mind the prejudice that thousands have against reading the word of God; they remove those rooted and groundless opinions, which many have, that they cannot understand the Bible; they serve to excite the mind to this kind of reading; they enlighten the understanding in some scriptural truths; they are pioneers, in many instances, to conversion; they can be sent where the word of God cannot at first be received; in one word, they are the harbingers of light, the forerunners of the Bible. And in this, too, all men in this probationary state seem to be more or less engaged, from the king on the throne, down to the poor peasant in the cottage, writing, printing, folding, transporting, paying, or reading, those silent little messengers of the virgin's lamp. 'Then all those virgins arose and trimmed their lamps.' Has not God's hand been seen in all this? And glory be to him who hath disposed the hearts of men to work the work that God bids them, and to fulfil the blessed word which he hath given them. This institution took its rise about the same time with the Bible society.

"6th. Temperance societies. These serve one purpose in trimming the lamps and preparing the way for the virgins to go out and meet the Bridegroom. Our world, twenty years ago, might be called a world of fashionable drunkards; almost all men drank of the intoxicating bowl, and thought it no harm. But when the lamp began to dart its rays around our tabernacles, it was found by woeful experience that those who drank of the poisonous cup were totally and wholly unprepared to receive the warning voice, or to hear the midnight cry, 'Behold, the Bridegroom cometh!' No, 'they that were drunken were drunken in the night,' says the apostle. 'Therefore let us watch and be sober.' And Peter tells us, 'But the end of all things is at hand; be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer.' How foolish would it have been for a drunken man to be set on a watch, or a praying man to be found drunk! Therefore, in order that men might be in a suitable frame of mind to receive instruction at the close of this dispensation, and be in a situation to listen to the midnight cry, God ordered the virgins, and they arose and trimmed their lamps; and in all human probability thousands, who would have met a drunkard's grave if this society had not arose, are now watching, with their lamps trimmed and burning, ready to meet the Bridegroom at his coming. Perhaps this temperance society is the virgin's last resort. The Judge stands at the door; go ye out to meet him. This society, like the others before mentioned, is a general thing, and all sects, denominations, and classes of men, are engaged in it, and it has an important influence upon all men who are in this probationary state, and who may be termed, as in our text, 'virgins.' This society is of later origin than the others, and seems to be a rear-

guard to wake up a few stragglers which the other societies could not reach. And now, drunkards, is your time; Wisdom stands at the door and knocks; let go the intoxicating bowl; be sober, and hear the midnight cry, 'Behold, the Bridegroom cometh!' For your souls' sake drink not another draught, lest he come and find you drunken, 'and that day come upon you unawares and find you sleeping.' O, be wise, ye intemperate men! for they only went into the marriage who were found ready, 'and the door was shut.' 'Then came also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said, Verily, I say unto you, I know you not. Watch, therefore, for ye neither know the day nor the hour when the Son of Man cometh.' 'But the wise shall understand,' says Daniel, 12:10.

"And now, my Christian friends, let me inquire, Are your lamps trimmed and burning? And have you oil in your vessels? Are you prepared for the coming Bridegroom? And are you awake to this important subject? What say you? If this parable, to which I have directed your minds, has reference to the last day and the coming of Christ; if the 'virgins' have reference to all men in the probationary state, and dividing them into two classes, wise and foolish; if the 'lamp' is the word of God, and 'oil' means faith in his word, or grace in the heart, as some say,—then my conclusions are just, and the evidence is strong that we live at the end of the gospel kingdom, and upon the threshold of the glorified state of the righteous. Then examine your Bibles, and if you can more fairly prove any other exposition of this parable than I have this, then believe yours, and time must settle the issue; but if you can find nothing in the Scriptures to controvert plainly my explanation, then believe, and prepare to meet the Bridegroom; for, behold, he cometh!

"Awake, ye fathers and mothers in Zion! ye have long looked and prayed for this day. Behold the signs! He is near, even at the door. And ye children of God, lift up your heads and rejoice, for your redemption draweth nigh. For these things have begun to come to pass. And, ye little lambs of the flock, remember, Jesus has promised to carry you in his arms, and that he will come and take you to himself, that where he is there ye may be also. But remember, all of you, the wise had oil in their lamps, and they were trimmed and burning. Search deep; examine yourselves closely; be not deceived; and may the Spirit, which searcheth all things, and knoweth what is in the mind of man, assist you.

"But, my impenitent friends, what shall I say to you? Shall I say, as the Master in the parable, 'Behold, the Bridegroom cometh: go ye out to meet him'? Prepare to meet your Judge. Now he has given you a time for repentance; you have a probationary season, and possibly now the sceptre of mercy is held out to you. Repent, or it will soon be said to you, as Jeremiah said to the virgin, the daughter of Egypt, 'In vain shalt thou use many medicines; for thou shalt not be cured;' or, as in the parable, 'I know you not.' Have you no oil in your lamps? Delay not a moment; believe the gospel, and you will live; believe the word of God; receive the love of the Bridegroom, and make no delay; for while they went to buy, the

Bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage, and the door was shut. O, think what must be the exercise of your minds when these things shall be real; when you will stand without and knock, saying, 'Lord, Lord, open to us!' Again I ask, will you repent, believe, and be saved? Are you determined to resist the truth until it is too late? Say, sinner, what think ye?

"We will risk the consequences. We do not believe in your day you tell us of. The world is the same it always was,—no change, nor ever will be; but if it should come, it will not this ten thousand years,—not in our day, certainly. You do not believe yourself. If you did, we should call you a fool.'

"Are these your arguments, sinner?

"Yes.'

"Well, if I had brought no more, no stronger arguments than these, I would not blame you for not believing, for not one of yours can you or have you supported with a particle of proof. They are mere assertions; your believing or not believing will not alter the designs of God. The antediluvians believed not. The citizens of the plain laughed at the folly of Lot. And where are they now? Suffering the vengeance of eternal fire."²⁴

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 220-226.

American Base Expansion and Overseas Extension

Let us now glance at certain other augmenting forces that increased the tempo at the American home base. We shall then turn to the rather remarkable extension of the Millerite movement overseas, on other continents and in the islands of the sea—literally out to the ends of the earth. As to the number of public heralds of the advent in 1842, the conservative Millerite leader, Josiah Litch, declared:

“There are now probably five or six hundred ministers of the gospel in the United States who are engaged more or less in preaching the doctrine of the speedy coming of Christ, and a large number who are devoted entirely to the work. The doctrine has made more progress within the last four months than in all previous time.”¹

And by March of 1844, associate editor L. D. Fleming made this amazing assertion of growth: “Something like *fifteen hundred or two thousand* lecturers are in the field proclaiming ‘*The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand,*’ therefore ‘*repent.*’ ”²

The result was a vigorous movement that drew hundreds of thousands into sympathy with premillennialism and away from the postmillennial concept that had been predominant.

I. “Christian” Journals Become Proponents of Millerism

The *Christian Herald and Journal*, leading Eastern organ of the Christian Connection, was published in Exeter, New Hampshire, with PHILEMON R. RUSSELL as one of the editors.

¹ Josiah Litch, *Prophetic Expositions*, vol. 1, p. 167.

² *Midnight Cry*, March 21, 1844, p. 282.

The *Christian Palladium*, a similar journal issued at Union Mills, New York, was edited by the vigorous Joseph Marsh. These two editors became deeply interested in premillennialism about the same time, and in its forceful advocacy by Miller and his early ministerial associates. And both papers became vital factors in bringing it favorably before large sections of the Christian Connection membership.

First, let us trace the *Christian Herald*. Beginning with the April 4, 1839, issue, there is increasing emphasis upon prophecy and the "last times." The names of Timothy Cole, Lorenzo D. Fleming, David Millard, and Henry Plummer appear frequently in its columns. Harriet Livermore is one of its contributors, and there is occasional allusion to Joseph Wolff. Joshua V. Himes writes for it periodically. There are discussions on the millennium and on immersion. And Wesley's dramatic announcement on the day of judgment is reproduced—a rather startling piece of publicity for the time, almost sensational or theatrical in tone.

Then Miller's lectures in Exeter, New Hampshire, in November, when he first met Himes, are noted, along with Timothy Cole's commendation of Miller's presentations.³ An entire issue—December 5, 1839—is given over to the "signs of the times," touching on the drying up of the Turk under the sixth plague, and related matters. Next, beginning with the December 12 number, Associate Editor Russell begins a series of fifteen consecutive editorials on the second advent, based largely on Miller's *Lectures*—expounding Daniel 2; then 7, with the Little Horn as the Papacy; next, the 1260 years from 538 to 1798; and then the 391 years of the Turkish woe trumpet, ending in 1840. (In the February 6, 1840, issue a new edition of Miller's *Lectures* is advertised.)

Russell next sets forth the 2300 years as extending from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1843, or possibly 1847.⁴ David Millard, editor

³ *Christian Herald and Journal*, Nov. 28, 1839, pp. 2, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1840, pp. 2, 3. Mention is also made of the Anti-Slavery Society meetings led by William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Fitch, and others.

in chief, also praises a series of Miller's meetings in progress in his own Portsmouth church. And L. D. Fleming reports that the Portland revival in his Casco Street Christian Church, conducted by Miller some time before, is still bearing fruit. Daniel P. Pike writes on the end of the world, and Russell continues with his series, now on Daniel 11 and 12—dealing with the 1290 years as extending from 508 to 1798, with the 1335 years from 508 to 1843, repeating that the 1260 years reach from 538 to 1798, and the first resurrection is literal. Then by March 5 Russell presents the jubilee of jubilees, or the 2450 years, as from 607 B.C. to A.D. 1843, and cites Miller's calculation of the seven times, or 2520 years, from 677 B.C. to A.D. 1843. Coming to the signs of the times, he touches on the increase of knowledge, riches, peace and safety, scoffers, disasters, and the papal resurgence. And there are the prophecies of the first advent, with the 70 weeks given as 457 B.C. to A.D. 33.⁵

Russell next discusses the woe trumpets—the 150 years as from 1299 to 1449, and the 391 years from 1448 to 1839 (Miller's earlier dates), or 1449 to 1840 (Litch's later calculation). The last of the seven vials are poured out on the papal "beast," with the sixth vial on the Euphratean Turk. The April 16, 1840, issue brings the Russell series of editorials on the advent to a close. With some reservations on details, he clearly sustains the fundamental positions of Miller. The effect of all this discussion was, of course, profound on the thinking of the ministry of the Christian Connection, and on the laymen of that church.

Different men now begin to send in their views to the *Christian Herald* concerning the advent and the prophecies. A series on the second advent appears from Congregationalist Henry Jones.⁶ There is wholehearted announcement of the first Millerite General Conference in Boston, to be held in October (1840), listing the subjects and noting that George Storrs has withdrawn from the Methodist ministry. Then comes

⁵ *Ibid.*, March 19, 1840, pp. 2, 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1840, p. 1.

the remarkable Rockingham Christian Conference, at Newton, New Hampshire, with its resolutions on the second advent at hand, endorsing the principle of investigation, recommending the Millerite *Signs of the Times*, and supporting the recent *Christian Herald* emphasis on the second advent. In October the Maine Eastern Conference, at Newport, questions the doctrine of the return of the Jews, and a three-column report is given on the Boston First General Conference of the Millerites.⁷

On December 3, Russell's editorial is on the manner of Christ's coming—personally, bodily, visibly, in the clouds, with His angels, at the last trump. There is an extended and commendatory announcement of the published *Report* of this First General Conference of the Millerites, at Boston. But while chief editor Millard praises the conference *Report*, he criticizes Litch's position on the Trinity—for the Christians were anti-Trinitarians.⁸ Miller's life and views are again publicized favorably, with many lesser items of a similar nature. We are thus brought up to June, 1840. Small wonder, then, that there was a strong influx of Christian preachers and laymen into the ranks of adherents of the premillennial principles and positions of the Millerites. Such an unprecedented supporting attitude gave real impetus to this emerging movement. And, very naturally, Russell himself soon joined the Millerite movement.⁹

II. Editor of "Palladium" Yields Post for Faith

But that was not all. The story of the *Christian Herald* is not only matched but surpassed by that of the *Christian*

⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1840, pp. 2, 3.

⁸ See p. 31.

⁹ How the membership of the more prominent ministers was distributed over the leading denominations may be seen by the following: In the CHRISTIAN church were Timothy Cole of Lowell, Henry Plummer of Haverhill, David Millard of Portsmouth, L. D. Fleming of Portland, Joseph Bates of New Bedford, Joshua Himes of Boston, and James White of Maine. Of the BAPTISTS, William Miller, Elon Galusha, N. N. Whiting, Calvin French, and T. M. Preble. Of the METHODISTS, Josiah Litch, Apollos Hale, George Storrs, D. I. Robinson, Richard Hutchinson, Cox, and O. R. Crozier. Of the CONGREGATIONALISTS, Henry Jones and Sylvester Bliss; the PRESBYTERIANS, Charles Fitch; and of the EPISCOPALIANS, Henry Dana Ward. The list could be greatly extended.

Palladium, edited by JOSEPH MARSH¹⁰ at Union Mills, New York. Himes, Fleming, Henry Grew, and Henry Dana Ward are found among its contributors, stressing the second advent and the signs of the last times.¹¹ Miller himself contributes an article on the prophetic numbers, and the Millerite *Signs of the Times* is warmly praised. There is much discussion on premillennialism, and Fleming effectively reviews Simon Clough on postmillennialism. In July and August, Clough attacks Miller's position on the 2300 years, makes them simply days, and connected with Antiochus Epiphanes. Then Deacon Grew reviews David Campbell.

The *Palladium* soon became a forum for spirited discussion, sometimes bristling with pointed answers to sharp exceptions taken to giving publicity to Miller's positions. Litch's book, *Prophetic Expositions*, is extensively noted. Fleming reports on the mammoth Newark Millerite camp meeting. Then Marsh comes out with a strong editorial on "The World's End in 1843."¹² Litch, the Methodist, writes on the recovery of the Jews, and Fleming on the beauty of prophecy, with Miller contributing again on Matthew 24. Marsh takes a strong editorial stand for Miller's positions, while Badger attacks them, and is in turn answered by Marsh. Meanwhile Southard answers Hatfield on Antiochus Epiphanes.

There is increasingly heavy discussion of the advent. Cole writes in favor of "1843," and others against it. The tension can be actually felt, and the pages are electric. Sometimes the thunders roll and the lightnings flash. Editor Marsh's stand creates a veritable furor. Fleming cites Ph. Homan of Britain, and his four arguments and evidences in favor of the climactic

¹⁰ JOSEPH MARSH (d. 1863) is commonly identified with Rochester, becoming one of the early converts from Methodism to the Christian faith. This group, like the Baptists, held to immersion; like the Methodists, to the promptings of the Spirit; like the Congregationalists, to independent church government; like the Quakers, they denounced the prefix "Reverend"; and protested many of the teachings and usages of the popular denominations. They were neither Unitarians nor Trinitarians, and considered themselves the restorers of apostolic usage. At twenty-three Marsh was known as the boy preacher, and made a pilgrimage from New York to Rochester to spread the gospel. He rose rapidly as a leader, and in 1838 was made head of the Christian Book Association and editor of the *Christian Palladium* at Union Mills, New York, serving also as pastor of the Campbellite church there.

¹¹ *Christian Palladium*, March 15, 1841, p. 338.

¹² *Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1842, pp. 248-251.

years 1843-1844.¹³ Peavey reviews Hervey and defends the Millerite exposition. The editor openly lists his own appointments to speak on the second advent. The darkening of the sun and moon in 1780, and the falling of the stars in 1833 are expressly expounded as signs, according to Matthew 24.¹⁴

Inevitable charges of misusing the *Palladium* for propagating Millerism are leveled at Marsh. But he pleads "not guilty," and devotes much space in subsequent editorials to answering these criticisms.¹⁵ There is a citation from Litch's *Philadelphia Alarm*, quoting Edward King on the 1260 years as from 538 to 1798, and another from the *Second Advent Witness*, of New York City, edited by Henry Jones, on the cleansing of the sanctuary. Then the question of Marsh's continuance as editor of the *Palladium* comes squarely to the forefront, and Marsh says editorially:

"If it [the *Christian Palladium*] continues an unfettered Herald of Truth we shall retain our standing as one of its editors! but if otherwise, our resignation may be expected."¹⁶

Marsh proceeds to give undeviating editorial endorsement to the *Midnight Cry*, of New York City, and the *Last Warning*, and also to notice *Glad Tidings of the Kingdom at Hand*, edited by L. D. Fleming at Rochester, New York. Marsh again declares his confidence in the year "1843," answers objections, examines Alexander Campbell's positions, and expounds Daniel 2 and 7 along standard historical lines. The October 18, 1843, issue is the last number for which he is responsible as editor. On November 1 his name is removed from the editorial card. The pages record the resignation of Marsh as tendered and accepted. Having been relieved of his position, Marsh now joins wholeheartedly with the Millerite forces, which are growing rapidly both in number and caliber of recruits.

Thus the growing pains of the new movement are felt,

¹³ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1843, p. 323.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1843, p. 332.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, March 15, 1843, pp. 343-345.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, April 15, 1843, p. 376.

and the heartthrob of the human-interest personal side again comes out into the open through the columns of this paper. It bares the struggle and the crisis hour in the lives of thousands of earnest men, many of whom had been prominent in their own religious and social circles, but who made the break. The tempo of the Advent Movement is stepped up sharply.

III. Colored Ministers Join in Heralding Advent

One of the unusual characters in the roster of Millerite preachers was a colored minister, CHARLES BOWLES (fl. 1810-1843). He was born in Boston, his father being an African servant and his mother the daughter of the celebrated American Colonel Morgan. Bowles enlisted in the Army when only fourteen, and was servant to an officer. Upon his conversion he joined the Calvinistic Baptists. Though he felt a call to the ministry, he nevertheless fled to sea for a time, much like Jonah. But in 1816 he entered the Free Will Baptist ministry in Vermont, where 150 conversions resulted, and a church of 90 members was raised up. He was ordained shortly thereafter. Though he often met with bitter opposition because of his color, and the fact that he was preaching to large white congregations, he became a successful evangelist. His was the standard Millerite exposition of prophecy.

On one occasion while preaching he was threatened with being thrown into a pond. But he continued to preach with such power that many of his tormentors were converted as they gathered to witness the baptism that had been scheduled. Father Bowles, as he was often called because of his venerable age, was instrumental in raising up many churches and establishing various quarterly meetings, right up until 1843, his last sermon being preached on February 5. He had become nearly blind. A large assembly gathered for his funeral sermon in March.

John W. Lewis, of Providence, Rhode Island, was likewise a colored Millerite minister.

IV. Women's Voices Tell the Advent Story

A number of women preachers formed part of the rather remarkable list of public heralds of the second advent. One was Olive Maria Rice, of Smithville, New York, who often spoke in schoolhouses and revival meetings, lecturing successfully to audiences of one thousand to fourteen hundred.¹⁷ There were also Mrs. Lucy Maria Stoddard (nee Hersey), Miss Seymore, Miss Spence, Miss Emily C. Clemens, previously a teacher and principal at Rochester¹⁸ (and noted elsewhere), Sarah J. Paine, and Mrs. Clorinda S. Minor, of Philadelphia, who reported the Philadelphia Conference of February, 1844. The latter's articles for the *Midnight Cry* appear on the editorial page over her initials. She was also gifted as a poet, but ably discussed doctrinal, prophetic, and chronological matters.¹⁹ Let us note Mrs. Stoddard²⁰ in greater detail.

In 1842, when the message of the soon-coming Saviour came to her, she at once began to teach it. Reporters took notice and the papers published her discourses, something that was most unusual for that day. As a result the galleries and floors were packed with eager listeners. She continued preaching in central New York for six months, with appointments every night and three times on Sunday. After her marriage to J. C. Stoddard, she, along with her husband, continued preaching the gospel of the coming kingdom. And when his health failed she still continued to preach the Word, visiting several States. A number of ministers were among her converts.²¹ So women preachers held a unique place in Millerism, and were effective heralds in reaching those of their own sex.

¹⁷ *Midnight Cry*, July 6, 1843, p. 149; Oct. 19, 1843, p. 73; Nov. 2, 1843, pp. 89, 94, 95.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 8, 1844, p. 30.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1843, pp. 36, 37; June 13, 1844, pp. 380, 381; June 27, 1844, pp. 397, 398.

²⁰ LUCY MARIA HERSEY STODDARD, niece of Lewis Hersey, author of *A Clue to the Time*, was native of Worcester, Massachusetts. Converted in early youth, she felt at eighteen that God was calling her to proclaim the gospel publicly. Resigning her teaching position in Worcester, she entered successfully upon the work of preaching—a highly unpopular vocation for women in those days—in New Ipswich, New Hampshire. She was associated with Sarah J. Paine (afterward the wife of Dr. A. M. Higgins), who was the first woman in Massachusetts to preach the second coming of Christ at hand, and was a successful soul winner.

²¹ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, pp. 305, 306; *Midnight Cry*, June 27, 1844, p. 400; Aug. 1, 1844, p. 24.

V. Feminine Pens Promote and Defend

The first number of the 24-page *Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion*, of May, 1844, was released just after the spring disappointment. It was comprised of short articles and some poetry, and presented the Adventist essentials in simplified, condensed form to make special appeal to women readers. Prophecy had a vital place, with emphasis on women's unique place in the work of warning and entreaty. And there was recourse to history as it has played its part. It was issued under the guiding genius of Mrs. Clorinda S. Minor and Miss Emily C. Clemens. Here is one of the poems in none-too-common triplet form, with its prophetic overtone:

"One foot on sea and one on land,
See the mighty herald stand,
As he utters his command.

"See him lift his hand on high—
Swear that Time shall shortly die—
Sounding forth the 'Midnight Cry.'

" 'His voice is like the lion's roar,'
The trembling earth from shore to shore
Echoes, '*Time shall be no more!*'

"Give to God the glory! 'Fear!
Lo! the judgment hour is near;
'Tis hasting, and will soon appear.'

"On the gospel armor gird;
Watch and pray—believe the Word
Of the angel thou hast heard.

" 'Rocks and mountains on us fall!'
Soon, poor sinners, you will call,
When your hopes have perished—all:

"When the clouds of vengeance lower,
Who, oh! who may 'bide the hour—
Unrescued by the Saviour's power?

"In the covert of thy side
Then, Lord Jesus, let us hide—
So shall we thy day abide."²²

²² E. C. Clemens, *Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion*, September, 1844, pp. 32, 33.

Still another feminine document, a pamphlet issued in 1842 "by a Female," was entitled *A Voice in New Hampshire*. The publisher's introduction states that she is a woman of attainment who wishes to remain anonymous. Incisive, well reasoned, and overthrowing the rather flimsy attacks against Miller with devastating logic, it does credit to the feminine ranks, and effectively sustains the Millerite teaching on the prophecies. The impression is inescapable that the movement drew men and women of unusual mentality, balance, and piety. Miller and his associates did not lack for able defenders. Here is another less-known advocate.

VI. Hervey—Discusses Two Advents and Prophecies

N. HERVEY was a consecrated layman, a shoemaker of Boston. In his exposition of the two advents he gave a minute exposition of the prophecies concerning the first advent—Christ's incarnation, the place and circumstances of His birth, reproaches, sufferings, and death, His burial and resurrection, and His ascension and priestly ministry in heaven above. Then he follows the same procedure with Christ's second advent, and its attendant circumstances and events as the climax.²³

Turning next to the visions of Daniel, he outlines Daniel 2, 7, and 8—the succession of world empires, the ten divisions of Rome, and the uprooting of the Heruli, Vandals, and Ostrogoths to make way for the dominance of the Papacy. Reformation, post-Reformation, and modern expositors listed by Cuninghame are cited in support—Luther, Jewell, Knox, Mede, Brightman, Cressener, Whiston, Newton, Lowth, More, Jurieu, Pyle, Fleming.²⁴ The familiarity of even lay writers with these great expositors of the past is really remarkable.

The evidence for the 1260 years, in both Daniel and the Apocalypse, is given for 538 to 1798, and likewise the 1290-, 1335-, and 2300-year periods. The 533-538 beginning dates, and

²³ N. Hervey, *Prophecies of Christ's First and Second Advent*, pp. 12-39.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 31. On these writers see *Prophetic Faith*, Vols. II and III.

the 1793-1798 ending years for the period, are detailed. Familiarity with nineteenth-century English Advent Awakening writers is likewise evident—Habershon and Cox being cited at considerable length. Such was the public presentation of this lay writer, which was widely reprinted in England.

VII. Like the Swirling Leaves of Autumn

The undated "Words of Warning" series of single sheets, 5 by 8 inches, printed on both sides and published by Himes at Boston, was circulated by the hundreds of thousands. Aside from the main message, each had uniform double box rules on all four sides. Within these rules were matching expressions, such as, "Reader, Can these principles be disproved," faced by, "If they cannot, the Judge stands at the door." Or perhaps there were two complementing texts of Scripture. The same was true of the reverse side, where four other gripping expressions similarly appeared between the outlining box rules. For example, on the *Little Horn* the reader finds, "That This Horn Is the Papacy Has Been the Opinion of the Protestant World," with the matching line, "All Standard Protestant Commentators Have Been United in That Opinion." Sometimes an effective poem appears as the text on the reverse side, such as "What Is Time?" There is a series of answers by an aged man, a dying sinner, the golden sun, and a lost spirit, then—

"I asked old father Time himself at last,
But in a moment he flew swiftly past;
His chariot was a cloud, the viewless wind
His noiseless steeds, which left no trace behind.

"I asked the mighty angel, who shall stand,
One foot on sea, and one on solid land;
'By heaven,' he cried, 'I swear the mystery's o'er!
Time was,' he said, 'but time shall be no more!'"

Here is still another pair: "Have You Examined the Connection Between the 8th and 9th of Daniel?" "Can This Connection Be Disproved? If It Cannot the Vision Is Near Its End." Or, on *Scoffer in the Last Times*, the marginal lines

are, "They Would None of My Counsel: They Despised All My Reproof," faced by, "I Will Also Laugh at Your Calamity: I Will Mock When Your Fear Cometh." Perhaps better than anything else, a glance over the titles gives the scope of this least-expensive Millerite literature for distribution by the hundreds of thousands. There were thirty-six in the series.

1. Fundamental Principles on Which the Second Advent Cause Is Based.
2. Prophetic Time.
3. Prophecy Unsealed.
4. Little Horn of Daniel 7—Not Nero but Papacy. [Against Preterism.]
5. Little Horn of Daniel 8—Not Antiochus but Rome. [Against Futurism.]
6. Christ's Advent at the Door.
7. Scoffers in the Last Time.
8. Duty of the Times.
9. Second Coming of Christ at the Door.
10. The Coming of the Son of Man.
11. The Great Day.
12. That Day Will Be a Day of Separation.
13. Prepare to Meet Thy God.
14. The Hope of a Groaning Creation.
15. The Hope of the Children of God.
16. The Hope of the Suffering Church.
17. Signs of the Times.
18. Who Would Not Strive to Hold Fast Their Crown?
19. How Awful to Meet Our Angry God.
20. The Parting.
21. Modern Preaching.
22. The Use of Prophecy.
23. The Appeal to the Judgment.
24. For What End Was the Son of God Manifested?
25. Christ Comes in the Character of Redeemer and Avenger.
26. Where Are We in the Chronology of Prophecy?
27. The Instability of the Times a Motive to Watchfulness.
28. The Last Days.
29. Christ's Coming Urged as an Alarm to the Church.
30. The Love of Christ's Appearing.
31. The Literal Gathering of the Carnal Jews.
32. The End of Time.
33. Nebuchadnezzar's Dream, Daniel 2:11-31.
34. Daniel's Dream (VII. 2-14).
35. Explanation of the Time (VII. 1-13).
36. Explanation of the Time (Dan. IX).

These terse messages of warning, instruction, and appeal—brief, arresting, and sometimes constituting little literary gems—were scattered like the swirling leaves of autumn. The Millerites seemingly used every known means to “warn the world,” pressing them all vigorously.

And independent books, privately printed—such as *Disquisitions on the Prophecies of Daniel* (168 pages—5 chapters and an appendix), by L. E. Lincoln of Lowell, Massachusetts; or, *A Synopsis of the Views of Those Who Look for the Lord Jesus Christ in 1843* (108 pages, 10 chapters), by H. B. Skinner of Ashburnham—ably set forth the views of Adventists of the time, though not published by Himes and the established channels. Cogent reasoning and careful expression also mark these less-known works, produced largely for local circulation. Examination of the hundreds of separate treatises, large and small, in book, pamphlet, sheet, and broadside form, as well as in more than a score of periodicals—daily, weekly, bimonthly, monthly, and quarterly—leaves one amazed at the sheer range and coverage, the remarkable distribution, and the high quality withal. The land was literally blanketed with their printed message. No wonder it caused such a stir. It literally “shook the nation,” to repeat their frequent expression. Next, let us look overseas, to Millerite penetration of other lands.

VIII. Extension Movement Spread to Ends of Earth

The really astonishing spread of the distinctive Millerite teaching and influence, out through the four quarters of the globe, is not commonly known. Yet it is attested by contemporary evidence. Millerism was actually world wide in its penetration and influence—as far as any mission movement of the time. Here are evidences. From the Millerite presses in North America, especially from Boston and Montreal, second advent publications were sent out in a constant stream to the far corners of the earth. In 1842 Josiah Litch declared that, quite apart from the extensive emphasis on the second advent emanating

from Britain and the European continent—and which had penetrated Asia Minor, Africa, and Asia (particularly India)—North America was now playing an even larger role in propagating the advent faith. Here is his statement:

“Within the last three years, there have been sent from our office in this city [Boston], second advent publications to nearly all the English and American missionary stations on the earth. They have been sent to China; to Burmah; to Hindostan; to the East Indies; to Persia, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Constantinople; into Africa, the W. India Islands, the Islands of the Pacific.”²⁵

Then in July, 1843, in commenting on the plan of “sending tracts to the islands of the sea,” the *Signs of the Times* declares significantly:

“Advent publications have been sent by the hundred thousand, broadcast all over the world, to the islands of the sea, and to every missionary station on the globe. They have been scattered over land and ocean, and the sailors who come into port testify that the coming of Christ is a subject of conversation all over the world.”²⁶

Dr. Richard Hutchinson’s Montreal *Voice of Elijah* was, perhaps more than any other Millerite journal, widely scattered throughout the United Kingdom. Even over in Australia the advent message, thus propagated, was accepted by Thomas Playford in Adelaide, Australia, and heralded in that sparsely settled giant land down under. A volume of Playford’s published sermons on the second advent has been preserved. The signs of the times are emphasized, along with the parables on the second advent, the Midnight Cry, and the prophecies of Daniel 2 and 7—the successive empires followed by the coming kingdom of God.²⁷ So, wherever given, the message was essentially the same.

In November, 1843, Litch gives a further report on the spread of the glad tidings of the second advent out to the ends of the earth, as predicted by prophecy. He asserts:

²⁵ Litch, *Prophetic Expositions*, vol. 1, pp. 166, 167.

²⁶ *Signs of the Times*, July 19, 1843, p. 156. This included Russia, according to Joseph Marsh in *Voice of Truth*, July 16, 1845, p. 385.

²⁷ Thomas Playford, *Discourses on the Second Advent of Jesus Christ*, pp. 121-129.

"Within the last few years, there has been a continuous effort by the [American] believers in the speedy coming of the Lord, to send light on this subject to the whole world. And so far as the opportunity has offered, publications have been sent to every English and American Mission in the world. These publications have gone to the various parts of the four quarters of the earth and various islands of the sea."²⁸

Litch then tells of the spread of the advent message in other lands, and throughout Norway in particular, as reported by emigrants. The Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands are also specifically mentioned.²⁹ And ships, touching at Catholic Chile, reported fearful expectation of the second advent even far in the interior. Litch adds:

"Mr. Wardell, our informant, says that the thing was understood far back in the interior; and that persons from a hundred miles back in the country had been brought together at the town for the occasion. It is thus the New York SUN has given light to the world, and sent it to the regions and places we could not have reached."³⁰

IX. Millerite Movement Penetrates Great Britain

As set forth in Volume III, throughout the early decades of the nineteenth century advocates of the premillennial advent were surprisingly numerous in England, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as on the Continent and out in Asia. In this connection the name of Joseph Wolff inevitably comes to mind as the great world missionary of the advent faith. A thousand ministers in Great Britain, in both Established and Nonconformist circles, were heralding the imminence of Christ's advent,³¹ and there were many brilliant ecclesiastical lights among them. They were commonly called Literalists in prophetic interpretation. The premillennial advent belief of the church in the earlier centuries was revived and advocated by them with power and effectiveness.

But a curious admixture of notions concerning probation

²⁸ *Signs of the Times*, Nov. 15, 1843, p. 109.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1843, pp. 54, 55.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1843, p. 109. (Evidently *Sun* reports of Millerite belief and expectation.)

³¹ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, Part II.

and mortality during the thousand years, along with glorification and immortality at the same time, obtained among them. There was also sharp divergence of view as to the final role of the Jewish nation, both in relation to the return of Christ and to Palestine during the millennium. Litch aptly epitomizes the situation as it finally developed in relation to the Millerites in America:

"In 1840, an attempt was made to open an interchange between the Literalists of England and the Adventists in the United States. But it was soon discovered that they had as little fellowship for our Anti-Judaizing notions, as we had for their Judaism; and the interchange was broken off."³²

It was shortly after this that ROBERT WINTER,³³ Englishman by birth and Primitive Methodist by profession, accepted the advent message while over in America in the spring of 1842. In the autumn he returned to Britain and effectively proclaimed the Midnight Cry, or advent near.³⁴ Many others joined him in giving the advent message in essentially Millerite form, particularly Frederick Gunner; Charles Dealtry, formerly of New York; and W. C. Burgess.³⁵ Others included J. W. Bonham, Ernest Lloyd, Thomas Wilson, and William Barker.

This development was definitely a Millerite extension movement in Britain. American advent literature was reprinted and scattered widely throughout the "length and breadth" of the British Isles. And two periodicals were launched—the weekly *Second Advent Harbinger*, in Bristol and Maidenhead,

³² Litch, "Rise and Progress of Adventism," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 92.

³³ ROBERT WINTER (c. 1817-1909), while in this country, was for a time pastor of a Baptist church in Vermont. Many of his members had heard Miller on the advent, and had been persuaded. To please them, he too went to hear Miller, and was likewise convinced. A poll of the membership revealed that the majority believed the advent message. So the entire church changed over to a second advent congregation, with Winter as their pastor. Anxious to take his new-found faith back to his homeland, he returned to Britain. His preaching met with a varied reception at first—and much booing and uproar when he attempted to preach in the streets. Then a prominent couple, listening from their fine carriage, asked him to preach in their church, composed of wealthy people. From thenceforth he preached in halls, churches, and open-air meetings everywhere. Several thousand are said to have been baptized by him. After the Disappointment he was forced to flee from place to place because of the mob spirit, finally returning to America. After a period of discouragement he later joined the Sabbatarian Adventists.

³⁴ See *Signs of the Times*, Feb. 1, 1843, p. 158; Nov. 15, 1843, p. 110.

³⁵ Several Burgess pamphlets have been preserved—*Evidence From Scripture and History, and the Signs of the Present Times, of the Speedy Personal Coming of Christ; The Seven Last Vials; A Discourse on the "Kingdom of God"; The Parable of the Ten Virgins and the Midnight Cry*.

edited by Winter and Gunner, and the British *Midnight Cry*, at Liverpool and Nottingham, edited by C. Dealtry. Every county was entered with literature and preaching. These meetings were not only held in churches, chapels, and halls, but on the commons and in the streets—a thousand people frequently gathering to listen in these open-air meetings.³⁶ And about fourteen successful camp meetings were held in different parts of Britain.

Volume 1, number 1, of the *Second Advent Harbinger* is dated March 19, 1844, and 150,000 copies of this and other advent publications had been distributed up to April 23.³⁷ Their content was quite similar to that of the leading American papers. In fact, they were composed in part of reprints and rewrites of American articles. Charles Fitch's call, "Come out of her, my people," was published. The darkening of the sun on May 19, 1780, and the falling of the stars, were stressed in Britain as harbingers of the advent. The standard prophetic expositions on Daniel and the Apocalypse were emphasized. The American "1843" charts were used. And the well-known books by Miller, Fitch, Fleming, and Hervey were reproduced. The 391 years of the Turkish woe trumpet, ending in August, 1840, were expounded, and the 1260 years, as from 538 to 1798, were set forth—with similar typical positions.

X. Breaks Into Daily Press Reports

In the daily Nottingham *Review*, between May 3 and June 21, 1844, a unique series of six three-column news reports appeared, of addresses by Charles Dealtry and Edmund Micklewood, which greatly stirred Nottingham. The reporter mentions large audiences assembling four times a week. Crowds of from sixteen hundred to three thousand, sometimes with hundreds turned away, were not uncommon. Three hundred were baptized as a result. The topics included the fallacy of the restora-

³⁶ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 536.

³⁷ *Second Advent Harbinger*, April 23, 1844, p. 48.

tion of the Jews, the Two Witnesses, the seals and the trumpets, the 2300 days, and the fall of the Roman Empire.³⁸ The editor ends the report with this commendatory word:

"We make no apology for reporting at length the doctrines on the prophecies in Holy Writ, delivered at Barker-gate Chapel by 'two evangelists' [elsewhere named]. Crowded audiences sufficiently attest their interest, and it is long since any lectures on similar subjects commanded so much public attention in Nottingham."³⁹

A dozen articles in the *Christian Messenger and Reformer* of London, during 1841-1844, discuss the Millerite positions pro and con, quoting from various non-Millerite American expositors, including Alexander Campbell, and setting forth the leading Millerite positions with fair accuracy. One British writer states significantly: "We shall all, under Christ, be indebted to Mr. Miller, even if the Lord shall not come in 1843"—that is, for calling a halt to Whitbyan postmillennialism, and refers to Himes as a "Napoleon" of the religious press.⁴⁰ Let us trace the prophetic teaching of one British Millerite, as typical of the rest.

XI. Gunner—Marshals Evidence of Last Times

One of FREDERICK GUNNER's⁴¹ presentations will exemplify the prophetic positions taught. Gunner wrote *Twelve Essays on the Personal Reign of Christ*, presenting his exposition. He was a stalwart premillennialist—believing the millennium would be attended by the literal resurrection of the righteous at its beginning, with that of the wicked—or "rest of the dead"—at its close.⁴² The execution of the judgment upon sinners and the consuming of the earth, as with Sodom and Gomorrah, will take place. Then the meek will inherit the earth, and

³⁸ *Midnight Cry*, Nov. 28, 1844, p. 170.

³⁹ *Nottingham Review*, May 17, 1844, p. 8. Two preliminary reprints are from Josiah Litch's expositions on the signs of the times and the outline prophecies in 1843. The editor's note reads: "The intense interest this subject excites throughout the United States is our apology (if an apology be needed) for inserting in the *Review*, the views on this subject of our trans-Atlantic friends." (*Ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1843, p. 6.)

⁴⁰ *Christian Messenger and Reformer*, vol. 7 (1843), pp. 258, 260.

⁴¹ Biographical data unavailable.

⁴² F. Gunner, *Twelve Essays on the Personal Reign of Christ*, p. 5.

the reign of Christ extend from sea to sea forever. Gunner followed through the great prophetic outline of Daniel 2—the four world empires, with the Roman fourth divided into the customarily listed ten kingdoms. These tremendous events are simply described as historical facts in the prophesied career of old earth. The “stone” is the coming kingdom of Christ.

The same grand outline is repeated in Daniel 7—the same four powers and the same division of Rome under the symbol of the ten horns, with the papal Little Horn following, and the hour approaching when these shall all be consumed by the burning flame foretold by Paul. The 70 weeks reach from the command to restore and rebuild Jerusalem, in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the death of the Messiah. And the 2300 years begin at the same starting point. So the future is “big with hope.” The 1260 year-days of the woman in the wilderness are when she is persecuted by the Papacy. Now the persecutor’s days are numbered. Her special period of dominance is identical with that of the Two Witnesses in sackcloth, and the three and one-half times of Daniel 7—from Justinian to the French Revolution, or from 538 to 1798.

The signs of the last days thicken about us. The days of Noah are repeated, and the earmarks of the end, enumerated by Paul, are seen. The last-day scoffers predicted by Peter are about us. The peace cry is on every hand. The increase of Biblical and prophetic knowledge—with the construction of “prophetic grammars” to elucidate Biblical knowledge in general and prophetic truth in particular—is plainly visible. The deciphering of ancient hieroglyphics and the findings of archeology bear their witness. The gospel is going to the world. And the material means needed to spread the gospel—science, photography, the telegraph, the steam printing press, and the like—are available. Verily the present age of progress declares loudly that “the time of the end” has been entered. The Son of man is coming soon.

The Papacy, with her perversions, has altered the face of society. The sun was darkened according to prediction on May 19, 1780, the impression prevailing that the day of judgment was approaching; and the moon, "Queen of the night," keeping company with the "Lord of the day" in refusing to shine, was a sign of the times. The falling stars, on November 13, 1833, was likewise a "sure forerunner" of the second advent. These all warn of the speedy return of Christ. "We stand," says Gunner in impressive phrases, "upon a lofty and perilous eminence, around which rolls the ocean of time." There is at present a lull, but the peak of the storm will soon break. The omens are growing more ominous. Warning after warning is given by Jehovah. Day after day His counsel and His judgments are disregarded, unread and unheeded by the world.⁴³ *Repent!*

That was Gunner's sobering message in Britain—virtually identical with the American emphasis. The same was paralleled in part in Germany, Holland, Scandinavia, Switzerland, and even India.⁴⁴

⁴³ Based on *Essay 12*, pp. 101-121.

⁴⁴ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III; cf. *Signs of the Times*, July 19, 1843, p. 156.

Millerite Charts

Epitomize Their Interpretation

I. Charts and Diagrams Used to Expound Prophecy

The Millerite preachers were alert and versatile. They seized upon every available aid of the time to make their message clear and plain, and to bring it effectively before the people. They were quick to apply the principle of visual aids. No stereopticon machines or motion picture films, silent or sound, were available at the time, and there were no television channels. So they used charts that would arrest the attention of the populace and portray in picture form what no mere words could express of the mystic symbols of Daniel and the Revelation. For centuries this principle had been applied in books on prophecy for the individual reader, as reproduced in Volumes I to III of *Prophetic Faith*. But the Millerites extended that device to large charts that could be seen by an entire congregation, and it proved to be highly popular. Miller, and Fitch as well, even had a large image made up of sections,¹ like the description in Daniel 2, with the various parts removable. This device not only illustrated the theme but made a deep impression.

The different prophetic time periods—their beginning, course, events, and ending, and their relationship to the other time periods, as well as to the great symbolic outline prophecies—called for illustrative aids. Indeed, the Millerites became

¹ Ms. letter, Jane Marsh Parker to Dr. A. H. Strong, in Colgate-Rochester Divinity School Library.

pre-eminently the "chart" people of the time, so that whenever one heard a Millerite preacher he would usually see a prophetic chart. And whenever one scanned important Millerite literature, particularly in periodical form, he would frequently find an illustration, diagram, or chart. Though this is somewhat more technical and detailed, we will note a number of these, as they form prime summarized exhibits of Millerite exposition of prophecy.

1. CHARTS COME TO OCCUPY CENTRAL PLACE.—Numerous charts, antedating the famous "1843" chart, appeared in varying forms in different periodicals and books of the movement. Even laymen, when they wrote letters, often used special stationery which had on the reverse side, a small chart portraying these prophetic symbols and time prophecies. Miller himself had a large diagram of the visions of Daniel and John painted on canvas, similar to the miniature appearing in the latter part of his book.² It was he, in fact, who started the chart plan in the movement.

2. USED UNDER EVERY SORT OF CIRCUMSTANCE.—The Millerite preacher needed to do little more than to hang up one of these charts in order to arrest the interest of an audience. For instance, in July, 1842, after attending one of the Millerite conferences, Himes was returning home by coastal vessel from Bangor, Maine, to Boston. Despite a bit of seasickness, he hung up his chart and discoursed on the prophecies to the passengers for "an hour or two." A year later the widespread knowledge of these charts is attested by the fact that even the captain of a canal boat plying between Albany and Buffalo had a copy on board and showed it to some immigrants from Norway. But the moment they saw it, declares the *Midnight Cry*, they recognized the chart at once, and stated that many Norwegian papers had reproduced copies of it.³ Such was the amazing spread of the knowledge and influence of these charts.

² *Midnight Cry*, July 6, 1843, p. 145.

³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1843, p. 37.

Early in 1844 Bates, after his tour through Maryland in February, headed north again by boat. Aboard he hung up the famous "1843 Chart" and sang an advent hymn. When the passengers had gathered around, he gave a lecture on the prophecies and the second advent.⁴ Thus it went.

3. PROGRESSIVE REVISION IN INTERPRETATION.—These pictorial charts and diagrams not only afford one of the best exhibits offered of the main Millerite expositions of prophecy, but the progressive development of their interpretation is clearly reflected in these designs. And by comparison, the frank correction of early inaccuracies can be seen at a glance. The earlier individual charts were largely the extension of Miller's personal views. Then the convictions of his leading associates—Himes, Litch, Fleming, and Fitch—began to appear, which were clearly an improvement over certain of Miller's pioneer concepts.

Finally came Fitch's famous "1843 Chart," unanimously approved and authorized by their most important General Conference. From this time—the summer of 1842—it continued to be the unchallenged standard portrayal until April, 1844, up to the accepted close of the "Jewish year 1843." Only during the intensive "seventh month movement," from July to October, 1844, do we find no new charts employed. This was chiefly because there was no change of view on any major principle of prophetic interpretation, only the correction of the year, or time phase—from "1843" to "1844"—as demanded by the computation of 2300 *full years*, from the autumn of 457 B.C. to the autumn of A.D. 1844. Now note certain details.

II. Numerous Early Charts Precede "1843" Standard

Numerous prophetic charts and diagrams were devised and used by the Millerites prior to the standard "1843" chart. But these were all superseded by this improved produc-

⁴ Joseph Bates, *Autobiography*, p. 292.

tion. They were usually composite affairs, picturing the relationship of the various prophetic symbols to each other, and the interrelated time periods of Daniel and the Apocalypse. Some were plain diagrams, restricted to the various time periods, and setting forth a harmony of these different periods. Others were quite elaborate.

1. MILLER FIRST SYNCHRONIZES PERIODS BY DIAGRAM.—

One of the first of the charts was a hand-lettered diagram by Miller, showing the related timing of the basic 2300 years of Daniel 8:14, which he extends from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1843.⁵ This bottom horizontal line is marked off by centuries, starting with the 70 weeks and its subdivisions, and the cross at the extreme end, or close, of the 70 weeks, in A.D. 33.

The next line above indicates the "subdivisions" of the longer period—the 1260-, 1290-, and 1335-year periods of Daniel 11 and 12. On this the words appear: "Papal civil power begins A.D. 538 and ends A.D. 1798, being 1260 years." The third and fourth lines show the "length of the Roman Kingdom." The third line begins with B.C. 158 and reads, "Pagan Rome 666 years"—leading thence to A.D. 508, from which date Miller extends the 1335 years of Daniel 12:12, 13 "to the Resurrection." The fourth line was an early idea, later abandoned, that two thousand years of Roman power over the church will extend to 1842, and the third thousand years of millennium, begins with the Jewish year 1843—a personal view by Miller, not shared by many of his associates.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh horizontal lines all indicate the 1260 years from 538, as the time of the "court trodden under foot by the Gentiles" (Rev. 11:2; Dan. 12:7); when the "two witnesses prophesy clothed in sackcloth" (Rev. 11:3-14); and the time of the "church in the wilderness" for three and a half times (Dan. 7:25; Rev. 12:6, 14). Finally, the top, or eighth, line deals with the fifth and sixth trumpets—the fifth, or "5

⁵ Original in Aurora College; photostat in Advent Source Collection.

months" (Rev. 9:1-12), for 150 years reaching, according to Miller's early view, from 1298 to 1448; and the sixth trumpet, or "391 years and 15 days" (the hour, day, month, and year of Rev. 9:13, 21), extending from 1448 to 1839. And, directly above, the words appear, "The 7th [trumpet] begins 1839 and ends 1843."

2. ANONYMOUS DIAGRAM OF SEALS, TRUMPETS, AND VIALS. —Another clever diagram, without name attached, and just on the "Apocalyptic Seals, Trumpets, and Vials," was published in the newly established *Signs of the Times*, in May, 1840.⁶ Beginning with the upper left corner, at A.D. 70, the subject matter progresses two ways—*vertically*, from top to bottom—first the seals and then the trumpets; and at the same time, *horizontally*, finally followed by the seven vials. These all lead to "The Seventh Millennium, or Jubilee Sabbath of the Whole Creation," at the "end of the world."

This early concept begins the seven seals with the first seal (A.D. 70-100), as the "Period of wars"; the second (100-138), as "famines"; the third (138-193), as "Death on a pale horse"; the fourth (193-270), as the "Tenth bloody persecution of the saints"; the fifth (270-304), as "Blessed tranquility after the abolition of Paganism"; the sixth (304-350), as "The silence which precedes the sounding of trumpets"; and the seventh seal, A.D. 350 to the "end of the world." This was largely the scheme of Joseph Mede,⁷ who held that the seventh seal, embracing all seven trumpets, "unrolls the history of the world from A.D. 350 to the millennium," and is "divided into seven distinct periods." So the seventh trumpet, in turn, comprehends the seven vials, or plagues, following Mede.

The trumpets then follow the seals: The first (370-410) is depicted as when "Roman Provinces first invaded by Barbarians"; the second (410-450), as a "bloody one to Italy and central Rome"; the third (450-500), as "embittered by civil and

⁶ *Signs of the Times*, May 1, 1840, p. 24.

⁷ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, p. 547.

ecclesiastical dissension"; the fourth (500-566), as the period that "extinguished the waning luminaries of old Roman empire"; the fifth (566-1281), as the period that "developed the little horn of Mohamed in the Greek, and that of Popery in the Latin church"; to which is annexed the "first wo," with its 150 years (from 612-762); then the sixth trumpet (1281 to the "downfall of Popery"), which embraces the "second wo," from 1281-1672, as the 391 years. This had been a common position for centuries in both Old World and New.^s Finally, the seventh trumpet begins to sound when "the mystery of God is finished," and the blast ends with the voice of the archangel at the end of the world.

Then the seven vials are pictured as beginning with the sixth trumpet, in 1281. The first was poured out upon the "Roman earth," and "exposed her ulcerous church in the time of the Reformation"; the second was poured "upon the Roman See during the troublous times subsequent to the Reformation"; the third was upon "the tributaries of the Roman See," by the "devastating wars of the 17th century"; the fourth fell on "the kingly powers of Europe," which "scorched the people of the 18th century"; the fifth was poured "upon the seat of the beast, and resulted in the darkness of the French Revolution"; the sixth fell "upon the proud Ottoman, and is drying up his Euphratean power"; and finally the seventh, or last vial, is poured out upon the air, "not local, but all-pervading in its effects upon a wicked world."

This is the time of the "harvest and vintage," and the "Battle of the great day of God Almighty." And this is the "Twilight of the Millennial day," followed by the "Seventh Millennium, or Jubilee Sabbath of the Whole Creation," with the devil "loosed a little season before the archangel blast of the seventh trumpet." But all this, of course, is just a modification of Joseph Mede's theory, and was soon abandoned by the Millerites generally, as well as by Miller himself.

^s See Volumes II and III, and Part I of Volume IV.

III. "Cry" Carries Lucid Chart of Daniel's Prophecies

Another of the simple early charts of "Daniel's Visions" appeared in the *Midnight Cry* for February 3, 1843.⁹ In small type across the top of the page appear the words, "Read, Daniel II, VII and VIII. 'Whoso readeth, let him *UNDERSTAND!*' " And on the left-hand side of the page, alongside the vertical column of century marks, this interesting sentence appears, referring to the time that has elapsed since Daniel's day: "The years seem to diminish in length at a distance from that point, like objects seen in a natural landscape."

The chart carries the leading dates in the march of nations, from 677 B.C. for Babylon, down to A.D. 1843. These are in a vertical column at the left, paralleling the full-length metallic image of Daniel 2. The divisions are labeled, "Babylon, 139 years; Medo-Persia, 207 years; Grecia, 173 years; Rome, 2001 years"—including, of course, the modern divided state of the feet and toes. The cross is placed at A.D. 33.

Then, in the center column, appear the winged lion, the bear, the four-headed leopard, and the ten-horned fourth monster that sprouts the strange Little Horn among them, with the pope's head on it. These same four world powers are identically named and dated, as with the parts of the metallic image. Finally, in the right-hand column, opposite the Medo-Persian breast and arms of silver and the Persian bear, is the Medo-Persian ram—as simply different symbols for the same power. And similarly, opposite the Grecian waist and thighs of the image and the Grecian leopard is the Grecian he-goat. The explanation as to the starting point is that the vision of Daniel 8 was given just after the fall of Babylon, "according to Lightfoot, Townsend, and other eminent chronologers." Babylon had therefore become history, and consequently "had no place in this *prophecy*" of Daniel 8.

The point is enforced that "the Grecian power was at

⁹ It carries no signature, and is evidently editorial.

first united, as represented by the single horn of the goat. It was "afterwards divided into four parts, represented by the four horns, of which the angel said—'Four KINGDOMS shall stand up out of the nation.' Here we are taught, in the plainest manner, that a horn in the vision means a kingdom." Then follow nine tabulated reasons why the last power described in Daniel 8 is Rome. These are:

(1) It rose to power in the "latter part" of the Grecian kingdom; (2) it was of fierce countenance; (3) it was "little" at first; (4) then it waxed "exceeding great," toward the east and south (citing Sir Isaac Newton); (5) it cast down the host and the stars to the ground by "persecuting Christians, Apostles and ministers of Jesus"; (6) it magnified itself against the Prince of the host, or Prince of princes, when Herod and Pilate conspired against Jesus, and later the pope usurped His place when the pope became "Head of all churches"; (7) he would destroy the mighty and holy people; (8) but he will be "broken without hand" by the stone "cut out of the mountain *without hands*"; and (9) Rome was the only power that became "exceedingly great," fulfilling all specifications. The final argument was on the logical principle of the paralleling sequences. Medo-Persia and Grecia have been presented twice before, in the image of Daniel 2 and the beast of Daniel 7, and "it is absurd to suppose that the power which follows them is a different power from the one which twice before has been seen succeeding them."

IV. Himes's Composite Chart of Daniel's Visions

A well-devised composite chart, in color, called "A Pictorial Chart of Daniel's Visions," was issued prior to 1843 by J. V. Himes,¹⁰ and widely distributed. It was arranged in three paralleling horizontal sections, or lines, likewise marked off by centuries. The upper, or third line, presents an effective ar-

¹⁰ "Arranged and published by J. V. Himes, 14 Devonshire St., Boston."

rangement of the anatomical parts of the metallic man of Daniel 2. At the left stands the full image of the man, in color, with the stone hurtling through the air to smite the image on the feet and toes. A curved, dotted line, labeled the "seven times, or 2520 years," starting from 677 B.C., sweeps in the entire series, from the golden head on to "1843." Then, progressively, from the left, appear the sections of the head of gold (Babylonia, lasting 139 years), starting from 677 B.C.; next, second on the line, comes the breast and arms of silver (Medo-Persia, for 207 years); then, the waist and thighs of brass (Grecia, for 173 years); the legs of iron ("Rome imperial," for "666" years, or from 158 B.C.); and finally the feet and toes of iron and clay (Rome divided for 1335 years, from A.D. 508)—likewise leading to "1843."

The middle section, or line, gives the paralleling four successive empire-beasts of Daniel 7—the lion (Babylonia), the bear (Persia), the leopard (Grecia); then the fourth beast (pagan Rome, and papal Rome for 1260 years, 538-1798)—with a dotted-line arc sweeping them all in, from 600 B.C. to A.D. 1843, for the "49 Jubilees or 2450 years."

The lower line starts with the Persian ram (as Babylonia had passed by this time); then comes the Grecian goat, followed by pagan Rome as the exceeding great horn (666 years, from 158 B.C. to A.D. 508); and finally papal Rome (1260 years, from A.D. 538 to 1798). From Persia, the great arching circle of 2300 years spreads from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1843, with the lesser "seventy weeks" arc beginning synchronously with the 2300 years in 457 B.C., and ending at the cross in A.D. 33. Then, pagan Rome's "666" years extend from 158 B.C. to A.D. 508, from which point another 1335-year arc runs to 1843, and under it the 1260 years of "Papal Rome" are from 538 to 1798.

So, in prophetic teaching this chart is essentially—and quite naturally—a replica of Miller's early positions on the time periods as well as the symbols. In connection with Miller's "666 years" of pagan Rome, in the lower section, Himes has

"Pagan Rome, the Continual or Daily," from 158 B.C. to A.D. 508. Then, at A.D. 508 stands a smoking altar with its pagan priest in color, and the words, "Paganism taken away"; and at A.D. 538 is a cross-surmounted Catholic altar, before which stands a Catholic priest with his smoking censer, and the expression, "Papacy began." This feature, however, soon disappears in the large "1843 Chart," which becomes the standard, used subsequently by all the Millerite ministers both before and during the actual year "1843."

V. Litch's Chart in "Trumpet of Alarm"

In Litch's *Trumpet of Alarm*, of Philadelphia, a somewhat grotesque pictorial chart of Daniel's and John's visions appears on page 8 of the April 24, 1843, issue—and later reprinted by the New York *Herald*. There are four vertical sections: To the left is the metallic man of Daniel 2 (drawn to chronological scale and therefore with exceedingly long legs), representing Rome. Babylonia (139 years, starting in 677 B.C.); Medo-Persia (207 years); Grecia (173 years); and Rome pagan (666 years) and papal (1260 years) are pictured as reaching to the "time of the end" and the close of the "seven times," or 2520 years, in "1843."

The second column parallels the first, only with the symbols of the same four powers under the figures of the lion, bear, leopard, and the dreadful beast with its papal Little Horn. The 1260 years are standard, from 538 to 1798; the 1290 from 508 to 1798; the 1335 from 508 to 1843. The third column has the Persian ram, the Grecian goat, and the exceeding great Roman horn, with the 2300 years from 457 B.C. to "1843." The right-hand section portrays the symbols of Revelation—the pagan Roman dragon, followed by the ten-horned papal Rome, and finally ending the series with the two-horned beast from the earth. The last column portrays the last three angelic messengers in the series of the trumpets—the fifth angel portraying the Saracens and the sixth the Turkish woe, of Revelation 8 and 9.

VI. French Improves Diagrams of Daniel's Periods

Then in the November 18, 1842, issue of the *Midnight Cry*, CALVIN FRENCH,¹¹ of Needham, Massachusetts, printed a "Diagram of Daniel's Visions." This is patterned closely upon Miller's diagram, but has explanatory notes. Starting with Persia and continuing through Grecia, the 2300 years of Daniel 8, as the basic prophecy, extend to 1843 and the second advent. The "666" is denominated the years of "Pagan Rome," from 158 B.C. to A.D. 508, when the "daily sacrifice," or "pagan worship," is taken away. The cross is likewise dated A.D. 33, which "seals" or establishes the 490 year-days, with its three subdivisions, beginning with 457 B.C. So the remaining 1810 years extend from the crucifixion in A.D. 33 to 1843, which marks the second advent of Christ, and the concurrent first resurrection.¹²

The 1290 years are dated from 508, the Christianization of the empire, to 1798; and the 1335 years from the same 508 to 1843. The 1260 years are established by Justinian when he "constituted the Bishop of Rome head of all the churches," and 538 is the time when the city of Rome is set free, which "established the pope in his see." The 1260 years ended when Berthier entered Rome with a French army, "deposed the pope, abolished the papal government, and erected the republic of Italy." This brings the "time of the end," with the next event as the resurrection at the end of the 1335 years. All the time periods are, of course, based on the established year-day principle. This was a distinct advance in sound exegesis and historical accuracy.

A closing note epitomizes the last event—Christ's second advent is to raise His "dead saints," change the living righteous

¹¹ CALVIN FRENCH (d. August 29, 1844), Free Will Baptist minister of Massachusetts, in 1841 entered upon proclamation of second advent. While he was preaching in Nashua, New Hampshire, in December a mob entered and broke up the meeting. He traveled much and led in new views and revisions. These he wrote out and published in the *Signs of the Times*. For a little time he came under the spell of "Cochranism"—following impressions that he attributed to the Holy Spirit. This brought discredit to the Millerite cause and led to withdrawal of the hand of fellowship. But he made a thorough public confession and was restored to the ministry.

¹² *Midnight Cry*, November 18, 1842.

to immortality, and receive them to the marriage supper of the Lamb, while the angels gather out of His kingdom everything that offends.

VII. Prophetic Exposition on the "1843" Broadside

The large "End of the World in 1843" broadside was evidently brought out by some printer to meet a public demand to have Miller's teaching in condensed, over-all form—and at the same time to profit from the venture. But regardless of whoever produced it, it presented a fair picture. "Daniel's Visions" are given in the left third of the upper half. Down the left-hand margin appear the customary dates of leading events, from 670 B.C. down to A.D. 1843. Then the fourfold metallic image of Daniel 2, the four beasts of Daniel 7, and the different beasts of Daniel 8 appear in their paralleling positions, as God's graphic cartoons of the nations.

The dating of the kingdoms of Babylonia (lasting 139 years), Medo-Persia (207 years), Grecia (173 years), and Rome ("Pagan and papal, 2,001 years") appears—pagan Rome being from 158 B.C. to A.D. 508 and 538, from which point the legs are labeled "Papal Rome." The description of Babylon is: "In its glory, it was like a lion, soaring with wings as an eagle." Medo-Persia was "two arms meeting on one breast,—the bear raising up one side . . . the greatest robbers and spoilers that ever oppressed the nations." And the Persian "ram with two horns was its well-known national emblem."¹³

The Grecian leopard's four wings indicated that it was to be "more rapid in its conquests than Babylon," and the "goat was the known emblem of Greece." The ten horn-kingdoms springing out of Rome, with dates, read: (1) A.D. 355 Huns, (2) 377 Ostrogoths, (3) 378 Visigoths, (4) 407 Franks, (5) 407 Vandals, (6) 407 Sueves, (7) 407 Burgundians, (8) 476 Saxons, (9) 476 Heruli, and (10) 483 Lombards. The three "horns" that

¹³ On this see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 129, 130.

were plucked up to make way for the "Papacy" were the Heruli (493), the Vandals (534), and the Ostrogoths (538).¹⁴

In chapter 8, Babylonia is not mentioned, because it had already become history, and was no longer prophecy. The "Grecian empire was at first united," but after Alexander's death it was divided into four parts. Rome, as the legs of iron in chapter 2 and the ten-horned beast in chapter 7, is in chapter 8 symbolized as "an EXCEEDING great horn," springing up in the latter part of Grecia's divisions, and Sir Isaac Newton's observation is noted that it starts in "the northwest corner of the Goat's dominion, i.e., in Italy,—which points directly to the Romans." The magnifying of itself to the Prince of the host is "when the Pope became the 'head of all the churches.'"

Next, the right-hand third of the upper half is given over to John's visions, in three vertical, paralleling columns. In the first column are the dragon (ch. 12), or "Pagan Rome," the ten-horned beast (ch. 13), or "Papal Rome," and the two-horned beast from the earth (ch. 13:11-18), which is here identified as the "infidel French government," which came out of the ten kingdoms. And its two horns are interpreted as "France and Italy."

The center column deals with the "Prophetic Periods" down to Christ's second coming, to "judgment." Daniel's four outline prophecies, in chapters 2, 7, 8, and 12, lead down to "the end," and Daniel 12:2, 3 discusses the resurrection. The great prophetic period of the Apocalypse is the 1260 years—"the semi-circle of the full-orbed period of the Gentiles, 2520 years," or "seven times," with the "middle point" as the "edict of Justinian, granting to the pope civil power, A.D. 538." The full 2520 years reach from 677 B.C. on to A.D. 1843. And the oppressive papal rule of 1260 years, beginning in A.D. 538, brings us down to 1798, when the pontiff was taken captive by Berthier—with the remaining forty-five years extending to 1843.

¹⁴ The Ostrogoths were not uprooted, however, until 554 or 555. See Vol. I, pp. 935, 936.

The 2300 years are located as from 457 B.C., with the 70 weeks (490 years) "cut off" for the Jews, and Messiah "cut off" at the "end" of the 490 years, which was "fulfilled to a day." And then, after the 1260 years of papal oppression, which began under authorization of Justinian the emperor, the pope finally was taken captive in 1798. The "'daily' [*sacrifice* is not in the original]," taken away for 1290 years, is from the time the daily pagan abomination is taken away to open the way for the "setting up of the Papacy." And from 508 to the "fall of the Papacy" are 1290 years, or from 508 to 1798. Then, the forty-five years more—of the 1335 years—reach to 1843, when Daniel stands in his lot through the resurrection.

The third column deals with the last three 'woe trumpets of the seven, the fifth extending from July 27, 1299, to 1449, and the sixth from July 27, 1449, to August 11, 1840, at the ceasing of the Turkish supremacy, with the seventh trumpet bringing in the kingdom of God, when the last trump sounds and the dead will rise.

In the lower half of the broadside the first three columns at the left give a "Synopsis of Miller's Views," under fourteen points. These are: (1) Christ will come again to earth. (2) He will come in the clouds of heaven, and in all the glory of the Father. (3) He will then receive His eternal kingdom. (4) The saints will then possess the kingdom forever. (5) Every sleeping saint will be raised with a glorious body. (6) All saints will be presented to God without spot. (7) Christ, at His second advent, will finish the great controversy with man's last enemy. (8) He will then destroy the bodies of the living wicked by fire, and the rest shut up unto the resurrection of damnation. (9) The earth will then be cleansed by fire, and the saints given possession of the earth made new. (10) All these things will be accomplished at the time appointed. (11) God has revealed that time. (12) Many professing Christians will never know or sense that time. (13) The wise will understand. (14) Some time between March 21st, 1843, and March 21st, 1844, according to the Jewish mode of computation of time, Christ will

come, and bring all His saints with Him; and then give every man his reward. This dates this broadside chart as prior to the spring of 1844, when this view obtained.

Then follows the evidence, customarily supplied, for the seven times, or 2520 years, from 677 B.C. to A.D. 1843; the 6,000 years from creation to 1843, and the beginning of the millennial sabbath of 1,000 years. Next, are the 2450 years of the jubilee of jubilees from 607 B.C. to 1843; and the 1260, 1290, and finally the 1335 ending in 1843; the trumpets, with the sixth ending in 1840, followed by the seventh trump; the Two Witnesses, clothed in sackcloth from 538-1798; the woman in the wilderness 1260 years, ending in 1798, with salvation soon to come; the great blasphemy of the Papacy is from 538-1798, or from Justinian to the pope's captivity. And finally, the "666 years" of Roman "Paganism" from 158 B.C., then understood time of the league, and from which point the 1335 years begin, leading to 1843, when the Beast and his image will be destroyed.

The broadside closes with the sentence, "These several ways of prophetic chronology, proves the end in 1843." It was a popular presentation, stated in generalities.

VIII. Fitch's "1843 Chart" Becomes Standard in 1842-1843

Early in 1842 the famous "1843 Chart" was devised by Charles Fitch, assisted by Apollos Hale. It was an attempt to simplify and unify the prophecies, and to make them easier to present to the public. It thenceforth became the standard chart, superseding all others, and was a telling factor in the proclamation of the "1843" phase of the Millerite message. The originals were hand-painted and lettered on two broad sheets of canvas. They were used by Fitch for the first time in Springfield, Massachusetts, in a course of advent lectures that stirred the city. Employed a short time later in the East Kingston camp meeting (June 29-July 5, 1842), they were picturesquely de-

scribed by John Greenleaf Whittier,¹⁵ who stressed the eager upturned faces of the listeners—for charts always gripped the attention. These charts, he said, translated those Oriental symbols into stark Yankee realities, and exhibited them “like the beasts of a traveling menagerie.”

This improved chart was first used shortly before at the twelfth General Conference at Boston, in May. At the very outset of the session Fitch had brought it forward for consideration, and the conference was so impressed with it that they forthwith voted unanimously to have three hundred copies lithographed. Such is the record of Bates, chairman of the conference.¹⁶ Joshua Himes, the secretary and man of action, soon had them lithographed and out in the hands of the advent lecturers. In size they were three feet four inches by four feet seven inches. (Facsimile reproduction on page 616.) They were publicized in the columns of the *Signs*, at \$2.50 each,¹⁷ and widely used by all Millerite preachers, thus exerting a marked influence.¹⁸ They were not, of course, employed in the climactic seventh-month movement phase—from July to October, 1844—as the year “1843” had then passed. Strategic dates are scattered over the chart in the upper and lower right-hand half—677 B.C., the beginning date of the “seven times,” or 2520 years; 457 B.C., and the 2300 years to 1843; 508, and the 1290 years to 1798, and the 1335 years to 1843, and 538 and the 1260 years to 1798. Then 1299 and 1449 for the 150 years from 1449 to 1840 for the 391 years.

This Fitch chart was a distinct advance over all previous diagrams and charts.¹⁹ The “1843 Chart” corrected certain former inaccuracies, and omitted a number of untenable positions previously held. It had the approval of this large General Conference—and, be it noted, *with Miller listed as present and participating*. It therefore had the group approval of the lead-

¹⁵ Whittier, *Prose Works*, vol. 1, pp. 425, 426. See p. 648.

¹⁶ Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*, pp. 10, 11.

¹⁷ *Signs of the Times*, June 22, 1842, p. 96.

¹⁸ James White in *Present Truth*, April, 1850, p. 65.

¹⁹ See *Signs of the Times*, May 1, 1840, p. 24; May 1, 1841, pp. 20, 21, etc.

ers. And, published by Himes, it definitely set the pattern in the interpretation of prophecy for this stage of the movement. Since the progressive interpretation of prophecy is our quest, we will note it in further detail.

1. SCOPE OF THE "1843 CHART."—The "1843 Chart" portrays the following characteristic features: From top to bottom, at the left, is a vertical column marking the centuries from 700 B.C. to 1800—and ending with the climactic A.D. "1843." In the upper left is the four-part metallic image of Daniel 2, signifying Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Grecia, and Rome, and the modern-nation divisions of the feet and toes, which are named; the paralleling beasts of Daniel 7, and the ensuing papal Little Horn surmounted by a triple crown; the Persian ram, the Grecian he-goat, and notable horn of Alexander, in Daniel 8; the crucifixion of Christ in the "midst" of the seventieth week is indicated; the pagan Roman dragon of Revelation 12; the papal ten-horned beast of Revelation 13 (the two-horned beast is entirely omitted); the papal mystery-woman of Revelation 17; three woe angels in the lower left corner; the fifth and sixth trumpets of Revelation 9; and the various prophetic time periods—the 1260, 1290, 1335, and 2300 year-days, the 5 months, and the "7 times of the Gentiles." It presented an impressive composite picture, and was the focal point of multiplied thousands of effective sermons.

2. MORE ADVANCED POSITIONS INCLUDED.—The more accurate, or corrected, positions set forth, include the following points:

a. The ten kingdoms are symbolized by the "feet and toes"—not simply the ten toes. (Note the Lombards as a chunk of the foot, including parts of several toes.)

b. The three horns plucked up are now listed as the Ostrogoths, Vandals, and Heruli. (Differing from the Miller list, which was Lombardy, Rome, and Ravenna.)²⁰

²⁰ William Miller, *Evidence From Scripture* (1836 ed.), p. 42.

c. The 1260 years of the Little Horn are from Justinian's elevation of the Roman Bishop. (Not from the uprooting of the third, or Ostrogothic, opposing horn.)

d. The exceeding great horn of Daniel 8 is Rome, both pagan and papal. (Not Antiochus Epiphanes, or Mohammedanism, as a few had held.)

e. The first beast of Revelation 13 is *papal* Rome. (Not pagan Rome, as in earlier charts, particularly Miller's.)

f. The 150 years of the fifth trumpet are from 1299 to 1449, when the sixth trumpet begins. (Not from Miller's earlier date; and no mention is made of the specific end date of the sixth trumpet.)

g. The authorities cited are Josephus, Whelpley (Machia-velli), Lloyd, Lowth, and Hales.

3. OMISSION OF CERTAIN PREVIOUS POSITIONS.—This chart bears the marks of careful study and painstaking revision by Fitch, one of the ablest ministers of the movement, to eliminate certain suppositions and hasty positions that had appeared on the half-dozen earlier charts. First of all, it was prepared in the transition hour, in the midst of such corrections as the true date of the "midst of the week" for the crucifixion, the differing views as to the identification of the second beast of Revelation 13, and the meaning of the "daily." These controverted points were therefore left off the "1843 Chart." No second "beast from the earth" appears on the chart, because that would call for identification. The mere texts are cited, without attempting to define the "daily." Here are the leading omissions:

a. A.D. 33, for the date of the cross, as had appeared on all previous charts, and based on Ferguson, is no longer mentioned. (Hales, however, sponsor of the A.D. 31 cross, is mentioned, though the actual 31 crucifixion date is not yet fully agreed upon or declared.)

b. The second beast of Revelation 13 is omitted. (It had

previously been interpreted by Miller as papal Rome, or as France by others.)

c. "666," as the years of pagan or imperial Rome, is also omitted. This had been Miller's uniform position and that of most previous charts. There was now a general move away from that position.)

d. The "daily" is nowhere identified as paganism, as on former charts, since the majority evidently no longer held with Miller on this. (Fitch, designer of the "1843 Chart," had raised the question in his first letter to Miller in 1838,²¹ and here omits it from the chart.)

e. The ten kings, as reigning thirty years, are not mentioned.

f. The 1840 terminus of the 391 years of Revelation 9:15, is not included.

Notwithstanding, the "1843 Chart" was an honored and powerful factor in the climax of the 1843 phase of the Millerite movement. It was clearly in advance of all others of the time. It was an honest recognition and honorable correction of earlier inaccuracies, as far as then perceived, and provided a united front on the more essential phases of prophetic exposition, which was the throbbing heart of the movement, and now rapidly accelerating its speed.

²¹ Bliss, *Memoirs*, pp. 128, 129.

I Increasing Attacks by Press and Clergy

I. "Herald" Feature Stories Draw Thousands to Tent

James Gordon Bennett,¹ enterprising editor and proprietor of the New York *Herald*, was ever on the alert to surpass his rivals with a newsbeat. He saw in the huge Millerite camp meeting in Newark, New Jersey, with its mammoth tent—the largest in America—an ideal opportunity for a "scoop," in newspaper parlance. Accordingly, Bennett sent a special reporter to cover the daily happenings at the camp. A series of ten feature stories resulted, illustrated with original pen sketches, appearing in the *Herald* in ten installments, between November 3 and 15, 1842. They ran under the covering title "End of the World." The layout of the camp and schedule of the meetings, together with topics given throughout the encampment, were set forth. And Miller's prophetic expositions were played up in typically journalistic style.

Some of these write-ups were given as much as two and one-half columns of space. The cartoon sketches—of Father Miller in preaching pose, and about the only contemporary

¹ JAMES GORDON BENNETT (1795-1872), editor of the New York *Herald*, was born in Scotland. After studying for the Roman Catholic priesthood at Aberdeen, he migrated to Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1819. He soon went to Boston, and became proofreader on the *North American Review*. On May 6, 1835, he issued the first number of the New York *Herald* from a cellar on Wall Street. He introduced modern reportorial methods; he had his staff writing graphic accounts of current affairs. He secured the first speech ever transmitted in full by telegraph—Calhoun on the Mexican war. His trenchant editorials made many enemies but increased the circulation of his paper to thirty thousand. His fundamental aim was the collection and dissemination of all important news, and the *Herald* was for a time the most important paper in the United States. Thus it was he came to report in full the Millerite camp meeting at Newark.

drawings of the Great Tent—are burlesque in style. And Dr. William Brownlee's reply is thrust prominently into the series—Brownlee being brought from New York by the local clergy to answer Miller. But all this gave unprecedented publicity to Miller's teachings, revealing to some degree the scope and spirit of the Advent Movement, as well as that of the opposition. As a result multiplied thousands were attracted who otherwise would not have attended. This simple fact impelled J. V. Himes to dispatch a letter of deep appreciation to the *Herald* for its effective aid in the wider dissemination of the advent views. In this way the public press gave wings to the Millerite message. (Picture of tent appears on p. 656.)

II. "Extra" Gives Vivid Description of Newark Camp

These ten serial stories were then quickly assembled and printed in the *Herald* office as an eight-page Extra of tabloid newspaper size, the bold display type on page one reading:

"The Sermons, Doctrines, and Peculiar Views of the Millerites, as Preached by Father Miller and His Brethren, Messrs. Himes, Litch, Fitch, &c., in the Big Tent at Newark, November, 1842, Wherein They Attempt to Prove, From the Prophecies of Scripture, That the World Will Be Destroyed in 1843."

This unique journalistic venture constituted one of the earliest American tabloids. It claimed to give an accurate and vivid description of the camp meeting "from the opening to the closing scene." Each article, from November 3 on through to November 14, was signed "Au Revoir," the *nom de plume* of the special reporter. The Extra in no way supported the Millerite positions, but did claim to give a "fair outline of the whole proceedings."² And no other comparable press report was issued during the movement. Two advertisements of the Extra appeared in the regular *Herald* of November 16 and 19. This Extra, one in a series, was issued as part of a *Herald* project for the "Advancement of Literature and Science," and as "a memorial to future times."

² *New York Herald Extra*, p. 8, col. 1.

The reports of Miller's sermons appear fairer than the observations on the meetings in general. Nevertheless, this secular newsman described the camp as exhibiting much more decorum and better order than the usual Methodist camp meeting. As to the program for the first day, he explained that an early morning prayer meeting came first, and then the main preaching service of the morning, featuring Josiah Litch. The noon meal was followed by special prayer groups. Next came the leading afternoon service with Father Miller's sermon. And "Au Revoir" frankly attests the "piety and sincerity" of the participants.

An editorial note at the close of the report refers to "prophetic fevers and millennium inflammations," which of late have assumed "epidemic" proportions. And it boldly asserts that the newly developed geology proves the earth to be of "unlimited antiquity," having required "a million of years" in its formation, and opines that it is "still progressing in infinitely long periods of time; nor does the earth even now show any signs of age."³ That was the editorial attitude toward the cataclysmic-end emphasis of the Millerite meetings. And, as with the original articles, the Extra includes four cartoon drawings—the layout of the camp, a "portrait" of Miller, then a caricature of Miller preaching in the Big Tent, and a view of the great canvas auditorium.

As they afford the best contemporary close-ups available, let us follow the series through. "Au Revoir" starts out by describing the Great Tent pitched for the ten-day sojourn—a magnificent affair, he said, the "largest ever erected in the United States, or probably anywhere else."⁴ A vivid description of its construction and layout follows—a broad aisle down the center, to separate the two sections of long, low benches; and the pulpit placed on the low side of the tent, toward which the ground sloped, as in an amphitheater. A well-organized watch policed the place, the huge camp having become the

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8, col. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2, col. 1.

lations are recorded. It is really a good piece of sermon reporting.⁶

Then came Sunday, the big day, with 6,000 people present. The railroad and steamboat bring 1,640 people from New York, and the camp is completely surrounded by vehicles of every description, yet without confusion. The people fill all available hotels and lodging houses. Again the preaching and other services last until ten o'clock at night, with Miller, Litch, and Himes in the forefront.⁷ Another day is done.

On Monday, November 7, the reporter tells of ever-mounting interest, and the total of sixty converts to date. Men of wealth are said to be preparing to sell their properties to advance the advent cause. On Sunday the ministers of the city had preached against Miller's positions, some maintaining that "the end of the world would come in about 1,000 years." Others said in about 100 years, or 150.⁸ The reporter tells how Miller—"very sincere, although he is a Yankee"—presented his argument for 6,000 years from creation to "1843." And the reporter interjects a countering aside on the variant datings of Ussher and Lightfoot, the noted Bible chronologers. Then he shares with his readers the camp's "Rules and Regulations," ten in all. They reveal so much concerning the camp that they are repeated here:

"Art. 1.—The ground within the circle of the tents being our sanctuary, no smoking will be allowed therein, at any time, nor any unnecessary walking during the services at the [preaching] stand.

"Art. 2.—Public services at the stand will commence at 10 A.M., at 2 P.M., and at 6 in the evening, notice of which will be given by the ringing of the bell.

"Art. 3.—During service at the stand all services in the tents will be suspended.

"Art. 4.—The ladies will take the seats on the right of the stand, and the gentlemen on the left.

"Art. 5.—Hours for meals are as follows, viz: breakfast at 6½, dine at 12, supper at 5.

"Art. 6.—Places for retirement for the ladies on the right of the

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2, col. 4; p. 3, cols. 1, 2, 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3, cols. 3, 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3, col. 4.

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⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2, col. 4; p. 3, cols. 1, 2, 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3, cols. 3, 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3, col. 4.

stand, across the meadow, for the gentlemen, the grove across the railroad.

"Art. 7.—All persons who are not members of some tent company must leave the ground at the ringing of the bell for retirement to rest; at which time it is expected that all exercises in the tents will cease for the night.

"Art. 8.—Each tent company will, at the earliest convenience, choose a tent-master, who with a committee of one, will represent the company to which they belong in the general committee, and will be held responsible for the order of the tent company to which they belong.

"Art. 9.—The tent-master will lead in, or call on some one to lead in the devotions of the tent company morning and evening.

"Art. 10.—One or more lights must be kept burning in each tent the whole of each night during the meeting."⁹

Now follows a description of the special tents for prayer, which the newsman denominates as "pious" and "sincere," though strange to his secular reportorial ears. In fact, he records some of the prayers, and the fervent responses characteristic of the Methodists and many others of the time. They prayed for repentance and cleansing, for the Holy Spirit, for salvation, for preparation to meet the Lord, for the unsaved, for the ministers and priests in the churches wedded to false views—and all in the name of Him who is coming soon in the clouds of heaven to save the righteous and destroy the wicked.¹⁰

The tolling bell then announced the meeting in the Big Tent, as six thousand assemble. But that night a terrible wind and rain storm blew down several smaller tents and weakened the Big Tent, so that it was necessary to lower it—with no services during the following day in that tent. Miller and his associates were given dinner in the hotel, and Miller preached in one of the Presbyterian city churches on the four world kingdoms of prophecy of Daniel 2. From this he led on to Daniel 7, and the same world powers and Rome's divisions, symbolized by the ten horns—with the Papacy as the Little Horn that uprooted the Heruli, Ostrogoths, and Lombards. Then Miller turned to Daniel 8, with the Persian and Grecian kingdoms followed by Rome, and the 2300 years from 457

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4, col. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4, cols. 1, 2.

B.C. to about A.D. 1843. He showed the relationship of the 70 weeks to Messiah's death, which period was cut off for the Jews from the 2300 years, and the 1810 years remaining leading up to the climactic year "1843." Preachers of the town, from all denominations, were present.¹¹

On Wednesday, November 9, up went the Big Tent again. But as the seats and ground were still wet, Miller again preached in one of the churches, this time on Daniel 11. This prophecy, Miller explained, covered Persia, Grecia, and Rome pagan and then papal. The 1290 year-days he held closed in 1798, and the 1335 years in "1843." And again clergymen from the city were present.¹²

The dispatch of Thursday told of Dr. William Brownlee of New York, brought to Newark to make rebuttal to Miller's positions, speaking to a packed audience in the Dutch Reformed Church. (The reporter is openly and ever against Miller's positions.) Brownlee preached on the thousand years of world betterment and the reign of Christ as spiritual, with the resurrection as likewise spiritual. He declared the resurrection of the soul does not mean the resurrection of man to life. The restoration of the Jews, he admitted, would probably take place between 1843 and 1847, which is the meaning of Daniel 8:14. Satan would be bound during the 1,000 years, at the end of which he will be loosed. But a more accurate ending of the 2300 years, Brownlee held, would doubtless be for 1866, when Antichrist will receive his great blow, and the end of the sorrows of the Jews will come. Brownlee thus dates the 1260 year-days of the papal Antichrist from Phocas in 606, and likewise recognizes the 2300 prophetic days as literal years. *The difference lay in the terminal point, and anticipated events.*

According to the reporter, Brownlee agreed that the four powers of Daniel 7 are Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Grecia, and Rome, the ten horns the divisions of Rome, and the Little Horn

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4, col. 2 to p. 5, col. 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 5, cols. 1-3.

the Papacy—just as Miller held. But the world's end will not come till both the Papacy and Mohammedanism are destroyed. The gospel must be carried to every individual, and that would take ten million preachers. Brownlee's final charge was that the millennium might actually last 360,000 years—on the year-day principle—as the world is yet in its infancy. So 1866 may be the dawn of the millennium, as Antichrist receives his great blow, with the full beginning of the millennium in 2015. Thus countered Brownlee.¹³

"Au Revoir" then continues his report of the Millerite meetings through Friday and Saturday, including a biographical sketch of Miller that is fairly accurate, as far as it goes. He gave this as the physical description of Miller—thick set, broad shoulders, light brownish hair, slightly bald, a benevolent countenance, and his head shaking slightly with palsy.¹⁴ The reporter says that he has "taken unusual pains" to make his reports of Miller's positions accurate. He had attended the meetings morning, noon, and night, and admits that he is "completely fagged out." Finally he tells how, in the preachers' tent, there is a large collection of books and papers, and people buying them. The closing meetings are described sketchily, and he tells how the farewell service fully answered many of the ridiculous tales and charges about money-making, property disposition, et cetera. The puerility of current popular attacks of enemies was made very apparent. Farewells are said, and William Miller leaves for New York. The Newark meeting is over.¹⁵

III. *Tribune* "Extra" Fails to Stem the Rising Tide

An elaborate attempt at popular opposition by the press, in the hope of stemming the rising tide of Millerism, was made by another noted editor, Horace Greeley, through his rival New York *Tribune*. This was in the form of a special issue

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 5, col. 4 to p. 6, col. 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7, col. 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8, cols. 1, 2.

[illegible]

Designed to Refute Miller's Leading Positions, Such Reproductions Actually Resulted in Aiding the Advent Cause. This Exact Reproduction of Josiah Litch's Prophetic Charts Occupied Four Fifths of the Front Page, the Upper Third of Which Is Reproduced Here. This Publicity Led to Renewed Study of Prophecy

dated March 2, 1843. It was a single sheet, of the usual *Tribune* page size and format, printed on both sides, and labeled "EXTRA" in bold black letters. On page one there was, interestingly enough, an exact reproduction of Litch's prophetic charts illustrating and expounding both "Daniel's Visions" and "John's Visions"—picturing the various prophetic symbols, with a terse interpretation accompanying each major symbol. (Facsimile of portion of page one appears on opposite page.)

These Millerite charts occupied five of the six columns of page one. The one remaining, or sixth, column, to the right, was inconspicuously headed, "Reply to Miller's Theory." The text of the attack was written by JOHN DOWLING,¹⁶ noted Baptist clergyman of Providence, Rhode Island, and occupied the entire six columns of the reverse side of the sheet as well, with the exception of a few inches reserved for advertisements at the bottom of the last column. This attempted refutation was evidently initiated by Greeley himself, for the editor speaks of having another article in hand which they had "intended to publish," but "upon comparison had chosen this [Dowling article] as more full and to the point." Greeley also speaks of having in hand "an argument by a distinguished Catholic clergyman, which is excluded only for lack of space."

Dowling plunges at once to the heart of Miller's fundamental thesis—that the 70 weeks of years are the first part of the 2300 years, and constitutes the "key" that unlocks the terminus of the longer period in "1843," which Miller holds will be the end of the world.

Dowling cites Miller's invitation for someone to point out the fallacy of this tie-in of the two periods—if it be a fallacy. This Dowling attempts to do in seven steps: (1) Examines the 70 weeks of Daniel 9, (2) the vision of the ram and he-goat

¹⁶ JOHN DOWLING (1807-1878) was born in England, of Church of England parentage, but at seventeen joined the Baptist church. He became an instructor in Latin at nineteen, and at twenty-one taught Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and French in a Classical Institute, and started a similar school of his own in 1829. But in 1832 he answered a call to a Baptist pastorate in Catskill, New York, and was transferred to New York City in 1836, serving in three Baptist churches in the next several years. He received an M.A. from Brown University in 1834, and a D.D. degree from Transylvania in 1846.

of Daniel 8, (3) the little horn of Daniel 8; (4) then contends that this little horn refers to Antiochus Epiphanes; (5) challenges Miller's application of the 2300 evenings and mornings; (6) contends that it was literally fulfilled by Antiochus through the taking away of the daily Jewish sacrifices; and (7) challenges Miller's date for the beginning of Miller's 2300 year-days.

On the first point he takes "pleasure" in concurring with Miller on the 70 "weeks of years" as extending to the death of Jesus the Messiah. With Miller's explanation he says, "I have no fault to find," and adds that it accords with "Christian expositors generally." He takes exception, however, to Miller's dating of the period from 457 B.C. to A.D. 33—pressing on Christ's birth as occurring in 4 B.C., with His crucifixion therefore falling in A.D. 29, and the longer period of the 2300 years ending in 1839—on the supposition that Miller's year-day calculation of the longer period be a valid procedure.

On two Dowling likewise interprets the ram as Persia and the goat as Grecia, the notable first horn as Alexander the Great, and the four horns upspringing as the four divisions of Grecia, thus differing little from Miller except in details. On three the exceeding great horn is then expounded as Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria—though Dowling admits that various scholars hold it to be pagan and then papal Rome, which he states is the "opinion adopted by Mr. Miller," while still others apply it to the Mohammedan delusion.

On four Dowling insists that the Antiochus Epiphanes theory is "by far the most probable supposition"—a single king of Syria rather than the Roman kingdom. According to Dowling, Antiochus was the king of "fierce countenance" who took away the Jewish "daily" sacrifice and profaned the Jewish temple in 168 B.C.¹⁷

On five, admitting that "sometimes" in prophetic language we are to understand a day for a year—"such as the 70 weeks

¹⁷ This was, of course, the ancient countertheory of Porphyry the Sophist, projected to meet Christianity and rejected by the early church, as well as by the early Reformation leaders. (See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 326-330, and Vol. II.)

and the 1260 year-days"—he contends that the evenings-mornings here simply mean natural days, and refer to evening and morning sacrifices of the Jews. Therefore he concludes that these are simply 1,150 natural days, or merely 3 years and 55 days. On six Dowling again asserts this period began in 168 B.C.

As to seven, even granting the 2300 days to be years, Dowling next seeks to show Miller to be "egregiously in error" in his calculation, or placement of them. The prophecy cannot, he holds, go back before Grecia to begin in 457 B.C., which he castigates as the "very height of absurdity." Taking the time of Alexander's conquest in 331 B.C. as a possibility, he believes the 2300 years would end in A.D. 1969. Or, if the date of the taking away of the daily sacrifice is assumed to be 168 B.C., such a calculation would then lead to the date A.D. 2132—either of which dates would invalidate Miller's formula of 2300 years, minus 457 B.C., as equaling "1843."

Thus Dowling challenges the propriety both of dating the 2300 years from 457 B.C., and of connecting the 70 weeks with the 2300 days and having a joint beginning, calling it an "absurd idea." The Roman power, he countered, could not be dated before the battle of Pydna, 168 B.C., when it became a "horn," or kingdom. Dowling's conclusion is that these two visions present matters utterly "opposite in character," and consequently unrelated, and that therefore they cannot have a common beginning. And as this is Miller's main assumption, with its failure to prove out, "his whole system falls to the ground."

Notwithstanding such attempts at opposition, the number of men of training and attainment coming to Miller's platform continued unabated. Dowling's attempt as a deterrent proved unsuccessful. In fact, Greeley's Extra appeared actually to aid the Millerite cause, for it resulted in promoting greater personal study of the prophecies. And on page one a succinct illustrated Millerite exposition of the prophetic symbols, and their inseparable time periods, had actually been presented to the large reading constituency of the *Tribune*.

IV. Conflicting Positions Taken by Opponents

Opposition increased steadily against the message of the imminent premillennial second advent. Heralded with increasing effectiveness by Miller and his associates, it had reached formidable proportions. Devout and learned ministers, as well as earnest laymen in practically all the churches, were espousing the premillennial faith in increasing numbers. This was alarming, and leading opposition churchmen were deeply perturbed over the uncomfortable Millerite challenge concerning the "good time coming," so popular in contemporary ecclesiastical circles. Strong men in high positions tried to stop, or at least to check, the rising tide. There was a succession of such attempts. Thus the *Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters* in 1840 had an article by "F. P." (Francis Parkman, of Boston), "Predictions of the End of the World," consigning Miller to the category of "false prophets," but without attempting to meet his arguments. The closing paragraph sets forth Parkman's contention:

"That much remains to be done before ancient prophecy is completed, whoever reads may understand. That the world will continue, and generations succeed after we have left it, we may be assured. How long, or how many, this shall be, is with the secret things that belong to God, 'whose glory it is to conceal a matter,' and whose wisdom and kindness are displayed alike in what he has revealed and in what he has hidden."¹⁸

Two opposition books likewise were issued from Boston in 1840. The first was *Miller Overthrown, or the False Prophet Confounded*. The author line reads, "A Cosmopolite—a Roman Catholic." This treatise held, like various others of the time, to the Antiochus Epiphanes theory for the Little Horn of Daniel 8. Strangely enough, this Catholic attack became almost the "standard text" for many Protestant antagonists of Miller. The second volume, *Miller's Theory Utterly Exploded*, by Otis A. Skinner, a Universalist, thrust all the prophecies back to the destruction of Jerusalem—essentially the Preterist theory of Alcazar, Spanish Jesuit of 1600, devised

¹⁸ "F. P.," *Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters*, May, 1840, p. 248.

back in post-Reformation times to divert the disconcerting application of "Antichrist" away from the Papacy.¹⁹

Then came the elaborate work by the well-known Baptist clergyman, Dr. John Dowling, of New York City, just noted. It was titled *An Exposition of the Prophecies Supposed by William Miller to Predict the Second Coming of Christ in 1843, With a Supplementary Chapter Upon the True Scriptural Doctrine of a Millennium Prior to the Judgment*. Dowling here contends impressively:

"It is necessary to use argument and fact to knock down the foundation upon which his [Miller's] theory is based, and nothing else will satisfy a candid and inquisitive mind."²⁰

After seeking to demolish Miller's applications and positions on the prophecies, and pointing out their "inconsistencies" and "errors," as he viewed them—though in doing so departing from all time-honored Protestant applications of the time periods of Daniel—Dowling makes this rather odd statement:

"If I am asked the question—As you reject the interpretation Mr. M[iller] gives of these prophetic times, can you furnish a better? I reply, I do not feel myself bound to furnish any."²¹

Dowling's millennial view was simply the standard Whitbyan postmillennial position:

"The doctrine I hold in relation to the millennium, and for which I think I am indebted to the Bible, is—That the reign of Christ on earth will not be a personal but a spiritual reign; that it will be preceded by the overthrow of Popery, Mohammedanism, Paganism, and all false systems; that it will consist in the universal prevalence of righteousness and true holiness, throughout the whole world; that during its continuance, war, rapine, robbery, and oppression, shall be unknown; there shall be nothing to hurt or destroy, and universal love shall govern the actions of all mankind; that this glorious age shall pass away and be succeeded by a brief but dreadful period of wickedness, after which the Lord Jesus shall be revealed."²²

Dowling's book had a varied reception, some lauding while

¹⁹ On Preterism, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, chap. 22.

²⁰ Dowling, *An Exposition of the Prophecies*, p. 24.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 167. On Whitbyanism, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 651-655, 805-807.

other non-Millerites sharply castigated it. Supporting Dowling was the *Christian Witness*, which said editorially:

"It contains a brief treatise upon the Scripture doctrine of the millennium, showing reasons for believing that we are *not to expect a personal* reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years, but a spiritual reign, denoting the universal prevalence of Christianity."²⁸

David Campbell then produced his *Illustrations of Prophecy*, well described as a "strange medley." It made an attempt to so explain the seals, trumpets, and vials of Revelation, and the beasts and horns of Daniel, as to counteract Miller's positions. It followed the main outline of Ethan Smith. According to Campbell, the Papacy fell in 1672, the Little Horn of Daniel 8 was Mohammed, the millennium will come *before* the second advent, and the Jews return literally to Jerusalem. Laudatory advertisements of this treatise were aggressively circulated among members of Miller's audience at the doors of the auditorium when he was lecturing in New York City. But this seemed only to increase the interest in the Millerite teachings.

Tension also developed over the proscription, at Dartmouth College, of students embracing the Millerite doctrines in reference to the end of the world. This is revealed in a letter from J. E. Hood, one of the Dartmouth students, to Dr. William Cogswill, secretary of the American Education Association, of Hanover, New Hampshire. Dated July 8, 1840, it reads:

"Dear Sir:—At a private interview with myself on the 1st inst., you said to me: 'The Educational Society will not hereafter aid any man who adopts the doctrines of Miller in reference to the end of the world.' . . . I was puzzled and pained to hear from your lips such a declaration. I could with difficulty credit my own senses, until you had explicitly and emphatically repeated the statement. . . . Finally, I am not a Millerite, yet I believe it wrong to proscribe my brethren for their religious opinions. I believe that the Education Society has turned out of its primitive path for the purpose of crushing a 'small and despised sect' who are guilty of no crime but that of holding 'new and strange doctrines.' I therefore

²⁸ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Considerable draft is made in this section on Historian Wellcome, for he was a contemporary, with access to all contemporary facts and sources.

feel it is my duty respectfully to decline any further aid from its funds, and return the last appropriation.

"J. E. Hood."²⁴

But doubtless the most conspicuous of all opposition volumes was by the noted Biblical scholar, Prof. Moses Stuart, Congregationalist, and for over thirty years professor of sacred literature at Andover. It was entitled *Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy*. Expectation was raised high as Stuart said in the preface:

"It is time for the churches, in reference to the matter now before us, to seek some refuge from the tumultuous ocean on which they have of late been tossed."²⁵

But his rationalistic and even provocative handling of the prophecies—abandoning the argument of all the noted Protestant scholars of Reformation and early nineteenth-century times—brought consternation to many fellow scholars. Thus the well-known Isaac T. Hinton, not a Millerite (noted in Part I), felt constrained to call special attention to Stuart's definite aid to Catholicism:

"We regret that, in the midst of the great moral conflict with Antichrist which is now carrying on, those into whose hands 'the saints' were so long 'given' should find so able a coadjutor. Without, of course, for one moment, intimating any such ambitious design, we are clearly of opinion that the worthy Doctor of Andover has already earned a Cardinal's hat; and if his forthcoming work should be equally ingenious in behalf of Romanism, the pontificate itself would be only an adequate reward!—We have, however, no fears that Christians of sound common sense, and capable of independent thought, will, after a candid consideration of the scheme which excludes papacy from the page of prophecy, and that which traces in the prophetic symbols a faithful portraiture of its abominations, make a wrong decision."²⁶

The Universalists, however, took courage and capitalized upon Stuart's contention, as indicated by the pointed Hartford *Universalist* editorial, which caused considerable perturbation among many evangelical Protestants. It said:

"When we see such men as Professor Stuart, forced by the power of

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 203; *Signs of the Times*, Aug. 1, 1840, p. 70.

²⁵ Moses Stuart, *Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy*, p. 5.

²⁶ Isaac Taylor Hinton, *The Prophecies of Daniel and John Illustrated*, p. 231, note.

truth, to abandon the old, antiquated, erroneous notions concerning the Apocalypse, we are inspired with hope. In his zeal to overthrow Millerism, the Professor has involved himself in a dilemma from which *he will find it no easy matter to retreat.*"²⁷

"In his 'hints on the interpretation of prophecy,' he refutes Miller's views of the second coming of Christ, by taking Universalist's ground, and limiting the fulfillment of the predictions of the Revelator to a time not far distant from that in which they were made."²⁸

"The utterance of such doctrine by Moses Stuart is a new thing under the sun. 'It tends,' as we are told by a Presbyterian paper of repute, 'as the opinions of Professor Bush do, *fearfully* to Universalism.' Professors Stuart and Bush are liberalizing the minds and enlightening the understandings of the Calvinistic party, by administering small doses of *Universalism*, as the remedies for the popular tumults and excitements."²⁹

That Universalist papers should openly jeer at the second advent and judgment was to be expected. Thus the editor of the *Universalist Trumpet*, of Boston, likewise says:

"Wm. Miller is a weak-minded, vain, and self-confident old man, who has learned some passages of Scripture by heart; but who in our judgment, either dishonestly perverts the sacred writings, or is almost totally ignorant of their true sense. He has been in the vicinity of Boston some two or three months. He is constantly giving lectures on his theory, which are attended by immense crowds. The meeting-houses are generally closed against him, except the two occupied by a sect calling themselves 'Christians.'

"But the most astonishing fact is yet to be disclosed. The Baptist Society in Cambridgeport, had their house open every day last week, for Miller, and their clergyman was in the pulpit with him, taking part in the services. We are surprised beyond measure, at this movement. . . . That such men as J. V. Himes, and P. R. Russell (the Christian ministers), should abet Miller's imposition, might have been expected. They are fit for such things. We agree with the Rev. Dr. Sharp, in a remark he is said to have made, 'that Miller's theory is *all moonshine*;' and we are astonished that a truly respectable society should give the least countenance to such deception."³⁰

On the other hand, J. H. Noyes, editor of the *Witness and Advocate of "Perfect Holiness,"* strangely contended in 1840 that Christ had already come the second time during the lifetime of His disciples:

²⁷ This is, of course, straight Preterism.

²⁸ *The Universalist* (Hartford). Nov. 26, 1842, p. 100.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1843, p. 149.

³⁰ Quoted in I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

"Our readers are doubtless aware that Miller's famous doctrine of the speedy coming of Christ 'in the clouds of heaven,' is based on that old desperate delusion of Christendom,—the denial that *he has already come*.

"Miller thus adds to the long list of foolish, not to say blasphemous devices, by which ungodly men have sought these thousand years to turn aside and stultify the plainest and most solemn declaration of the Son of God. . . . On the other hand, we have reason to rejoice that this delusion makes occasion for many to examine honestly the subject of the Second Coming.

"All sober men must soon find themselves shut up to the acknowledgment that Christ came the second time according to his promise, within the lifetime of some of his followers."³¹

Then came Dr. Horace Bushnell, eminent and eloquent Congregational clergyman and theologian, also of Hartford, Connecticut, who differed by flatly declaring that no personal advent of Christ is to be looked for at all.³² Here is a startling excerpt:

" 'Ye have heard how I said unto you, I go away, and come again unto you.' 'In what sense then is he going, and in what sense will he come again—what change of relationship he will inaugurate between himself and his followers, and as to what kind of a personal relation he undertakes to hold with them now, is the subject to which the author invites the attention of his auditors.'

"Christ says, 'It is expedient for you that I go away,' adding the promise, 'I will come to you.' He means by this that the time has now arrived when there must be a change of administration, when he must needs be taken away from their eyes, and begin to be set in a new spiritual relation which permits a universal access of men to him, and a universal presence of him with them.

"What is wanted now is an *unlocalized, invisible, spiritual presence, everywhere present Saviour*, such as we all may know and receive, being consciously known and received by him, AND THIS WILL BE HIS COMING AGAIN, OR HIS SECOND COMING, such a kind of coming as shows him bearing rule in Providence, and riding in the clouds of heaven—rolling on the changes, unfolding the destinies of time, and preparing his universal kingdom. . . . In all of which Christ, you will perceive, is proposing to do exactly nothing which many of his disciples, taken by faith of his second coming, so fervently preach, and so earnestly magnify. They believe that he is to come in a body, and be visible as in a body. . . . Every ship that sails will be crowded with eager multitudes pressing on to see the visible

³¹ *The Witness*, June 6, 1840, p. 152. A later issue says Judas Iscariot was the Man of Sin, or falling away of 2 Thessalonians 2; see also I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

³² Later (in 1849) Bushnell was summoned before the Hartford Central Association of Ministers for "heretical opinions."

Christ. Thronging in thus, month by month, a vast seething crowd of pilgrims, curious and devout, poor and rich, houseless and hungry, trampling each other down—many of them sick, not one of them truly in the enjoyment of God's peace, not one of a thousand getting near enough to see him—still fewer to hear him speak, how long will it take, under such kind of experience, to learn what Christ intended, and the solid truth of it when he said, 'It is expedient for you that I go away.'

"Nothing could be more INEXPEDIENT, OR A PROFOUNDER AFFLICTION THAN A LOCALLY DESCENDED, PERMANENTLY VISIBLE SAVIOUR. . . . We have no want then of a locally related, that is, of a bodily resident Saviour."³³

Small wonder that the Hartford *Universalist* gives four more columns to rejoicing over this bombshell cast into the Protestant camp by Dr. Bushnell, congratulating him on rejecting the whole concept of the personal advent of Christ. Such were some of the conflicting and really demoralizing developments now appearing in Protestant ranks from men in high positions determined to neutralize the Millerite premillennial positions. And such were the rather desperate lengths to which men in high places went, in the heat of controversy, utterly at variance with the historic position of the Protestant church—and with each other—in order to stem this tide of Millerism.

Mention should also be made of the slightly later (1844) *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream of the Great Image*, by Dr. George Bush, professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature at New York City University. Sylvester Bliss, editor of the *Advent Shield*, simply says:

"The author sustains us [the Millerites] fully until we come down to the fifth kingdom, which he places in the present state of the world, but under a highly perfected state of things which he supposes will continue forever. This is the ground which all will finally be obliged to take, who persist in denying the personal Advent of Christ. If there is such an event ever to take place, it must be in this age of the world. Those who defer it far in the future, must be driven to a denial that it will ever occur. There is no middle ground. There is no other alternative.

"The work before us endeavors to show that the breaking of the image by the stone is a very gradual work; but we are unable to see the force of the argument for such a conclusion."³⁴

³³ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, pp. 208, 209.

³⁴ *Advent Shield*, January, 1845, p. 288.

An eighteen-page review of *Remarks on the Book of Daniel* (also 1844) by Dr. Irah Chase, Baptist, and for many years professor of Ecclesiastical History in Newton Theological Institution, appears in the May, 1844, *Advent Shield*, by Apollos Hale. Chase's reckless draft upon any and all arguments, however contradictory to those of fellow opposers, in an attempt to stay the onward sweep of Millerism, is pointed out by Hale, who observes:

"Judaism buried up the word of God with the traditions of the elders. Popery has robbed the church of this treasure by law. Neology [i.e., rationalism] perpetrates the same crime, by stripping the Bible of its divinity. Professor Chase has clearly placed himself with that class of divines."³⁵

Here again there is recourse to the device of Porphyry, the pagan Sophist, making the Selucids the fourth empire, instead of the Romans—and the little horn simply Antiochus Epiphanes, in the time of the Maccabees, with the 2300 days reduced to 1150 literal days, with 2300 evening and morning daily sacrifices of the Jews. This appeared to be the climax to the arguments of Stuart and Dowling, filled with "ifs" and uncertainties. And yet the *Methodist Advocate and Journal*, of New York, appeared delighted with it.³⁶ Hale, however, asserts that such arguments "outrage" all the hallowed expositions of the past, and "abandon their own avowed and cherished views," that is, of the great antecedent Protestant interpreters from the time of the Reformation.³⁷

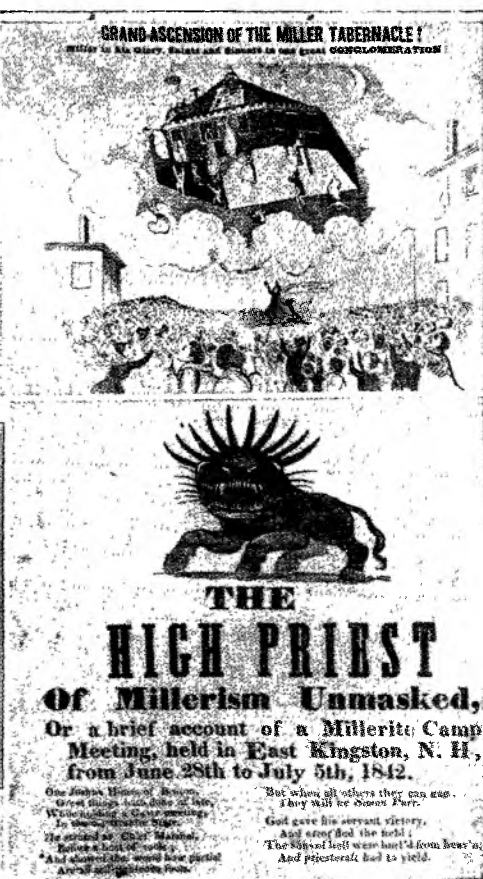
V. Millerites Ridiculed by Scurrilous Cartoons

By the time of the Jewish year "1843" the hostility toward Miller and his associates had not only stepped up its tempo but had begun to express itself in the form of a motley array of antagonistic historical broadsides. These caricatures in car-

³⁵ Apollos Hale, "Review of Professor Chase," *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 127.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 144.

³⁷ To the roster of opponents must be added the names of Nathaniel Colver, W. J. Hamilton, E. Pond, C. E. Stowe, Samuel F. Jarvis, Richard C. Shimeall, P. E. Dimmick, Edwin F. Hatfield, Samuel I. Prime, Moses Springer, Abel Stevens, Noah Levings, Morris Henry, O. E. Morreel, etc.



SCURRILOUS CARTOONS RIDICULE THE MILLERITES

(Upper Left) Non-Millerite Broadside Discusses Millerite October 22 Expectation—Issued as a Commercial Venture; (Lower Left) Caricature of a Millerite Futilely Preparing to Escape Coming Fiery Destruction of the World; (Upper Right) Broadside Burlesquing "Grand Ascension of the Miller Tabernacle" From Its Foundations at Boston. Himes, Surrounded by Money Bags, Pictured as Unable to Ascend Because Forked-tailed Devil Is Holding Onto His Coat Tails; (Lower Right) Attack on Miller as High Priest of Millerism, in Crude Doggerel. Attacking Himes by Name and Ridiculing Millerite Teachings in General

toon form frequently bordered on the sacrilegious. They sometimes pictured the prophetic symbols of the Bible in ludicrous form, as well as ridiculing Miller and his associates. The Millerite papers referred to these pictorial diatribes as "cartoon prints," a "new style of scoffing." For example, the *Signs of the Times* of March 29, 1843, tells of the "cartoon going the rounds" representing "Miller ascending to heaven with all

the Millerites—so called—hanging on to him.”³⁸ A still earlier one had been headed “The High Priest of Millerism Unmasked, or a brief account of a Millerite Camp Meeting, held in East Kingston, N.H., from June 28th to July 5, 1842.” Underneath were verses of crude doggerel attacking Himes by name and ridiculing the teachings of the Millerite group.

Another diatribe was called, “Vial of Wrath, and Junk Bottle of Destruction.” On this sheet sacred Christian truths were “wickedly scoffed at.” The resurrection of the dead was ridiculed, being caricatured by a cut of a skeleton rising halfway out of its coffin, and impetuously throwing its shinbone at a croaking toad sitting at the foot of the coffin. The ascension of the saints to meet their Lord in the air is “shown in a ludicrous light, in various attitudes of ascension, while the fat ones are described as being drawn up with hooks by the angels.” These slurring cartoons now became a distinct feature of the campaign of opposition. And as the time of expectation drew on, in 1844, such scurrilous sheets took on new boldness in ridicule and sacrilege.

Another broadside, about two by three feet, was called, “Grand Ascension of the Miller Tabernacle!” Centered underneath, in smaller type, was the subtitle, “Miller in his Glory, Saints and Sinners in one great CONGLOMERATION!” The upper half is a cartoon picturing the Boston Tabernacle leaving its foundations and soaring aloft toward the heavens, with numerous Millerites hanging on to it in ridiculous postures, with some falling off. And a basket of provisions hangs from the sky.

Miller sits on the roof on his chart; also on the roof stands a man surveying the heavens with a telescope. Below, the milling masses of Boston are looking upward in amazement and anger at the weird sight. Below, on the tabernacle rostrum, still attached to the old foundations, and on which the names of the leading Millerite papers are inscribed, stands Himes

³⁸ *Signs of the Times*, March 29, 1843, p. 29; also March 22, 1843, p. 20.

surrounded by moneybags, with a forked-tailed devil holding onto his coattails, saying, "Joshua V. you must stay with me." The lower half contains several columns of doggerel ridiculing Millerism, and sections of prose retailing the wild stories and gossipy charges current regarding Millerism. And the final line reads, "Here endeth the End of the World and the Grand Tableaux of October 22d, 1844."

Still another scurrilous cartoon was lithographed in 1844. It pictures an iron safe, called a "Patent Fire Proof Chest," with a rather senile-looking individual—ostensibly a Millerite—sitting in the lower section beside a barrel piled high with chunks of ice, and his hat hanging at the back. On the shelf above are crackers and cheese, a large decanter of brandy with a glass, and a box of Havana cigars surmounted by a bag of money. On the inside of the door are hung a ham and a fan. The occupant sits there thumbing his nose, and saying, "Now let it come! I'm ready."³⁹ An examination of scores of newspaper and periodical thrusts that now poured forth from the press against the Millerite leaders and teachings reveals the unreasoning prejudice that motivated this stream of attacks. Taunts, sneers, and misrepresentations henceforth dogged their footsteps with increasing persistence. As a case in point, beginning with the May 2, 1842, issue, the *Universalist*, of Hartford, makes a succession of thrusts at the Millerites, castigating them as "simple," "deluded," "ignorant," "ridiculous," "notorious," "illiterate," "excited," "coarse," "ill bred," "blind," "fanatical," "evil," "weak-minded," "imposters," and "humbugs."⁴⁰

But the Millerites were unmoved by such tactics, praying for their tormentors and appealing to them for their own sakes to cease doing the "dirty work of the devil."

³⁹ *Ibid.*, March 22, 1843, p. 20.

⁴⁰ *The Universalist*, Oct. 26, 1842, p. 206; April 16, 1842, p. 259; July 16, p. 366; July 30, p. 382; Aug. 27, pp. 411, 415, 416.

Rising Opposition Leads to Separation

I. No Independent Organization Contemplated at First

In the earlier years of his public ministry, Miller had taken for granted that the church at large would welcome the neglected glad tidings of the soon-coming Christ, which had become so precious to his own soul. He had supposed that when it was brought to their attention, this gladsome event would be hailed with joy, and that preachers everywhere would proclaim it gladly. Millions through the centuries had longed and prayed for Christ's return to establish His kingdom. It was clearly the hope of the ages. Now it appeared to be on the verge of consummation—and what a glorious prospect it presented! Moreover, as the smaller neighboring churches had freely opened their doors to him, and as their ministers had one by one rallied in support, this early conviction of ultimate acceptance of the advent truth deepened.

Under such circumstances Miller had not the remotest thought of forming a separate sect. Notwithstanding, he and his associates came increasingly to be charged with being schismatics, covenant breakers, and disorganizers. This they steadfastly denied. The joy of the glorious second coming had broken down sectarianism and variance within their own hearts, and all Adventist groups were drawn together by this common bond. Hence they held that the accusation could not be true.

Prayer meetings to foster the advent hope had been urged, but merely within the framework of the existing churches.

And the *Signs of the Times* had been a sort of unifying bond. But now, with the sharply rising opposition, some simple form of organization and some means of fellowship beyond the recommended prayer meetings appeared necessary. Second Advent Associations were therefore recommended and launched. Before the year "1843" had closed these associations had sprung up in nearly every sizable city in the North.¹ Fortunately, the simple instruments of organization have been preserved from the New York and Philadelphia associations. The former, brought into being on May 18, 1842, merely states:

"The undersigned, believers in Christ's second personal coming at hand, are hereby associated for the purpose of strengthening and comforting each other with these truths, and in every practical way to disseminate knowledge in the subject, and to strive by all means, to promote the glory of God. The Association shall be called the Second Advent Association of New York and Vicinity, and to be governed by the golden rule of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. The members are expected to pay monthly ('if the Lord will,') the sums set to their several names, as a fund by which to defray the expenses of forwarding the great objects of the Association."²

But as the opposition increased, arguments were augmented by recourse to ridicule and misrepresentation, and sometimes were supplanted by scoffing and slander. Miller was accused of enriching himself through preaching the advent—though he traveled at his own expense, and his life's savings had been reduced by two thousand dollars. He was accused of claiming to be a prophet, though he distinctly disavowed any such role. And he was charged with seeking to break up the churches and of starting another sect—though that too was farthest from his thought and purpose. On December 17, 1839, the first church had closed against him—the Westfield, Massachusetts, Congregational Church. (Illustration appears on page 511.) That was the first experience of its kind in eight and a half years of preaching the soon coming of the Lord. But the inexorable tide of opposition was now rising.

¹ *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p. 69; *Signs of the Times*, Sept. 7, 1842, p. 184; "Our Work," *Midnight Cry*, Nov. 17, 1842.

² *Signs of the Times*, July 6, 1842, p. 110.

Note the developments: In 1840 Miller's activities had extended into the cities and more populous areas, and were rewarded with marked results. His influence and fame had spread in ever-widening circles. A major revival developed from his meetings in Watertown, Massachusetts. Crowds flocked to hear him at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where another revival broke out, with hundreds of conversions reported by David Millard in the *Christian Herald*.³ In Lockport the pastor of the Methodist church attended some of Miller's lectures, and was so impressed with his acquaintance with Scripture that he wrote:

"I heard him all I could the first week, and thought I could stop his wheels and confound him; but, as the revival had commenced in the vast congregation assembled to hear, I would not do it publicly, lest evil should follow. I, therefore, visited him at his room, with a formidable list of objections. To my surprise, scarcely any of them were new to him, and he could answer them as fast as I could present them. And then he presented objections and questions which confounded *me*, and the commentaries on which I had relied. I went home used up, convicted, humbled, and resolved to examine the question."⁴

As a result of these meetings, D. I. Robinson and Thomas F. Barry had embraced the advent teachings and had begun to preach them. Lorenzo D. Fleming, pastor of the Casco Street Christian Church in Portland, Maine, invited Miller to preach to his congregation in March, and another great revival resulted. Prayer groups were formed throughout the city, and real reformations wrought. The entire region had felt the impact.⁵ One conspicuous result was the large number of infidels and deists converted, which gave Miller unusual satisfaction. Another was a pronounced return to the Bible—Bible sales being accelerated sharply wherever he went. And Miller was by now surrounded by scores of ministers of ability, many doing an even greater work than he. Thus it went in hundreds of communities, as the movement constantly gained momentum and influence.

³ *Ibid.*, April 15, 1840, p. 13; Bliss, *Memoirs*, pp. 141, 142.

⁴ Bliss, *Memoirs*, p. 143.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 148.

Take the situation in New York City. By 1842 the officers and executive committee of the New York Adventist Association were elected, and group meetings appointed for Sunday afternoons. The large Melodeon Hall was rented and a Bible class formed to search the Scriptures. Many ministers served their own churches in the morning and evening public services, but gathered for mutual study and help in the afternoon. And copies of the *Midnight Cry* were sent to all clergymen in New York City. The Philadelphia Association was similarly active. But, after personal investigation within the circle of these study groups, many ministers felt that they must devote their entire time to proclaiming the "advent nigh." Such relinquished their pastoral charges and gave their entire time to the proclamation of the advent message. In other instances, where a large majority of the church had accepted the advent faith, they released their pastor to go out and conduct conferences or other group meetings. But up to this point these associations disclaimed starting a new sect, maintaining that they did not interfere with personal church membership and belief.

There was no specific provision for paying the expenses of these lecturers. Bates paid his own and even others' expenses. And Miller, as mentioned, used up two thousand dollars of his own personal funds. Usually the minister, after renting an auditorium, was soon sustained by the local friends of the advent cause, being supported entirely by freewill offerings. But, despite attempts to avoid forming a new sect, there was, by the summer of 1843, a definite drawing away from the churches. And several ministers were ordained at the Millerite camp meetings that summer, in harmony with common procedure among the Baptists and certain others. A break was slowly developing.

II. Opposition Brings on Separation From Churches

The Millerites repeatedly asserted that they neither desired nor purposed "to build up another sect, but to meet as

Christians with all sects." They desired only to strengthen all Christian bodies in the hope of, and preparation for, the soon-coming second advent, and to leave believers in peace and love in the congregations with which they were connected. But many of the churches had now become unwilling to hear the message of the return of the Lord, and determined opposition developed against any public expression in prayer and social meetings of the Christian's hope.

The doors of the churches soon closed against the heralds of the advent, and every effort was made to prevent the spread of the advent doctrine. Strangely enough, according to Litch, there was as much opposition to the doctrine of Christ's imminent coming itself as to the "1843" time feature. *It was their premillennialism that cut squarely across the current of popular theology.* And when members were forbidden to speak of their hope of soon seeing the King of kings in His beauty, they felt they could only go apart by themselves where they could enjoy that rightful privilege. And this they began to do. Opposition from the clergy usually followed certain standard formulas or patterns:

1. No man knows the "day nor the hour."
2. The Lord cannot come until after the millennium.
3. The Jews must first be restored to Jerusalem.
4. Christ is to come "as a thief." But so many are now looking for Him that He could not come to surprise them.
5. This teaching cannot be true, because so many learned Christians do not see the advent hope that way.
6. The world is only in its infancy, with the arts and sciences just being developed to fit the world to live in righteousness and peace.
7. The end of the 2300 days is near, but that will mean the purification of the church—or the return of the Jews, or the overthrow of the Papacy, at the approach of the millennial era.
8. The vision of Daniel 8 has nothing to do with the second coming of Christ and the setting up of God's everlasting kingdom, but refers simply to Antiochus Epiphanes, his persecuting of the Jews, and the desecration of the temple in the second century B.C.—though such an argument strangely puts the "abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel," for which the Saviour taught His people to look in the *future*, beyond His day, back two centuries *before* His instruction was given.

Some of these arguments, as seven and eight, were mutually exclusive. But such opposition invariably advanced the cause it was intended to destroy. The very weakness of many of the conflicting arguments against the strongly supported doctrine of the premillennial second advent led those who had before hesitated, to believe there must be truth in it after all. And this often resulted in examination and conviction. The wide variety of conflicting arguments, which were mutually exclusive and destructive, was amazing. And strange to record, professedly orthodox ministers frequently seemed to make "common cause with infidels and Universalists" against the actual doctrine of the soon coming of the Lord.

For example, The *Universalist* of Hartford, and the *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine* of Boston were particularly bitter, even violent in their denunciations of Miller and Millerism's teaching on the nearness of the advent. Time after time, in 1842 and 1843, they attacked the advent leaders in immoderate language, contending the world would continue to exist for "millions of years to come;" that it is but "yet in its infancy, and will be spared to a good old age. Its end will be nearer to a million of ages from this than to 1843."⁶ And Miller was charged by the *Trumpet* with being misguided, ignorant, weak-minded, dishonest, a deceiver, and a humbug, and his theory "all moonshine" and a "deception."⁷ Such charges became standard parlance in such circles.

The Millerites came to believe that before their very eyes, during that fifth decade of the nineteenth century in which they were living, something was happening to Protestantism at large, and that it was rapidly reversing the cherished positions of three centuries of advancing light on prophecy, in relation to the second advent and understanding of the times. They believed it constituted the most fateful step backward ever taken by modern Protestantism. It was a deliberate turning away from the

⁶ *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*, March 26, 1842, p. 160, citing the Methodist Protestant *Olive Branch*, of Boston, edited by T. F. Norris.

⁷ *Ibid.*, April 9, 1842, p. 166; July 23, 1842, p. 22; also Jan. 18, 1840, p. 118.

essential light of prophecy that was designed of God to shine more and more unto that perfect day. In many instances it had virtually put out that light, and was stumbling in the dark on a path it could not see, toward a goal it could no longer recognize—just as the Jews of old, at the first advent, rejected the clear evidence of the Old Testament prophecies concerning the first advent. And as a result, they had fallen as a people from their high estate, and had stepped out of their appointed place as the special custodians of light and truth.

III. The Call to Separate Reluctantly Issued

The situation could not continue as it was. Miller's pre-millennialism, though in reality but the continuation of the earlier teaching of the church, was increasingly looked upon as a heresy, and regarded as a new and subversive doctrine. It was therefore bound to encounter growing opposition—or, at the very least, to be countered by inertia. Leaders of various church groups began to challenge the Adventist lecturers at their conferences, and resolutions were passed putting the ban on Adventist teaching. Credentials were taken away and ministers discharged. This brought on the time of inevitable separation. Various ministers, along with their congregations, had become Adventists. Others had stifled their convictions and given up the doctrine because of pressure from their denominational superiors. But that Rome alone does not exhaust the intent and scope of "Babylon" came to be increasingly though reluctantly believed.

Indeed, the application of "Babylon" and other prophetic symbols, at least in part to Protestantism, was a long-established concept. It did not originate in Millerism, or even in this country. It is interesting to note that Cardinal Newman, in combating the Protestant view of the Roman Church as Antichrist, cited a number of English writers who had directly or by implication referred to certain aspects of the Church of England, or church-state union in general, in terms of Antichrist or Baby-

lon. These included Nonconformists like Browne, Barrowe, Milton, and later writers.⁸

Alexander Fraser of Scotland and David Simpson of England (both reprinted in America) held similar views. Fraser (1795) regarded only the "church . . . invisible" as uncorrupted—with all church bodies being tinged with the spirit of Antichrist.⁹ Simpson, an Anglican but a champion of religious liberty for dissenters, furnishes an illustration of three types of prophetic application to Protestantism that are encountered repeatedly: He sees Protestant churches, under certain circumstances, as participating in the prophetic delineations of the Roman apostasy:

"I strongly suspect, that though the Pope and the Church of Rome may be, and certainly are at the head of the grand 1260 years delusion, yet all other churches, of whatever denomination, whether established, or tolerated, or persecuted, which partake of the same spirit, or have instituted doctrines and ceremonies inimical to the pure and unadulterated Gospel of Christ, shall sooner or later share in the fate of that immense fabric of human ordinances."¹⁰

He finds among Protestant establishments the "daughters" of the mother Babylon:

"These [abuses], and some other matters, which might be brought forward more at large, seem, to many very well informed and respectable persons, truly objectionable, and strong indications that we are not so far removed from the old meretricious lady of Babylon, as we would willingly have the world to believe. Among the several Protestant establishments, we [the Church of England] must, they fear, be, at least, considered as the eldest daughter of that first-born of wickedness."¹¹

He therefore applies the warnings against the Beast, image, and mark to Protestantism as well as to Rome:

"We Protestants too read them, and make ourselves easy under the awful denunciation, by applying them exclusively to the Church of Rome, never dreaming, that they are, at least, in a second sense equally applicable, not only to the English, but to every Church Establishment in Christendom, which retains any of the marks of the beast."¹²

⁸ John Henry Newman, "The Protestant Idea of Antichrist," *Essays Critical and Historical*, vol. 2, pp. 158-163.

⁹ Alexander Fraser, *A Key to the Prophecies*, pp. 163, 164.

¹⁰ David Simpson, *A Plea for Religion*, pp. 188, 189.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 211, 212.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 439. He cites David Hartley's earlier "Proposition 82," which refers to

These ideas also obtained in America. Roger Williams (1605-1683), for example, early regarded the Anglican Church as part of the "abomination of antichrist"; he saw many Protestants clinging to the spirit of Babylon, and persecuting in the spirit of the Beast.¹³ Later, Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), noted Congregational theologian, had also said that the Protestant churches were not yet wholly reformed, that few churches or individuals have come far enough out of Rome, "the *mother* of all the false doctrines, superstition, infidelity, and abominable practices in the Protestant world"; although some churches are purer than others, there is much of Antichrist in them.¹⁴

In 1802 and onward the anti-Calvinist pamphleteer, Elias Smith, bombarded New England with prophetic expositions of Antichrist and the other terms and symbols as applied primarily to the Papacy, but also involving other churches. In Antichrist he included all persecuting hierarchies, from the Jewish leaders down through popes, prelates, and bishops, to the New England state-supported clergy. He regarded all churches receiving civil support as the daughters of Babylon, partaking of the same nature as their mother Rome, and thereby being included in the other symbols, such as Antichrist and the two-horned ecclesiastical beast of Revelation 13. Thus Smith's widely read expositions spread the idea that Protestant churches, including American churches, might be related to Rome.¹⁵

Hinton, Baptist contemporary of Miller, evidently alluded to a commonly held view of established churches when he said in 1843 that, "while the constitution of the United States exists, the 'mother of harlots' can have no *daughter*" churches here.¹⁶ He spoke only ten years after Massachusetts disestablished the last American state church inherited from Colonial days.

"the ecclesiastical powers of the Christian world" as all teaching for doctrines the commandments of men, and persecuting "such as do not receive their own mark, and worship the image which they have set up." (David Hartley, *Observations on Man*, vol. 2, p. 382.)

¹³ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, p. 47.

¹⁴ Samuel Hopkins, *Treatise on the Millennium*, in his *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 328, 329.

¹⁵ Elias Smith, *A Discourse: . . . Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, pp. 20-22; also his *The Whole World Governed by a Few*, pp. 50-56; his *New Testament Dictionary*, article "Beast"; and his *Clergyman's Looking Glass*, no. 2. (On Smith, see pp. 179-185.)

¹⁶ I. T. Hinton, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

Thus there was evidently a wide background of popular thinking receptive to the idea that Protestant churches, if they resembled the papal church in doctrine, practice, repression, or state support, might be identified in some degree with Mother Babylon. And it was particularly easy for "left-wingers" of the no-creed, Bible-only type to react similarly when they encountered creed-bound bigotry in the more conservative denominations.

It was not, therefore, a revolutionary idea when various leaders among the Millerites began to apply to Protestant churches the prophetic call to separate from Babylon. And it was a rather natural development, since the churches in general, after first welcoming and profiting by the Miller revival, were now closing their doors to the advent preachers, putting pressure on their Millerite members, and in many cases expelling them. Hence the natural reaction was to call for separation, and to establish Adventist congregations to care for increasing thousands who could find no congenial home in churches that had rejected their teaching on the prophecies, ridiculed their devout hopes of the near advent, and were wielding the rod of creed more than Scripture, and applying ecclesiastical censures if not excommunication.

Miller himself did not sound this call, and later deplored its indiscriminate application. But he wrote in 1844 that the churches that came out of Rome the mother may as well bear the name of her daughters.¹⁷ It was small wonder, then, that the cry, "Come out of her my people," began to spread through the length and breadth of the Millerite movement.

IV. Proscription Grows in Religious Bodies

By 1843 proscription for holding premillennial views was recorded in the case of John Lillie, in the New York presbytery, through the imposition of a test on what previously had been

¹⁷ William Miller, *Remarks on Revelations Thirteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth*, pp. 19, 20. For his later statements of regret, see his letter of November 10, quoted on p. 837.

held as personal opinion and private judgment. The decision brought protests over obvious infringement. Here is the record:

"In November last, the Rev. John Lillie, . . . submitted to an examination in compliance with the rules of the [New York] Presbytery, which examination was *entirely satisfactory*, and he declared himself willing sincerely, and cordially to receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of that church, as the confession of his faith, and to answer in the affirmative all the questions proposed to the candidates for the ministry. Then the Presbytery proceeded to question him on subjects not named in the public standards of that church, which had always been regarded as matters of opinion and private judgment, a new test of ministerial communion.

"In this examination he avowed his belief in a personal pre-millennial Advent of Christ, and that he will reign with his risen and changed saints at least 1000 years. For this cause alone the Presbytery rejected him, but refused to assign or record the reason of his rejection.

"He denied any connection with the doctrine of the Advent in 1843, but merely believed in the pre-millennial Advent, as millions in all ages have believed it. This result shows the growing disposition there is in the church, to erase from its connection all traces of this holy and ancient doctrine."¹⁸

The steadily growing ecclesiastical opposition included the Congregationalist authorities of Vermont, as Lyman Lovewell, under date of June 7, attests:

"Opposers of the Advent near, seem to be banded—pledged together that nothing more shall be done, the most deadly opposition is made by the Pastors and principle [sic.] of the flock—so we can see the force of the awful warning of Jeremiah in the last verse of xxv. chapter.

"The Association of Congregational ministers with which I am connected—(which too is called the most liberal in the State,) have passed a resolve that will exclude all further teachings in this name—for it is enacted that no Congregational minister shall preach or lecture in any town where the minister is opposed if 'all the church and people do wish to hear.' . . .

"Now we have pitied the poor Methodists and others under Episcopacy, and boasted of the democracy of our broad and liberal platform. In many towns, the larger portion of the church (common people) are willing, and even anxious to hear on the subject [the second advent], but some two or three of the more popular and mighty ones, will manage to overrule the whole, and such men of course do not want to see Jesus."¹⁹

¹⁸ "High Handed Measure of the New York Presbytery," *Signs of the Times*, July 5, 1843, p. 141. (See also *Presbyterian Records*, 1842.)

¹⁹ Lyman Lovewell, "The Cause in Vermont," *Signs of the Times*, July 5, 1843, p. 142.

Then follows his sobering conclusion:

"Brethren we are on the very borders of the Judgment, it is time for us to be separate from those who know not God, if we would escape the destruction mentioned by Paul in 2 Thess. 1 chapter."²⁰

V. Fitch Starts Call to "Come Out"

Sharp divisions began to develop, as strong ecclesiastical pressure was exerted on the "fanatics," as they were called. At first the Millerite leaders regarded the question as a personal matter, and counseled their followers not to withdraw unless necessary. Persecution alone should dissolve one's communion with his own church.²¹ However, in 1843 the declaration began to be made by Fitch, and then by others, that such opposing churches had become "Babylon." The Catholic "mother" church, he reminded them, had Protestant "daughters," and these had retained many of her tainted doctrines.

Thus it was that at last the cry was given, "Come out of her, my people"—come out from the confusion and division, the sects and parties, the worldliness, pride, and covetousness of nominal Christendom. Ministers, they said, had become hirelings of the salary system. Many were still in fellowship with the rum sellers. And God's people were to separate from apostate and organized anti-Christian bodies and influences. Soon the cry was taken up by the Adventist lecturers, that "Babylon" had "fallen"! Preachers published in the various church papers announcement of their withdrawal from the churches. Scores upon scores of leading laymen withdrew. The new development was on in earnest.

Even a paper called *Babylon the Great Is Fallen* was published at Oswego, New York. Hundreds of believers were now being dismissed as the result of the growing friction. Miller was much perturbed. And Himes, who had consistently opposed leaving the churches, at last, in September, 1844, came out

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Letter, Patten to Southard, Nov. 3, 1843, *Midnight Cry*, Nov. 30, 1843, p. 121.

squarely in favor of separation under such circumstances. They should not remain, he declared, in the fellowship of those churches that were definitely fighting and rejecting the advent doctrine itself. A return to the faith of the primitive church was urged by the leaders. This was called, among themselves, the giving of the second angel's message, of Revelation 14:8, which they now saw followed, or joined with, the giving of the judgment-hour message of the "first angel," of verses 6, 7.

VI. Editor of "Maine Wesleyan Journal" Casts in Lot

Take specific instances of breaking with the churches. GERSHOM FREEMAN COX,²² for several years editor of the *Maine Wesleyan Journal*, of Portland, Maine, became an able writer and preacher in the Millerite cause. A man of superior natural endowments, able and versatile, Cox was six feet tall, erect and well proportioned, dignified and graceful in his pulpit decorum, and was highly esteemed. His jet-black hair, large and lustrous eyes, and his clear and mellow voice made him a striking figure in the pulpit. He was studious and scholarly, a forceful writer, and would be classified anywhere as an able and impressive preacher.

In 1837 he was handed a copy of Litch's *Synopsis of Miller's Views*, giving it only a cursory scanning at the time. However, in 1839 the rising public interest led him to re-examine the question.²³ So he read Miller's full set of *Lectures* on the second advent, and for a time wrote somewhat on the millennium, the restitution of all things, the signs of the times, and kindred

²² G. F. Cox (1799-1879) was born in Maine, converted at eighteen, and upon coming of age went to Belfast, Ireland, taking his mother and sister with him. There he opened a combination West India goods and drug store, also taking an active part in religious meetings. Yielding to the conviction that he should enter the ministry, he soon received a license as a local preacher. In 1829 he closed his business, returned from Ireland to Maine, and gave himself wholly to the ministry, first in York and next at Portland, where he remained for two years, at the same time serving as one of the editors of the *Maine Wesleyan Journal* (launched in 1832, with any profits accruing to go to the Maine Wesleyan Seminary). In 1833 he was made editor, also agent of the Maine Wesleyan Seminary, and at the ensuing conference reported that a total of ten thousand dollars had been secured. In 1835 he was transferred to the New York Conference and appointed to the Vestry Street Methodist Church. But within a few months his health failed, and he was obliged to resign, returning to Portland, where he resumed editorship of the *Maine Wesleyan Journal* for two years (1837-1839). During the same time he was secretary of the Maine Methodist Conference, and for the years 1839-1841 was also presiding elder of the Methodist Portland district.

²³ *Second Advent of Christ*, June 7, 1843, p. 3.

subjects. But during this period he failed to present his full convictions. He was troubled concerning this compromise, and sought clearer evidence of the connection between the 70 weeks and the 2300 years, and the contention that the latter ended in "1843." Then, becoming fully persuaded, he openly preached the advent message from March, 1842, to June of 1843, when the "Bath [Maine] Resolutions," against Millerism, overtook him. He had been appointed to Orrington in 1842, where over a hundred were converted, and then to Saco in 1843.

In a letter to *Zion's Herald and Wesleyan Journal* in March, 1842, he stated that he had believed the days of Daniel 8:14 would "end in 1843."²⁴ While *Zion's Herald* had excluded discussion of the subject, it nevertheless published this extended letter, headed "Eighteen Hundred Forty-Three," which was copied in the *Signs of the Times* of June 28, 1843. Methodist historians Allen and Pilsbury speak, from the Methodist angle, of his "aberration" over premillennialism, adding:

"The second advent excitement had been quite extensive, resulting, in some places, in serious injury to the church. Rev. G. F. Cox had industriously inculcated this theory, while serving as Presiding Elder in Portland district; a considerable number of the preachers had imbibed the Second Advent views of William Miller. Mr. Cox was removed from the district and appointed to Orrington, where he [still] taught the doctrines of Miller, to the damage of the strong and flourishing society in that place."²⁵

The eighteenth session of the Maine Methodist Conference was held at Bath, Maine, July 19, 1843, under Bishops Hedding and Morris. The subject of Millerism came very prominently before the conference. Lecturers had traveled over the country, Allen says, with "charts and hideous diagrams demonstrating the second coming of Christ, to destroy the world and inaugurate the judgment." Some, both of preachers and people, professed to have received the witness of the Holy Spirit to the truth of this dogma. Pilsbury puts it this way:

²⁴ Dated Orrington, Maine, April 6, 1843, in *Signs of the Times*, June 28, 1843, p. 130.

²⁵ Stephen Allen and W. H. Pilsbury. *History of Methodism in Maine*, bk. I, pp. 121,

"The church in all its parts and departments continued to grow and thrive till 1842, when it was made the field of labor of the good brother who was 'as sure that Christ would come, to call home those who were watching for his coming, and to judge the world, in 1843, as of his justification or sanctification;' which good brother, without reservation, early and late, and everywhere, made this his theme, and who, when admonished, by the Bishop, as requested, by the Conference, in 1843, threw the entire responsibility of his heresy upon the 'fathers.'" ²⁶

Pilsbury adds, of course from the Methodist viewpoint:

"When during the following Conference year, the church was purged of more than half its nominal membership, there remained a noble band of more firmly united members." ²⁷

The times were tense, and the crisis for Cox is attested by the *Signs of the Times*:

"We learn that at the Maine Conference, Bishop Hedding commanded our Brother G. F. Cox not to teach or speak any more in the name of the coming Jesus. But whether he will consider he ought to obey God rather than Bishop Hedding, we shall learn when he visits Boston, as he is expected to do in a few weeks, to preach in the Tabernacle." ²⁸

VII. "Bath Resolutions" Forbid Dissemination of Adventism

According to the record, during 1842 and 1843, some thirty ministers in the Maine Methodist Conference became interested in and preached the message of the second advent. Conspicuous results in accessions followed their preaching. These ministers, according to Wellcome, included the names of Cox, Greeley, Smith, Atkins, Hopkins, Robinson, Palmer, Gay, Strout, Wellcome, Shaw, Butler, and Higgins.²⁹ A widespread revival followed. Prayer meetings were numerous. Sinners were inquiring, What must we do to be saved? Wanderers were returning to God. It was just at this time that the eighteenth session of the conference was held at Bath, Maine, on July 19, and a series of resolutions passed bearing on Millerism. Bishop

²⁶ Allen and Pilsbury, *op. cit.*, bk. II, p. 58.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Signs of the Times*, Aug. 2, 1843, p. 175.

²⁹ See *Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist-Episcopal Church for 1843*, 1844, pp. 373-376, 501-505; cf. *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*, Feb. 26, 1842, p. 142; I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

E. Hedding presided, and W. H. Pilsbury (the historian) was secretary. "Millerism" occupied most of the time of the session. Allen and Pilsbury simply state:

"The subject of Millerism came very prominently before the conference. The second advent excitement had become quite extensive during the year; lecturers had travelled over the country, with charts and hideous diagrams, demonstrating that the second coming of Christ, to destroy the world and inaugurate the judgment, would occur on the 23d of April, 1843." ³⁰

The preachers generally, they add, "opposed the delusion." But, they continue:

"Eight or ten members of conference and three members on trial, were found to have advocated Millerism; some of whom had left their work, as pastors, for this purpose. These brethren were called to account, and by vote of the conference, were reproved by the presiding bishop and required to abstain from advocating 'the peculiarities of Millerism,' one was suspended, and the rest 'passed.' Those who were not present were notified of the action of the conference, by the Secretary, and their character passed. The members on trial, who had offended in this matter, were committed to their presiding elders for reproof and correction.

"The action of the conference was timely and judicious. The brethren who had been led astray by this delusion, with a few exceptions, saw their error, and, like honest men, meekly submitted to the censure of the conference. They were restored to the confidence of their brethren, and most of them rendered valuable service to the church, in their subsequent life. The few recalcitrant offenders withdrew from the church, went on from bad to worse, till, like wandering stars, they disappeared in darkness." ³¹

The first of the resolutions passed (cited in full in the Bath *Maine Inquirer*) called upon ministers and elders to minister the doctrines and discipline Christ "hath commanded," and to be ready to "banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word." The second declared specifically that the "peculiarities of that theory relative to the second coming of Christ and the end of the world, denominated Millerism, together with all its modifications, are contrary to the standards of the church, and we are constrained to regard

³⁰ Allen and Pilsbury, *op. cit.*, p. 122. They are wholly mistaken on the date, as no Millerites looked for the crisis on that day.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 124.

them as among the erroneous and strange doctrines which we are pledged to banish and drive away." The third declared the course of those "who persist in disseminating those peculiarities," to be "irreconcilably inconsistent with their ecclesiastical obligations," and as having "an ultimate, disastrous tendency." And the fourth read:

"4. *Resolved*, that those who persist in disseminating those peculiarities, either in public or private, and especially those who have left their appropriate work for this purpose, be admonished by the Chair, and all be hereby required to refrain entirely from disseminating them in future."³²

Still another gave Cox "leave to withdraw the resolution offered by him to the Conference, and referred to us." These Bath resolutions, according to Wellcome, though passed by a nonlegislative body, were then "pressed into the statutes of Methodism" and restricted to Millerism. This, he adds, was because the laws of Methodism are silent relative to the time of the second advent. Some "arbitrary appendage" must be attached or nothing could be done. Cox held that, on this matter, as heretofore, men should be allowed to differ "without fault or rebuke." Millerism, he held, should not be a cause of degradation, or influence the stations to which men are appointed.

Levi F. Stockman protested their action on the basis that they had declared his sentiments to be "contrary to Methodism." But they replied that the contrariness of Millerism to Methodism had been settled by the resolutions of the conference, and the committee had only to determine whether he had been preaching that doctrine. To this ruling Stockman also objected, and appealed to the Discipline of the Methodist Church as the only law by which he could be tried, and asked that the article of Methodist faith be brought forward to which his teachings were contrary. Again the answer was simply that this had been settled. The chairman directed that they should pro-

³² Bath Maine Inquirer, July 26. 1843, p. 3; also cited in I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

ceed with the trial on the grounds laid down in the Discipline, as "explained and applied by the Annual Conference as its acts define,"³³ without telling what grounds or where they could be found.

The charge was concerning articles of religion "as explained by our standard authors"—yet the defendant held that no reference had been made either to the Discipline or to any standard writings. And no annual local conference, Stockman held, has a right to make a law, as the General Conference alone is the legislative body. That, he contended, was an assumption of arbitrary power, and neutralizes every principle of justice and right procedure. Such is the record of Wellcome, who personally passed through this crisis hour in Maine.³⁴

VIII. Smith Dismissed by Maine Ecclesiastics for Beliefs

Note another case. THOMAS SMITH,³⁵ Methodist minister for about twenty-four years under various Maine appointments, was said not only to have preached to but to have visited, prayed with, and gathered more members into his church than any other minister in the Maine Conference. He was unusually studious, spending much time in prayer and study that others spent in sleep. Christ was ever his grand theme. Obtaining a copy of Miller's *Lectures*, he compared them carefully and critically with the Bible, and became "thoroughly convinced" of the imminence of the advent of Christ, although he was not altogether certain as to the "precise time" feature. He was conscientious about adopting any point that he felt had not been fully demonstrated by evidence. But he was sure on the nearness of the advent, and held that the end of all things was at hand. This quickened every faculty of his soul.

Smith began preaching the facts as he saw them, and won ninety converts on his circuit in 1842. In 1843 he was stationed

³³ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 295; also *Bath Inquirer*, *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁴ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-298.

³⁵ Biographical data meager. See Allen and Pillsbury, *op. cit.*, p. 609.

at Fayette, a hard area, and there came under the restrictions of the "Bath Resolutions." Having great reverence for his ecclesiastical superiors and the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal church government, he felt perplexed and crippled. God was blessing his preaching, and sinners were being converted, even though he felt he was "gagged" as to preaching the second advent. But the question arose, Was it right for him to bring those converts to a church whose presiding officers forbade her preachers by church discipline from preaching and teaching the most solemn and important truth now due the church? He prayed and wept over his problem. Then, after a severe struggle, he surrendered his credentials to the presiding elder, and so was no longer responsible to the conference for his future acts.³⁶ It was a crisis hour in his personal experience.

Smith continued to preach and to baptize converts, but now without initiating them into the Methodist church. So the storm broke. The next conference, at Bangor, he was brought to trial. Smith was exhorted by past associations and future contingencies to "give up the whole thing." But more—he was threatened with the dire results of leaving a large, popular, and affluent church whose funds were ample to care for her preachers in sickness and old age, in contrast with going out into an unpopular religious movement, and a "deluded and unorganized people."

But to him convictions of conscience and truth were at stake, and direct relationship with a covenant-keeping God triumphed over worldly considerations. Smith stood firm, asking permission to speak to the conference in a confession of his faith. But the privilege that he contended was accorded to Paul in a Roman court—to speak in defense of his faith upon a doctrine which "they call heresy"—was refused him. He would not retract, and so was dismissed from the conference. He was then free to go where he might elect. This he did, preaching in Maine and Massachusetts.

³⁶ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

IX. Stockman—Forfeiture of Benefits Threatened

One more case. LEVI F. STOCKMAN,³⁷ likewise an able and devoted Methodist minister in the Maine Conference, began to preach in 1836. He continued in effective itinerant service until 1843, when he became superannuated because of failing health. Around 1842 he and some thirty other Methodist ministers, as mentioned, embraced and began to preach the second advent of Christ, to take place probably in "1843." Then came the prohibitory "Bath Resolutions" of July 19, 1843. Stockman at this time was stationed in Portland, where he was preaching in 1843, when his health failed—he fell a victim to pulmonary tuberculosis. This dread illness ended his ministerial labors. But a few weeks before the close of the Jewish year "1843,"³⁸ while he was in this prostrate condition, confined to his home and frequently to his bed, he was tried for heresy.

At the close of the trial he was entreated to confess and retract his heresy. But this he could not and would not do. He was then approached by the presiding elder with a threat of expulsion from the church, and of dying out of the fold of the church if he did not recant—and with the further contingent that his widow and orphaned children would then be deprived of the reserve or pension funds of the conference, which would be withheld from the family. But even this threat did not deter him. He would not yield—the experience only affording him opportunity to exhibit his fidelity to deep conviction. He was accordingly expelled, and within a few months died triumphant in the advent faith, in the hope of soon being raised in the likeness of Christ's glorious body. *Zion's Herald*³⁹ gave his obituary.

This example of pressure had its intended result with some. A few stopped preaching on the subject after the trial, while others of the group gave up preaching altogether, and turned to

³⁷ LEVI F. STOCKMAN (1812-June 25, 1844) was born in East Poland, Maine, and converted at fifteen. For nine years he was a successful soul winner in the Maine Conference. He was an effective speaker, highly original, and few were more fruitful. Singleness of purpose and conscientiousness marked his Christian course. He died on June 25, 1844, of "pulmonary consumption" when but thirty-two, leaving a widow and three children.

³⁸ John N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement*, p. 125.

³⁹ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 297; see *Midnight Cry*, Aug. 24, 1843, pp. 3, 4.

secular business. Those who persisted in preaching the imminent advent were compelled to leave the conference and church, and to go where there was freedom to preach the full gospel.

This ecclesiastical trial of Stockman in Portland, Maine, under the provisions of the "Bath Resolutions" exemplifies the seriousness of the crisis and exhibits the heavy hand laid by the church in Maine upon adherents of Millerism. A letter from Stockman to Sylvester Bliss, editor of the *Signs of the Times*, paints the picture in detail. Stockman was not so much concerned over his personal interests as in the issue of justice involved, which affected all Methodists. He contended that they had been "unconstitutionally and unjustly deprived of their rights and privileges" for no other offense than "believing and advocating the coming of Christ in a few months."⁴⁰

Stockman was, of course, a minister under the jurisdiction of the Maine annual conference, and he together with others at the last session had, "passed under the ban of the above anomalous [Bath] resolutions, put forth by that body." He contended further that the disciplinary measures provided by the resolution, and actually administered, were contrary to all equity—they were made without any attempt to prove those ministers guilty of any wrong. In his own case, Stockman declared he was preaching "as a matter of duty to God and the world, 'Behold the bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him,' until a few weeks since, when I was summoned before a council of preachers," by the presiding elder of the Portland district on the following charge and specifications:

"Charge.—Disseminating doctrines contrary to our articles of religion, as explained by our standard authors.

"First Specification.—Teaching the doctrine of a spiritual millenium [or a millennium commencing at the personal appearing of Christ], in opposition to a temporal millennium, so called.

"Second.—Teaching that the *time* of this millennium is revealed in the Bible.

"Third.—Teaching that time to be 1843, of what you call Jewish time —ending March next.

⁴⁰ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-296.

"Fourth.—Teaching two resurrections, one thousand more or less years apart."⁴¹

Expelled from the ministry, Stockman died within a few months, during the ecclesiastical tension of the time.

X. Ladd—Likewise Expelled Without Charge of Misconduct

A final instance. RANDOLPH E. LADD (fl. 1840-1844), from Connecticut,⁴² was a Methodist businessman of high moral principles. In the winter of 1838 a copy of Miller's *Lectures* had been placed in his hands. He became fascinated as he saw the unfolding panorama of the prophecies, for he had been entirely unacquainted with Bible prophecy. When he finished reading the Miller volume, the Bible had become a new treasure house to him. The prophecies, which before were dark and mysterious, now became his constant study and delight. He tried to talk with others about them, but they generally appeared uninterested or ridiculed the idea of an approaching end of the world. In 1840 he moved near Springfield, Massachusetts, and there engaged in the baking business. When a Methodist minister introduced him to Josiah Litch, he was overjoyed at meeting a man who believed like Miller on the prophecies.

Josiah Litch at the time was looking for opportunities to preach on the Coming One to his Methodist brethren, and was invited by Ladd to Cabotville, where nightly revival meetings were in progress in the Methodist church. Ladd was a church officer with an exhorter's license. But the pastor was fearful about having this theme of the second advent presented lest it militate against the revival. However, his consent was finally obtained, and Litch spoke on Daniel 2—the four world kingdoms, and God's soon-coming everlasting kingdom. The people were deeply impressed, and asked for more. So he stayed on, and a great revival broke out wherein more than one hundred were converted. Not long after, Charles Fitch also came to

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 295.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 232, 233.

nearby Springfield with his new "1843 Chart," and the whole city was profoundly stirred by his expositions.

Ladd was now thoroughly converted to the doctrine, and gave his whole soul to its proclamation. During the summer Himes called on Ladd when he was seeking a place for a camp meeting. Ladd introduced him to Hiram Munger, with whom he negotiated for the grounds at Chicopee Falls, which the Methodists had just occupied. The meeting was soon arranged, and again hundreds of converts resulted. Ladd became increasingly active in the movement.⁴⁵ Then he and some forty others were expelled from the church without any charge of misconduct. These quickly became the nucleus of a large Adventist company. During his public ministry in the tense days of the 1844 movement, Ladd was hanged in effigy, lampooned in the press, hissed on the streets, and his house was once entered by a mob in pursuit of the Adventist preacher.

XI. 100,000 Leave the Various Communions

That was the background and development of the call to separate from "Babylon," both mother and daughter churches. It was the same issue, they firmly believed, faced and met by the early Christian church in regard to the Jewish communion, and the later Protestant Reformation bodies as concerned the Roman faith, and the Wesleyan group as pertained to continuance in the Church of England fold, and Alexander Campbell and the Disciple Church—and similar crises that had faced other bodies through the centuries. Their action was not against the host of godly individuals still in the various Protestant churches, but against their official attitudes and actions as a denominational rejection of the imminent second advent through prohibiting the holding or teaching of such views. From such they must separate. And separate they did—some fifty to one hundred thousand leaving the various communions and forming distinctive groups of their own. The crisis was on.

⁴⁵ *Signs of the Times*, Oct. 12, 1842, p. 32.

Transition—From Spring to Autumn, 1844

I. 1843 and 1844 Phases in Comparison and Contrast

I. BASIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO PHASES.—As noted in the general preview in chapter 21, the Millerite movement comprised two distinct phases, one following immediately upon the other. These were popularly known as the “1843” and the “1844” phases, as the focal point of expectancy was shifted from 1843 over to 1844. The first was a progressive development occupying more than a decade, and extending from the summer of 1831 to the spring of 1844. The second was compressed into a relatively brief space—from August to October, 1844, and was short, intensive, and climactic. The “1843” phase was based upon the “Jewish sacred year 1843”—which was known to extend from the spring of 1843 to the spring of 1844, when reckoned in common, civil, or solar time.

In the 1843 phase, the return of Christ was merely expected to occur sometime within the limits, or before the close, of the Jewish year “1843,” which the Millerite leaders after much study came to believe would end with the sunset of April 18, 1844. But no specific day of expectancy was ever set by the leaders in the 1843 phase. On the contrary, during the 1844 phase there was general expectation that Christ would emerge from the holy of holies, or heaven of heavens, to bless His waiting people on the antitypical Day of Atonement, or tenth day of the seventh month. And they understood October 22 to be its civil equivalent in 1844, the end year of the 2300 years,

and therefore designated that specific day as the great day of expectancy.

2. INTEREST SHIFTS FROM EARTH TO HEAVEN.—In the 1843 phase the cleansing of the sanctuary, at the close of the 2300 years, was regarded as involving the destruction of the earth by a flood of fire, just as the antediluvian world was destroyed by a flood of water. And this cleansing of the sanctuary would, they believed, parallel and include the cleansing of the church from all sin and defilement. The emphasis in this earlier phase was thus upon the earth.

But in the 1844 phase a new factor was added, as a result of the intensive study of the Mosaic sanctuary and its service of old, which annual round of ceremonies was seen to be a type of the great antitypical gospel realities, to be accomplished by Christ once for all for man's salvation. In this yearly service they saw Jesus as our great High Priest ministering for them in the holy of holies, typifying the heaven of heavens, as set forth in the Mosaic sanctuary service of old. And their hope of fruition was fixed upon Christ's coming out of heaven at the close of His high priestly ministry to bless His waiting people, and to gather His saints—which, they believed, would be His second advent. (Heb. 9:28.)

3. LEADERSHIP CHANGES TO OTHER HANDS IN 1844.—Again, in the 1843 phase Miller was the active leader, joined by a succession of able and scholarly ministers of all faiths, who searched meticulously into the historical, calendrical, and astronomical bases of all of Miller's positions. These scholars brought about a number of important revisions or developments, chiefly on the dating and position of the cross in the seventieth week of the 70 weeks, thus to perfect and establish his platform. And these revisions, published in turn in the *Signs of the Times* and *Midnight Cry*, became the accepted and standard positions of the movement as the 1843 phase came to its climax. On the other hand, the initiation and leadership of the "seventh month" phase was at first in other

hands than Miller's, or even of his close associates, though all soon came to support it.

4. "TARRYING TIME" FOLLOWS THE 1843 PHASE.—The expiration of the Jewish year "1843" with the sunset of April 18 (1844) was followed by a brief period, from April to July, known as the "tarrying time," or "slumber time." This was before the tenth-day-of-the-seventh-month emphasis, or 1844 phase, was brought forward, which began in late July and early August, and reached its climax with October 22 as the focal point. This "slumber time" was at first a period of bewilderment and apathy, but soon gave way to the clear conviction and intensive action of the 1844 phase.

5. CROSS IN "MIDST," NOT AT END OF WEEK.—In the 1843 phase Miller started with the rather commonly held A. D. 33 date for the cross at the *close* of the seventieth week. But his associates, after long and painstaking research, revised this position to an A.D. 31 cross, dated in the "*midst*" of the seventieth week, based on better evidence and now meeting the specific demands of the prophecy. However, it is to be noted that the joint beginning date of the two periods, the 70 weeks and the 2300 years, was always 457 B.C. The Millerite position on this point never varied throughout the movement, either in the progressive 1843 phase or the 1844 climax. The placement of that beginning point of prophetic time, the seventh year of Artaxerxes, was regarded as fixed and unchanged, and was never seriously challenged by friend or foe during either phase of the movement. (Depicted in Exhibits A, C, and D on page 790.)

6. CLOSE OF 1335 YEARS EXTENDED TO 1844.—As mentioned, in the 1843 phase the eyes of the Millerites were fixed on the earth, which they believed would be cleansed by fire when the Lord should return to cleanse and purify the church. In the 1844 phase their eyes were turned to heaven, from whence they expected their Lord to come at the close of His high priestly ministry on the great antitypical Day of Atone-

ment. Emphasis on the destruction of the earth now gave way to the larger concept. There was no material change in fundamental prophetic exposition and interpretation. The exposition of the grand outline prophecies and their related time prophecies remained the same, with the exception of the revised terminus of the 2300- and coterminous 1335-year periods, now expected to end in the Jewish year 1844, rather than in 1843.

7. FULL YEARS AND AUTUMNAL TYPES LEAD TO OCTOBER 22.—This extension of the terminal date was imperative, because all of 457 B.C. and all of A.D. 1843 would be required to give the 2300 full years specified by the prophecy. (This was called the law of the full years.) But since the 2300 years and their interlocking 70 weeks of years did not jointly begin until the autumn of B.C. 457, they would therefore have to run over, for their close, into the autumn of 1844.

And since Christ, our Passover (1 Cor. 5:7), died on the very day of the month specified for the slaying of the Passover (the fourteenth day of the first Jewish month), and since His resurrection occurred on the specific day of the wave sheaf (the sixteenth day of that same first month), and as Pentecost fell on the precise fiftieth day as specified ("when it was fully come," Acts 2:1), they therefore reasoned—they believed logically—that Christ our great High Priest would come out of the heavenly holy of holies on the specific "tenth day of the seventh month," the Day of Atonement, which they calculated would coincide with October 22, 1844.

8. INTENSIFIED ACTIVITY IN THE FINAL PHASE.—The dawning of this concept brought heightened expectancy and deepened conviction. Everything was accelerated as the movement intensified its tempo and entered upon its maximum activity in the autumn of 1844. They went "all out" in their attempt to tell all men of their convictions, and to call upon all who would respond to prepare for the anticipated return of their Lord. The transitory things of earth faded

into insignificance, and the eternal realities of the world to come took their place. It was a solemn time.

That, in brief, affords a combined review and preview of the chronological developments of the Millerite movement in its onward sweep from a single voice in 1831 to an expanding movement; and from its earlier general phase, with its progressive development and correction of detail, to its great burst of intensity and speed in its specific and climactic close. The 1844 phase simply put the crowning revision on what were considered to be its carefully laid and increasingly well-certified and established foundations. That was the Millerite conception of their movement, the justification of its development, and its carefully attested changes and revisions. It was to them as a light shining more and more unto the perfect day. This can best be grasped by following the developments outlined in Exhibit A, on page 790.

9. RELATION OF "BABYLON'S FALL" TO EACH PHASE.—We will next trace these progressive developments in detail which, because of importance, will be given full documentation and illustrated with further exhibits. This will include meeting the leading characters involved in bringing the seventh month phase to pass, together with its distinctive emphasis. To do so, we must go back briefly to Miller and his earlier concepts, which he began to declare to the public before a single associate had yet joined him. This first or "1843" phase is already familiar ground, for Part II has thus far been devoted exclusively to it. But special study must be given to the final "1844" phase.

It should also be added that the "Fall of Babylon," and the "come out of her, my people" emphasis, are likewise tied inseparably into both the 1843 and the 1844 phases. This special message, or emphasis, was begun in the civil year 1843, but came to its climax in 1844, as an inseparable part of the seventh-month emphasis. The great break from the churches was chiefly in this three-month-long period, from August to October. Then

it was that ties were sundered, and a separate and distinct movement developed, apart from the churches, and in contrast with the intrachurch emphasis on the second advent which had marked the earlier years. That is the picture in general outline. Now we go back for details.

II. How Miller First Fixed Upon the Year "1843"

Miller's first recorded declaration concerning the year "1843" appeared in his early statement of faith, dated September 5, 1822. It was without particularization, argument, or evidence regarding the beginning date of the 2300 years, or the relationship of this longer, over-all period to the lesser 70 weeks of years. It merely anticipated the second advent in a general way, as coming at the close of the 2300 years—"on, or before 1843."¹

Miller fixed upon the year "1843" by means of the premise that the crucifixion marks the close of the "seventy weeks," or 490 year-days. Then, from the total of 490 years he simply subtracted A.D. 33, which he understood to be the probable date of the cross. And this, in turn, yielded 457 B.C. as their beginning, his formula being $490 - 33 = 457$. These commonly accepted dates appeared in most King James Bible margins of the day—that is, A.D. 33 for the crucifixion, and 457 B.C. for the seventh year of Artaxerxes. A paralleling subtraction formula (of $2300 - 457 = 1843$) then led him to the logical closing date for the 2300 years. And this, he thought, led up to and involved the second advent.

But for over a decade before the actual Jewish year "1843" began, Miller realized that the prophesied 2300th year would not end until sometime in the common, civil, calendar year 1844, for he reckoned "1843" to be on the basis of the "Jewish sacred year," which he understood extended from spring to spring. This he calculated as approximately from equinox to

¹ See p. 463.

equinox, or March 21, 1843, to March 21, 1844.² However, it was not until Miller's "Jewish year 1843" ran out (in the spring of 1844) that the great majority of the Millerites began to pay serious heed to a few insistent voices in their midst.³ (See Exhibit C.) These had been trying to demonstrate that 2300 years from 457 B.C. would terminate over in the Jewish year "1844," not within the year "1843."⁴

The Millerites were hardly to be censured for falling into such a subtraction error when it seemed to have been supported by the then-standard Bible marginal dates for the 490 years. Nor were they either the first or the last to stumble into this technical pitfall. Most prophetic expositors before them had usually so reckoned.⁵ And even the chronologist Hales, upon whom the Millerites first came to rely so strongly, had himself slipped into the straight subtraction error for the 2300 days. And this was even after explaining in the same book the fallacy of such a method! Modern scholars even yet occasionally trip over this from sheer inattention.

III. Historical Development of Early Time Calculations

In a fuller statement, dated February 15, 1831—six months before he began his public ministry on August 14, 1831—evidently influenced at the time by the writings of various Old and New World expositors, Miller was a bit elastic, giving "1845 or 1847 at most" as the extreme limit for the ending of the 2300 years and correlated periods.⁶ With a bit of uncertainty he began the 2300-year span tentatively, with what he

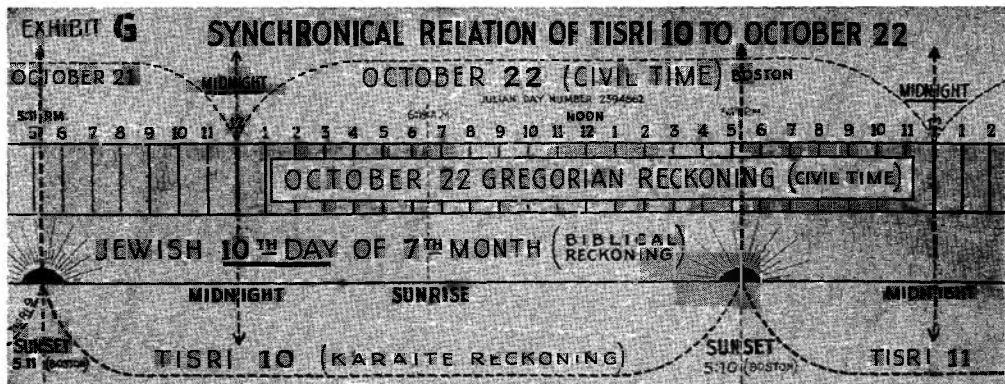
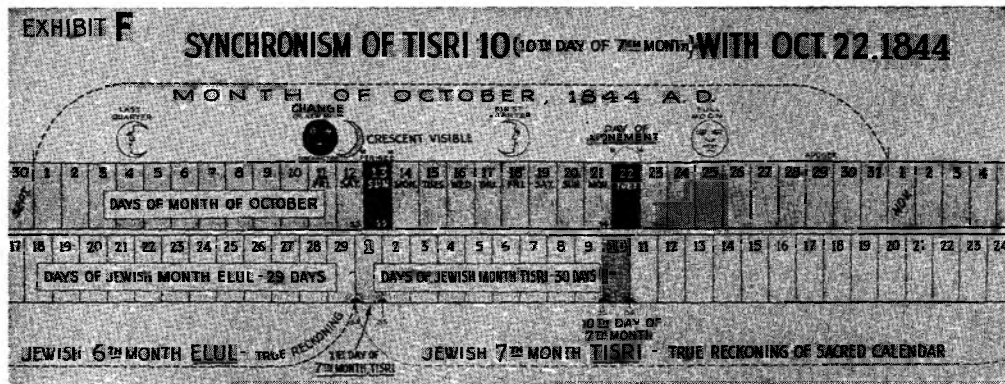
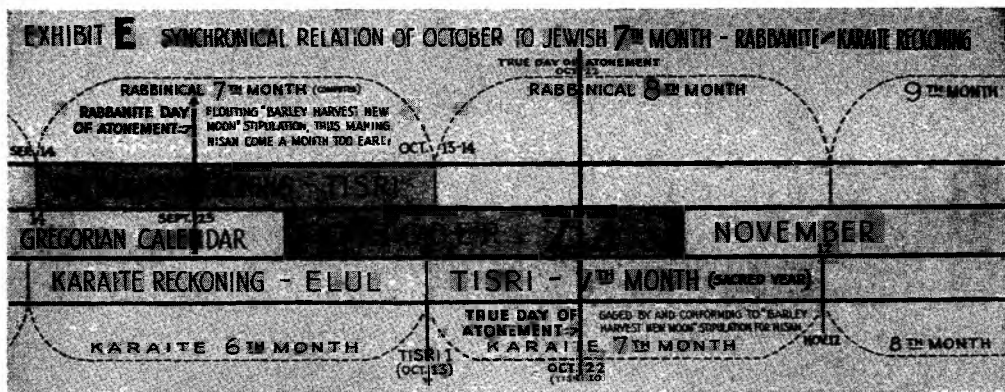
² William Miller, "Synopsis of Miller's Views," *Signs of the Times*, Jan. 25, 1843, p. 147. Actually, there never was a Jewish luni-solar year extending from equinox to equinox, which is simply an equinoctial solar year. The Jewish "sacred year" gauged their annual series of typical feasts. This ran from spring to spring, originating in the stipulation of the Pentateuch that the month of the Passover feast should constitute their first month (Ex. 12:2 ff.). But they also had a "civil year," running from autumn to autumn, at the beginning of which the Jewish New Year is celebrated to this day. However, the serial numbering of all months was from the spring, beginning with Nisan.

³ Such as Bliss: "If, therefore, the 2300 years began at a given point in the year 457 B.C. they will not end until the same point is reached A.D. 1844." (Bliss, "Chronology," *Signs of the Times*, June 21, 1843, p. 123.)

⁴ The reason for this subtraction fallacy is that the year immediately before A.D. 1 is B.C. 1. There is no zero year. Hence, simple subtraction cannot be used in reckoning from B.C. to A.D. in chronology. Astronomers have a different method of computing that avoids this inconvenience. (See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, p. 431, note.)

⁵ See the chart in Vol. III, p. 744.

⁶ Photostat in Advent Source Collection.



CIVIL EQUIVALENT OF DAY OF ATONEMENT IN 1844

Exhibit E (Upper): Comparison and Contrast Between the Rabbinical Day of Atonement (September 23), and the True Day of Atonement by the Mosaic Reckoning One Moon Later (on October 22). This Was Gauged by, and Conformed to, the Barley Harvest Moon Stipulation for Nisan

Exhibit F (Center): Diagram Showing How, When Tishri 1 Is Found to Be October 13, the Tenth Day Is Shown to Be October 22, Together With Synchronization Between the Gregorian Time, and the Jewish Month Tishri. These Relationships Must Be Borne in Mind to Grasp the Millerite Mode of Calculation

Exhibit G (Lower): Relationship Between the Civil Day (From Midnight to Midnight) and the Jewish Day (From Sunset to Sunset) Showing That Tishri 10 Begins With the Sunset of October 21, and Ends With the Sunset of October 22. Thus Embracing Parts of Two Civil Days, or October 21, 22

then believed might be the "twentieth year of the reign" of Artaxerxes, "about 455" B.C., and ended it "about [A.D.] 1845." But in the same manuscript he still maintained that when Daniel's 1335 years are ended, they will "bring us down to 1843," apparently dating them from A.D. 508.

However, in a letter written August 9, 1831—and consequently just five days before his first sermon—having now resolved his uncertainties, Miller fixed deliberately and definitely upon 457 B.C. and A.D. 1843 as the terminal points for the 2300-year span. And with them he now coupled the 1335 years, extending from A.D. 508 to 1843, as a paralleling prophecy having a common terminal date.⁷ From this position he never deviated thereafter throughout his public ministry.⁸

Thus it was that 457 B.C., as the joint starting point of the interlocking 70 weeks and 2300 years, became a fixed date in the Second Advent Movement,⁹ attested, they said, by numerous "Authorities."¹⁰ And this was held with practically no variation by all the Millerites until after the Disappointment in October, 1844. Thus the *Signs of the Times* declares editorially:

"The seventy weeks of Dan. ix. 24 have been universally admitted, by commentators and students of prophecy, to have been prophetic weeks of years, and to have been fulfilled in 490 years from 457 B.C. to A.D. 33. So obvious and universal has been this interpretation of it among both Jews and Christians, that hardly a lisp has ever been heard against it."¹¹

1. INVOLVEMENTS OF MILLER'S EARLY CALCULATIONS.—

As we have noted, Miller's calculation of the 2300 years, from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1843, was definitely tied to an A.D. 33 cross at

⁷ Ms. letter, Miller to Hendryx, Aug. 9, 1831.

⁸ See his Articles Nos. 2 and 3, for *Vermont Telegraph*, 1832; his lectures in book, *Evidence From Scripture* (1836), pp. 49, 52, 76, 88; see also articles in *Signs of the Times* (Boston, 1840 and onward); *Midnight Cry* (New York, 1842 and onward).

⁹ For example, *Advent Herald*, Feb. 21, 1844, p. 23.

¹⁰ Ptolemy, Blair, Prideaux, Ferguson, Horne, Watson, Hales, etc.; see *Signs of the Times*, Jan. 25, 1843, p. 148; Jan. 1, 1845, p. 165.

It was in later decades that scholars thought the seventh year of Artaxerxes as reckoned by Ezra should be dated in 458 B.C. However, archeological evidence from recently discovered tablets and papyri has now established beyond valid challenge the fact that the seventh year of Artaxerxes I, according to Jewish reckoning, was indeed 457 B.C. (See Siegfried H. Horn, *The Chronology of the Seventh Year of Artaxerxes* (1953), chaps. 1-4, for a thoroughly documented discussion. See also, S. H. Horn and L. H. Wood, "The Fifth Century Jewish Calendar at Elephantine," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, January, 1954.)

¹¹ *Signs of the Times*, April 12, 1843, p. 44.

the *end* of the seventieth week.¹² This was based originally on the marginal dates commonly printed in the King James Bible, and on the authority of a group of chronologists and astronomers—though chiefly upon James Ferguson—who favored the A.D. 33.¹³ This position was accordingly held by Miller and his associates up until the spring of 1844, toward the close of the “Jewish year 1843.”¹⁴

Note again: From the very outset Miller had maintained that, in studying Daniel’s prophetic periods, he was dealing with Hebrew or Biblical sacred years, which extended from spring to spring, instead of from January to January, as with our common civil-calendar year. Not knowing the technical aspects of the Biblical mode of reckoning, he simply placed his “Jewish year 1843” roughly from equinox to equinox. Thus:

“I am fully convinced that some time between March 21st, 1843, and March 21st, 1844, according to the Jewish mode of computation of time, Christ will come, and bring all his saints with him; and that then he will reward every man as his work shall be.”¹⁵

This general position was at first followed in practically all early Millerite charts, periodical articles, and book statements from Miller’s associates.¹⁶

Further, all the Adventist leaders staked their system irrevocably upon the postulate that the 70 weeks constituted the first part of the 2300 prophetic days. And they consistently maintained that if this connection between the 70 weeks of Daniel 9 and the 2300 days of Daniel 8 existed in fact—and this they confidently affirmed—then their calculation of the

¹² William Miller, *Evidence From Scripture* (1836), pp. 49, 52; *Midnight Cry*, April 13, 1843, pp. 14, 15.

¹³ JAMES FERGUSON (1710-1776). Eminent astronomer of Scotland, whose patron was George III. Most important work, *Astronomy Explained Upon Sir Isaac Newton’s Principles, and Made Easy to Those Who Have Not Studied Mathematics*, in *Works of James Ferguson*, vol. 1, pp. 334-337.

¹⁴ *Signs of the Times*, April 5, 1843, pp. 33-35; Dec. 20, 1843, p. 152. Appears continually; for example, *Midnight Cry*, April 13, 1843, pp. 13-15.

¹⁵ Miller, “Synopsis of Miller’s Views,” *Signs of the Times*, Jan. 25, 1843, p. 147. Cf. *Signs of the Times*, Jan. 4, 1843, p. 121; *Midnight Cry*, June 15, 1843, p. 107; Nov. 21, 1844, pp. 161, 162.

¹⁶ For charts, see *Signs of the Times*, May 1, 1841, pp. 20, 21; June 1, 1841, p. 39; April 26, 1843, p. 61; May 24, 1843, p. 92 (reprinted in *Midnight Cry*, June 8, 1843, p. 99); *Midnight Cry*, Nov. 18, 1842, p. 4; March 17, 1843, p. 59; July 20, 1843, p. 173; Aug. 31, 1843, p. 14.

terminal date must stand as unassailable.¹⁷ And they cited a notable group of antecedent and contemporary expositors in support of the propriety and the soundness of such a position on the basis of their joint beginning.

2. AUTUMNAL TYPES NOTED FIRST BY MILLER.—Next, early in May, 1843, Miller called attention to the *autumnal* Hebrew festivals (the Day of Atonement and Feast of Tabernacles) as typifying the *second* advent, in contrast with the spring festivals (Passover, Unleavened Bread, and Pentecost), which were fulfilled in connection with the *first* advent. Here is his own statement:

"All the ceremonies of the typical law that were observed in the first month, or vernal equinox, had their fulfillment in Christ's *first* advent and sufferings; but all the feasts and ceremonies in the seventh month or autumnal equinox, can only have their fulfillment at his *second* advent."¹⁸

This printed declaration, with its elaborations, was frequently cited thereafter—especially in the latter half of 1844—as the real inception of the "seventh month movement" idea.¹⁹ Some even looked with interest upon the seventh month in 1843.²⁰ But the later definite concept seems to have lain largely dormant until the early part of 1844.

IV. Close of "1843" Shifted to New Moon of April

Pressure from opponents forced Miller's scholarly associates to study anew their position on, or understanding of, the Jewish year, and to probe deeply into its history. As a result, they were led to make the first correction in their calculation—which pertained to the exact time of the beginning and ending of the "Jewish sacred year," extending from spring to spring.

¹⁷ See *Signs of the Times*, April 12, 1843, p. 44.

¹⁸ William Miller, Letter dated May 3, 1843, in *Signs of the Times*, May 17, 1843, p. 85 (italics supplied).

¹⁹ For example, see *Advent Herald*, Sept. 18, 1844, p. 52; Oct. 2, 1844, pp. 70-72; *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 11, 1844, p. 115.

²⁰ *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 31, 1844, p. 140.

As far back as April, and then in June and December of 1843, and in February of 1844²¹—months before Miller's original date expired for the ending of the "Jewish year 1843" at the time of the vernal equinox in 1844—his associates (Sylvester Bliss, Josiah Litch, Joshua V. Himes, Nathaniel Southard, Apollos Hale, Nathan Whiting, and others) came to a definite conclusion. This was that the solution of Daniel's prophecy is dependent upon the ancient or original Jewish form of luni-solar time, and not upon the altered modern rabbinical Jewish calendar. (This is discussed in *Prophetic Faith*, Volume II, pp. 196-199.) They therefore began to shift from Miller's original date for the ending of the 2300 years (at the equinox in *March*), over to the new moon of *April*, 1844.²² Early in this period of investigation, a *Signs of the Times* editorial declared:

"Now there is a dispute between the Rabbinical, and the Caraites Jews, as to the correct time of commencing the year. The former [Rabbinical Jews] are scattered all over the world, and cannot observe the time of the ripening of that harvest in Judea. They therefore regulate the commencement of the year by astronomical calculations, and commence with the first day of the new moon nearest the vernal equinox, when the sun is in Aries. The Caraites Jews on the contrary, still adhere to the letter of the Mosaic law, and commence with the new moon nearest the barley harvest in Judea; and which is one moon later than the Rabbinical year. The Jewish year of A.D. 1843, as the Caraites reckon it in accordance with the Mosaic law, therefore commenced this year with the new moon on the 29th day of April, and the Jewish year 1844, will commence with the new moon in next April [18/19], when 1843 and the 2300 days, according to their computation, will expire. But according to the Rabbinical Jews, it began with the new moon the first of last April, and will expire with the new moon in the month of March next."²³

They consequently reckoned that the last day of the Jewish year "1843" would close with the sunset of April 18, 1844. Therefore the first day of the first month (Nisan) of "1844," true Jewish time, would have as its civil equivalent April 19,

²¹ *Ibid.*, April 27, 1843, p. 30; *Signs of the Times*, June 21, 1843, p. 123; Dec. 5, 1843, pp. 133-136; *Midnight Cry*, Feb. 22, 1844, pp. 243, 244.

²² *Midnight Cry*, March 21, 1844, p. 284; April 4, 1844, p. 297; April 25, 1844, p. 325; *Advent Herald*, March 27, 1844, pp. 60, 61; April 3, 1844, pp. 68, 69; April 24, 1844, pp. 92, 93.

²³ *Signs of the Times*, June 21, 1843, p. 123.

though beginning actually with the sunset of April 18. Thus it should read April 18/19. (See Exhibits C and D, page 790.)

And Himes, writing *after* the spring equinox in 1844, declared that the real Jewish year "1843" had not yet actually expired:

"After its [the Jewish year 1843] commencement, he [Miller] gave it as his opinion that the Lord would come some time between the 21st of March, 1843, and the 21st of March, 1844. This time has now passed by, and we are a few days beyond the time to which he believed the days might extend. . . . Although the Jewish year has not expired, but extends to the new moon in April, as we explained in our last, yet our time will be regarded by our opponents as having passed by."²⁴

This correction by the Millerites, of the beginning of the Jewish sacred year, was made deliberately and understandingly, on the basis of the original Mosaic stipulation, to which their attention was directed by the early Karaite contention in behalf of beginning the true sacred year with the "new moon of barley harvest" in Judea,²⁵ which usually fell in April. This was the basis for their designation of October as the *seventh* month, true Jewish time, for the Jewish sacred year.

V. Crucifixion Date Corrected to A.D. 31

After the Millerite spring expectation, at the passing of the "Jewish year 1843," in April, 1844, the "Jewish year 1844" instead of the former "1843," in Adventist terminology became

²⁴ J. V. Himes], editorial, "The Vernal Equinox," *The Midnight Cry*, April 4, 1844, p. 297.

²⁵ The Karaite Jews—Karaite meaning "literal adherence to the law"—came into prominence under Anan in the eighth century of the Christian Era. (Samuel Poznanski, "Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. 10, pp. 22-41; "Ben Meir and the Origin of the Jewish Calendar," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1897; Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1913 ed., vol. 3, art., "Calendar (Jewish);" Albiruni, *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, pp. 68, 69; Henry Malter, *Saadiah Gaon, His Life and Works*, pp. 72, 81.)

They protested against the departures of the rabbinical Jews from the original Mosaic calendar. According to Scripture, the *sacred year* began with the new moon of Nisan, nearest the time of barley harvest in Judea, because in that month, at Passover time, the wave sheaf of barley was offered. And Palestinian barley usually ripened in April. (Johann Jahn, *Biblical Archaeology*, pp. 22, 112; J. D. Michaelis, "Commentatio de Mensibus Hebraeorum," in Horne's *Introduction*, Vol. II, Part II, ch. vii, p. 74, note; J. G. Buhle, "Economic Calendar of Palestine," *Calmeth's Dictionary of the Bible*, pp. 700-709; Joseph Scaliger, *De Emendatione Temporum*, lib. II, 107.) See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 196-199.

On the contrary, the rabbinical Jews, from the fourth century of the Christian Era onward, began to regulate the year by a fixed calendar, and started the year with the first day of the new moon nearest the vernal equinox. Consequently their passover moons largely fell in March, one moon early, as the Millerites clearly understood and declared. (*Midnight Cry*, April 27, 1843, p. 36.)

the corrected and accepted terminal point for the 2300 years. Thus the *Midnight Cry*:

"The Jewish year which synchronizes the nearest with A.D. 1843 must be a year, the greater part of which is contained within that year. This, therefore, must be the civil year commencing in October, 1842, and the ecclesiastical year ending April, 1844, nine months of each being included in A.D. 1843. The new moon in April being passed, we are consequently beyond 1843, not only Gentile, but Jewish, civil and ecclesiastical time, and are now in the year 1844, according to our chronology."²⁶

1. SHIFT END OF SEVENTIETH WEEK TO A.D. 34.—Next came a correspondingly necessary and logical revision of the *ending* of the 70 weeks, from A.D. 33 over to 34, as the true terminus.²⁷ This change was effected by shifting the crucifixion date either back a couple of years—or forward to 34, as some at first were prone to do—on the authority of another group of chronologists. So Ferguson and the other A.D. 33 proponents²⁸ were abandoned because of the obvious error.²⁹

2. MAJORITY COME TO FAVOR "MIDST OF THE WEEK" CROSS.—The majority now began to favor the A.D. 31 crucifixion date, advocated by William Hales, thus placing the cross in the "midst" of the seventieth week,³⁰ and citing Eusebius as a witness for the 31 date.³¹ Others, in this transition period, not clear on whether the "midst"³² denoted the precise middle or a more elastic central period (30 or 31), nevertheless assumed the A.D. 34 terminus for the seventieth week, *independent* of the precise crucifixion date.³³ In any event, A.D. 34 now became the acknowledged terminus of the 70 weeks, harmonizing with the grand terminus in "1844," not "1843." (Also on Exhibit A, page 790.)

²⁶ *Midnight Cry*, April 25, 1844, p. 325. The accuracy of this contention was attested by the contemporary Jewish "Lunar Calendar" of Lopez, used in the time of the Millerites, which sets forth the year 5605 A.M. as A.D. or C.E. "1844" (Moses Lopez, *A Lunar Calendar of the Festivals . . . Observed by the Israelites Commencing Anno Mundi 5566 and Ending in 5619* (1805 to 1859)).

²⁷ *Midnight Cry*, June 27, 1844, p. 398; *Signs of the Times*, June 21, 1843, p. 123; Dec. 5, 1843, p. 136.

²⁸ J. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 334-337.

²⁹ *Signs of the Times*, Dec. 5, 1843, p. 134; *Midnight Cry*, Feb. 22, 1844, pp. 243, 244; April 11, 1844, p. 310; *Advent Herald*, March 20, 1844, pp. 52, 53; March 27, 1844, pp. 60, 61; April 10, 1844, p. 77.

³⁰ *Signs of the Times*, Dec. 20, 1843, p. 148.

³¹ *Ibid.*; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (trans. by Cruse), Bk. VII, ch. xxxii, pp. 322, 323.

³² *Signs of the Times*, Dec. 5, 1843, p. 131; Dec. 20, 1843, p. 148.

³³ *Midnight Cry*, Feb. 22, 1844, pp. 243, 244.

VI. Emergence of "Seventh Month" Movement Positions

Beginning first with an article written February 16, 1843, and continuing progressively throughout 1844,³⁴ Samuel S. Snow emphasized the *autumnal Jewish seventh month, Tishri*, as the true ending of the prophetic 2300-year span, with the beginning dated from the autumn of 457 B.C. As early as May, 1844, Snow wrote:

"John's ministry began in the latter part of A.D. 26, and ended with the autumn of A.D. 27. Here commenced the week of the confirmation of the covenant, i.e., the establishment of the gospel as a divine system, by the mighty works of Christ. Three years and a half from this point brings us to the spring of A.D. 31, when our Lord was crucified in the 'MIDST [i.e., middle] of the week.' Three years and a half more, (the last half of the week,) during which the word or covenant was confirmed by them who had heard the Lord, (Heb. 2:3,) brings us down to the autumn of A.D. 34. . . .

"I believe this argument to be based on correct premises, and to be perfectly sound. What then is the conclusion? It must certainly be this: That as the 70 weeks ended in the autumn of A.D. 34, the remaining part of the 2300 days, i.e., 1810, being added, brings us to the autumn of A.D. 1844. . . . But I am confident, from the light I have received from God's blessed word, in those glorious types which he has given in mercy, for his children to understand, that our King and Saviour will appear in his glory in the *seventh month* of the Jewish sacred year."³⁵

This position reached its final printed form in the *True Midnight Cry* of August 22, 1844, published at Haverhill, Massachusetts, immediately following the epochal Exeter camp meeting.³⁶ Snow's argument was built upon the Karaite "true reckoning" for the sacred year—embracing both the "tenth day of the seventh month" ending, and an A.D. 31 spring crucifixion. Regarding the right *year* (1844) as now determined upon the basis of the outline prophecy periods, he set forth the specific *day* of the expected advent as October 22, our calendar equivalent of the tenth day of the seventh month

³⁴ *Midnight Cry*, Feb. 22, 1844, pp. 243, 244; *Advent Herald*, April 3, 1844, p. 69; *Midnight Cry*, June 27, 1844, p. 397; *Advent Herald*, Aug. 14, 1844, p. 15; *True Midnight Cry*, Aug. 22, 1844, Haverhill, Mass., pp. 1-4; *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 10, 1844, pp. 105-107.

³⁵ Samuel S. Snow, *Midnight Cry*, May 2, 1844, p. 353 (actually, p. 335). (Brackets in the original.)

³⁶ *Advent Herald*, Aug. 21, 1844, p. 20; *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 31, 1844, p. 140.

—the Day of Atonement—in this Karaite calendar year.³⁷ From this he never deviates.

Ascertaining that the “new moon,” or first day of the seventh Jewish month, Tishri, fell on October 13, then the *tenth* day of that seventh month would fall on October 22, as its civil equivalent—though technically beginning at the previous sunset. So it would actually be October 21/22, as every Jewish day, from sunset to sunset, embraces parts of two civil days which run from midnight to midnight. But as the bulk of the day coincided with October 22, that was commonly spoken of as its civil equivalent.

Snow definitely shifted the date of the cross from the *end* of the seventieth week in A.D. 33, or 34, as still held by some, back to the prophetically specified “midst” of the seventieth week *in the spring of A.D. 31*.³⁸ For this he cited William Hales, Irish clergyman and writer on science, as his chief chronological authority,³⁹ along with the contrasting testimony of the rabbinical and Karaite calendars—the rabbinical involving A.D. 33, and the Karaite A.D. 31—as *the only Friday Passover falling within the circle of years embracing Christ’s public ministry*.⁴⁰ This was another determinative factor.

Support for Snow’s position grew slowly but steadily.⁴¹ Thus it was that the second and third of the three great structural dates of the 2300-year span came finally to be determined and consistently maintained by those participating in the seventh-month movement—which will be discussed in the next chapter. But it is to be noted that the starting point—the 457 B.C. joint beginning of the 70 weeks and the 2300 years—was taken as established and axiomatic, and was never revised, altered, or changed throughout the Advent Movement, in the shiftover from 1843 to 1844.

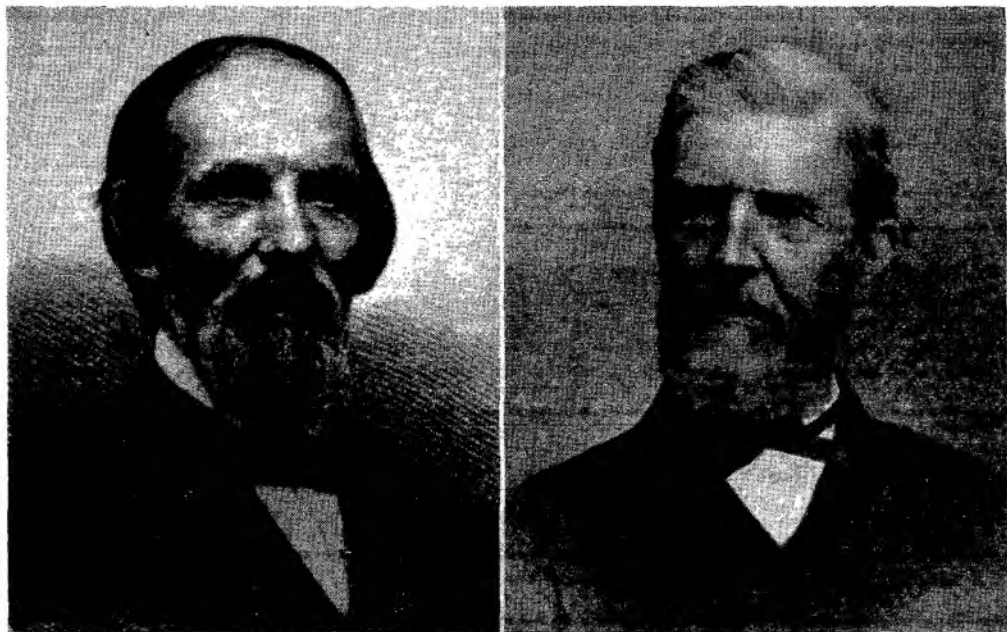
³⁷ *True Midnight Cry*, Aug. 22, 1844. On Exeter camp meeting see pp. 810-814.

³⁸ *Ibid.*; see also Eusebius, *Proof of the Gospel*, Bk. X, ch. vii, pp. 136, 137 (New York, 1920 ed.).

³⁹ See William Hales, *A New Analysis of Chronology and Geography, History, and Prophecy* (1830), vol. 2, p. 518.

⁴⁰ *True Midnight Cry*, Aug. 22, 1844.

⁴¹ *Midnight Cry*, June 27, 1844, p. 398; *Advent Herald*, Aug. 21, 1844, pp. 20-30.



LEADERS IN THE VIRILE SEVENTH-MONTH MOVEMENT

(Left) Samuel S. Snow. Who at Boston in July, 1844, First Urged the Revised Dating of October 22, Which Was Widely Accepted From the August Exeter, N.Y., Camp Meeting Onward; (Right) George Storrs, Strong Supporter of the October 22 Expectation, Particularly the Midnight Cry Phase, Who Also Introduced the Controverted Teaching of Conditional Immortality

VII. Snow—Initiator of Seventh-Month Movement

Before launching into the recital of the great seventh-month movement, let us first become acquainted with the two men who were in the forefront in bringing this remarkable development into being—the final phase of the Millerite movement. These were Samuel S. Snow of New York City, and George Storrs, usually associated with Albany, New York.

SAMUEL S. SNOW (1806-1870) was born in Connecticut. Converted at seventeen, he joined the Congregational Church but later lapsed into infidelity. Early in 1840 his brother induced him to read a secondhand copy of Miller's *Lectures*, bought from a peddler, in the hope of helping Samuel's skepticism. This it did, and Snow soon became a close student of the Adventist writings. Later, after becoming an independent preacher, he began to herald the imminent second advent of

Christ. He was gripped by the tremendous truth that our Saviour is *returning soon*, and in 1843 offered his services to the Millerites, and was ordained by them at the Worcester, Massachusetts, Adventist Conference in 1843.⁴²

He held the usual positions on the great outline prophecies and their related time periods. But he made an intensive study of the Mosaic tabernacle service types, the chronology of the 70 weeks, and the crucifixion date, and was intrigued by them. In January, 1844, he invited J. V. Himes to New York City, to begin a course of lectures in Franklin Hall. And Snow himself grew in preaching power. However, in time friction developed locally over his conviction that the great 2300-year period would not end until the *autumn*, rather than by the spring, of 1844. And this criticism was despite the fact that in May of 1843 Miller had called attention through the leading Adventist papers to the types of the Mosaic law, and how the vernal types had been fulfilled exactly at the first advent.⁴³

Miller had expressed his conviction that the seventh month, or autumnal types, would be similarly fulfilled at the second advent. Snow, however, was more positive and specific, believing that the autumnal types would be fulfilled just as meticulously as to the day (the Day of Atonement) in connection with the second advent. At first he was not entirely clear as to the year—whether “1843” or “1844”—but he was fully persuaded as to the autumnal aspect. So in February, 1844, Snow began to present his convictions publicly, stressing the end of the 2300 years, and of the other periods of Miller’s customary list, as destined to occur in the *autumn of 1844*.

During January and February he had been preaching on the fall of Babylon and the coming of the Lord, as the Bridegroom to the “marriage,” on the tenth day of the seventh (Jewish) month, 1844. However, there was but little interest or response at the time. In April he located his family in Worcester and went to New York, where hostility had lessened

⁴² *Signs of the Times*, Jan. 10, 1844, pp. 175, 176.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, May 17, 1843, p. 85.

concerning the preaching of the seventh month of 1844—Miller's "Jewish year 1843" having then expired. After three weeks in New York, Brooklyn, and Newark he went on to Philadelphia upon request of George Storrs. In May he returned to Worcester, remaining until July 21. Then, by invitation, Snow preached that day in the large Boston Tabernacle on the text, "Behold, the Bridegroom cometh (on the tenth day of the seventh month), go ye out to meet him!"

This began to arouse some from their apathy. But soon after, at the large Exeter, New Hampshire, camp meeting—August 12-17—he gave three remarkable discourses, to be noted more fully soon. The first was on the 1844 ending of the great prophetic time periods; the second on the Mosaic sanctuary service types, and their antitypical fulfillment in the Christian dispensation; and the third on the date of Christ's crucifixion in the "midst" of the seventieth prophetic week, which therefore brought an end of the 70 weeks in the seventh month of A.D. 34. And in consequence, the close of the 2300 years would similarly extend to the seventh month of 1844, which equated largely with the month of October.

Snow's presentation, wholeheartedly received by the encampment, at first encountered marked reserve on the part of the prominent leaders not present at the camp. (Miller and Himes, it should be stated, were both out in Ohio at this time, and were troubled over this innovation back East.) The same attitude of coolness was true of the leading Adventist periodicals, which they controlled. Nevertheless, the "seventh month" message spread with seemingly irresistible power. One by one the outstanding leaders joined in the swelling chorus.

Meanwhile, Snow had published the *True Midnight Cry* (four pages), at Haverhill, Massachusetts, on August 22, filled with brief but conclusive arguments. These were designed to prove the ending of the time periods and the fulfillment of the types of the atonement and the jubilee on the tenth day of the seventh month, of which the 22d day of October, 1844, was recognized as its civil equivalent. This *True*

Midnight Cry was scattered everywhere in varying forms—in special reprints and incorporated as feature articles in the various papers. These were distributed, according to the record, by the “hundreds of thousands.”

This really amazing movement, starting at the Exeter camp, spread quickly throughout the other Millerite camps and general meetings. Preaching “the time,” or the “definite time,” as taught by Snow, was soon taken up by hundreds of Millerite leaders. Snow himself lectured continuously throughout the East. His last sermon before the Disappointment was given in the Boston Tabernacle to a turbulent crowd, agitated by hostile rowdies. Bliss and Himes were present. Snow then returned home to Worcester for the “appointed day.” This will introduce Snow. And as George Storrs was perhaps second in influence in giving impetus to this seventh-month movement, let us become acquainted with him.

VIII. Storrs—“Go Forth!” Is “Cry at Midnight”

GEORGE STORRS (1796-1879) was born at Lebanon, in rock-ribbed New Hampshire. Even in childhood his mind was deeply exercised along religious lines. But about the only preaching to be heard in Lebanon during his teens was Congregational and Calvinistic. And the strong leanings toward fatalism, in that preaching, and its emphasis on the eternal torment of the wicked in hell, filled the lad with a dread of God and tended to alienate him from Christianity. But at seventeen he began deliberately to seek to know the *goodness* of God. Finally, because of the appeals and prayers of his mother, he accepted Christ, and at nineteen joined the Congregational Church.

The conviction grew upon him that he was called to preach. And later, because of kindnesses shown during his wife's illness, he became greatly attached to a godly Methodist minister, and joined the Methodists. He started out under their traveling connection in 1825, continuing to preach for them until 1836. (Portrait appears on page 801.) By this time Storrs had begun to speak rather constantly on the question of slavery. This he

continued to do for three years. In 1835 he was invited to address the Sanbornton Bridge (New Hampshire) Anti-Slavery Society in the Methodist meetinghouse, but was arrested by the deputy sheriff while in the act of prayer—because he had invoked a blessing on the slaves, after having prayed for the President, the Congress, and various other groups. However, he was discharged after trial.⁴⁴

The Methodist Church at large, and the local bishop especially, was set against agitation on that subject, and took every means to suppress its discussion. As a result Storrs withdrew from the Methodist communion and ministry in 1840. However, back in 1837—three years prior to that withdrawal—Storrs' mind had been agitated on another question through reading a small tract on the final destiny of man and his state in death, written by Deacon Henry Grew of Philadelphia.⁴⁵ He first read it in order to pass the time on a slow train trip. But it led him to search the Scriptures carefully on the question. And after several years' investigation, conversation, and correspondence with some of America's most eminent ministers, he reached the settled conclusion that man does not possess inherent immortality, but receives it only as a gift through Christ, and that God will utterly exterminate the wicked through fire at the second death.⁴⁶

He counted well the cost of the step he felt he must take. He had been highly regarded in the denomination, and was respected by its ministry. He knew that by taking his stand on this delicate doctrine he would sever himself from those congenial relationships. But he deliberately withdrew in 1840. He wrote three letters to an intimate friend, a prominent minister in the Methodist Church, who replied that he could not answer Storrs's arguments. And he advised Storrs to publish them—anonously. So in 1841 Storrs issued *An Enquiry; Are the Souls of the Wicked Immortal? In Three Letters*.

⁴⁴ *Mob Under Pretence of Law, or the Arrest and Trial of Rev. George Storrs*, pp. 1-22.

⁴⁵ *Bible Examiner*, March, 1880, p. 399.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, July, 1850, p. 107.

Visiting Albany, New York, he responded to an invitation to minister to a small congregation, taking as his guiding principle, "The Bible as the only creed—Christian character the only test." Though the congregation knew his views on the nature of man, he did not at first preach on this theme. But by 1842 he felt impelled to speak out clearly on the subject. He spent an entire week on the final preparation of one sermon, realizing that at least two discourses would be necessary. And sensing that he was liable to be misunderstood, he did the unusual—he wrote out and read his sermon. And he kept on preparing and presenting other aspects of the subject until he had given his sixth sermon, with no thought, at the time, of publishing them. Then friends began to urge their publication. So he reviewed, revised, and published them as *An Enquiry: Are the Souls of the Wicked Immortal? In Six Sermons* (Albany, 1842). These came to be known as Storrs's *Six Sermons*.

Just a few weeks after their publication, Storrs was visited by Calvin French, preaching Miller's views on the second advent. Storrs offered him the use of his "House of Prayer" for their public presentation. He became partly convinced of the correctness of the Adventist positions, so much so in fact that he solicited the services of Charles Fitch, who by this time was one of Miller's most active and effective speakers. Accordingly, a series of tent meetings was arranged, and thousands came to hear. Storrs, now fully persuaded, left his stated ministry in Albany, in 1842, in turn to travel and preach the advent message to multiplied thousands. He did not, however, introduce his personal views on the nature of man into these public services. Nevertheless, he was continually beset with inquiries from ministers and laymen who had read his *Six Sermons*.

At length the *Signs of the Times* came out against the view of the ultimate destruction of the wicked, as taught by Storrs in his brochure. So he revised his *Six Sermons*, and published five thousand more copies in newspaper form at New York City, where he was then preaching. These he scattered

all over the community at his own expense. In the spring of 1842 Storrs was invited to preach on the second advent in New York, and people came out by the thousands. And inasmuch as the public knew his sentiments on the end of the wicked, they wanted to hear his views on this theme as well. So he stereotyped two thousand copies of his *Six Sermons* and distributed them to the congregation. He therefore differed from the majority of the Millerites in that he did not believe in an ever-burning hell, regarding such a concept as constituting a blot on the character of God.

In the fall of 1843 he went to Cincinnati, and also to Indiana, where in preaching he traveled some five or six thousand miles. Fitch became the first ministerial convert to his position on conditional immortality, writing him on January 25, 1844, that he had taken his stand on Storrs's side. Other ministers followed. In 1843 his *Six Sermons* were also published in England to the number of ten thousand. And about this time a number of prominent Britishers—Dr. Frederick R. Lees of Leeds; Mr. Dobney, a Baptist; Mr. White, a Congregationalist; and Archbishop Richard Whately had taken the same stand in Great Britain. A total of some 200,000 copies of Storrs's *Six Sermons* are said to have been published.⁴⁷

But there was opposition. Miller himself took Storrs to task in the *Midnight Cry*, of May 23, 1844, with these strong words:

"I cannot be silent without dissenting from this any longer, it would be a crime against God and man. Therefore I disclaim any connection, fellowship, or sympathy with Br. Storrs' views of the intermediate state, and end of the wicked."⁴⁸

And Litch was so agitated by the issue that he went to the length of issuing a little paper against it, called the *Anti-Annihilationist*. And I. E. Jones also wrote to Miller in protest.⁴⁹

Storrs had marked ability as a writer, and in 1843 started

⁴⁷ *Bible Examiner*, March, 1880, p. 401.

⁴⁸ *Midnight Cry*, May 23, 1844, p. 353.

⁴⁹ Ms. letter, I. E. Jones to Miller, April 6, 1844.

the *Bible Examiner* in Albany, which advocated the coming of Christ in 1843-1844. He was an able expositor of prophecy, being equally effective as a writer or preacher. He had a highly prominent part in the seventh-month movement, stressing the parable of the ten virgins in connection with the return of the Bridegroom.

IX. Storrs Holds to Standard Outlines of Daniel

Storrs wrote a small book, in question and answer form, also called the *Bible Examiner*—a verse-by-verse exposition of the leading chapters of Daniel and of Revelation, together with Isaiah 55, Zechariah 14, and Matthew 24. The heart of Daniel 2 he held to be the imminent smiting of the image upon the feet—after the division of the Roman Empire, the fourth in the series of world powers. The ten partitions listed are drawn from Machiavelli, Faber, and Scott. This stone kingdom is *not* the inward kingdom of grace, he insisted, but the outward kingdom of glory, soon to be established. We have lived 1,400 years among the feet and toes of divided Rome, he said. The stone strikes the image on the feet, and we are now in the feet. This smiting by the stone is therefore the next act of prophecy.⁵⁰

Divine revelation is not only progressive but repeats again and again to enforce and amplify. Thus the four beasts of Daniel 7 parallel the four metals of Daniel 2—Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome. Then, after the great judgment scene, comes God's kingdom forever. The Little Horn is the high point in chapter 7—and is the same as Paul's Man of Sin, and the Beast of John's visions. It follows the division of Rome, and three kingdoms fall before it—the Heruli, Ostrogoths, and Vandals.

Justinian's imperial letter of A.D. 533, recognizing the pope as the head of all the churches, is quoted from Croly. Thus the pagan Roman dragon gave the Papacy "his power, and his seat, and great authority." (Rev. 13:12.) It was to

⁵⁰ George Storrs, *The Bible Examiner*, pp. 3-15.

continue in this dominant position for 1260 years, which it did. Then the stroke by the sword was given under French Marshal Berthier, continued Storrs. The pope no longer has power to depose kings and put the saints to death as of yore. So in the outline of Daniel 7 we have already passed the lion, bear, leopard, and dreadful fourth beast, the ten horns, and the 1260 years. We are nearly forty-five years beyond. The awesome judgment scene comes next, followed by the everlasting kingdom, which cannot be far off.⁵¹

Then, in Daniel 8 the Medo-Persian ram and the Grecian goat are followed by the "exceeding great" and fierce pagan, then papal, Roman horn. This horn continues until the "last end of the indignation." The sanctuary and the host were to be trodden underfoot for 2300 year-days. Rome will be destroyed when it is broken without hand. Both the church and the earth are called sanctuaries. But, he at first feels, it is obviously the earth that is to be cleansed by fire. (2 Peter 3.) And this is to be at the end of the age and the close of the 2300 years. The explanation is given in Daniel 9, through the interrelated 70 weeks to the Messiah, "cut off" from the 2300 years. Their joint beginning is in 457 B.C., and the grand terminus of the longer period would be A.D. "1843," later revised to "1844."

And as the year of Christ's death is limited to a narrow circle of four or five years at most, so the end of the longer period is likewise limited to four or five years. And "1843" is evidently 1810 years from the crucifixion, the cross constituting the confirming seal of the vision. Daniel will stand in his lot and receive his inheritance; the end is near.⁵² So said Storrs. More will be heard from him shortly.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-30.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 33-57.

Seventh-Month Movement

Launched at Exeter

I. High Priest to Come Forth to Bless People

On August 12, 1844, a five-day camp meeting opened at Exeter, New Hampshire, a few miles from East Kingston, scene of the first Millerite camp meeting in the United States, just two years prior. This Exeter meeting was quite representative, with some three or four thousand in attendance. The participants came from "different and distant places"—north, east, south, and west—to study anew the evidences for their faith.¹ Different ones came anticipating "new light." And it was here that a new concept indeed, and a new conviction, began to grip the Millerites, which changed their attitude from lassitude and indefinite waiting to intense expectancy. Christ, our heavenly High Priest, on the approaching October 22,² they came to believe, was to emerge from the heavenly holy of holies to bless His waiting people at His second advent. And from the Exeter camp they went forth with crusading zeal in the most amazing development of the entire movement.

They had all believed that since April they were living in the "tarrying" or "slumbering" time, that is, beyond the close of "1843." But they were in a state of uncertainty and suspense. The meeting at the Exeter camp on one day in particular was prosaic. Interest lagged and the time dragged. Men of ability spoke without anything new or fresh to present,

¹ *Advent Herald*, Aug. 21, 1844, p. 20; *Midnight Cry*, Aug. 29, 1844, p. 63.

² As the civil calendar equivalent of the "tenth day of the seventh month," and the Christian antitype of the ancient Jewish Day of Atonement.

repeating prophecies almost as familiar to their ears as the alphabet. Consequently, little impression was made, and the crowd was restive. Joseph Bates, the speaker at this particular hour, was seeking to bolster their confidence and sustain their faith in the promises of God.³ He was rehearsing, in a labored way, the well-known evidences about the delay being a test of their faith, that Christ would surely come, that they should not lose confidence in His promises, and the like. But he was making little progress.

Suddenly a man rode up to the camp on horseback. It was Samuel Sheffield Snow. Dismounting, he came and sat down by the side of his sister, Mrs. John Couch, wife of one of the Adventist preachers, who was seated at the edge of the crowd that filled the large tent. In subdued phrases he began to rehearse to her his convictions as to the *cause* of their Lord's delay, and to set forth persuasively the evidence for the coming of Christ in the *autumn* of 1844, on the very Day of Atonement. Her heart was thrilled with the whispered message. Unable to keep silence, she suddenly rose and in a ringing voice addressed Bates, the preacher in the desk:

"It is too late to spend time upon these truths, with which we are familiar, and which have been blessed to us in the past, and have served their purpose and their time."⁴

Then she said earnestly, "Here is a man with a message from God." It was a dramatic moment. The preacher paused, as well he might. And she continued in insistent tones that could be heard throughout the assembly:

"It is too late, brethren, to spend precious time as we have since this camp-meeting commenced. Time is short. The Lord has servants here who have meat in due season for his household. Let them speak, and let the people hear them. Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him."⁵

Then Bates responded, "Let him come and deliver his

³ John N. Loughborough, "The Second Advent Movement—No. 4," in *Review and Herald*, Aug. 18, 1921, p. 3.

⁴ James White, *Life Incidents*, pp. 159, 160; cf. John O. Corliss, in *Review and Herald*, Aug. 16, 1923, p. 7; see also A. W. Spalding, *Captains of the Host*, p. 87.

⁵ James White, *Life Incidents*, p. 160.

message," and sat down to hear what he would say. The atmosphere was tense with expectancy as Snow walked forward and entered the pulpit. He began quietly but effectively to present his convictions and to submit his evidence. As he progressed, the whole camp became electrified, preachers as well as laymen. His logical reasoning carried weight, and his measured conclusions seemed inescapable. Conviction swept over the entire congregation, followed by decisive action. Time was short, and they must make ready for the coming of the Lord! Bates himself had come to the meeting anticipating more light that would give impetus to the message.⁶ And Bates's record, penned in 1847, was:

"There was light given and received there, sure enough; and when that meeting closed, the granite hills of New Hampshire rang with the mighty cry, *Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him!* As the stages and railroad cars rolled away through the different States, cities, and villages of New England, the rumbling of the cry was still distinctly heard, *Behold the Bridegroom cometh! Christ is coming on the tenth day of the seventh month! Time is short, get ready! get ready!*"⁷

An amazing movement was started that sultry day that nothing could stay. Although the older leaders at first were slow in accepting it, the movement quickly swept all lesser lights into ardent support. It intensified the tempo of the movement, and stepped up both its thinking and its activities. And it was this that was destined to bring Millerism to a speedy and dramatic climax as far and wide as the movement had extended. The *Advent Herald*, at first loath to accept the evidence, merely reported laconically:

"Brother Snow remarked with great energy on the *time* [Oct. 22, 1844], and displayed much research in his presentation of the evidence which, in his view, points to the tenth day of the seventh month of the Jewish sacred year, as the day of the Lord's Advent."⁸

But later, writing in retrospect, the editor describes that fateful Exeter camp and the time message that spread rapidly

⁶ F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, pp. 214-216.

⁷ Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*, pp. 30, 31.

⁸ *Advent Herald*. Aug. 21, 1844, p. 20.

from there "through all the Advent bands in the land." Then he adds:

"At first the definite time was generally opposed; but there seemed to be an irresistible power attending its proclamation, which prostrated all before it. It swept over the land with the velocity of a tornado, and it reached hearts in different and distant places almost simultaneously, and in a manner which can be accounted for only on the supposition that God was [in] it. . . .

"The lecturers among the Adventists were the last to embrace the views of the time, and the more prominent ones came into it last of all. It seemed not to be the work of men, but to be brought about in spite of men. The several advent papers came into the view only at a late hour; and this paper [*The Advent Herald*] was the last to raise its voice in the spread of the cry. For a long time we were determined to take no part in the movement, either in opposition, or in the advocacy of it. . . . It was not until within about two weeks of the commencement of the seventh month [about the first of October], that we were particularly impressed with the progress of the movement, when we had such a view of it, that to oppose it, or even to remain silent longer, seemed to us to be opposing the work of the Holy Spirit; and in entering upon the work with all our souls, we could but exclaim, 'What were we, that we should resist God?' It seemed to us to have been so independent of human agency, that we could but regard it as a fulfillment of the 'midnight cry.'"⁹

Note the story in greater detail.

II. Snow's Evidence From Types Becomes Deciding Factor

Snow brought out four points: (1) Their correction of a previously recognized error in calculation had brought about the shift from "1843" to "1844"; (2) the 70 weeks of years both began and ended in the autumn; (3) the Mosaic tabernacle types indicate that the second advent will occur in the autumn, not in the spring, but on the Day of Atonement, or tenth day of the seventh month, just as the slaying of the Passover Lamb pointed to Christ's death on the fourteenth day of the first month; and (4) as the Passover crucifixion, the wave-sheaf resurrection, and the allotted time for Pentecost all came on the exact days prophesied, so, Snow continued, he believed the antitypical Day of Atonement will come on the exact day

⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 30, 1844, p. 93.

specified. Then our great High Priest, Christ Jesus, will *come out of* the heavenly holy of holies, where He has been ministering, to bless His waiting people. That will also be the second advent. "Unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation." (Hebrews 9:28.) The conclusive logic of the presentation made a profound impression, and practically all on the encampment accepted it.¹⁰

The next day his presentation was repeated by request, with greater clarity and detail. For example: Since Christ was crucified in the spring of A.D. 31, in the "*midst*" of the prophetic "week" of seven years, three and one-half years from the *spring* of 31 leads unquestionably to the *autumn* of 34. Therefore the 1810 remaining years of the 2300, calculated from the autumn of 34, must lead to the *autumn* of 1844. And in this year the specific tenth day of the seventh month coincides, according to the Karaite Jewish method of calendation, with October 22 of our Gregorian calendar. (See Exhibits D and E, pages 790, 792.)

Under this compelling evidence any tendency toward fanaticism on the part of a few vanished like the dew before the sun. Fears were forgotten, and it was generally felt that the resultant movement bore all the wholesome fruits of the Spirit. The leaders at this camp had feared that division might come in over such points as "conditional immortality," which Storrs had introduced and which leaders like Miller, Litch, Hale, Bliss, and Himes could not see. Others were concerned over the Scriptural sanctification emphasis that had been urged by Fitch. Some feared diversion from the simple advent expectancy by emphasis on a *day*. But such difficulties did not materialize.

III. The Movement Enters Its Final Phase

The seventh-month movement was now definitely under way. Bates returned to New Bedford and soon attended an Adventist meeting where Hutchinson, editor of the *Montreal*

¹⁰ John N. Loughborough, unpublished manuscript, "Some Individual Experiences," pp. 25, 26.

Voice of Elijah, was preaching. But Hutchinson became confused, and said, "I can't continue." Macomber also seemed unable to explain the message that had been given at Exeter. So Bates, who had just returned from Exeter, presented the new light with freedom and power. In fact, he was asked to repeat it in the afternoon and in other quickly arranged meetings.¹¹ And James White, likewise returning home from Exeter, preached the seventh-month message at Poland, Maine, and at two camp meetings—Litchfield and Orrington. From then on his chief burden was the "tenth day of the seventh month," or October 22, as the antitypical Day of Atonement. He often spoke to crowded congregations in two and sometimes three towns in a single day.¹²

Meantime, the prominent leaders had returned from the West. Reluctant at first to accept the seventh-month message, and plainly perturbed at this development in their absence, as well as at its being sponsored by aggressive younger men, they now began to espouse it. And the leading Adventist papers, controlled by these veteran leaders, were similarly persuaded of its soundness.

According to Bliss, at the very time the seventh-month emphasis was proclaimed at Exeter, there was a definite awakening among the Adventists generally—a strong conviction prevailing that the coming of the Lord was indeed at the door. They were thus prepared to receive the Exeter message on "definite time." And all of these factors and influences seemed to meet and commingle at Exeter, blending into a single definite movement. From there the "cry" spread to all points. Men felt that, if true, it must be given without delay. So they carried it far and near with all the eloquence and enthusiasm that such a joyful and probable event could produce.¹³ And they reclaimed many whose lamps had well nigh gone out.

So, within a relatively few short weeks the "cry" had

¹¹ Joseph Bates, *Autobiography*, pp. 298, 299.

¹² James White, *Life Incidents*, pp. 153-168.

¹³ *Advent Herald*, Oct. 30, 1844, p. 93; *Advent Shield*, January, 1845, pp. 270, 271.

spread to all points through camp meetings, conferences, periodicals, articles, and preaching. The previous heralding, they held, had been preliminary, preparatory, and anticipatory to this, now the *true* cry. It was like the blowing of the trumpets on the *first* day of the seventh month, to announce the approaching Day of Atonement on the tenth, these ten days being commonly called the days of repentance.

Bates left the record that the Exeter message "flew as it were upon the wings of the wind."¹⁴ Men and women sped by rail and water, by stagecoach and horseback, with bundles of books and papers, distributing them as "profusely as the leaves of autumn." White said, "The work before us was to fly to every part of that wide field, sound the alarm, and wake the slumbering and sleeping ones."¹⁵ And Wellcome adds that the movement broke forth like the released waters of a dam.¹⁶ Fields of ripened grain were left standing unharvested, and full-grown potatoes left undug in the ground. The coming of the Lord was nigh. There was no time now for such earthly things. But one other emphasis must also be noted to complete the picture.

IV. Augmenting Voice of the "Midnight Cry"

Next to the Day of Atonement type urged by Snow, the second point of special emphasis which gave force to the seventh-month movement was the "cry at midnight" feature in the parable of the ten virgins. It was a paralleling argument. Those not convinced by the former were usually persuaded by the latter, the one augmenting the other. Observe the setting for this new emphasis.

1. MILLER'S EARLY CONCEPT OF "MIDNIGHT CRY."—In the application of the parable to their own day, there were two progressive stages of interpretation during the Millerite movement. Miller's early application was to the general Advent

¹⁴ Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps*, p. 31.

¹⁵ James White, *Life Incidents*, p. 168.

¹⁶ I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

Awakening of the nineteenth century. The "wise" virgins were the believers; the "foolish," the unbelievers in the probationary state; their "lamps" were the Bible; the "oil," faith; the "vessels," minds that believe; the "Bridegroom," Christ; the "door shut," the close of His mediation; the "marriage," the second advent to gather the elect; and the "midnight cry"—the general Advent Awakening of the nineteenth century in the Old World as well as the New.¹⁷

Litch had likewise held that the era of the Bible, missionary, and tract societies of the early nineteenth century¹⁸ was this same period of the Awakening. And to this the British advent expositors themselves agreed.¹⁹ The leading Millerite journal, the *Signs of the Times*, similarly declared, "The World has had the Midnight Cry," citing a list of witnesses in various parts of the world.²⁰ Miller explicitly told of its scope and spread in his early *Lectures*:

"'Midnight cry,' is the watchmen, or some of them, who by the word of God discover the time as revealed, and immediately give the warning voice, 'Behold the bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him.' This has been fulfilled in a most remarkable manner. One or two on every quarter of the globe have proclaimed the news and agree in the time. Wolf, of Asia; Irwin [Irving] late of England; Mason, of Scotland; Davis, of South Carolina; and quite a number in this region, are, or have been giving the cry."²¹

2. SEVENTH-MONTH HERALDS GIVING "TIME" CRY.—But now, from the Exeter camp onward, the heralds of the seventh-month message contended that the previous "cry" was only a general, preliminary *alarm*, and that the "*True Midnight Cry*" was now sounding in verity. Thus Storrs asserted:

"Alas! we have all been *slumbering and sleeping*—both the *wise and foolish*; but so our Savior told us it would be; and 'thus the Scriptures are fulfilled,' and it is the last prophecy relating to the events to precede the *personal advent* of our Lord; now comes the *True Midnight Cry*."

¹⁷ William Miller, *Evidence From Scripture* (1836), pp. 197, 206, 207; *Midnight Cry*, Dec. 16, 1842, p. 3.

¹⁸ Litch, *Prophetic Expositions*, vol. 1, pp. 165, 166.

¹⁹ W. C. Burgess, *Parable of the Ten Virgins and the Midnight Cry*, p. 9.

²⁰ Editorial, "The World Has Had the Midnight Cry," *Signs of the Times*, Sept. 20, 1843, p. 36.

²¹ William Miller, *Evidence From Scripture*, pp. 231, 232.

The previous was but the *alarm*. Now the real one is sounding; and Oh, how solemn the hour. The 'virgins' have been *asleep* or *slumbering*; yes, all of us. *Asleep on the time*: that is the point. Some have indeed preached the *seventh month*, but it was with *doubt* whether it is *this year* or some other: and that doubt is now removed from *my mind*. '*Behold, the Bridegroom cometh, This Year, Go ye out to meet him.*'"²²

Moreover, the expression "midnight" was given definite and literal time significance, and the tarrying time was considered as six months, from the spring disappointment to the autumnal expectation. So Storrs reasoned:

"'How long the vision? Unto 2300 *evening-mornings*.' An evening, or 'night,' then, is *half* of one of those prophetic days. Here then we have the '*chronology*' of Jesus Christ. The *tarrying time* is just *half a year*. When did we go into this [tarrying] time? Last March or April. Then the latter part of July would bring us to midnight. At that time God put *this cry* into the hearts of some of his servants, and they saw, from the Bible, that God had given the chronology of the tarrying time, and its length. There it is, in the 25th of Matthew. '*At midnight there was a cry made, Behold the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him.*' Here we are—the last warning is now sounding. O heed it ye virgins. *Awake, awake, awake.*'"²³

3. BEGAN TO BE HERALDED IN JULY AND AUGUST.—Thus it was, he declared, that the strong cry began at "midnight" in July, with unprecedented results. He continues:

"How long is the tarrying time? Half a year. How do you know? Because, our Lord says, '*at midnight,*' while the bridegroom tarried. The vision was for '*2300 evening-mornings,*' or days. An '*evening,*' or *night* is half of one of those prophetic days, and is therefore *six months*. That is the whole length of the tarrying time. The present strong cry of *time* commenced about the middle of July, and has spread with great rapidity and power, and is attended with a demonstration of the Spirit, such as I never witnessed when the cry was '*1843.*' It is now literally, '*go ye out to meet him.*' There is a leaving *all*, that I never dreamed could be seen. Where this cry gets hold of the heart, farmers leave their farms, with their crops standing, to go out and sound the alarm—and mechanics their shops. There is a strong crying with tears, and a consecrating of all to God, such as I never witnessed."'²⁴

4. FINAL ACCEPTANCE AND FULL SUPPORT BY LEADERS.—From Exeter onward, Snow, Storrs, and those first champion-

²² George Storrs, "Go Ye Out to Meet Him," in *The Advent Herald*, Oct. 9, 1844, p. 73.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 74. (Brackets supplied.)

²⁴ *Ibid.*

ing the tenth day of the seventh-month position were positive in their personal conviction and aggressive in publicly urging the claims of "definite time." And from August onward the seventh-month movement, or True Midnight Cry as variantly called, gained increasing momentum. Carried initially by the attendants at the Exeter camp, giving the "cry" ere long became the absorbing burden of emphasis by all. But this general support of the October 22 expectation, it should be added, was confined to the few weeks remaining prior to the anticipated day.

During September and October Snow's *True Midnight Cry* was printed again and again, both separately and as reprints in practically all Adventist journals.²⁵ Editorial endorsements gave full support, and Himes canceled his proposed European trip to bring out Extras as fast as the steam presses could turn.²⁶ But it was the ultimate consciousness of *actually living within the fateful seventh month*, with its attendant experiences, that brought the host of Adventist preachers and their people to final acceptance and intensive support of the October 22 date.²⁷ The solemnity produced by this consciousness, during the last ten days preceding the crisis hour, was profound in the sobering and energizing effect. The leading Adventist spokesmen said, "We are now actually living within the fateful seventh month."²⁸

While full final endorsement came to be given by the leaders, with confident expectation of their Lord's return on October 22, Miller was the last to approve, only capitulating on October 6. He still held, however, to "1843," and even to his old terminal date at the equinox in March. But he made the "tarrying time" of Habakkuk 2:13 and Matthew 25 extend from the equinox to October 22, which he took as the probable day of the advent on the basis of the autumnal types.²⁹ (Miller,

²⁵ For example: separately, Oct. 4, 1844; in *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 10, 1844; *Advent Herald*, Oct. 2, 9, 16, 1844.

²⁶ *Advent Herald*, Oct. 2, 1844, p. 68.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 30, 1844, p. 93; *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 19, 1844, p. 133; Oct. 31, 1844, pp. 140, 141.

²⁸ *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 19, 1844, p. 133.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1844, p. 121.

it should be stated, stood practically alone in failing to change from "1843" over to "1844," for the terminal date of the 2300- and 1335-year periods, and in correcting the crucifixion date from A.D. 33 to 31, in the "midst" instead of the end of the seventieth week.) So the most "prominent" leaders were the last to embrace the "time." But they too capitulated, and the initial opposition and aloofness gave way to ardent participation.³⁰ The threatened break in the Advent Movement ranks was closed again.

5. FULL COMMITMENT BY LEADING PERIODICALS.—Southard, editor of the *Midnight Cry*, yielding to the force of evidence, wrote on October 3:

"The weight of evidence that the Lord will come on the tenth day of the seventh month is so strong that I heartily yield to its force, and I intend, by the help of the Lord, to act as if there was no possibility of mistake:—to act as if I *knew* that in less than one month the opening heavens would reveal my Saviour."³¹

Preble, Peavey, Minor, Chamberlain, and others, all expressed acceptance in this issue. The bands of believers were "electrified," and the "Midnight Cry" went on the "wings of the wind," as Fitch, Reed, Hotchkiss, and others joined in full support. Thus the editorial in the *Advent Herald* of October 9 declared:

"The Advent bands have been every where electrified by the proclamation of a definite time—viz. the tenth day of the seventh month of the present Jewish sacred year. This cry has gone on the wings of the wind, and has been with joy received by the great body of those who were looking for the immediate coming of the Lord, and also by most of those who are proclaiming his appearing."³²

6. OCTOBER 22 THE DAY OF EXPECTATION.—Himes, in committing himself, published this explanatory statement regarding the day of expectation:

"If then we have *definite time*, we can get it only by the typical institutions, which were observed in a specified month, and the day of the

³⁰ Bliss, "The Seventh Month Movement," in *Advent Shield*, January, 1845, p. 270.

³¹ *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 3, 1844, p. 100.

³² *Advent Herald*, Oct. 9, 1844, p. 77.

year. Of these we can only look to the Autumnal Festivals, in the seventh month of the Jewish year. This [Tishri] is the only month in which we can look for a fulfillment; and as the *tenth day* of this month is the only day in which the type of the coming of our High Priest can be fulfilled, we are shut up to this faith, and shall, by the grace of God, look for the event, and act accordingly. Our reasons will be given more at length in our next week's paper, to which we refer our readers."³³

The last issue of the *Cry* before the fateful day, makes the bold announcement:

"TO THE PUBLIC: Our present position—the expectation that the Second Coming of Christ is to take place on the 10th day of the seventh Jewish month, which coincides nearly with October 22d."³⁴

Litch and Miller having accepted the evidence, Hale appeals to Whiting to accept.³⁵ Hundreds of thousands of papers were distributed from offices in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Utica; Lancaster, Pennsylvania; Cleveland, Akron, and Cincinnati, Ohio, etc.³⁶ The seventh-month movement was sweeping toward its climax.

7. NO MILLERITES LOOKED TO SEPTEMBER 23.—No intricate mathematical or astronomical calculation was involved, so the seventh-month position was easily understood by the common people. Nevertheless, an intensive, scholarly study of the astronomical and chronological aspects of the question was a conspicuous characteristic of Millerite leadership and literature. It was apparently because of this that their arguments could not be gainsaid by the opposing scholars of the day.

Definite note was also taken in the *Midnight Cry* of

³³ *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 10, 1844, p. 108.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1844, p. 136. Actually, as they recognized, it began at the previous sunset, on October 21. An investigation of leading newspapers all the way from Maine to Ohio in the West and New Orleans in the South, indicates that practically all stress October 22 as the day of Millerite expectancy—and of disappointment. Only an occasional item referred to "October 22 or 23," based on the earlier hesitancy or uncertainty of some of the Millerite leaders.

³⁵ *Advent Herald*, Oct. 16, 1844, pp. 81, 88, 2d ed.; *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 12, 1844, pp. 121, 125.

³⁶ *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 19, 1844, p. 135. Of the really phenomenal literature distribution, note the following: "We shall publish by the hundred thousand. *Conditions gratis*." (Ed., *Advent Herald*, Oct. 2, 1844, p. 68.) Printing *Bible Examiner* and *True Midnight Cry* "as fast as steam can carry the presses." (*Midnight Cry*, Oct. 3, 1844, p. 104.) Four steam presses kept "constantly in motion" printing specials—*Bible Examiner* (Storrs), *True Midnight Cry* (Snow), and *Coming of Christ*, for free distribution (*Midnight Cry*, Oct. 11, 1844, p. 117, col. 3). "By running the presses day and night we have as yet been unable to supply the calls." (*Advent Herald*, Oct. 16, 1844, p. 84.) Fifty thousand extra of *Voice of Truth*. One hundred thousand copies of final October 16 *Advent Herald*.

October 3 of the fact that the rabbinical Jews had already observed September 23 as the Day of Atonement, on the tenth day of the seventh month,³⁷ and that this was doubtless a month too early. In the same journal, on October 11, we read:

"The day [of atonement] is observed by the Jews more than any other in the year, though they observe it one month earlier than the true time, as we think is evident from the fact, that barley is not ripe in Judea on the 16th day of the first month, as they reckon time; but the law of Moses required a sheaf to be waved before the Lord on that day."³⁸

The Millerites did not look for the second advent on September 23, the rabbinical date, because for a year and a half they had all been following the Karaite restoration of the Mosaic reckoning for the sacred year—both for determining the limits of the Jewish year 1843 and then for the tenth day of the seventh month in 1844. This reckoning placed the first Jewish month in April, and in consequence the seventh month in October—and therefore not in September.³⁹

V. The Movement Sweeps to Its Climax

The consecration manifested and the dedication of material resources exhibited by the Millerites were astonishing. Their leaders had admonished them to place their hearts, their property, and their all "on the altar," like the early Christians.⁴⁰ This they did. Storrs's last message, given through the *Midnight Cry* of October 3, employed the figure of a large rock island in the middle of the ocean. His was an appeal to venture out by faith in their expectancy, to cut the ropes and let their boats drift out of sight. "Venture now, and venture all," he urged.

In response to these appeals, as the day of expectation approached, the Adventists literally gave their all to advance the cause they had espoused. They began to sell their property

³⁷ *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 3, 1844, p. 101.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 11, 1844, p. 118.

³⁹ Bliss, "The Seventh Month Movement," *Advent Shield*, January, 1845, p. 279.

⁴⁰ For example, *Voice of Truth* editorial, reprinted in *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 12, 1844, p. 124; Oct. 3, 1844, p. 104; Oct. 19, p. 133.

and possessions in order to finish the carrying of "God's last message" to men. Large sums of money were so dedicated. They wished to have all dealings with their fellow men honorably concluded, so all debts were paid. And they even helped to pay the debts of those less fortunate.

The Millerite papers admonished their readers to avoid everything foolish and fanatical, and to search their own hearts.⁴¹ This they also did. They confessed their wrongs and made everything right with God and man. They were soundly evangelical, trusting solely "in the merit of Christ's atoning blood, through the efficacious and sanctifying influence of God's Holy Spirit, for pardon and forgiveness and acceptance at the Father's mercy seat."⁴² The great majority were circumspect and godly men and women, awaiting their Lord's return with solemn joy. And they were directed by sober and intelligent leaders drawn from the ministry of the various religious bodies, not a few of whom were highly trained and proficient, as already noted.

During the last week, as the time of expectation drew near, Millerite merchants closed their stores, mechanics forsook their shops, and laborers left their employers. There was a putting away of all worldly things and a breaking away from all worldly pursuits. The Lord was coming! Common occupations were abandoned. Farmers left their crops unharvested. Their potatoes remained undug in the ground and their apples were left hanging on the trees. Millerite clerks, custom's officers, magistrates, and teachers resigned from their posts. Justices of the peace returned their commissions. Numerous stores were closed "in honor of the return of the King of kings" and the "final dissolution of all things." Many even gave away their goods to the poor and the public.

Millerite meetings were held almost continuously during the last two weeks prior to October 22. The case from prophecy and the types had been presented, and there was no change of position. Their places of assembly—tabernacles, halls,

⁴¹ *Midnight Cry*, Oct. 11, 1844, p. 116.

⁴² *Ibid.*

theater buildings, and churches—were thronged. But unbelievers and scoffers milled around to disturb, and in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia night meetings had to be suspended because of hostile demonstrations.

After October 13 (the civil equivalent of Tishri 1), it seemed to them as if God's protective restraints had been removed, and the wrath of the wicked broke forth as if probation had closed. There was unprecedented and unaccountable opposition. Mob action was frequent, and in various places meetings and speakers were threatened and assailed. Stones were pelted, mobs hissed, and Millerite gatherings broken up. Not a few Millerites of Methodist, Congregationalist, and Presbyterian background hastened to the baptismal pools or rivers for immersion.

Intensity marked the closing days. A quickened tempo and greater urgency took possession of men, like the fervor of the crusaders of old, as the movement swept toward its intense but orderly climax. Their Boston steam presses rolled at top speed twenty-four hours a day, to turn out Adventist papers for distribution "without money and without price," and a dozen other presses ran day and night to supply the need. All the way from Maine out to Ohio, and from Canada down into the South, living messengers went from house to house in city and village, and from farm to farm in the country, with the last warning message.

Little local sheets, like *The Last Cry!* (dated October 14), issued by A. R. Brown at Exeter, New Hampshire, exemplified this intense earnestness. Brown did not expect to issue another number, and designed this one solely to reach his own home town and vicinity. It was sent forth without counsel from friend or foe. And it too was without cost—only read it and get ready! Two thirds of it was a reprint of Storrs's, "Go Ye Out to Meet Him," on the tenth day of the seventh month. An ardent desire to awaken others, as God had awakened him, was his declared motive.

As a man on his deathbed, facing the end, makes all



PHOTO BY S. M. FARLAN

WAITING FOR THEIR LORD TO COME ON OCTOBER 22

Re-enacted Scene of One of Thousands of Groups, Large and Small, Waiting Through the Long Hours of the "Tenth Day of the Seventh Month," Praying, Singing, and Admonishing One Another in the "Blessed Hope"

possible preparation to meet his God, so the advent believers earnestly prepared for Christ's return on the "tenth day of the seventh month." The last known wrong was righted, the last confession made. Incidentally, this had its inevitable effect upon the populace about. Certain hardened criminals were led to give themselves up for trial. Others made restitution where there had been dishonesty, and the United States Treasury received money from persons who had defrauded the Government. Grocery and other current accounts were paid up, and promissory notes were met or canceled.

Then, as October 22 approached, the Millerite presses ceased to roll and the papers stopped. The great tents were furled for the last time, until the heavens should be rolled together as a scroll. The last good-bys were said, and the lecturers returned to their homes. Day and night believers met to await the voice of the archangel and the trump of God.

At last October 22 dawned, bright and clear. The Adventists repaired to their meetinghouses or held small religious services in their homes. They met at an early hour and continued in watchful prayer, meditation, and song most of the

day. Those were solemn hours, hours big with hope—the last hours of time, they believed. They were standing on the brink of eternity, and would soon see Him whom, not having seen, they loved. They were at peace with all men, with every sin confessed. Their work was done, and they were anxiously awaiting the fulfillment of God's promise. Within a few hours they believed the heavens would roll together as a scroll, the elements melt with fervent heat, and their Saviour would appear.

From one home, as the day was ending and the Saviour had not come, the sun was seen sinking over the western hills. Its last rays lighted up a cloud near the horizon, and it shone like burnished silver and gold. It was a glorious scene, and the father rose expectantly from his chair, thinking it might be the Saviour coming. But it was only a "sun-kissed cloud," and the family resumed its waiting. Thus the day wore slowly on to its weary close, though far into the night the faithful kept vigil. But from those exalted heights they were soon dashed to the depths of despair. Their Lord came not, and the day of sweet expectation had become the day of bitter disappointment.

The Parting of the Ways

Thus the impressive Millerite movement came to its tragic close, so far as its original form is concerned. The great stream ceased its onward flow and was dissipated, to use the figure aptly employed by Nichol, like a river absorbed in the torrid sands of the desert. Here is his graphic portrayal.

"The erstwhile fast-moving stream poured out over an arid, uncharted waste. The scorching sun of disappointment beat down, and the burning winds of ridicule swept in from every side. The river suddenly lost its velocity. There was no momentum to cut a clearly marked channel in this new, parched land. Sun and wind quickly began to play havoc with this directionless body of water, now spread thinly over a wide area. While a central stream of what had once been an impressive river, was more or less well defined, there were many lesser streams, which often ended in miniature dead seas, where stagnation and evaporation soon did their work. Indeed, no small part of the once large river, when evaporated under the scorching sun of disappointment, was finally returned to the sources from whence it came, the other rivers in the religious world."¹

Other developments will be traced in Part III. But the Albany Conference, called in April, 1845, was the final attempt to hold the Millerite movement together, as such. But it drew only part of the leadership. Difficult times lay ahead. Under the advent expectancy there had been no provision for church order, or a discipline that could restrain certain unruly elements that arose to plague what was left of the movement. Confusion and division were inevitable, and the remains of the movement split three ways:

¹ F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, p. 274.

(1) The larger group that was associated with the Albany Conference out of which came the Evangelical Adventists, now defunct, and from which branched out the still surviving Advent Christian body: (2) a small segment of extremists that broke away from all others, but soon burned themselves out in fanaticism, and disappeared within a few years; and (3) still another group unassociated with the Albany Conference—and not to be confused with the extremists—who ere long became Sabbatarians in practice, and in time developed into the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Now let us trace the process of this breakup.

I. Early Confusion Becomes Prevalent

After the Disappointment the leaders were distressed at the confusion of opinions that ensued. I. E. Jones described it at the time:

"Our brethren this way are catching at every conceivable hypothesis to reconcile the movement of the tenth [day of the seventh month, or October 22]. . . .

"But, supremely ridiculous, painful & dangerous, as is this state of things among ourselves, it is not as much so as the ranks of our opponents present. Who can think of the endless diversity of opinion among them on the prophe[c]ies & Atonement, Free Will, Baptism, conversion, & every Bible truth; & not say in view of his temptations to leave this [Advent] cause, 'To whom shall we go?' . . .

"Oh, I sigh for home. Home; sweet, sweet home. But, patience my soul."²

Miller, deeply perturbed over this discord, appealed to the editors of the Millerite journals to stay the controversy.

"I must confess I am pained at heart, to see the battle we are now in, . . . after having silenced our common enemy. . . . Every [Adventist] paper which has come into my hands recently is full of fight, and that too against our friends."³

He was outspokenly opposed to the various "new theories" that had developed, following October 22, in an endeavor to explain the Disappointment. He deplored the "call to come out"

² Ms. letter, I. E. Jones to Miller, Feb. 14, 1845.

³ Ms. letter, Miller to Himes, undated but evidently in early 1845.

of the churches that had been given, and he never accepted the distinctive positions of the Sabbatarians. The doctrine of the unconscious sleep of the dead and the final destruction of the wicked was not, he maintained, part of the original Millerite position, but was introduced personally by Storrs and Fitch. He even came to deny the application of the parable of the "Midnight Cry" to the seventh-month movement, and eventually went so far as to declare unequivocally that that movement was not "a fulfillment of prophecy in any sense."⁴

II. The Controversy Over the "Shut Door"

The controversy as to whether the seventh-month movement was the logical and legitimate climax of the Millerite message, or whether it was a tragic mistake, hinged on what came to be known as the "shut door" doctrine. The seventh-month movement, it will be remembered,⁵ was based on two premises: (1) The typical cleansing of the ancient sanctuary on the Day of Atonement, on the tenth day of the seventh Jewish month; and (2) the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, who, after passing the expected time of the wedding, fell asleep and were roused at midnight by the cry, "Behold, the bridegroom cometh!" The wise virgins, who are ready to meet the coming bridegroom, enter with him into the wedding, where the door is shut after them. But the foolish ones, who failed to use their opportunity to be ready, then find themselves outside.

1. THE "TRUE MIDNIGHT CRY."—It is to be remembered that, in the midsummer of 1844 the cry went forth at "midnight" that the heavenly Bridegroom was to come, not within the Jewish year 1843, but in the seventh month of 1844; and that the cleansing of the sanctuary at the end of the 2300 year-days, six months later than the spring expectation, was to be expected on the tenth day of the seventh Jewish month—the day of the ancient annual cleansing of the sanctuary. The ranks

⁴ Ms. letter, Miller to J. B. Cook, Sept. 16, 1845.

⁵ See chap. 38.

of the Millerites were swept by the conviction that they were in the "tarrying time," after the first call to the wedding, that the end of time was due on the twenty-second of October, and that on that day the wise virgins—who were ready with their lamps trimmed and burning—would go with their returning Lord to the marriage of the Lamb, and enter the blessings of eternity with their Saviour. This, rather than the general advent message of the whole Millerite movement, they regarded as the true "Midnight Cry."

When the final disappointment came, there were two obvious courses open to those who refused to throw away their faith entirely and brand the whole message as a delusion. Something clearly was wrong: Either the *time* was a mistake, in which case the 2300 days had not yet ended, or else the period had ended but the *event* anticipated was wrong.

2. MIDNIGHT CRY INVOLVES "SHUT DOOR."—Those who decided, after October 22, that the time was a mistake and the seventh-month movement a great blunder, naturally concluded that the "Midnight Cry" and the "shut door" were yet future, for if the parable of the Bridegroom was yet to be fulfilled in the second advent, at a future ending of the 2300 days, they would be right in saying that the Bridegroom had not come and the door of the parable had not yet been shut. But if the time calculation had been correct—if the 2300 days had really ended in October, 1844—and the "Midnight Cry" of the seventh month had been the true climax of the God-given message of a great prophetic movement, then those who held this view must necessarily believe that the parable of the virgins and the prophetic Day of Atonement had been fulfilled and that the "door" of the parable—whatever it might be—had been "shut."

What did the door in this parable represent?

3. MILLERITE VIEW OF THE "DOOR."—The Millerites had taught that it meant the door of salvation that was to be closed at the actual coming of Christ, when every human being would

be either ready or unready to meet Him. Even after the Disappointment, Miller and others thought that their work for the world was done, that there was only a little "tarrying time" left—perhaps but a few days or months—until Christ would come. The scoffers, who had made the lives of the Millerites miserable, seemed to them to represent the attitude of the world at large concerning the coming of Christ, and they could not see how there was any further chance to work for the unsaved before the end.

Back in 1840, Himes and Litch had held that after the sixth vial and trumpet ended, when the seventh trumpet began to sound, the mystery of God was to be finished, the dispensation of grace would end, and the day of probation close.⁶ This Miller had approved in a general way, adding that there must be a little time to separate the good from the bad.⁷ And immediately after the Disappointment most of the Millerites felt that the door of opportunity was then closed. No one would listen to them. No sinner approached them seeking salvation, and no conversions were recorded. They felt that their work was done and the "door" was shut. Thus Miller wrote:

"We have done our work in warning sinners, and in trying to awake a formal church. God, in his providence has shut the door; we can only stir one another up to be *patient*; and be diligent to make our calling and election sure."⁸

4. MILLER'S GROUP DECIDES DOOR IS STILL OPEN.—But as time passed they abandoned this view. Himes, for one, had never, since the Disappointment, held that their work for the world had ended, and Miller and other principal leaders soon came over to his opinion. The main group decided that the end of the 2300 days was still future, extending to the literal advent. And they naturally concluded that the "Midnight Cry" and "shut door" of the parable were also future.

5. VARIOUS VIEWS OF THE "SHUT DOOR."—But those who

⁶ Editorial, "The Closing Up of the Day of Grace," *Signs of the Times*, Aug. 1, 1840, p. 69; Litch, "Events to Succeed the Second Woe," *Signs of the Times*, Aug. 1, 1840, p. 70.

⁷ "Miller's Letters—No. 8," *Signs of the Times*, Sept. 1, 1840, p. 81.

⁸ *The Advent Herald*, Dec. 11, 1844, p. 142.

retained their faith in the integrity of the October 22, 1844, ending of the 2300 days, held that the event which fulfilled the prophecy was not the actual coming of Christ, but something preceding that event by an unknown but presumably short interval. Since they believed that the 2300 years had ended, it was logical that they should continue to hold that the door of the parable had been shut in fulfillment of the prophecy, and consequently that they should regard those who had given up "the time" as turning their backs on the truth and denying the Lord's leading in the whole movement. It was therefore natural that these should hold longer to the idea that their work for the world was finished. Some thought the door was that of "mercy," others that it was the door of "access" to listeners. In either case there was no chance of winning acceptance of their message by the world at that time, and for some time after 1844 they expected the end very shortly.

The extremists on the shut-door doctrines, who excluded any further chance for salvation, soon went off into fanaticism of various kinds. But the moderates, although they still connected the "door" with the earlier Millerite idea of the opportunity of salvation, came to believe that only those were excluded who had willfully and finally turned away from known light—who had sinned away their day of grace in the great test of their readiness for the advent. As time passed they saw gradually that an enlarging work for the salvation of men lay ahead of them. Eventually they interpreted the door as that mentioned in Revelation 3:7, 8; 4:1, in connection with the heavenly sanctuary (Revelation 11:19), as will be seen later.

6. CONTROVERSY LEADS TO EXTREMES.—But the unfortunate controversy over the "shut door" magnified the subject unduly and prolonged the misunderstanding. As might be expected, feelings ran high in this time of disillusionment and confusion. Those who held that the 2300 days were ended and the door of the parable was shut—even those who denied that they meant the "door of mercy"—were accused indiscriminately

of fanaticism. This was natural in view of the fact that most of the actual fanatics harped on an extreme "shut door," and those who held to the correctness of the time sought various solutions, some of them fanciful, to the problem of fulfillment.

On the other hand, the majority, who threw overboard the whole time scheme of Miller, said that there had been no fulfillment, because the literal coming of Christ to usher in eternity had not occurred; that it was in the near but as yet unknown future, and that no door whatever had ever been shut. These were looked upon by their opponents as apostates from the Miller movement and message, and repudiators of their own interpretations. Further, this section, by placing the end of the 2300 years in the future, rendered themselves susceptible to various further time-setting schemes. Strong and hasty language was used on both sides of the "shut door" in attempting to bring their opponents into line. And, to disregard the short-lived fanatic offshoots, many on both sides came to retreat later from untenable positions.

III. Significance of the Albany Conference

During the first few months there was extreme confusion, and consequent scattering of believers. Then, six months after the Disappointment, in order to resolve conflicting views and to find the way through, a number of Millerite leaders convened the Mutual Conference of Adventists at Albany, New York. Some sixty delegates from Adventist societies met on April 29, 1845, in this important conference. A number of the former leaders rallied around Miller. These included Himes, Litch, Bliss, Galusha, Hale, Fleming, and Fasset. The conference organized, with Galusha as president and Bliss and Fasset as secretaries.

But neither Storrs, Bates, White, Jacobs, nor Marsh was there. And Fitch had died just before the autumnal Disappointment. There were, in fact, quite a few dissenting voices about, though they had not yet formulated any distinctive policies or positions. Not only were divergent doctrines developing in

various groups, but there was well-founded fear that mutual strife might prevent the reuniting of the broken bonds of their brotherhood.

1. PRINCIPLES ADOPTED AT ALBANY MEETING.—The conference unanimously passed a report enumerating ten “principles upon which we can unite,”⁹ somewhat similar to the “Fundamental Principles” long published in the Millerite papers, substituting for the definite date for the advent a statement on its nearness, and adding that preaching must be continued to all men until the end (thus declaring indirectly on the question of the “shut door”); and that the inheritance of the departed saints is not received at death but at the second advent.¹⁰ Recommendations for “associated action” by congregations and for further work were passed, as well as resolutions expressing continuing opposition to—

(1) The postmillennialists’ dream of world conversion before the advent.

(2) The “Judaizing doctrine” of the restoration of the literal Jews as a fulfillment of the Abrahamic covenant.

(3) “Any of the *new tests*” advocated by various minority groups. The Albany group threw into one category all varieties of proposed new light, including all claims to “special illumination” and various fanatical practices (such as the no-work movement, and bizarre methods of showing humility), also so-called “Jewish fables and commandments of men”—a rather vague designation, probably referring to seventh-day Sabbath observance.¹¹

2. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ALBANY STATEMENT.—The subsequent results of the Albany Conference are to be noted, as determined by the way in which the lines were drawn in the principles adopted by a number of the Millerite leaders.

⁹ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1845, pp. 106, 107.

¹⁰ The doctrine of unconsciousness in death and immortality only through Christ, which was taught by several Millerite lecturers, was gaining ground, but the Albany Conference evaded this issue, hoping to draw all factions together.

¹¹ As advocated by George Wheeler, T. M. Preble, J. B. Cook, and Joseph Bates, all of whom had recently accepted it, as well as the efforts of the Seventh Day Baptists to influence the Adventists, as with the company at Washington, New Hampshire.

(1) They retained the principle of a non-Judaizing pre-millennialism, thus keeping them separate from the Literalists.

(2) They made what appears to be a rather vaguely worded concession in the direction of those among them who accepted the new views on the nature of man and of immortality. This kept with them, temporarily, many who held these views and who were to form, a decade later, the Advent Christian branch, which outgrew and survived the parent body.¹²

(3) They necessarily abandoned the 1844 date for the second advent, but in so doing they abandoned the idea that the 1844 movement was a fulfillment of prophecy, or that a prophetic landmark had been passed that would explain the Disappointment. Thus they cut off not only the fanatics they feared but all those substantial Adventists who held that there *had* been a fulfillment of prophecy in the Disappointment—which group therefore regarded the Albany group as repudiating their faith in God's leading in the past movement.

(4) The Albany leaders admonished their ministers to continue preaching to all men until the end. This was certainly good advice, and like the statement on the reward of the saints, was worded without direct reference to controversy. Nevertheless, it was in effect a decision against the "shut door" people, for the Millerites were possessed of the idea that the "door" in the parable of the virgins was none other than the "door of salvation." This they had taught before the Disappointment, when they expected its fulfillment in the coming of Christ to close all human probation. Since they had emphasized the close of probation¹³ as involved in the ending of the 2300 days, and since they were convinced by now (through the accession of converts) that probation had not ended, they insisted also that the 2300 years (and the parable with its shut door) had likewise not been fulfilled. Consequently the implication was: It is still

¹² Frank S. Mead, *Handbook of Denominations in the United States* (1951), pp. 17, 18; *Yearbook of American Churches* (1952), pp. 13, 14.

¹³ As opposed to the Literalist view that the advent would not end the probation of all men, but would usher in a millennium in which multitudes of the unregenerate would be converted.

possible to repent and be saved; hence the door of salvation is still open; and, hence, anyone who teaches that the parable of the ten virgins has been fulfilled believes that probation has ended, and is, *ipso facto*, a heretic.

(5) They declared themselves opposed to all "new tests." They thereby barred not only various forms of fanaticism but also any sort of new light, any advance in prophetic exposition based on the premise of a prophetic landmark in the 1844 movement. Thus they cut off, along with the fanatics, the group that was to become the Seventh-day Adventist body, and to far outgrow, eventually, the other Adventist groups.

This Albany Conference laid the foundation for what was to become the denominations known as the Evangelical Adventists and the Advent Christians.¹⁴ At the time, however, the participants expected the end so shortly (most of them within the year) that they foresaw no such development.

IV. Within the "Circle of a Few Years"

After the Albany Conference, leaders like Miller and Himes tried to hold the movement together while waiting for the end, which they still supposed was imminent. They held that the work must go on and that they must continue to give the angelic message of Revelation 14:6, 7, proclaiming the hour of God's judgment as right upon them. Miller, believing that the Advent Movement had been fulfilling this prophetic description, said, "This proclamation must of course continue until Christ shall actually come to judge the quick and dead at his appearing and kingdom."¹⁵ His frank and manly statement of August, 1845, deserves a representative extract, as it was also a declaration of his prophetic faith:

"In all the essential doctrines of the Bible, as they have been held by the pious of the church in all ages, [which] were given to the saints, and for which we are commanded earnestly to contend, I have never seen any reason to change my faith."¹⁶

¹⁴ Frank S. Mead, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 16; *Yearbook of American Churches* (1952), pp. 13, 14; *The American Church* (1953), pp. 383-385.

¹⁵ *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence*, pp. 30, 31.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

"That I have been mistaken in the time, I freely confess; and I have no desire to defend my course any further than I have been actuated by pure motives, and it has resulted to God's glory. My mistakes and errors God, I trust, will forgive. I cannot, however, reproach myself for having preached definite time; for as I believe that whatsoever was written aforetime was written for our learning, the prophetic periods are as much a subject of investigation, as any other portion of the Word. . . .

"But while I frankly acknowledge my disappointment in the exact time, I wish to enquire whether my teachings have been thereby materially affected. My view of exact time depended entirely upon the accuracy of chronology: of this I had no absolute demonstration. . . . Other chronologers had assigned later dates for the events from which I reckoned; and if they are correct, we are only brought into a circle of a few years, during which we may rationally look for the Lord's appearing. As the prophetic periods, counting from the dates from which I have reckoned, have not brought us to the end; and as I cannot tell the exact time that chronology may vary from my calculations, I can only live in continual expectation of the event. I am persuaded that I cannot be far out of the way, and I believe that God will still justify my preaching to the world.

"With respect to other features of my views, I can see no reason to change my belief. We are living under the last form of the divided fourth kingdom, which brings us to the end. The prophecies which were to be fulfilled previous to the end, have been so far fulfilled that I find nothing in them to delay the Lord's coming. The signs of the times thicken on every hand; and the prophetic periods I think must certainly have brought us into the neighborhood of the events."¹⁷

V. The Inevitable Breakup Takes Place

In his *Apology and Defence*, Miller made a distinction between the Advent Movement in general, and the seventh-month movement phase in the summer and autumn of 1844, which first grew up within the compass of the larger movement, and then encompassed and became the culmination of the parent movement. Miller had been quite apprehensive over the indiscriminate use of the epithet "Babylon," as applied to churches rejecting the fundamental truth of the second advent. On November 10, he wrote:

"The name of '*Babylon*,' and I am sorry to say it, was applied to *all* of our churches without any *discrimination*, although in *too many* instances it was not unjustly applied."¹⁸

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 34. Miller had always used the expression, "about the year 1843."

¹⁸ Letter, Miller to Himes, Nov. 10, 1844, in *Midnight Cry*, Dec. 5, 1844, p. 180.

And now so real was the fear that the Albany Conference itself might be the first step toward forming a separate denomination, which, it was thought, would be returning to "Babylon,"¹⁹ that some even protested using the name "Adventist." But there was no thought of formulating a creed or of creating any new ecclesiastical organization. And, as to the term "Adventist," Miller commented:

"Was the term Adventist in use ten years ago? No,—it is not in the dictionary: it is a newly coined word. . . . The coiners of the word are entitled to it, and those who associate with them. But let it be distinctly understood, that at the Albany Conference, the question did not arise whether we should adopt that name. It was already upon us; and the only question that arose respecting it, was whether when speaking of some fanatics who call themselves Adventists, the word should be permitted to remain in that connection."²⁰

1. HIMES DECLARES AGAINST "SHUT DOOR."—The realistic J. V. Himes held that, since Christ had not come, the business of the church was not ended—and the business of the church is to save sinners. Holding to the advent hope, he repudiated the "shut door" idea—and in so doing denied the validity of the seventh-month movement, or "true Midnight Cry." He seemed more interested in the mathematics of the chronology, of Dan. 8:14, than in the imagery of the symbolism of the wise and foolish virgins of Matthew 25. He persuaded Miller, who for several months had been uncertain. Litch likewise repudiated the entire "shut door" idea and flatly declared, "We erred, and ran off the track," over the "tarrying time" and the seventh month.²¹ But Litch pursued his individual tangent way, until he at last broke all connection with the Adventist groups, and became a Futurist.²²

Marsh, editor of the *Voice of Truth*, first advocated the "shut door," then repudiated it. Bliss, Galusha, and others repudiated it, and so did Storrs. So they waited, expecting the

¹⁹ Such a fear was voiced by Joseph Marsh, editor of the *Voice of Truth*, at Rochester. See *The Voice of Truth and Glad Tidings*, May 21, 1845, pp. 61, 62.

²⁰ William Miller, "The Albany Conference," *Advent Herald*, June 4, 1845, p. 130.

²¹ *The Morning Watch*, April 24, 1845.

²² I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 678n.

real "Midnight Cry" and the true "shut door" in the near future. Thus quite a number pushed the 1844 date forward to 1845, 1846, 1847, 1854, or later dates. And a split over a date was the beginning of the split into the Evangelical Adventists and Advent Christians in 1856.²³

2. SMALL FANATICAL GROUP HOLDS EXTREME "SHUT DOOR."—A small second group, of brief duration—and concentrated largely in Maine and New York—took the extreme position that all probation had ended, with the doom of the world already fixed. They held to the fulfillment of the 2300 days in 1844, and asserted that the door was shut on Christ's mediatorial work, and no more sinners would be saved. Joseph Turner and John Pearson, Jr., of Maine, led out in this. For a time they also held that the sanctuary was in heaven, our High Priest entering the most holy at that time. So Turner calculated that the Bridegroom had come spiritually to the household of faith, and had already shut the door.

Accordingly, only those would be safe who "entered in" with Christ on October 22. All others were lost sinners, and condemned. He held the weird position that the seventh millennium had already been entered, and the antitypical Sabbath had begun. And he strangely held that the saints should do no work or manual labor on the millennial "Sabbath," and that those who entered into this experience were fully sanctified. He was an extremist, and intolerant of others. This he published in the *Hope of Israel*. In the January 24 issue he stated: "In every place I visited I found a goodly number, I think quite a majority, who were and are now believing that our work is all done for this world."²⁴

Turner went to New York City and conferred with S. S. Snow, who maintained that no mistake was made in proclaiming October 22 as the crucial day. But Snow likewise went on into extreme fanaticism, finally proclaiming himself to be

²³ See I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, chaps. 13-19, for the account of the Advent Christians; see also *The Faith of Evangelical Adventists* (1868).

²⁴ Quoted in I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

Elijah the prophet, who was to come, and soon separated himself from Adventism in every form.

But neither Turner nor Snow ever accepted the seventh-day Sabbath, and were quite separate from the Sabbatarian Adventists and their version of the "door." Himes, however, and his group, classed them all together, and unjustly put the stigma of fanaticism upon the Sabbatarians as well. Some spoke of the "door of mercy" being shut; others realized that this was an extreme position, and contended that the door that was shut was the "door of access" to the people; that God had not cut off the opportunity of salvation, but that obstinate and willful men had closed their ears to God's message for the time.

3. **THIRD GROUP REJECTS BOTH FORMALISM AND FANATICISM.**—This brings us to the third division of the former great Millerite body, which will be the subject of our continuing study in Part III. It was smaller than the first, or Albany Conference, group, but soon became larger than the second, or fanatical, wing. In this third segment the most conspicuous preachers were Joseph Bates, who had played a rather prominent part in the Millerite movement, James White, also a Millerite evangelist, Hiram Edson, and others. This segment held to the validity of the seventh-month movement, adopted Edson's new view of the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary as explaining the Disappointment, and became the nucleus of the Sabbatarian Adventists.²⁵ They clashed sharply with Turner and his followers and other extremists.²⁶ So this group, small at first, was confronted on the one hand by coldness and opposition from those Adventists who repudiated the seventh-month movement, and on the other hand by those fiery extremists who held that they had already entered the millennium, and other types of fanaticism. Theirs was a difficult position.

This group, holding to the validity of the 1844 movement

²⁵ These new views and their prophetic implications will be examined in succeeding chapters.

²⁶ Ellen G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 2, pp. 49, 50, 58, 62-64, 67, 68; J. N. Loughborough, Ms. "Some Individual Experiences," pp. 32, 33.

as a fulfillment of prophecy, saw in the Disappointment a test of those who were willing to make every sacrifice to be ready to meet their Lord, and then to hold their faith in the face of bitter disappointment. They insisted that the working of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of the participants in that movement had been proof that the Lord was in it; and consequently they felt that those who declared it all a mistake were repudiating the leading of God, and murmuring against the path in which He had led them.

Accepting the fulfillment of the 2300 days, and the "true Midnight Cry" of the parable, they, like Miller and others, thought at first that their work for the world was done. It seemed that the world, which had scorned their message, and was still reviling them, would shortly see the coming of the Saviour, for which it had refused to prepare. It was easier for the Miller-Himes party to abandon this position since they now regarded the 1844 movement as no fulfillment of prophecy at all, than for the third group, who held to the belief that the Midnight Cry had been fulfilled, and that the mistake was the nature of the fulfillment. Undoubtedly, the fact that this was a topic of controversy, and that the larger party opposed them as fanatics for believing what the majority had previously held, inclined them to doubt the arguments, as well as the reports, of new converts made by those who seemed to them to have repudiated their whole past experience.

Nor did it help matters that this third segment was condemned, along with others whose extreme views they did not share in any degree. They labored from the first with the disappointed ones who were in danger of losing their faith, and they soon came to believe that not only those who had not knowingly rejected truth, but also rank unbelievers, could be converted. Their developing view of the prophesied cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary led to the understanding of the "door" as having reference to the closing of one phase and the opening of another in the priestly ministry of Christ, and to the view that the commission, "Behold, I have set before thee an open

door," placed before them a larger work than ever before, that the end of the 2300 year-days introduced a further prophetic message and a still wider heralding of the "everlasting gospel."

So this third group, holding on to their past experience as definitely of God, came through the early trials, the misunderstandings, the extremes, the "growing pains" of gradual development, and became eventually the largest of the Adventist bodies. In building an advancing prophetic interpretation on the basis of the cleansing of the sanctuary at the end of the 2300 days, they carried on and developed the heritage of the earlier movement, and spread to the far corners of the earth the message that Miller had said must continue to be proclaimed—"the everlasting gospel to preach unto . . . every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people."²⁷

VI. The Continuation of the Adventist Stream

1. THE STREAM DIVIDES INTO THREE BRANCHES.—So, to return to the figure of the river used by the Millerites themselves, and noted at the outset of this chapter, the original stream of the Advent Movement split into three parts, when it lost its momentum and direction after the Disappointment. The climax of the Millerite movement, in the Midnight Cry of the seventh month, had been a broad, swift-moving torrent. But instead of reaching the ocean at the terminus of the 2300 years, it met this barrier that turned it aside into the sands of bewilderment and completely lost its old channel. As Nichol observes, there was much evaporation, and many of the little side streams into which it spread, soon dried up. And part of it went into the stagnant pools of fanaticism, pools that became brackish, ill smelling, and poisonous before they dried up.

What seemed to be the remnant of the main stream, under the old leadership, continued for a time in a new direction through the hot sands, with considerable loss of momentum

²⁷ See LeRoy E. Froom, "Seventh-day Adventists," in *The American Church* (1953), pp. 371-386.

and beset by eddies and swirling cross currents. There were other rocks too, and promontories, to split this stream—time settings and the question of immortality. One smaller stream that branched off at one of these points later took its course through greener lands and outgrew its parent, which had dwindled in the sands and finally gave out completely.

But the third branch, a small trickle at first, that escaped the brackish pools of fanaticism on the one hand and the thirsty sands of critical opposition on the other, became a stream continuing in the main direction of the old river. It long remained small in volume. It had its turns and its eddies, but it continued on until it became the largest of the streams that came from the original river, and flows on strongly in the same direction in which it started as it comes ever nearer to the ocean.

2. TWO BRANCHES OF ALBANY CONFERENCE GROUP.—

Leaving the figure of the stream, we find that the Albany Conference group of Millerite Adventists developed into the Evangelical Adventist body and their more hardy offspring, the Advent Christian Church, both of which continued to regard the advent as near, but failed to advance into new phases of prophetic interpretation. Therefore, in continuing the present study from 1844 on, there is little reason to trace further the development of these groups than to discuss the third segment, which became the Sabbatarian Adventists. The latter, convinced that the earlier 1844 movement had been of God, and had borne witness to a definite fulfillment of prophecy, believed that its platform constituted a dependable foundation for further fulfillments; so they continued to place major emphasis on prophecy, and developed a fuller and more accurate prophetic interpretation, based on the further unfolding of the involvements of the cleansing of the sanctuary and related subjects that constitute the sequel of the master prophecy of the 2300 days. We shall soon, therefore, drop the tracing of the other Adventist bodies that stemmed from the Albany Conference.

3. LITERALISTS CHANNEL INTO LATER FUTURISM.—The Literalist interpretation, which was not connected with any of these Adventist bodies that came out of Millerism, did not develop noticeably in America until after the period covered in this volume. From the 1870's onward, a distinctive school of thought of the Literalist type, developed through prophetic conferences and advanced by well-known evangelists influenced by the Plymouth Brethren, gradually permeated what came to be the Fundamentalist ranks, scattered through the various churches. But these were marked by a distinctive *Futurist* premillennialism, different from anything held before.

However, full treatment of these premillennialists²⁸ would require another volume. An Epilogue at the close of Part III must suffice, tracing sketchily the persistence of the Historical School of Interpretation, and of Premillennialism, outside the ranks of Seventh-day Adventists. But in Part III we shall trace the line of descent that came from the historic premillennialists down to the 1844 movement in America, and on into the sequel of Seventh-day Adventist prophetic exposition.

4. THREEFOLD ORIGIN OF SABBATARIAN ADVENTISTS.—Preliminary to the more detailed discussion of this sequel in Part III, it may be well first to outline certain separate elements that rose in 1844 in the aftermath of the Millerite movement. Three key teachings, each developing independently, began to characterize the group which ere long became the Sabbatarian Adventists. And these features came to be regarded by them as interrelated in what they believed to be the prophetic charter of their mission. These three were: (1) The *sanctuary*, as embracing the special, or final, ministry of Christ in the holy of holies of the heavenly sanctuary, thus giving new meaning to the message, "the hour of God's judgment is come"; (2) the *Sabbath*, that is, observance of the seventh day, as involved in the keeping of the "commandments of God," and (3) the *Spirit of prophecy*, or the "testimony of Jesus," to be manifest

²⁸ See Appendix F.

DANIEL: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL MILLERITE

No. Page Name			Denomination	1 JOHN 2:18 Antichrist	DANIEL 2										DANIEL 7		Final Scores
					4 Metals	Feet & Toes	Stone	Mountain	4 Beasts	10 Horns	3 Horns	Little Horn	3 1/2 Times				
1	469	Miller, William	Bapt.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	God's Kgdm.	Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	L-Rome-Rav.	Papacy	538-1798	Trial Judgment			
2	528	Litch, Josiah	Meth.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Listed		Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Listed	H-V-O	Papacy	538-1798				
3	533	Fitch, Charles	Presby.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	Mod. Nations		Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
4	549	Himes, Joshua V.	Chr.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	2d Advent	Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.		Papacy	538-1798				
5	569	Ward, Henry Dana	Epm.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Div.	2d Advent	Kgdm. Heaven	B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Triple Crown	538-1798	Destruction			
6	576	Jones, Henry	Cong.	Papacy		Standard Positions				Standard Positions		Papacy	538-1798				
7	559	FIRST GENERAL CONFERENCE	Inter-Den.	Papacy		Standard Positions		Eternal Kgdm.		Standard Positions		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
8	632	Bills, Sylvester	Cong.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	2d Advent	Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Div.	H-V-O	Papacy	538-1798				
9	631	Southard, Nathan		Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Div.	2d Advent	Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
10	633	Fleming, Lorenzo D	Chr.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Listed	2d Advent	Kgdm. Chr	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	L-Rome-Rav.	Papacy	538-1798				
11	634	Marsh, Joseph	Chr.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Div.	Standard Positions			Standard Positions		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
12	635	Hutchinson, Richard	Wesleyan	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Div.	2d Advent	Kgdm. God	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.		Papacy	538-1798				
13	637	Hale, Apollon	Meth.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Listed		Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
14	638	Whiting, Nathan N.	Bapt.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	2d Advent	Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	B-V-O	Papacy	538-1798				
15	663	Sabine, James	Epis.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Kgdm. Chr	B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
16	665	Cole, Timothy	Chr.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	Kgdm. God	Kgdm. God	B-P-G-R	Div. Europe		Papacy	538-1798				
17	666	Cook, John B	Bapt.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	2d Advent	Kgdm. God	B-P-G-R	10 Listed	B-V-O	Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
18	669	Brown, Freeman C.	Bapt.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	Divisions	2d Advent	Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Standard	538-1798				
19	670	Bernard, David	Bapt.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.		Kgdm. God	B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
20	671	Hawley, Silas	Cong.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Div.	2d Advent	Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Papacy	538-1798				
21	676	Calusha, Elze	Bapt.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	2d Advent	Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.		Papacy	538-1798	Beast Slain			
22	700	Russell, Philimon R.	Chr.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	2d Advent	Kgdm. God	B-P-G-R	10 Div.	H-V-O	Papacy	538-1798		Judgment		
23	702	ADVENT HARBINGER (Marsh)	Chr.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	Standard Positions		Eternal Kgdm.		Standard Positions		Papacy	538-1798				
24	623	Jacobs, Enoch	Meth. Prot.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Div.	2d Advent	Kgdm. God	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
25	708	Harvey, N.		Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	2d Advent	Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Listed	H-V-O	Papacy	538-1798				
26	700	Plummer, Henry	Chr.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	Standard Positions		Kgdm. God	B-P-G-R	10 Listed		Papacy	538-1798	Beast Slain			
27	745	Litch, Charles		Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Listed		Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Listed	H-V-O	Papacy	538-1798				
28	700	Millard, David	Chr.	Papacy		Standard Positions		Eternal Kgdm.		Standard Positions		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
29	627	Preble, T. M.	F. W Bapt.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Listed	2d Advent	Kgdm. Glory	B-P-G-R	10 Listed	H-V-O	Papacy	538-1798				
30	804	Storrs, George	Meth.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	2d Advent	Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
31	545	Bates, Joseph	Chr.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	2d Advent	Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Div.	Standard Positions	Papacy	538-1798				
32	763	Robinson, D. I.	Chr.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Div.	2d Advent	Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
33	815	White, James		Papacy	B-P-G-R							Papacy	538-1798				
34	714	Winter, Robert	Meth.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.		Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Papacy	538-1798	Beast Consumed			
35	716	Gunner, Fred.		Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Listed		Kgdm. Chr.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.		Papacy	538-1798				
36		MIDNIGHT CRY Ed.				Standard Positions				Standard Positions							
37	715	Deahly, Charles		Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Kgdm. God	B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
38	712	Playford, Thomas		Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Div.	2d Advent	Eternal Kgdm.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.		Papacy	538-1798				
39	729	French, Calvin		Papacy		Standard Positions				Standard Positions		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
40	725	MIDNIGHT CRY Chart		Papacy	B-P-G-R	Divided R.	Positions		B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Papacy	538-1798				
41	729	French Chart		Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	2d Advent	Kgdm. God	B-P-G-R	Divisions		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
42	730	"1843" Broadside		Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Div.		Kgdm. God	B-P-G-R	10 Listed	H-V-O	Papacy	538-1798				
43	585	Gunn, Lewis C.		Papacy	B-P-G-R	Divisions	2d Advent	Kgdm. God	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			
44	733	"1845" Chart (Fitch)		Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	2d Advent	Kgdm. God	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	H-V-O	Papacy	538-1798				
45	810	7th MONTH MOVEMENT	Inter-Den.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.	2d Advent	Kgdm. God	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdm.		Papacy	538-1798	Judgment			

(All Leaders United in Proclaiming 7th Month Positions, With 1844 Instead of 1845 as Grand Terminus of 2300- and 1335-Year Periods, With A.D. 31 Cross in "Midst" of 70th Week)

Careful analysis of this tabular chart, made by following the lines through, both vertically and horizontally, results in certain inevitable conclusions: (1) There was greater unity of belief among the leaders of the North American Advent Movement than in the Old World Advent Awakening that slightly preceded it. (Cf. tabular charts, Vol. III, pp. 744, 745.) (2) There was startling similarity between the positions of Miller and his associates and those of many contemporary expositors in both the New World and the Old, including many of the most learned and illustrious interpreters of post-Reformation and Reformation times. There was even striking similarity to certain early church teachings.

The general conclusion seems inescapable that the Millerites did not introduce new and strange interpretations. Every position they held was previously taught by other recognized scholars. They simply revived and unitedly stressed the standard, orthodox positions of past and contemporary writers.

Specifically, they held the standard, established Historical School interpretation of the outline prophecies of Daniel 2, 7, 8, and 11. Their list of the divisions of the Roman fourth empire was what scores, if not hundreds, of others had used. They applied the composite prophetic symbols of Antichrist to the Papacy—Antichrist, Man of sin, Son of Perdition, Mystery of Iniquity, Little Horn, Beast, Babylon, and Harlot. They were supported by hundreds of predecessors in applying the year-day principle to all the prophetic time periods of Daniel—the 1260, 1290, 1335, and 2300 year-days.

her years, who, with her parents, had been disfellowshipped from the Methodist Church because of espousing the second advent views of the Millerites—had begun to display a singular spirit-

EXPOSITORS—1831-1844 (For Revelation See Next Opening)

Exceed Crt. Horn			DANIEL 8 2300 Days			DANIEL 9 One Wk.			DANIEL 11 Willful King			DANIEL 12 1250 Days			7 TIMES 2520 Days		
Daily			Relat to 70 Wks.			70 Weeks			Scope			312 Times			1335 Days		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	27-33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	27-33	End	P-G-R	France	Napoleon	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677 B.C.-A.D. 1843		
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1843	Begin	Cat Off	457 B.C.-A.D. 33	33	End	P-G-R	Papacy	Papacy	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	677		

They had been anticipated by scores in the Old World and in the New in recognizing the 70 weeks of years as the first part of the 2300 years, cut off for the Jews and beginning synchronously with the longer period in 457 B.C. The chief variance was the nature of the event expected to occur at the end of the 2300 years. Many liberals fondly expected their terminal point to mark the ushering in of a thousand years of spiritual triumph, world conversion, and universal peace, before the second advent.

But scores upon scores of expositors across the years had held that the 2300 years would lead to the second advent, just as the Millerites universally believed. Like most interpreters before them, the Millerites first placed the cross in A.D. 33, at the end of the seventieth week. But others had likewise anticipated their later revised position in the seventh-month movement, and placed the cross in the "midst" of the prophetic "week," in A.D. 31.

There was an unparalleled uniformity in the Millerite dating of the 1260, 1290, and 1335 years. But here again there were numerous antecedents for each position. And the "Seven Times" of the Gentiles had been widely taught in the Old World Advent Awakening, as from 677 B.C. to 1843/4.

It is therefore to be logically concluded that the basic positions on prophecy held by the Millerites were not in any sense original with them. Nor were they revolutionary or fanciful innovations, but they stood in the line of that honored and respected company of predecessors of high standing and orthodoxy in the various historic communions.

ual activity. Her influence, establishing confidence in God's past leadership, and in His future guidance in the Advent Movement, began to be felt by a sizable group around Portland, Maine. In time these three groups and teachings united.

REVELATION: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL MILLERITE

No.	Page	Name	Denom.	REVELATION 2 & 3		REVELATION 6 & 7		REVELATION 8 & 9		
				7 Churches	Specifications	4 Horses	6th Seal	4 Trumpets	5th Trumpet	5 Months
1	469	Miller, William	Bapt.	True Ch.	Covers Chr. Era	Corrupt Ch.	(Chr. Era)	Barbarians	Turks	1298-1448
2	528	Litch, Josiah	Meth.	Churches	_____	Standard	Positions	Barbarians	Turks	1299-1449
3	533	Fitch, Charles	Presby.	True Ch.	Covers Chr. Era	_____	_____	Barbarians	Turks	1299-1449
4	549	Himes, Joshua V.	Chr.	Covers Chr. Era	Last Epoch	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5	569	Ward, Henry Dana	Epis.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6	576	Jones, Henry	Cong.	7 States	Laodicea—Last	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7	723	Anonymous Chart 1840	_____	_____	_____	Follows Mede	100-350	From A.D.	350 to End	612-762
8	725	"Midnight Cry" Chart 1843	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Barbarians	Mohamm.	_____
9	730	"1843" Broadside	_____	_____	_____	_____	Since Fr. Rev.	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449
10	733	"1843" Chart (Fitch)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11	631	Bliss, Sylvester	Cong.	7 Epochs	_____	Developing	Apostasy	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449
12	632	Southard, Nathan	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Turks	_____	1299-1449
13	623	Fleming, Lorenzo D.	Chr. Wesleyan	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
14	635	Hutchinson, Richard	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	(Barbarians)	Turks	1299-1449
15	637	Hale, Apollis	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
16	665	Cole, Timothy	Chr. Bapt.	_____	_____	_____	_____	Barbarians	_____	_____
17	666	Cook, John B.	Bapt.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
18	670	Bernard, David	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
19	671	Hawley, Silas	Cong.	_____	_____	_____	_____	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449
20	676	Galasha, Elon	Bapt. Chr.	_____	Laodicea—Last	_____	_____	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449
21	700	Russell, Philemon R.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449
22	708	Hervey, N.	Chr. F. W. Bapt.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
23	653	Preble, T. M.	Meth.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
24	804	Storrs, George	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
25	545	Bates, Joseph	Chr. Meth.	_____	_____	_____	_____	Barbarians	Turks	1299-1449
26	763	Robinson, D. I.	Chr.	_____	_____	_____	_____	Barbarians	Turks	1299-1449
27	815	White, James	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
28	716	Gunner, Frederic	_____	_____	_____	Standard	Positions	_____	_____	_____
29	714	Winter, Robert	Meth.	_____	_____	_____	_____	Barbarians	Turks	1299-1449
30	715	Dealtry, Charles	_____	_____	Covers Chr. Era	Cover Christian Era	_____	Barbarians	Turks	1299-1449
31	627	Hersey, Lewis	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Barbarians	Turks	1299-1449

Millerite exposition of the book of Revelation was far more sketchy and incomplete than the exposition on the various prophecies comprising the book of Daniel. There were few conflicts in interpretation, but, rather, there were sections of omission of any exposition. There were but thirty-one major Millerite expositions of the Revelation in comparison with forty-five on the prophecies of Daniel. Only a half dozen deal with the seven churches, but these all indicate that they refer to the true church throughout the Christian Era, with Laodicea as the last phase. The rest evidently took this for granted but did not write upon it.

The seven seals represented the developing of apostasy or corruption in the church during the same period.

But the majority were interested in the seven trumpets, and without exception applied the first four to the barbarian scourges of Western Rome. The fifth was applied to the Saracen affliction for the five prophetic months, or 150 years, from 1299 to 1449, and the sixth, to the Mohammedan Turkish power for

These three primary teachings—the Sabbath, the sanctuary, and the Spirit of prophecy, along with the old basic, established, and fundamentally evangelical positions, as well as immortality only in Christ and the foundational Adventist teachings on the second advent and the Bible prophecies—formed the basis for the emergence of a new theological system, balanced in form and Scriptural in emphasis. Slowly the doctrinal framework of the Sabbatarian Adventists took definite

EXPOSITORS (1830-1844). For Daniel See Previous Opening

(Continued on next opening)

REVELATION 8 & 9			REVELATION 11					REVELATION 12				1260 Days 3 1/2 Times
6th Trumpet	Hr.-Dy.-Mo.-Yr.	7th Trumpet	2 Witnesses	1260 Days	3 1/2 Days	Earthquake	10th of City	Woman	Child	Dragon		
Ott. Turks	1448-1839	Bef. 1839-1843	2 Tests.	538-1798	1793-1796	Fr. Rev.	France	True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	
Ott. Turks	1449-1840	Impending	O-N Tests.	538-1798	1792-1796	Fr. Rev.	France	Church	Christ	Imp. R.	538-1798	
Ott. Turks	1449-1840	Turks Dried Up	O-N Tests.	538-1798		Fr. Rev.	France	True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	
Turks	1281-1672	Blast of Archangel		(538-1798)						Rome		
Turks	1449-1840	Kgdm. of God Est.	2 Tests.	538-1798				Church		Pagan R.	538-1798	
Turks Turks (Turks)	1449-1840 1449-1840 (1449-1840)		O-N Tests.	538-1798		Fr. Rev.	France	Church	Christ	Pagan R. Pagan R.	538-1798 538-1798	
Turks	1449-1840		O-N Tests. O-N Tests. (O-N Tests.)	538-1798 538-1798 538-1798				Church	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798 538-1798 538-1798	
Turks	1449-1840	Mystery Finished		538-1798				Church			538-1798	
Ott. Turks Turks Ott. Turks	1449-1840 1449-1840 1449-1840		O-N Tests.	538-1798								
	1453-1843	Harvest of World	O-N Tests. 2 Tests.	538-1798 538-1798	1793-1796	Fr. Rev. Fr. Rev.	France France	True Ch.				
Ott. Turks	1449-1840		2 Tests.	538-1798				True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	
Ott. Turks	1449-1840		2 Tests.	538-1798				True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	
Turks	1449-1840		O-N Tests. O-N Tests.	538-1798 538-1798		Fr. Rev.	France	True Ch. Church	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798 538-1798	
Turks	1449-1840	World's End	O-N Tests.	538-1798				Standard Positions				

391 (the hour day month and year) years, calculated from 1449 to August, 1840.

On the Two Witnesses there was an almost unanimous belief that these were the Old and New Testaments, with the 1260 year-days uniformly given from 538 to 1798 (paralleling the papal period), and the 3½ prophetic days of the slaying of the Two Witnesses, or Testaments, from 1793 to 1796. The earthquake of Revelation 11 was the French Revolution, and the tenth part of the city was France.

There was likewise great unanimity in the symbolism of Revelation 12. The woman symbolized the true church, and without exception the child was designated as Christ. The dragon was always pagan Rome, with the 1260 days, of 3½ times, from 538 to 1798. In all this there was marked similarity to the antecedent Old World Advent Awakening (see Volume III), and with many of the greatest expositors of the pre-Reformation, Reformation, and post-Reformation periods, as well as some in the early church prior to the blackout of interpretation.

shape. Their convictions were crystallizing as the thinking of different leaders began to be published in 1846 and 1847—the writings of Hiram Edson, O. R. L. Crosier, and F. B. Hahn, Joseph Bates, James White, and Ellen Harmon.

As this merging of views began to take place, and the adherents of the Edson view of the sanctuary and the Bates view of the seventh-day Sabbath first began to coalesce, there was as yet no semblance of an organization, much less of an emerging

REVELATION: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL

(Continued from previous opening)

			REVELATION 13							REVELATION 14	
No.	Page	Name	1st Beast	7 Heads	10 Horns	42 Months	2d Beast	Image	666	1st Angel	2d Angel
1	469	Miller, William	Civil R.	Forms Govt.	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Eccl. R.	Pagan R.	{ Years 158 B.C.-A.D. 508 }	Advent	Message
2	528	Litch, Josiah	Papacy	Forms Govt.	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Buonapart Govt.	Likeness	Latin Kgdms.	Progressive	
3	533	Fitch, Charles	Papacy	_____	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	_____	_____	168 B.C.-A.D. 508	_____	"Come Out"
4	549	Himes, Joshua V.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	158 B.C.-A.D. 508	_____	Babylon's Fall
5	569	Ward, Henry Dana	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6	576	Jones, Henry	Papacy	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Yrs. (Pagan R.)	_____	_____
7	723	Anonymous Chart 1840	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8	725	"Midnight Cry" Chart 1843	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9	730	"1843" Broadside	Papal R.	_____	_____	_____	Infidel Fr.	{ 2 Horns Fr & Ital }	158 B.C.-A.D. 508	_____	_____
10	733	"1843" Chart (Fitch)	Papal R.	_____	_____	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11	631	Bliss, Sylvester	Papal R.	Forms Govt.	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
12	632	Southard, Nathan	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
13	633	Fleming, Lorenzo D.	Papacy	Forms Govt.	_____	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	Flying	_____
14	635	Hutchinson, Richard	Papacy	_____	_____	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	Flying	_____
15	637	Hale, Apollos	Papacy	Forms Govt.	10 Kgdms.	_____	France	_____	_____	_____	_____
16	665	Cole, Timothy	Standard	Positions	_____	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	Standard	Positions
17	666	Cook, John B.	Standard	Positions	_____	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	Standard	Positions
18	670	Bernard, David	_____	_____	_____	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	Now	Flying
19	671	Hawley, Silas	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
20	676	Galusha, Elon	Papacy	_____	_____	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
21	700	Russell, Philemon R.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
22	708	Hervey, N.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
23	653	Preble, T. M.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
24	804	Storrs, George	Papacy	Forms Govt.	_____	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
25	545	Bates, Joseph	Papacy	_____	_____	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	Now	Flying
26	763	Robinson, D. I.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
27	815	White, James	Papacy	_____	_____	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	Flying	_____
28	716	Gunner, Frederic	Papacy	_____	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	Standard	Positions
29	714	Winter, Robert	Papal R.	_____	10 Div.	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
30	715	Dealtry, Charles	Papal R.	_____	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
31	627	Hersey, Lewis	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Continuing to summarize the Millerite positions, we find that the first beast of Revelation 13 is uniformly given as the Papacy, except by Miller, who made it the secular phase of Rome. The seven heads are always the seven forms of the Roman Government, with the Papacy as the seventh. And without exception the ten horns are interpreted as the ten divisions, or kingdoms, of Europe, with the 42 months as dated from 538 to 1798. Concerning the second beast there was general uncertainty or silence—the time had obviously not yet come for certainty or accuracy of identification. And similarly with the image.

The first flying angel of chapter 14 was uniformly the human heralding, in Old World and in New, of the judgment-hour message, as scores had expressly interpreted it in Great Britain. The second angel was but slowly perceived as calling for separation from nominal "Babylon."

Unanimity prevailed concerning the woman and the Babylon of Revelation 17. Without exception Babylon was identified as the Papacy, or mother church of Rome. And it was broadened to include certain Protestant "daughters," who retained the mother church characteristics. The ten horns were the same secular

denomination. But in this way, in three separate places in three different States, and all by the close of 1844, these three distinctive teachings that were to become major doctrinal features, in a distinctive Sabbatarian Adventist setting and movement, now reached out and touched each other.

A series of six Sabbath conferences, held in 1848, with an aggregate of several hundred in attendance, was the next step. Here these three distinctive features, with their already estab-

MILLERITE EXPOSITORS (1830-1844)

REVELATION 17					REVELATION 18	REVELATION 20				
Woman	Babylon	Beast	10 Horns	7th Head	Babylon's Fall	1000 Years	Pre-Post-M.	1st Res.	2d Res.	Closing Events
Ch. of Rome	Papacy	R. Emp.	10 Kgdms.	Papal	Papal Destructions	Literal	Pre-M	Righteous	Wicked	2d Res; Ex. Judgment
Papacy	Papacy		10 Kgdms.			Lit. Yrs.	Pre-M	Right-Lit.	Wicked	
Papacy	Prot. {B.'s Daugh.}		10 Kgdms.		Initiates Call ('43)	Lit. Yrs.	Pre-M Pre-M	Right-Lit.	Wicked	2d Res.
Papacy Papacy	Papacy Papacy				More Than Papacy	Literal Literal	Pre-M Pre-M	Literal Literal	At Close At Close	Battle for City
Papacy	Papacy									
							Pre-M Pre-M	Literal	At Close	
	Papacy									
						Lit. Yrs.	Pre-M Pre-M		Literal	
Papacy	Papacy						Pre-M	Literal	Literal	2d Res.
Papacy	Papacy						Pre-M	Literal	Literal	2d Res.
Papacy Papacy	Papacy Papacy		10 Kgdms. 10 Kgdms.				Pre-M Pre-M	Literal Literal	Literal Literal	2d Res. 2d Res.
Papacy	Papacy		10 Kgdms.				Pre-M		Literal	

kingdoms of Europe that upbore her, and the seventh head was the Papacy.

Revelation 18 was the portrayal of the coming papal overthrow. And Revelation 20 was universally premillennial, with the thousand years literal, and extending from the first resurrection (of the righteous) to the second resurrection (of the wicked), with the battle for the city and the executive judgment upon the wicked marking the close.

Here again we find marked similarity of exposition with many of the illustrious Old World Advent Awakening expositors, and stemming back, in fact, to Reformation times.

And here again we must conclude that the Millerites were not visionary innovators or heretics in exposition. Rather, they held and proclaimed the soundest and most orthodox exposition on the Revelation extant. Their teachings should therefore be evaluated in the light of their conformity with the soundest canons of interpretation built up over the centuries. By such a criterion, they were eminently sound and sane, and historically orthodox in exposition of the Revelation.

lished positions, began to be forged into a single unified body of belief. And before long the essentials of an integrated system of evangelical, doctrinal, and prophetic truth were developed as held by Seventh-day Adventists around the world.⁸⁰ All this, here sketched in brief preview, will now be taken up in greater detail and logical progression.

³⁰ See William A. Spicer, *Pioneer Days of the Advent Movement*, chap. 4.



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FRANKLIN BOOTH ARTIST

TRIO OF HEAVENLY MESSENGERS NOW UNDER FLIGHT

Heavenly Messages Due to Mankind Were Seen Under the Impressive Symbolism of the Flying Angels of Revelation 14. The Sabbatarian Adventists Firmly Believed That the Third Angel Had Now Joined the Previous Two in Giving Its Designated Message

PART III

COMPLETING THE CONTRIBUTION
OF THE CENTURIES BY
RETENTION, RESTORATION,
AND ADVANCE
1844-1875

The Aftermath of the Bitter Disappointment

I. The Tragedy and Grief of Disappointment

Let us now go back to the Disappointment. All over the land, on that fateful day of October 22, the Adventist believers had gathered in their homes, in churches or in halls, or wherever they might find refuge from the mockers and the mobs. They had closed their businesses, abandoned their crops, and had wound up their earthly affairs. They had confessed their sins, made right all wrongs, and now pressed together in the bonds of Christian hope and fervent expectancy. It was the day of great expectancy and ardent longing. They were waiting for their Redeemer.

But the sun passed its zenith, and declined toward its setting. The cloud of shining glory for which they strained their eyes, and which they believed would bring their Lord, did not appear. No lightning rent the sky, no earthquake shook the land, no trumpet smote the ear. The westering sun went down silently but relentlessly upon their disappearing hopes. Darkness covered the land, and gloom—irrepressible gloom—settled down upon the waiting, watching host. Grief and despair overwhelmed them all. Men and women wept unashamedly, for their Lord had not come.

At first they could not pray; their hearts were numbed with disappointment. In recent days and weeks Jesus had become nearer and dearer than all earthly kinfolk—but now it seemed they had lost Him. Some slipped away in the dark-

ness to their cold, cheerless homes. Others, unable to determine what to do, stayed on until the chill, gray dawn of October 23 appeared, symbolizing the grayness and bleakness of their own saddened lives. Was there to be no second coming of Christ? Were the promises of God but a delusion and a mockery? Was the Bible prophecy of the triumphant climax of their hopes all false? Should they neither see the glories of the earth made new nor walk the golden streets of the city of the redeemed? Could it be that God was not in it all? Slowly the days wore on as they sought to get their bearings.

The world at large took for granted that, after the collapse of the October 22 expectancy, Millerite Adventism would soon be regarded as a completely discredited chapter in the fabulous forties, a religious frenzy that had ended in disillusionment and disaster, unworthy of place or record in the legitimate history of the church. In fact, opponents expected the whole movement to disintegrate and come to nought. Small wonder that many adherents fell away, in whom the Word of God with its prophecies had taken but shallow root. And most of the leaders were not in a position to meet the fanaticism and false philosophies that soon sprang up in certain quarters.

But still there remained a goodly company. And their first thought was that, although prophetic time had run out, they were doubtless in a little time of waiting—possibly but a few days—until the Lord should come. Later, they sought to correct their chronology. Perhaps the timing was never intended to be definite or exact to the year or day. Or possibly there was some hidden error in their dates or computations, which neither they nor their opponents had found. Strangely enough, they did not at first think of seeking the explanation of their disappointment through a re-examination of the stipulated closing events of the 2300 years demanded by the terms of the prophecy.

Still confident that their terminus would bring the advent, and the destruction of the present world by fire, they simply looked to the near future for the fulfillment. The implication thus seemed inevitable that the “true Midnight Cry” must still

be future. And it therefore followed that the seventh-month movement had not really been led of God, but had been a tragic mistake. Meantime, as noted, fresh times began to be set by some—1845, 1846, 1851, 1854, and reaching into the 1860's and 70's. But the majority groped on in bewilderment, soon giving up the "time" idea altogether. Miller deprecated any further time setting.

II. Outburst of Public Indignation Against Himes

Now let us survey the aftermath of the Disappointment. After the day of joyous expectation had suddenly become the day of heartbreaking disappointment—of hope deferred, bewilderment, and consternation—the jeers of the populace increased on every hand, and threats of mob violence continued in various communities. There was popular clamor for a public confession from the Millerite leaders. And following the Disappointment there was a violent though brief outburst of accusations against their great publicist, Joshua V. Himes. By intimation and direct charge the press worked up a strong feeling against him, maintaining that his seeming belief in the imminent advent was professional and mercenary, and that he was in the Lord's business for personal profit.¹

Himes, in a rebuttal which the *Boston Post* printed on its front page, called for his accusers to bring forth the witnesses who had allegedly been injured by Adventism. He answered specific charges by presenting correspondence with the parties involved, in which each one named cleared him. Other papers soon gave him complete vindication, and then various conferences of his supposedly defrauded brethren exonerated him.² So the reaction passed. But what of Miller, their veteran leader, and his closest associates?

¹ The *New York Spectator* and *Boston American Traveller*, both of Nov. 2, 1844; the *Providence Daily Journal*, Oct. 24; the *New Hampshire Statesman*, Oct. 25; the *Boston Post*, Nov. 12. See also F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, pp. 252, 253. For a sample from the religious press, see "The Christian Watchman," *Advent Herald*, Nov. 20, 1844, p. 113, citing the *Christian Watchman* of Nov. 1 and 8.

² Himes, "Statement to the Public," *Boston Post*, Nov. 2, 1844. See also *Trial of Elder J. V. Himes* (135 pp.); "The Christian Secretary," *Advent Herald*, Dec. 11, 1844, p. 141.

III. Miller Declares Faith in Imminent Advent Unaltered

Miller's personal faith in the Bible was unshaken by the bitterness of disappointment. On November 10, 1844, he calmly wrote:

"Although I have been twice disappointed, I am not yet cast down or discouraged. God has been with me in Spirit, and has comforted me. I have now much more evidence that I do believe in God's word; and although surrounded with enemies and scoffers, yet my mind is perfectly calm, and my hope in the coming of Christ is as strong as ever. I have done only what after years of sober consideration I felt it to be my solemn duty to do. If I have erred, it has been on the side of charity, the love of my fellow man, and my conviction of duty to God. . . . I had not a distant thought of disturbing our churches, ministers, religious editors, or departing from the best biblical commentaries or rules which had been recommended for the study of the scriptures."³

He was confident that the end could not be far away, and was constantly emphasizing "today," as his steadfast formula:

"Brethren, hold fast; let no man take your crown. I have fixed my mind upon another time, and here I mean to stand, until God gives me more light.—And that is *To-day*, *TO-DAY*, and *TO-DAY*, until He comes, and I see HIM for whom my soul yearns."⁴

Believing that their reckonings of the great time prophecies were essentially correct, Miller refused to speculate further on definite "time," although he counted personally on the coming of the Lord before the current Jewish sacred year "1844" should end, by the spring of 1845. He wrote:

"I have reckoned all the time I can. I must now wait and watch until he is graciously pleased to answer the 10,000 prayers that daily and nightly ascend his holy hill, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.'"⁵

In this he was joined by others. Litch declared that the "ground of confidence" in the imminence of the advent "increases day by day."⁶ Although Cox, Whiting, and some others who had never been clear on the specific year still felt they

³ Ms. letter, Miller to Himes, *Advent Herald*, Nov. 27, 1844, p. 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁵ Ms. letter, Miller to I. O. Orr, Dec. 13, 1844; cf. letter to Himes, Nov. 18, 1844, in *Advent Herald*, Dec. 11, 1844, p. 142.

⁶ Litch, Letter, Nov. 14, 1844, in *Midnight Cry*, Dec. 12, 1844, p. 187.

were fundamentally "Adventists," they believed definitely in the *imminence* of the Lord's return. They were confident that Providence had unquestionably led them, and that the Advent Movement was in the will of God. They were confident that the basic principles had not lost their validity because of the mistake in specific time.⁷

On the contrary, Storrs bluntly declared that a "human influence, which I call Mesmerism," was responsible for his preaching a definite date "with the *positiveness* that I did." They had gone beyond the "bounds of discretion," he felt, and should only have preached the "strong probability" of the Lord's coming at that date. But he added: "I am now looking *daily* for the coming of our Lord, and striving by grace, to be always ready for it."⁸

Miller, remembering that Jonah was blessed in the preaching of time to Nineveh, and that his preaching of definite time had been specifically directed of God, declared:

"It is to me almost a demonstration, that God's hand is seen in this thing. Many thousands, to all human appearance, have been made to study the Scriptures by the preaching of the time; and by that means, through faith and the sprinkling of the blood of Christ, have been reconciled to God."⁹

IV. Vindicate Positions in "Address to the Public"

On November 10, in the Boston Tabernacle, one of the editors (probably Himes) delivered an address,¹⁰ speaking for himself and his associates. Knowing that "in the passing by of the seventh month, our friends and the public have a right to, and will expect from us, a statement," he presented their case to the world. The leaders frankly acknowledged their mistake in time, he said, discussing the entire problem as it appeared to them, and they took their position in the light of all the known facts and circumstances.

⁷ See, for example, Ms. letter, Whiting to Miller, Oct. 24, 1844.

⁸ Storrs, Letter, Nov. 8, 1844, in *Midnight Cry*, Nov. 14, 1844, p. 157.

⁹ Miller, Letter, Dec. 3, 1844, in *Advent Herald*, Dec. 18, 1844, p. 147.

¹⁰ Notice in *Advent Herald*, Nov. 13, 1844, p. 105.

"We are free to confess that we have twice been disappointed in our expectations in the time of the Lord's Advent—first the year 1843, and second, in the tenth day of the seventh month of the present Jewish Sacred Year [1844]." ¹¹

And as the public would not believe such disappointments could be reconciled with further adherence to their advent faith—though "with Adventists no reconciliation is needed"—they therefore presented "A VINDICATION of the positions we have occupied from the first," and declared that they are only confirmed in "the confident expectation that our hopes will shortly be realized."

First of all, they had never set any days for the Lord to come in the year "1843," Jewish time, though their "opponents have repeatedly asserted" that they did, but without justification and truth. They first simply expected the Lord to come "sometime between March 21st, 1843, and March 21st, 1844." The evidence for the "seven times," or 2520 years (from 677 B.C. to A.D. 1843), the great jubilee of 2450 years (from 607 B.C.), and particularly for the 2300 years, beginning with the 70 weeks of years in 457 B.C., likewise leading to A.D. 1843—and previously and contemporarily held by many prominent non-Millerites—appeared unchanged. At first they had dated the end of these periods in 1843, failing to realize that each period would require the same number of "full years," and that the mere subtraction of the B.C. date from the A.D. date did not take into account the—

"fraction of the year, which, in each case, had transpired from its commencement, and which would require that each period should extend as much beyond the expiration of A. D. 1843, as they respectively began after the commencement of the year B. C. from which they are dated." ¹²

While this discrepancy was not at first noticed by the Adventists, neither was it discovered or pointed out by their opponents. Time alone, and the Millerites themselves, corrected that. Nor had their opponents been able to show a "mistake in the definite years," though they themselves had only

¹¹ [Himes?], "Address to the Public," *Advent Herald*, Nov. 13, 1844, p. 108.
¹² *Ibid.*

held, in the earlier phase, to "about the year 1843." This they sincerely "proclaimed to the world," feeling they could not have "acted honestly in the sight of God, and had a conscience void of offence toward men, without so doing."

They contended that manifestly their "opponents could not be right" when they had absolutely "no agreement among themselves" and obviously had no confidence in each other's opinions, and that "there was not a cardinal point" in the teaching of the Millerites in which they "were not sustained by one or more" of their most learned opponents. Moreover, they were sustained by the *premillennial* teachings of the centuries, reaching back to the apostolic times, while most of their opponents were propounding a *postmillennial* theory not two hundred years old, and which was in direct conflict both with Scripture and with past scholarship. The signs of the times and the all-but-fulfilled historical prophecies supported them. They were clearly in the very period toward which the hopeful eyes of the fathers and the Reformers had been looking.

"Ridicule and contempt" then replaced irrelevant and invalid arguments offered by their opponents, who nevertheless admitted the historic principles of sound interpretation that lay at the foundation of the Millerite positions. With no selfish motives, and not wishing to build up a party or sect, they had brought thousands of souls, including hundreds of infidels, to conversion, while thousands of backsliders had been reclaimed and unnumbered Christians had been made to rejoice in the hope of the advent. But to their "utter surprise and astonishment" the great body of churches "united with the world" in opposition. "But the time—the year 1843, the Jewish year, passed, and we were disappointed in not beholding the King in his beauty."¹³

Nevertheless, since the Scriptures indicated a "tarrying time," when they must wait for their Lord, they could see how the hand of God had led, for their message had been a test to

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

demonstrate who were sincere and who would truly welcome the Lord's return. Next they were aroused by the argument from the Mosaic types, which electrified and aroused the advent bands to newness of life as they thus came to believe that on the tenth day of the Jewish seventh month they should realize the fruition of their hopes. This was the day when, in the earthly service of old, the high priest made atonement in the holy of holies for the sins of ancient Israel.

Now the Mosaic law was a "shadow of good things to come," and the crucifixion of Christ took place precisely on the Pass-over day foreshadowed, and He arose as the first fruits of the dead on the specified day of the wave sheaf, and the Holy Spirit descended on exactly the fiftieth day as indicated. They therefore believed that our High Priest, having entered the holy of holies and sprinkled it with His own blood, might come out and bless His waiting people on the antitype of the Day of Atonement, shadowed forth in the ordinances of the Jewish law. It seemed the terminal point. So the cry was everywhere given and the alarm sounded. Yet, as the day passed, they were disappointed again. But it was a soul-purifying experience, and unprecedented blessings had come to them. Thus they reasoned.

The public naturally expected them to renounce it all as a delusion, to relinquish the advent hope and to abandon all their expectations! But that they could not do. They felt they had done the will of the Lord in sounding the alarm, just as did Jonah when he entered Nineveh crying, "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown." It was not overthrown. Was Jonah therefore a false prophet when he preached a *time* for Nineveh's destruction? No, he had only preached the message God had bidden. It was a test to the inhabitants, and the people repented and God's purpose was accomplished. So the Millerites believed that the seventh-month cry had similarly been a test. Had they failed to give it, they would have been like Jonah fleeing to Tarshish. And they must not repeat Jonah's anger over God's sparing of Nineveh. Consequently

they felt that God justified the preaching of *time*, without the event occurring just as predicted.

They also cited the test of faith to Abraham—and God's sparing of the offering of Abraham's son when his faith had been tested, after he had shown his faith. And when Israel left Egypt it was with full expectation that they would speedily enter Canaan. Their duty was to act; to have failed would have been sin against God. Yet they were obliged to wander many weary years longer because of their unbelief. The present position of the Adventists was then defined: "We now find ourselves occupying a time, beyond which we can extend none of the prophetic periods, according to our chronology and date of their commencement."¹⁴

They had passed the time indicated by the types. And though their opponents said time had disproved their whole position, they answered: "We have seen no evidence to disprove that it is at the very door, that it cannot be long delayed, and that the events are of those for which we look."¹⁵

There might be some inaccuracy in the chronology. They may have been a little too early. As to that, they would simply have to wait and watch. So the chronological argument from the types was next re-examined. At the *first* advent certain types were fulfilled chronologically—the death of the passover lamb on the fourteenth day of the month, when Christ was crucified, and the offering of the first fruits by His resurrection on the sixteenth day—the morrow after the paschal sabbath. But others were not fulfilled on the exact date—Christ as our High Priest entered the heavenly holy of holies in the third month.¹⁶

Moreover, they held that their application of prophetic time was sustained by the standard expositors of the church throughout the centuries. First, there was the year-day prin-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ This belief in His *entering* the second-apartment phase of His heavenly ministry at the ascension accounts for their expectation of His *coming out* on the tenth of the seventh month, 1844. They overlooked the fact that on that day the ancient high priest had both entered as well as emerged from the holy of holies.

ciple for the prophetic time periods of Daniel and the Revelation. Even their antagonists, Professors Stuart and Bush, conceded that—Stuart admitting that the “great mass” of English and American exposition had so held;¹⁷ and Bush wrote, “You are sustained by the soundest exegesis, as well as fortified by the high names of”—and a number of the leading expositors follow.¹⁸

Next, the Historicist view of prophecy is likewise sustained by the voice of the church for eighteen centuries. English expositor William Cuninghame’s summary of early church, then the Jewish, Reformation and post-Reformation, and nineteenth-century Old World positions are cited.¹⁹ But now their opponents were forsaking the platform of their fathers. That the Adventists were unwilling to do. Many non-Millerite scholars were now looking for some great new development shortly, but the question at issue was the *nature of the event*.

The three major views are summarized in the *Advent Herald*: The first view is that of “the churches,” the new post-millennial philosophy introduced by Daniel Whitby (antagonistic to the standard view of the church throughout the Christian Era), with its era of human betterment and world conversion preceding the advent. The second is the contemporary Literalist view preponderant in Great Britain (a dozen noted names are cited). This includes a premillennial advent, with a partial regeneration of the earth and a partial reformation of mankind. The millennial kingdom, centering in the restored Jewish nation, with Christ reigning in Jerusalem, will be followed by the consummation of all things at the end of the millennium. The third view is that of the “Second Adventists”—a reaffirmation of their “Fundamental Principles,” in which they differ “in some material points” from their fellow premillennialists, the Literalists. Five principles may be listed:

¹⁷ Moses Stuart, *Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy*, p. 74.

¹⁸ George Bush, letter to Miller, in *Advent Herald*, March 6, 1844, p. 38. Bush argues for the year-day principle against Stuart in his “Prophetic Designations of Time. To Professor Stuart.—Letter VII,” *The Hierophant*, April, 1843, p. 243.

¹⁹ [Himes?], “Address to the Public,” *Advent Herald*, Nov. 13, 1844, p. 111. On Cuninghame see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 364-385.

1. The earth, restored to its Edenic state, is to be the eternal abode of the resurrected saints.

2. The only millennium is that of Revelation 20, the thousand years between the two resurrections—the other commonly adduced scriptures applying to the new earth state.

3. The only future restoration of Israel is the restoration of the saved to the renewed earth at the advent.

4. The signs preceding Christ's advent have appeared, and all the prophecies have been fulfilled except those relating to the end.

5. No prophetic periods extend beyond the present time.²⁰

V. Second Address Encourages Believers

Following this "Address to the Public," an "Address to Adventists" appeared in the *Advent Herald*. In this they were reminded that they hold to the same hope as did the apostles, and, as their fellow heirs to the promises made to Abraham, would soon receive immortality and an eternal inheritance at the advent. And now, united in sympathy with one another, they must patiently bear the tribulations of their lot while they wait for the advent, which must be at the very doors. Evidently the seventh-month movement was not yet repudiated. In listing the "signs" of the nearness of the advent that "confirm us in our position," the writer adds:

"And, finally, the recent movements in the history of those 'who went forth to meet the Bridegroom'—the Adventists. On their part, rising to trim their lamps after a season of slumbering and sleeping, the peculiar features of which we cannot but regard as the 'pangs' of the 'hour' which is to witness the promised deliverance! . . .

"Let us hold fast where we are, and we can have nothing to fear. And everything for which we hope is lost if we do not! It appears to be very clear that there can be no other slumbering and sleeping time, that is to be followed by the cry of preparation. He who sleeps now, will be likely to be waked up by the coming of the Lord Himself!"²¹

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112.

²¹ [Himes], "Address to Adventists," *Advent Herald*, Nov. 20, 1844, pp. 116, 120 (Italics supplied.)

It is noted that the latest possible crucifixion date, A.D. 34, would give A.D. 37 as the terminus of the 70 weeks, and 1847 as the terminus of the 2300 years. But the advent is expected earlier than that, and "the dates we have adopted" are regarded as the most correct. We must be constantly ready.²²

VI. Opponents Disagree Fatally Among Themselves

Next, in a carefully prepared "Address to the Opposers of Our Hope,"²³ the Millerite leaders speak of prophecy's molding influence on the minds of men. At the very outset they reaffirm the fact that the basic point of difference remains unchanged by the Disappointment—namely, the premillennial advent as the next predicted event. On this main point, and on the time, they "differ from the great body of the church and the world."²⁴

That such positions should affect their fellowship with the evangelical churches—especially since this had been the general belief of the early church and of many through the centuries—had not at first occurred to them. And they had expected that if there were actual errors in their positions or reasoning, the "theological giants of these days would at once expose their fallacy, and unravel the sophistries by which they were supported." But they waited in vain for any serious refutation of premillennialism. At first the question was considered "unworthy and beneath the notice" of the theologians. However, as it began to be "received into favor by the people," many of the clergy became disturbed. Nevertheless, instead of being "met by argument," the entire question was usually treated with "scorn and ridicule."²⁵

Then, as the public became increasingly interested, "various individuals attempted to show its fallacy, and various

²² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

²³ As a review of the Scriptural basis of their faith, the manifest leading of God, the probable reason for their disappointment, as well as the writings and reasonings of opponents, a 32-page Supplement to the *Advent Herald* was issued on December 4, containing this address and reprints of the earlier two, to the public and to the Adventists. According to the penciled note on the old Boston headquarters copy, Bliss wrote the third address.

²⁴ [Sylvester Bliss?], "Address to the Opposers of Our Hope," Supplement to the *Advent Herald*, Dec. 4, 1844, p. 21.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22.

arguments and theories were advanced to disprove it," without giving their views "a fair and impartial examination." And of the conflicting reactions advanced the Millerites say: "Your views have been so various that you have often been more opposed to the views of each other, than you have to our own." And just what positions, they inquire, are they asked to give up? And what positions are they to accept from the opponents of the advent faith? The "contradictory opinions" of ten well-known religious leaders are next listed.

HAZEN and DIMMICK give differing reasons why the proclaimed imminence of the advent is all a "false alarm." DOWLING applies the year-day principle to the 70 weeks and the 1260 days, but makes the 2300 days only 1150 literal days. STUART, on the other hand, makes the 2300 and 1260 days literal, applying Daniel's leading prophecies to Antiochus, and John's to Nero. MORRIS admits the 1260 but not the 2300 were year-days; and to him the fourth prophetic empire is Rome, but to CHASE, it is the kingdom of Antiochus, not Rome, with the 2300 as half days and the 1260 simply as whole days.

WEEKS alleges there are 160 Millerite mistakes, without setting forth any contrasting positions of truth. JARVIS admits that the Millerite application of the prophetic symbols and the year-day reckoning is correct, but denies there is any clue to the chronological timing of the prophetic periods. BUSH, likewise admitting the general soundness of the principles and the imminence of the crisis hour of earth's history and the kingdom, argues that the Millerites are mistaken in the nature of the events to take place. HINTON also admits that each of Daniel's visions extends to the setting up of God's everlasting kingdom, and that the 2300 days and other time periods symbolize years in fulfillment—and expire about the very time set forth—but insists that they are not immediately followed by the personal coming of Christ and the literal end of the world, but rather by a gradual changing process.²⁶

²⁶ It should be observed that certain of these critics had once held views on prophecy similar to Miller's expositions. But later, when the Millerite movement became a formidable

Now, in the light of this bewildering and conflicting medley, the Millerite leaders pointedly ask:

"When doctors disagree, who shall decide? Amid such varied and contradictory views, which shall we choose? Thus in comparing your respective opinions with each other, and with our own, we have found no harmonious views of the Scriptures in which even yourselves can agree."²⁷

VII. Positions of Opponents Flayed by Non-Millerite Scholars

Professor Moses Stuart, scholarly professor of Andover Seminary, and John Dowling, popular New York pastor, were perhaps the outstanding opponents of the Millerite positions. Yet their own positions were mercilessly attacked by learned and influential clerics in the most respected non-Millerite circles. For record and reference some of these criticisms were quoted in the Address in the footnotes in the Supplement. Thus DR. ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE,²⁸ lawyer and legislator, then Presbyterian pastor, editor, college president, and seminary professor, flays Dowling's book in these scathing words:

"As for this disquisition of Mr. Dowling, we may confidently say that it is hardly to be conceived that any thing could be printed by Mr. Miller or Mr. any body else, more shallow, absurd and worthless. There is hardly a point he touches, on which he has not managed to adopt the very idlest conjectures of past writers on the prophecies; and this so entirely without regard to any coherent system, that the only clear conviction a man of sense or reflection could draw from his pamphlet, if such a man could be supposed capable of believing it, would be that the prophecies themselves are a jumble of nonsense. Such answers as his can have no effect, we would suppose, except to bring the whole subject into ridicule, or to promote the cause he attacks."²⁹

force, they repudiated their former positions and became militant antagonists. Other critics of Miller had paid little attention to prophecy until Millerism became a vigorous movement. They then applied themselves to the study of prophecy, and brought forth counterexpositions designed to meet and parry Millerite positions.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁸ ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE (1800-1871) was born in Kentucky and educated at Jefferson, Yale, and Union, graduating in 1819. In 1824 he began the practice of law in Kentucky and became a member of the legislature. Then he turned from the law to the gospel, and in 1831 was licensed to preach. In 1832 he accepted a call to the Second Presbyterian Church of Baltimore. He was one of the great controversialists and crusaders of the time, a tireless temperance advocate, and opposed to slavery. He was editor of the *Spirit of the XIX Century*, of Baltimore, and was largely responsible for the Presbyterian split into Old and New Schools, in 1845. After serving as president of Jefferson College in Pennsylvania, he went back to Kentucky, where he was professor of theology in the Danville Theological Seminary. He also left monumental achievements in the public school system.

²⁹ Editorial book review, *Spirit of the XIX Century*, March, 1843, p. 191.

More than that, Isaac T. Hinton, Baptist pastor of St. Louis, already noted in Part I, goes so far as actually to say, ironically, of Dr. Stuart and his famous *Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy*:

"We regret that, in the midst of the great moral conflict with Antichrist which is now carrying on, those into whose hands 'the saints' were so long 'given' should find so able a coadjutor. Without, of course, for one moment, intimating any such ambitious design, we are clearly of opinion that the worthy Doctor of Andover has already earned a Cardinal's hat; and if his forthcoming work should be equally ingenious in behalf of Romanism, the pontificate itself would be only an adequate reward!—We have, however, no fears that Christians of sound common sense, and capable of independent thought, will, after a candid consideration of the scheme which excludes papacy from the page of prophecy, and that which traces in the prophetic symbols a faithful portraiture of its abominations, make a wrong decision. Since we have read the work of the learned Stuart, we have rejoiced the more that our humble abilities have been directed to the defence of the 'old paths.'"³⁰

And finally *The Universalist* (Hartford) exultantly claims:

"Certain we are that Professor Stuart, in this work, comes nearer to Universalists, in their views of the topics discussed, than any other writer of his school in this country, and that he has taken out of the hands of the opposers of our faith, many of the props with which they are endeavoring to keep up the old castle which they are living in.

"He puts an uncompromising veto upon the popular interpretations of Daniel and Revelation, and unites with *Universalists*, in contending that the most of their contents had special reference to, and their fulfilment in, scenes and events which transpired but a few years after those books were written."³¹

VIII. Every Fundamental Sustained by Some Critics

Contending that each "point in our belief" is "sustained by some of your number," the Address cites examples of the opponents' support of seven major expositions.

1. *That the 2300 days are years* is sustained by Bush, Hinton, and Jarvis.³²

³⁰ I. T. Hinton, *The Prophecies of Daniel and John*, p. 231 n.

³¹ M[erritt] S[anford], Book Review, "Stuart on Prophecy," *The Universalist*, Oct. 15, 1842, p. 32. (Italics supplied.)

³² Jarvis says that, inasmuch as the Antiochus theory would be fatal to Miller's calculations, it is but natural that it be "eagerly embraced by many of his opponents." But, he contends, there are "insuperable difficulties in the way of this scheme which makes Antiochus

2. *That the 1260, 1290, and 1335 are years* is admitted by Morris, Dowling,³³ Bush, and Jarvis.

3. *That the 2300 years begin with the 70 weeks* is conceded by Bush and many others.

4. *That Rome is the fourth empire, symbolized by the legs of iron and the fourth beast,* is admitted by Bush, Jarvis, Hinton,³⁴ and Morris.

5. *That the Little Horn of Daniel 7 is the Papacy* is likewise sustained by Bush, Jarvis, Hinton,³⁵ and Morris.

6. *That the exceeding great horn of Daniel 8 is Rome* is held by Jarvis and Hinton.³⁶

7. *That the 2300 year-days extend to the resurrection of the dead, and Christ's advent, and the beginning of God's everlasting kingdom,* is likewise admitted by Jarvis and Hinton. And Morris asks, "Who cannot see that all things are now ready for the sounding of the seventh angel?" So the Millerite Address then repeats the assertion: "There is not a point that is essential to this question, but some of you admit we have the truth respecting it."³⁷

Epiphanes the little horn." And he adds, "I make no difficulty, therefore, in admitting the expression Evening-morning to mean a prophetic day." (Samuel Farmer Jarvis, *Two Discourses on Prophecy*, p. 46.) Daniel was told to shut up the vision because the fulfillment would be far distant—a strong "collateral reason" for the "days" being prophetic. And the "vision" is obviously the "whole vision of the Ram and He-Goat." (*Ibid.*, pp. 45-47.)

³³ Dowling states: "I believe, as Mr. Miller does, and indeed most Protestant commentators, that the 1260 years denote the duration of the dominion of the Papal Antichrist. After comparing these passages, and the entire prophecies to which they belong, with the history and character of popery, I cannot doubt that this is the mystical Babylon, whose name is written in Rev. 17:5, and that when the 1260 years are accomplished, then 'shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and SHALL BE FOUND NO MORE AT ALL!'" (*Reply to Miller*, p. 25. See I. T. Hinton, *op. cit.*, p. 360, for the same point.)

³⁴ Hinton holds that the prophecies of Daniel 2, 7, 8, 11 give "four detailed descriptions of the history of the world from the time of Daniel to the 'time of the end,' and the Apocalyptic visions refer to the same period as the latter portion of the prophecies of Daniel." (I. T. Hinton, *op. cit.*, p. 25.) "The dream of the image is of the greatest importance; it leaves without excuse those who would reduce the remaining prophecies of Daniel to the narrow compass and the little acts of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. Nothing can be clearer than that the gold, the silver, the brass, the iron, and the clay are designed to cover the history of the world in all its successive ages." (*Ibid.*, p. 27.)

On Daniel 7 he adds: "We think our readers will concur with us, and with the great mass of writers on prophecy, that the 'ten horns' on Daniel's 'fourth beast,' and 'the beast rising up out of the sea, having seven heads,' of the Apocalyptic vision, refer to the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided. Of the identity of the ten-horned beasts of Daniel and of John there can be no reasonable doubt." (*Ibid.*, p. 252.)

³⁵ Hinton again explicitly states: "If any other events of history can be set forth and made to fill out all the particulars mentioned by Daniel and John, . . . we should be happy to see them stated; till then we shall believe the little horn rising up amidst the ten horns, and having three of them plucked up before it, to refer to the rise of the papacy in the midst of the kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided in the sixth century." (*Ibid.*, p. 237.)

³⁶ This is attributed erroneously to Hinton, who makes this horn the Moslems. (See p. 355.)

³⁷ [Bliss?], "Address to the Opposers of Our Hope," Supplement, *Advent Herald*, Dec. 4, 1844, p. 24.

IX. Exact Time Clearly a Mistake; but Advent Near

In reply to the demand of opponents that as the expected time for the advent has passed, "as honest men you are bound to relinquish it," the Millerites frankly admit, "We were mistaken in the definite time. . . . We relinquish all that is thus disproved . . . that part of our position." And they add, "If anything more is proved to be erroneous, we will confess that also." But, they ask, should we thereby relinquish "our hope" of the second advent itself? And they add earnestly:

"We may be mistaken in the exact time, and yet we may, in accordance with the command of our Saviour, know that it is at the very doors. We may be mistaken in the exact termination of the prophetic periods; and yet there may be some inaccuracy in our chronology, or in the date of their commencement, which, when the time of such variation shall have passed, will bring the event."³⁸

They therefore declare that they will not relinquish their hopes until their opponents—

"demonstrate that the periods of Daniel and John are not years, that they do not terminate at about this age of the world, that the prophetic symbols do not shadow forth events to the setting up of God's everlasting kingdom, that the seventh angel is not about to sound, and that its sounding will not usher in the resurrection and judgment, that the reign of Christ will not be personal and premillennial, and that the saints will not reign on the earth. If those doctrines are truths, we occupy the only scriptural ground. If they are not Bible doctrines, we wish to see them disproved. But, as yet we have not been satisfied of the soundness of the arguments which have been advanced to disprove them. And, be it remembered, that in the discussion of these questions we stand on the ground which the primitive church occupied; and, from which, you, who oppose us, have departed."³⁹

X. Year-Day Principle Stands Unimpeached

Then they reason: It devolves upon you, our opponents, to disprove our year-day position, as we are only upholders and defenders of the old established belief of the church. If they are not years, then the Christian world all along has been astray,

³⁸ *Ibid.*
³⁹ *Ibid.*

and the church is thus cut adrift from every chronological mooring, beacon, lighthouse, or star by which to determine her bearings or distances from the millennial haven toward which she is tending—to employ the thought of Bush.

They insist that events announced in simple historical terms are related to literal time periods, but *symbolical* predictions would require *symbolic* time. Thus they conclude:

“Therefore, yourselves being judges, these periods have not yet been disproved to be years; and until you bring some new and more conclusive arguments, you cannot ask us to relinquish this position.”⁴⁰

And those who admit them to be years, and only dispute the dates of beginning, have failed to show more authentic and harmonious dates from which to reckon. Dowling simply says, “I do not feel myself bound to furnish any.” But neither Jarvis, Weeks, nor Pond would venture to hazard an opinion on the time placement of the 2300 years.

XI. 70 Weeks Still Key to 2300 Years

One of the great issues, which has never been fairly met, said the Millerites, is that the 70 weeks are the first segment of the 2300 days.⁴¹ And Gabriel was instructed to make plain *the vision*, from which the 70 weeks were determined, or *cut off*. No Hebrew scholar has denied it; the best scholars admit it should read “cut off”—the remaining years extending beyond the 490. The connection, therefore, between the two periods of time has not been disproved. Dr. William Hales says, “This *chronological* prophecy [the seventy weeks] . . . was evidently designed to explain the foregoing vision, especially in its *chronological* part, of the 2300 days.”⁴²

Thus, the Millerites contend, all their arguments in support of chronological data remain unmoved—with the exception of the exact timing. On the other hand, their

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴¹ This the Millerites first thought to have been discovered by Hans Wood of Ireland, in 1787. However, Petri of Germany antedated him. On Petri and Wood, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 713-722.

⁴² William Hales, *A New Analysis of Chronology*, vol. 2, p. 517.

opponents would move them from the great prophetic and historical landmarks of the centuries. And they are "offered nothing in their stead" but a "blank and dreary uncertainty." The applications have corresponded with the predictions in every particular. Your attempts, they say, leave out the most essential and important features. Thus even Hinton, of the opposition, was constrained to comment:

"The work of Dr. Stuart is, professedly, very incomplete; a hundred historic facts referred to in the symbols of Daniel and John, he has left unnoticed; and we apprehend he will, in the more complete work which he intimates will come from his pen, find a more arduous task to select their 'mates' in the reigns of Antiochus and Nero, than his great learning and ingenuity will enable him satisfactorily to fulfill."⁴³

XII. Stand on Imminent Premillennial Advent Platform

But more vital, they hold, is the basic issue of premillennialism. Is the advent of Christ to be personal and premillennial? "Is the everlasting kingdom of God to be set up under the whole heaven in the regenerated earth?" Even Stuart says the Scriptures are to be interpreted in a "plain, and primary, and literal sense," unless there is good reason to do otherwise. On any other premise we have no assurance of their true meaning, and are left to the whim and fancy of man. And it has never yet been shown that the second advent of Christ, the destruction of the Man of Sin, the judgment of the quick and the dead, and the reign of the saints on earth are not to be understood literally but only spiritually.

Those who reject a Bible truth by explaining away its positive meaning, they hold to be equally guilty with those rejecting the Scripture itself. Stuart claims that Christ's literal, personal appearing is figurative and poetic imagery. But the church through the centuries has interpreted it literally. In the light of this survey of all the facts, the Adventists conclude:

"We are more than ever convinced of the reality and the nearness of those eternal scenes for which we look; and which we believe are in accordance with the faith once delivered to the saints;—looking for

⁴³ I. T. Hinton, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

those things, and those only, which Moses and the prophets did say should come." ⁴⁴

Inasmuch, then, as "definite time is no longer a dividing question," and the second advent must be very near, the Adventists present the following summary of their prophetic faith as the great issue:

"We are looking for the personal Advent of Christ, at the termination of the prophetic periods, near the end of which we believe we must now be; that those periods are years;—that the visions of Daniel and John carry us to the end of the world, the fourth beast being Rome, and the little horn, papacy; that this world, being cleansed by fire, will become the New Heavens and New Earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness;—that the resurrected saints will inherit it;—and that the everlasting kingdom, the kingdom of God, will be set up under the whole heaven." ⁴⁵

That those who oppose this Biblical platform do not have the truth is evidenced, they maintained, by their "varied and opposing views," the novelties to which they constantly have recourse, and the readiness with which they misrepresent the Millerite views, "malign our motives, falsify our actions, and circulate every silly and foolish story which might bring contempt upon the [advent] cause, or destroy the influence of those who have been prominent in it." ⁴⁶ The very forms of opposition employed but strengthen our faith, they contend, for were we to leave these positions (the Historical School of prophetic interpretation), we would be compelled either to go back toward Rome or to turn away to German rationalism. Either course—without light, hope, or help—would be unthinkable. That, in substance, was the Adventist answer to their public opponents. They thus agree with the learned Hinton:

"We do not think it presumptuous to prefer the scheme adopted by Mede, Sir Isaac and Bishop Newton, and other learned investigators of prophecy whose names are an honor to the past age, and whose labors exhibit, in our opinion, both greater extent of research, more thorough acquaintance with this particular department of biblical

⁴⁴ [Bliss?], "Address to the Opposers of Our Hope," Supplement, *Advent Herald*, Dec. 4, 1844, p. 31.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

science, and above all, inconceivably greater soundness of judgment, than are evinced in the Professor of Andover's 'Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy.' " ⁴⁷

XIII. Five-Year Circle of Disputed Time

An advent conference was held December 28 and 29, 1845, where leaders gathered to strengthen one another's faith and to clarify their thinking. Here Miller's "Address to Advent Believers" recounted their hopes, noted slanderous charges, extended encouragement, and offered his explanation for the Disappointment—the fallible element of human chronology and the probability of an error of a few years in the computation. Here he said:

"The discrepancy, we believe, is in the human part of the chronology, and as there are four or five years in dispute among our best chronological writers, which cannot be satisfactorily settled, we feel that we have a good right to this disputed period; and candid and reasonable men will all allow this to be right. Therefore we must patiently wait the time in dispute, before we can honestly confess we are wrong in time." ⁴⁸

Although 457 B.C. had been almost without exception held as the joint beginning date of the 70 weeks and the 2300 year-days, this disputed four- or five-year period was now set forth as a "buffer," to soften the blow of disappointment at the end-year.⁴⁹ As before mentioned, the question of re-examining the interpretation, or actual meaning, of the "cleansing of the sanctuary" did not seem to occur to them. They appeared to question only the terminal date—the 1844 ending. They still held the cleansing of the sanctuary to involve the "purgation" of the earth by fire. Christ had not come; therefore the prophecy had not ended. Hence the date of the ending of the 2300 years must be advanced. Thus they reasoned at this time—though ultimately they would be forced, on this premise, to abandon all thought of knowing when the prophecy was supposed to end.

They were consequently soon forced to abandon Miller's

⁴⁷ I. T. Hinton, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

⁴⁸ In "Low-Hampton Conference," *Advent Herald*, Jan. 15, 1845, p. 183.

⁴⁹ See F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, p. 273.

principal position—that the 70 weeks, the dating of which can be known, constitute the first part of the 2300 years—which position was shared by scores of learned men, in both Old World and New,⁵⁰ before the publication of Miller's first book in 1836. This separation of the 70 weeks from the 2300 years—its original prophetic foundation—was a tacit confession to the world that it was built upon a fundamental mistake. Such a repudiation of the basic premise of the 2300 years must follow inevitably upon the repudiation of the seventh-month movement positions. Thus the main prophetic pillar of the movement came eventually to be completely undermined by its veteran leaders.

It had all started as an interchurch (or more accurately, an *intrachurch*) awakening on the doctrine of the near coming of Christ. The ultimate call out of the churches was not with the purpose of bringing another denomination into being, but of preparing a people to meet their returning Lord. No integrated organization was either needed or desired.⁵¹ And the very freedom of thought and action of the former movement now abetted the subsequent discord. So, after October 22, the Millerite movement came to a virtual halt as controversies arose, like those following the Reformation—as between Luther and Zwingli, the followers of Calvin and of Arminius, or the Westminster divines and the Dissenters—and confusion abounded.

Of course, a large percentage of the Millerite movement slipped away, its adherents disappearing in the world about or returning to the churches whence they came. Branches broke off, some of which were to outlive the main body. Nevertheless, a substantial group was held together for a number of years by the influence of the Albany Conference of April, 1845.

⁵⁰ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, Part II, and Vol. IV, Part I. Full charted tabulation appears on pp. 404, 405.

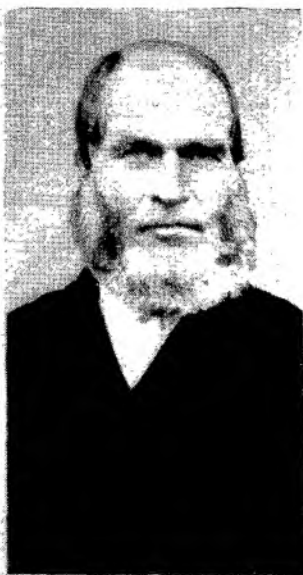
⁵¹ Cox, of Maine, soon suggested very practically that provision be made in all Adventist congregations for administering baptism and the Lord's Supper, that "those *who cannot* abide in the churches without suppressing their faith, may have a place to flee to." The first beginnings of distinct church organizations thus began to be suggested. (Letter, Nov. 7, 1844, in *Advent Herald*, Nov. 27, 1844, p. 127.)

Clarifying Light Dawns on Sanctuary's Cleansing

I. New Concept of Sanctuary Explains Disappointment

At Port Gibson, New York, on the old Erie Canal, midway between Syracuse and Buffalo, Hiram Edson was leader of the advent believers of the community. His farmhouse, a mile south of town, was frequently their meeting place when they did not have access to the district schoolhouse, likewise a mile from the village. Dr. Franklin B. Hahn, physician of Canandaigua, New York—about fifteen miles distant on Lake Canandaigua—was another prominent member of the Adventist company in that region. And yet another was Owen R. L. Crosier, an orphan youth whom Edson and Hahn had befriended. Between them he had been provided with a home, and had now developed into a keen Bible student and a promising writer. The three of them joined in publishing a small paper called the *Day-Dawn*, printed at Canandaigua—one of the group of Adventist journals issued following the Disappointment. And Crosier served as editor.

Like thousands of other Adventist groups large and small scattered over the land, the Port Gibson believers met on October 22 waiting for Christ to appear in glory. Edson invited the people to come to that last meeting, and bade good-by to those who declined, never expecting to meet them again. Fervent prayer and hymns marked that climactic day, together with exhortations and expectation. They reviewed the evidences, and lived in hope as the hours passed slowly away. Spalding phrases it impressively:



HIRAM EDSON—KEY FIGURE IN EXPANDING SANCTUARY STUDY

Community Schoolhouse Where Met the Adventists of Port Gibson, New York, on the Erie Canal, and Hiram Edson's Home. The Nearby Barn, in Which Edson and His Associates Prayed for Light Following the Dark Night of Disappointment, Still Stands as a Silent Reminder of Their Fateful Day of Expectation. (Inset) Hiram Edson

"Would it be in the morning? The frost of the dawn melted under the rising sun. Might it be at noon? The meridian was reached, and the sun began to decline. Surely the evening! But the shades of night fell lowering. Still there was hope: 'For ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning.'"¹

The neighborhood company of believers expected to meet their Lord at any moment. Says Edson:

"We looked for our coming Lord until the clock tolled 12 at midnight. The day had then passed, and our disappointment became a certainty. Our fondest hopes and expectations were blasted."²

But Edson kept musing in his heart, "My advent experience has been the richest and brightest of all my Christian experience. . . . Has the Bible proved a failure? Is there no God, no heaven, no golden city, no Paradise?"³

After waiting and weeping until dawn, many of the advent believers slipped away to their desolate homes. To some of those who remained Edson said, "Let us go to the barn and pray." They went into the almost empty granary, for the corn had not been husked, but still stood in shocks in the field. They shut the door behind them and poured out their souls in anguished supplication before God, that He would hear their cries. They pleaded that He would not desert them in their hour of supreme need, nor forsake them in their utter extremity. Edson was the leader of this praying circle.

They prayed until the conviction came that their prayers had been heard and accepted, that light would be given and their disappointment explained. Edson was reassured that truly there *is* a God, and that His Word is *true and sure*. He had blessed them graciously in their advent experience, and He would surely make known to them the nature of their mistake and reveal His leading and His purpose. The cause of our

¹ A. W. Spalding, *Captains of the Host*, p. 92. His entire chapter is a vivid and reliable portrayal of this moving scene.

² Hiram Edson, fragment of a manuscript on his "Life and Experience," p. 8. Edson's manuscript is the chief source for this recital, together with two later accounts in John N. Loughborough's manuscripts, "Advent Experiences," no. 4, pp. 1, 2, and no. 7, pp. 4, 5. All three originals are in the Advent Source Collection. Where they differ in details, Edson's own account has been followed.

³ Hiram Edson, Ms. "Life and Experience," pp. 8, 9.



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VERNOY NYE, ARTIST

PLEADING FOR LIGHT ON THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT

In the Early Hours of the Morning of October 23, Hiram Edson and a Few Associates Besought the God of Light for Understanding on the Nature of Their Disappointment. They Prayed Until the Conviction Came That Their Prayers Were Heard and Clarifying Light Would Be Given

perplexity will become as plain as day, he said. Have faith in God!

After breakfast Edson said to one of his companions, "Let us go and see and encourage some of our br[ethre]n." (According to Loughborough this second man was Crosier.) They shunned the road, for Edson did not want to meet people, as he did not yet know what to say to them.⁴ So they struck off across Edson's field, where the corn was still in the shock and the pumpkins on the vines. They walked along silently, with bowed heads and meditative hearts, more or less oblivious of each other. Suddenly Edson stopped, as if by a hand laid upon his shoulder. He stood, deep in meditation, his face upturned wistfully toward the mottled gray skies, praying for light. He pondered the Bible evidence on the ministering Priest, Christ Jesus, in God's antitypical sanctuary in heaven, and how they had expected Him to emerge, on that antitypical Day of Atonement, to bless His waiting people. Edson was waiting for an answer to his perplexity. Suddenly there burst upon his mind the thought that there were *two* phases to Christ's ministry in the heaven of heavens, just as in the earthly sanctuary of old. In his own words, an overwhelming conviction came over him—

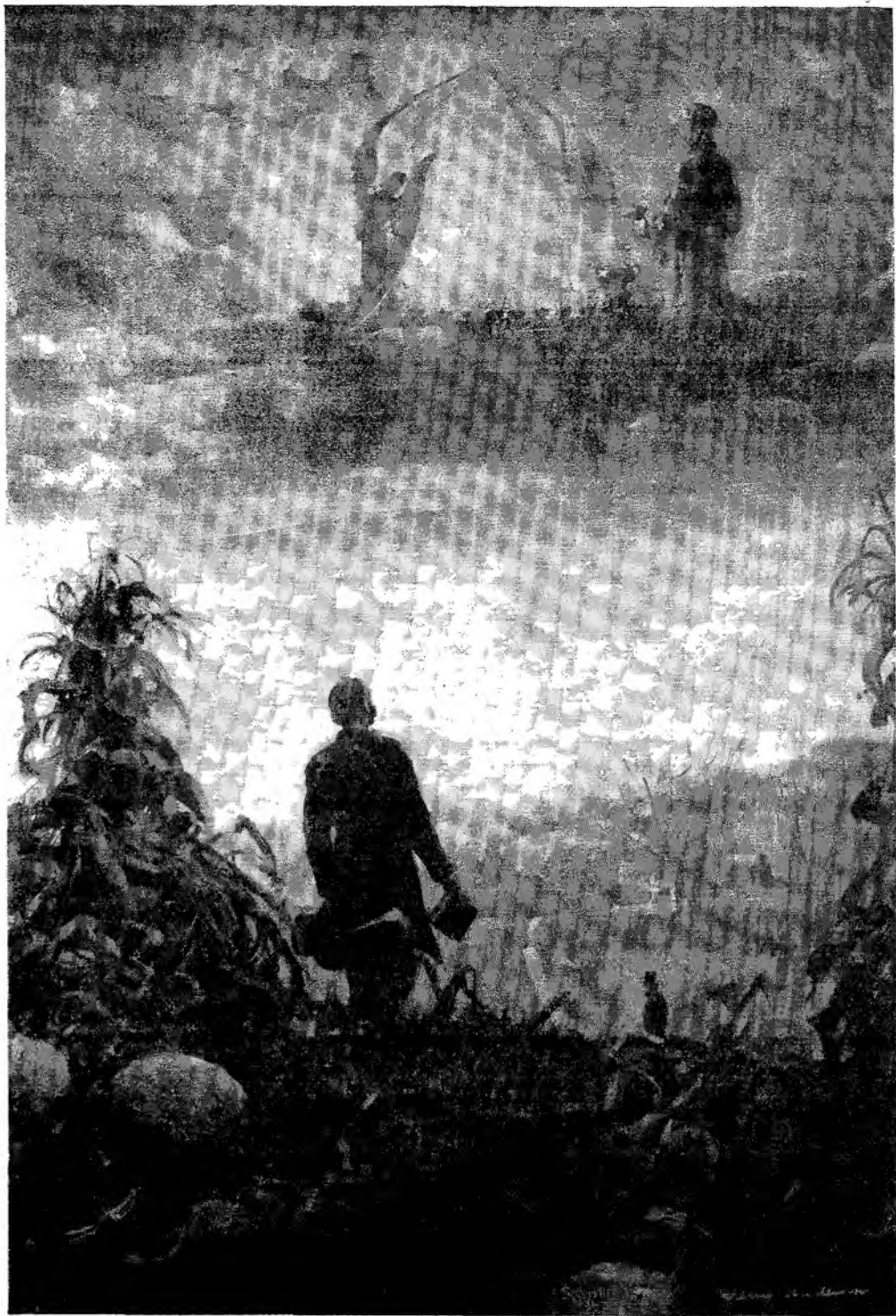
"that instead of our High Priest *coming out of* the Most Holy of the heavenly sanctuary to come to this earth on the tenth day of the seventh month, at the end of the 2300 days, he for the first time *entered* on that day the second apartment of that sanctuary and that he had a work to perform in the Most Holy before coming to this earth."⁵

II. Significance of the Bitter-Sweet Book

This came upon Edson as an inescapable conviction, like a beam of glorious light illuminating the whole question, clarifying their disappointment, and dispelling the darkness and confusion. He saw, he tells us, how Christ, the Bridegroom of the parable, must have come "to the marriage at that time; in

⁴ J. N. Loughborough, Ms. "Advent Experiences," no. 7, p. 4.

⁵ Edson, Ms. "Life and Experience," p. 9. (Italics supplied.)



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HARRY ANDERSON, ARTIST

LIGHT ON THE SANCTUARY FLASHES INTO EDSON'S MIND

On the Morning Following October 22, 1844, Hiram Edson, on His Way Across the Cornfield Engrossed in Thought, Suddenly Realized That Christ Had Entered Into, Instead of Emerging From, the Holy of Holies in Heaven Above. This Concept Clarified the Entire Question of Their Disappointment and Shaped Their Future Course

other words, to the Ancient of days, to receive a kingdom, dominion, and glory; and we must wait for his return *from the wedding*.”⁶ The sanctuary to be cleansed, he adds, was clearly the *heavenly* sanctuary, and not this earth at all. The thought was like a message from heaven. It was a new idea, a precious truth, a wondrous discovery. His prayer was answered.

In addition to this clarifying thought, Edson writes, “My mind was directed to the tenth ch[apter] of Rev[elation] where I could see the vision had spoken and did not lie.” This chapter presents the symbol of the sweet and then bitter book. The advent experience had indeed been as honey in their mouths. Now, in the aftermath, it had suddenly become as bitter as gall. (Rev. 10:9, 10.) The prophecy also seemed to indicate that they must testify again. But how was that to be? Who would listen? And then the thought likewise came to him that the ark of the New Testament was to be seen in heaven. (Rev. 11:19.) These were the principal thoughts that coursed through Edson’s mind as he stood there in rapt meditation. Meantime his companion—evidently Crosier—who had been striding along, likewise deep in study, suddenly noticed that Edson had stopped. He called back, asking why he had paused. And Edson responded, “The Lord was answering our morning prayer, giving light with regard to our disappointment.”⁷

Joining each other again, they walked along slowly, discussing this forgotten phase of the sanctuary service and recalling what they could of the Biblical record of the ancient types given to Israel. Then they hastened from home to home, telling their brethren the good news that Christ’s priestly ministry in heaven was now somehow fulfilling another aspect of the ancient Mosaic type—that our heavenly High Priest had just *entered into*, instead of coming out of, the most holy, as they had

⁶ This original Edson manuscript account differs somewhat from the secondary statements made by Loughborough many years later, in his *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists* (1892), p. 114, and *The Great Second Advent Movement*, p. 193. Emphasis on the heavenly sanctuary had been prominent all the way through the seventh-month movement. But the idea of a concurrent cleansing of the earth by fire was still a holdover from the original Millerite concept. There was a sort of blending of the two. Hence the “Seventh Month” understanding was a kind of transition step between earlier and later views.

⁷ Edson, Ms. “Life and Experience,” p. 10.

formerly held. That much was clear. *This, then, must be but the beginning, not the ending, of the great antitypical Day of Atonement.* That revolutionary concept threw a shaft of clarifying light upon their disappointment. Christ had indeed fulfilled what the type had actually called for. It would be awhile before He would complete this cleansing of the sanctuary, and not until then would He come forth as King. This was "new light" indeed. But it was only the beginning of what was to be a long period of continuous study and developing understanding and conviction.

III. Startling Parallel to Disciple Disappointment

As they journeyed back and forth among the homes of the advent believers, Edson and his companion reviewed with increasing fascination the crisis hour of the disciple band of old. They pondered how, after the crucifixion, two of that distraught group were plodding along the road to Emmaus in sorrowful meditation on the tragic events that had convulsed Jerusalem and had blasted the hopes of Christ's followers. (That was *their* great disappointment; much like our own, Edson thought.) The prophecies that had assuredly foretold the *time* of Messiah's advent had also prophesied that He would become King of Israel, but without specifying when. And only a few days prior He had ridden into Jerusalem in triumphant acclaim, just as foretold by the prophet. (Matt. 21:4, 5; cf. Zech. 9:9.) But He had *not* been crowned king. Instead, He had been tried, condemned, and crucified; nailed to a cross, and suspended in ignominy between two thieves. And then He had been buried in a tomb. It had been a terrible shock to His expectant followers. They were completely mistaken in the event to occur.

But now, as these two disciples walked on, another (the resurrected Jesus Himself) joined them. He drew out the sorrowful admission that they had fondly hoped Jesus Christ to have been the promised Messiah. But apparently He was not. Then the Stranger recalled to their minds various scriptures

concerning the Messiah, which they had not comprehended. And He asked, "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into glory?" (Luke 24:26.) Then, as He expounded these scriptures anew, light from the writings of Moses and all the prophets gradually opened their understanding.

And that evening, as they sat at meat in their lodging in Emmaus, the light of Christ's real mission burst suddenly upon them. He was indeed the crucified Christ, the very same One they had expected to see crowned king. But He was not yet king. Indeed, such a transaction was never designed in the plan of God to be His mission at that time. That was to come later. He had first to become their atoning Sacrifice. This He had accomplished on Calvary. And now He was about to ascend to His Father, to become their merciful, high priestly Mediator in heaven above. Finally, when that priestly ministry was finished, He would then come back to earth again, this time as King of kings. (That, Edson and Crosier saw, was the paralleling disappointment to their own experience. They too must wait a little while yet before the glorious outcome of it all. Christ still had a work to perform in heaven before coming back to earth.)

Then, just before the ascension, the eleven stood in joyful expectation with their risen Christ on the Mount of Olives. And again, despite all the light that had dawned on His earthly mission, they still urged the point, "Lord, wilt thou *at this time* restore again the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts 1:6.) But His answer was: "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power. But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." (Acts 1:7, 8.) (See frontispiece, opposite title page.)

Edson and Crosier then remembered how, as Jesus lifted up His hands and blessed them, He "was parted from them, and carried up into heaven." Soon the shining cloud that "received him out of their sight" faded out in the distance. Then, as they were still gazing upward in wonderment, sud-

denly two swift messengers of heaven appeared and declared, "This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." (Acts 1:11.)^{*} Forty days before He had said, "I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also." (John 14:2, 3.) He had already given a partial answer to them, but they had failed to grasp it. Now the story was completed and enforced. Thus it was that the glorious provision of the second advent, which has since been the supreme hope of the ages, became the declared climax of all prophecy. It was the rock upon which the entire gospel structure was built. This second thought, of the paralleling disciple disappointment, was of tremendous encouragement.

IV. Intensive Group Study Continues for Months

Edson and Crosier then sought out their mutual friend, Dr. Franklin B. Hahn, and the three of them agreed to meet as a study group, to search the Bible intensively along these lines until all should be clear. The book of Hebrews, especially chapters 8 and 9—speaking of the earthly sanctuary as a "shadow of the heavenly," a "figure of the true," and with its service as an "example of the true service"—enforced the conviction of the cornfield, and of their subsequent discussions as they went from home to home. The entire Mosaic system of types and ceremonies became the central area of study, together with their matching of antitypical Christian realities. And the prophetic outlines of Daniel and the Revelation, concerning the latter times, were also the subject of painstaking review. This almost continuous group study, covering not only weeks but months, confirmed their understanding of how and why Christ had entered the most holy place to cleanse it. And their joint conclusions were embodied in a series of articles by Crosier, appearing first in the *Day-Dawn* of Canandaigua,

^{*} Impressively portrayed in the frontispiece of this volume.

and then more fully through the *Day-Star*, issued in Cincinnati, Ohio, as will later be noted.

This new thought⁹—of Christ *entering into, instead of coming out of*, the heavenly most holy place, which was developed quite fully in their study—was as revolutionary as the changed concept concerning the Messiah's first advent mission which came to Christ's disciples after their disappointment following the crucifixion. And that new concept brought the disciples into inevitable conflict with those who clung to the old popular idea of the Messiah as the coming King of Israel, instead of the suffering Messiah dying in man's stead. The contrast between those two viewpoints is now sharp and clear to all, but it was not wholly so to the disciples at that time. Even after the resurrection, Christ's followers still held partly—along with some grasp of the teachings of Jesus on the spiritual nature of His kingdom—to the old concept, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts 1:6.)

The Edson trio realized that the mass of the Millerites associated the cleansing of the sanctuary, at the end of the 2300 days, with the fiery cleansing of the earth at the second advent, even though their periodicals had for some time been carrying discussions of the heavenly sanctuary.

V. The Aftermath of the Two Disappointments

Those Jews, it may well be recalled, who refused to accept any other than a triumphant kingly Messiah and turned sorrowfully or scornfully away from Christ as the dying victim on the cross, were the very ones who were soon deceived by successive Messianic pretenders that began to appear, followed in turn by succeeding disappointments—and with ultimate disillusionment and repudiation of all Messianic expectations. But the

⁹ Edson, a firm believer in the seventh-month movement, must have been familiar with Snow's paper, *The True Midnight Cry*, issued in August, or at least one of the many reprints in all leading Millerite papers. And Port Gibson was not far from Buffalo, on the eastern border of Charles Fitch's territory. Fitch and Snow, with others, had persistently turned the attention of the leaders to the sanctuary in heaven, and Christ's priestly ministry therein. But they had all first expected Him to *emerge from the heaven of heavens* on that day, to bless His waiting people through His second advent.

minority of Christ's followers who accepted His appointed death as an atoning sacrifice for the sins of the world—though they were but few at first, and without money or influence as they broke with the majority groups—in the end became the great Christian church, destined to far outnumber the old Jewish church.

And similarly, in the historical developments between 1845 and 1855, and later, three groups of Adventists developed. The first and larger group of Millerite Adventists came to the conclusion that since Jesus obviously had not come, the "true Midnight Cry" had therefore *not yet* been given. And in consequence, the prophetic periods had *not yet* actually ended. And in thus looking to some future fulfillment, most of this group ere long came to challenge the key dates and specifications of the 2300 years. Led on by specious reasoning, they split up into factions, not a few setting successive later dates for Christ to come—in all of which expectations they were sorely disappointed. Many others gave up in despair, and drifted back to nominal church membership or out to the open sea of skepticism.

A small second group contending that prophecy *had* been fulfilled in the 1844 movement, but that the mistake was in the nature of the event, drifted into fanaticism. Snow was one of these. In common with all Adventists, he was deeply disappointed in the failure of the Bridegroom to descend from heaven on October 22. And like others, he had concentrated on the *chronology* of the time periods, giving relatively little study to the events actually involved. He too had waited for light. But for a brief time after the Disappointment he was uncertain as to whether a mistake had been made in the year. Then he went to New York City, where, in the spring of 1845, Joseph Turner brought him the concept of Christ's coming as a Bridegroom—not in personally descending from heaven, but taking the throne spiritually, preparatory to the advent, much the same as taught by Apollos Hale.

However, Snow soon began to preach a "judgment dis-

pensation"—a subtle blending of error and truth. He published the *Jubilee Standard* from March to August, 1845. Sharp conflict developed with the Millerites, and for a time he indulged in serious fanaticism, particularly in 1847 and 1848. But until his death he held to the integrity of October 22, 1844, as the true terminus of the 2300 years—the date correct, but the event expected wrongly understood. He had a small following, but they soon disappeared.

But a third and distinctly separate little group, steadfastly maintaining the soundness of the 1844 time reckoning of the 2300-year period, but contending that the event to occur had been misunderstood, held that this last and longest time prophecy of the Bible *had been fulfilled according to the specifications*, that "time" should no longer be a test and that Christ had now entered the second and final phase of His heavenly ministry before coming back to earth in power and glory at His second advent. Accepting the views advanced by Edson and Crosier, they were saved from further time-setting errors by this Biblical concept of the two phases of the ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary, which was specifically involved in the fulfillment of the 2300-year prophecy.¹⁰ This third group will become the object of further detailed study.

But first, let us pause to become better acquainted with the principal characters of the post-Disappointment episode, that we may have before us the leading personalities who played a major part in the crucial events that followed.

VI. Edson—First to Catch Glimpse of Sanctuary Light

HIRAM EDSON (1806-1882), of Port Gibson, New York, more than any other individual, was responsible for introducing among those who became the Sabbatarian Adventists, the fuller understanding of the sanctuary and its cleansing, both in type and antitype. A descendant of Elijah Edson, English

¹⁰ This group, accepting the fourth-commandment Sabbath as well, finally took the name Seventh-day Adventists, in 1860, and are now the largest Adventist body.

clergyman who came to Boston about 1670 seeking religious freedom," Edson was a respected steward in a village Methodist church in Ontario County, New York, in 1839, when, at the close of a three-week Millerite revival,¹² he accepted the message of the imminent second advent. As the "tenth day of the seventh month" approached, evening cottage meetings were held in Edson's home, as noted. One evening, when a wagonload of interested people drove in from a distance, a revival broke out and about thirteen were converted.¹³ He was an earnest, soul-winning layman.

A glimpse of his character and courage is disclosed by an episode that occurred shortly after the Disappointment. A sizable group of Adventists, who had met at Edson's house, was attacked by an irate mob of about forty. Edson, as leader, walked calmly out of the house, mingled with them fearlessly, and persuaded them to withdraw. These Adventist leaders were men of courage as well as conviction.

Edson was not only a thoughtful Bible student and an earnest evangelistic helper, but he was self-sacrificing, putting his possessions into the upbuilding of the growing cause that he loved. His farm, the scene of two early conferences of the infant Sabbatarian movement, was sold in 1850 to help defray the evangelistic expenses of Bates, Andrews, Loughborough, Holt, and Rhodes. His next farm, in Port Byron, he likewise sold in 1852,¹⁴ and from the proceeds he lent James White the money to purchase his first printing press at Rochester. So Edson was one of the faithful and honored lay participants in the rising Sabbatarian movement.

VII. Crosier—Writer of Epochal "Sanctuary" Article

Edson's junior associate, OWEN R. L. CROSIER (1820-1913), writer of the epoch-making *Day-Star* Extra article, of February

¹¹ Viah May Cross, letter to L. F. Froom, Aug. 23, 1944.

¹² Obituary, *Review and Herald*, Feb. 21, 1882, p. 126.

¹³ Edson, Ms., "Life and Experience," p. 7.

¹⁴ Spalding, *Captains*, pp. 186, 187; J. N. Loughborough, "Experiences in the Publishing Work, no. 14," *Review and Herald*, Dec. 31, 1908, p. 19.

7, 1846, on the cleansing of the sanctuary, was born at Canandaigua,¹⁵ New York. Orphaned at two, he had a lonesome boyhood. At sixteen he was converted at a Methodist revival and became a daily reader of the New Testament, which he thenceforth always carried in his pocket. An avid reader of history and related subjects, he was coached two evenings a week by the well-educated Dr. Dayton, a local celebrity, who saw the lad's potentialities.¹⁶

Crosier attended Genesee Academy and then the Wesleyan Seminary at Lima. He taught successively in Gorham, Rochester, East Avon, and Lima, and was active in church work as class leader and Sunday school superintendent. Sometime during 1843 he embraced the doctrine of the imminent second advent. He soon became persuaded that the Bible teaches the second coming of Christ will *precede* the millennium, and that evil will continue to be predominant in this old world until the end, just as in the days of Noah. He now began the serious study of the chronological and time prophecies in their consecutive order—the four prophetic empires, the subsequent division of Rome, and further events climaxing with the coming of the Lord. This he believed to be imminent. Meantime, the Methodist church had split over episcopacy and slavery, and part of the congregation formed a Wesleyan church, which Crosier joined.

The Congregationalists, the Methodists, and the Wesleyans each offered to educate Crosier for the ministry—the latter even issued him a license to preach. But he felt he must not be under obligation to any one group. He went to Dr. Franklin B. Hahn, president of the village corporation and secretary of the Ontario County Medical Society,¹⁷ to obtain use of the town hall for a series of lectures on the prophecies. Later he was invited to give a series in the schoolhouse, Dr. Hahn whole-

¹⁵ From the Indian, "Kanandarquie," meaning "Chosen Spot."

¹⁶ O. R. L. Crosier, autobiographical sketch in the *Daily Messenger* (Canandaigua, N.Y.), Nov. 22, 1923.

¹⁷ Lewis Cass Aldrich, *History of Ontario County, New York* (1893), p. 184; further biographical data unavailable.

heartedly accepting the advent message at that time. Thenceforth the two were fast friends, Crosier often making the former's house his home when in Canandaigua. Hahn was also a good Bible student, and the Canandaigua company of Millerites frequently met in his house.

In the summer of 1844 a large Millerite camp meeting was held on Dr. Hahn's farm, on the shore of Lake Canandaigua, and many—including the doctor and his wife—were baptized by immersion. Crosier had received baptism the preceding fall from a Baptist pastor, E. R. Pinney, who was at the same time an ardent believer in the imminent second advent. After the camp meeting Crosier decided to devote his full time to the advent cause. He published the *Day-Dawn* at Canandaigua, in order to herald the advent message locally. After the October Disappointment—and Edson's deep impression concerning Christ's entering into, instead of coming out of, the holy of holies—Crosier wrote, "It became important to know what the cleansing of the Sanctuary meant."¹⁸ Crosier and Hahn were the two who joined Edson in intensive study of this theme in the winter of 1844-1845, and at Dr. Hahn's house Crosier wrote out their joint findings on the subject, which became the early standard exposition of the new position held by the Sabbatarian Adventists.

VIII. Group Sees Striking Parallel With Disciple Disappointment

Now we are prepared to follow the Port Gibson study group more understandingly, as they study and review, and restudy and search most earnestly over a period of months, seeking to develop a well-rounded exposition of the typical and antitypical sanctuary service. Edson, Crosier, and Hahn systematically and prayerfully surveyed the entire past experience of the Advent Movement in the light of the leading hand of God. They methodically and intensively searched the Scrip-

¹⁸ *The Daily Messenger*, Nov. 22, 1923, p. 22. Crosier also accepted and observed the seventh day as the Sabbath about 1846, but later repudiated both the Sabbath and his original sanctuary position, and opposed them. He was connected with the *Harbinger* from 1847 to 1853, and published the *Children's Friend* at Rochester, New York. (See *Harbinger and Advocate*, Aug. 16, 1851, p. 70; March 5, 1853, pp. 300, 301; also *Review and Herald*, March 17, 1853, p. 176.)

tures anew for understanding and guidance in the light of their disappointment. They therefore restudied the striking parallel between their own recent disappointment and that of the apostles, who had passed through a similarly distressing disappointment over Christ's crucifixion, caused by their misunderstanding of the events actually foretold in prophecy.

It was clear that the death of Christ on the cross, though expressly foretold in the prophecy of the 70 weeks, at the time seemed to the disciples like the utter failure of Christ's earthly mission. At first His crucifixion appeared like a tragic mistake, which in turn had brought upon them the sneers and abuse of the populace. But instead, they soon came to see that it was the very foundation upon which the entire structure of the Christian church was to be built for all time—the *sacrificial death, resurrection, ascension, and subsequent priestly ministry of Christ Jesus their Lord, in heaven above*. The kingdom for which they looked was not to come until later—not until the time of God's appointment at Christ's second advent at the end of the age, when He would return in person to redeem His followers by resurrecting the sleeping saints and translating the living righteous. They looked for Him to become King, instead of Sacrifice and then Priest.

Similarly, it had now become crystal clear to Edson and his two companions that the climax of the great interlocking prophecy of the 70 weeks and 2300 year-days was never intended to involve Christ's glorious second advent. It was, instead, His entrance upon the second, or final, phase of His high priestly ministry. Judgment scenes must first take place. All that had been implicit in the prophecy of Daniel 8:14, they were now constrained to believe. And this had indeed been fulfilled as foretold. The prophetic time element—the 1844 terminal dating—stood unimpeached. They had simply read into it an unwarranted and un-Biblical expectation.

They had therefore been mistaken in the nature of the terminal event that was actually to take place, just as were the disciples of old in their fond hopes of an earthly kingdom, to

be established at Christ's first advent, eighteen centuries before. There was therefore a paralleling misconception and disappointment in connection with both of these sound prophetic movements. And who was to say, they pondered, which was the greater and more blameworthy misconception? It was not the mistake but the rectification that was of paramount importance. On this they were clear.

And, as the disciples at the beginning of the Christian Era were to carry the glad word first to the Jews and then to the Gentiles, so this fuller, corrected understanding concerning the judgment hour must likewise be told forth, first to all who had been participants in the Millerite movement. They had indeed fulfilled prophecy in 1844, as far as they could at the time. They had begun the giving of the predicted judgment-hour message, despite their limited views and misconceptions—just as the disciples rightly proclaimed the Messiah's appearance at the first advent, though seriously misunderstanding and misstating the kingdom phase of His mission. So they came to see that their own former witness had been just the preparatory announcement—the blowing of the alarm, as in the days just before the ancient Day of Atonement, according to the type. The great and final declaration was yet to come.

No, the *timing* of the prophecy was not a mistake. In a painstaking review of the prophecy, no fundamental error in the time count could be discovered. The date 1844 was correct. But the second advent was *not* involved in that particular prophecy, but rather preliminary judgment scenes, with events leading inexorably on to the end—and thus *ultimately* to the second advent as the crowning climax of all. Why had they not seen it all before? Why, O why, had their eyes been holden, as were those of the disciples of old?

But now they saw clearly that in 1844 the heralding cry was to be given, announcing that the hour of God's judgment had come. This they had attempted to do with gratuitous emphasis on the coming of the King and the establishment of the kingdom. The fulfillment of last-day prophecy and the

imminence of the advent was the universal message of the hour, given in stentorian tones by thousands of voices on both sides of the Atlantic, down in Africa, and out in Asia. Even Australia and the islands of the sea had felt the reverberation. It was apparent that Christ had indeed entered upon the final, special, priestly work appointed for that hour, the hour of God's judgment, the last phase of His priestly ministry—but *not as King, and not coming to this earth*. That was the crux of the whole issue.

There had been great bitterness of disappointment in 1844, when Christ failed to appear as King, for which they had unjustifiedly looked. There was inevitably a marked falling away from the advent faith as a result. And the great body of those who still held to the doctrine of Christ's soon coming would probably, ere long, begin to break up into various smaller bodies, with divergent views and diminishing numbers. The parallel to apostolic days was vivid and inescapable.

So it was that what had seemed like the greatest *disappointment* of all time was now seen as indeed one of the most remarkable fulfillments of all prophetic history—a movement of God's own *appointment*, despite its human limitations and misconceptions. And the transactions foretold were now the foundation of God's last message of warning and entreaty to men.

IX. Sanctuary Service Prefigures Work of Redemption

From Edson's dawning concept of Christ in the most holy place, now engaged in His special ministry there, he and his associates had been persuaded that a comprehensive study of the *typical* sanctuary service, on earth, must be made from the Scriptures in order to understand the antitypical sanctuary service in heaven and the character of that phase of ministry upon which Christ had just entered. So with Bibles and concordances they diligently pursued their way through this fascinating field of study. The sanctuary and its service, given through Moses to Israel of old, they found was instituted to

portray annually certain visible, understandable lessons compassing the entire plan of salvation.¹⁹

God had said to His ancient people, "Let them make me a sanctuary; that I may dwell among them." (Ex. 25:8.) And this they were to make "after their pattern, which was shewed thee in the mount." (Ex. 25:40; Heb. 8:5.) This earthly sanctuary, then, was but "the shadow of heavenly things." (Heb. 8:5.) First, they noted that the ancient tabernacle contained *two* apartments, in addition to its outer court. The first, or larger section, called the holy place, contained the golden seven-branched lamp, or candlestick, the table of shewbread, and the altar of incense—symbols of the ever-ministering Spirit, the sustaining Word of God, and the prayers of the faithful. The second, or smaller section, called the most holy place, contained the ark of the covenant, in which reposed God's holy law, written on the tables of stone. The cover of the ark, surmounted by golden cherubim, was the mercy seat.

In the surrounding court, lambs and other sacrifices were offered daily throughout the year. All of these several offerings represented Christ, the all-sufficient Lamb of God, slain once for all for the sins of man. (Heb. 9:28; 10:10-14.) And they observed that daily, throughout the year, the earthly priests ministered in the first apartment; but "into the second, went the high priest alone once every year." (Heb. 9:7.)

In the daily service in the first apartment the priest replenished the oil in the lamps, which were to burn continually, and sprinkled incense upon the ever-burning flame of the golden altar. He also carried in some of the blood of certain sacrifices, and sprinkled it before the separating veil between the holy and most holy apartments, or touched with blood the four horns of the altar of incense. Thus in symbol the sins of

¹⁹ This discussion is based in part on Edson's manuscript narrative and O. R. L. Crosier's biographical sketch in the *Daily Messenger* of Canandaigua, but principally on the *Day-Star* Extra of February 7, 1846, written by Crosier, but embodying the joint findings of Edson, Crosier, and Hahn, and endorsed in a signed statement by the other two, printed at the close. This basic document, the Extra, entitled "The Law of Moses," contained such subdivisions as "The Legal Types and Antitypes," "The Sanctuary," "The Priesthood of Christ," "The Atonement," "The Scapegoat," and "The Transition."

the people were borne into the sanctuary, to the entrance of the most holy, thus "*polluting*" the sanctuary.

But on the annual Day of Atonement, which came on the tenth day of the seventh month, the high priest was to "make an atonement for the sins of the children of Israel." This involved the "*cleansing*" of the sanctuary. This special service, they found, proceeded on this wise: The high priest, after he had washed himself and donned the garments of his office for this solemn day, took incense, and with its smoke veiling his face from the glory of the presence of God, which appeared above the mercy seat, he parted the separating veil and entered the most holy. There he sprinkled the blood of the sacrifice upon the mercy seat.

When this was completed he went out, bearing on himself, in symbol, the accumulated sins of the people, removing them from the sanctuary. Then outside, *after the atonement was entirely completed*, he placed his hands on the head of a live "scapegoat," and in type transferred the sins to his head. The scapegoat was then sent away into the uninhabited wilderness, ultimately to die. Thus, they saw, the work of the cleansing of the earthly sanctuary was finished.

To their delight, these earnest students found that the book of Hebrews explained how the earthly sanctuary and service were "a copy and type of things heavenly." The Mosaic tabernacle, or sanctuary, with its daily and yearly services, thus typified the actual atoning sacrifice and heavenly priesthood of Christ. While the sins, in the type or symbol, were *forgiven* by the merit of the blood of the lamb, as they were taken day by day into the sanctuary, they were to be utterly *blotted out* on the annual Day of Atonement.

It became crystal clear to them that the earthly sanctuary, wherein the presence of God dwelt in the most holy above the mercy seat, was given that Israel might perceive, through its symbolism, the glorious ultimate provisions and actualities of the plan of salvation through Christ. It was never designed to take the place of the heavenly sanctuary, after which it was

modeled, wherein the great redemptive realities take place, and where the actual mediatorial work of Christ is performed. But it was a figure, pattern, or type of the loving provision of God in behalf of man's redemption.

The study trio saw that there are clearly *prophetic* types, or symbols, just as there are *prophetic* parables and *prophetic* promises. And here in the earthly sanctuary, in the course of the annual typical round, the whole provision of redemption was enacted, and repeated yearly for the instruction of Israel. The original heavenly sanctuary is not, they noted, identically like the little earthly model, for it is infinitely more glorious and supernal. But the earthly sanctuary, with its two apartments, the holy and the most holy, and the appurtenances of each, was obviously symbolic of the heavenly realities.

The rituals of sacrifice and atonement, the lambs and goats, the turtledoves and bullocks, which were offered, clearly represented Christ, our supreme Sacrifice, in His multiple aspects. And the entire work of the earthly priesthood was symbolic of the actual mediatorial work of Jesus, our great High Priest. The ark, in the most holy, represented the government of God, enshrining the holy precepts of the Decalogue. And the mercy seat, covering the ark, represented the place where God met with His people, blending justice, righteousness, and mercy. These were types and shadows of the great realities.

So the sanctuary service, they came to see, represented the relationship between God and man in the complete work of redemption. The service in the first apartment symbolized the mediation of Christ for His people in all generations. And the final service, in the second apartment, on the Day of Atonement, symbolized the concluding judgment-hour phase of Christ's ministry, preparatory to the final blotting out of sin. The sacrifice is the giving of the life of Christ Himself for the sins of men. And the scapegoat, they were constrained to believe, symbolized Satan, the instigator of sin, who *after the atonement was finished* through the substitutionary sacrifice, bears his share of responsibility for all sins, and is banished

at last into the abyss of oblivion. In this way the gospel in symbol was portrayed to Israel of old.

X. Scapegoat—Symbol of Satan's Banishment

Crosier gives seven separate reasons why he believes the scapegoat does not represent Christ:

(1) The scapegoat's part in the Day of Atonement ceremony takes place only *after* the high priest had *made an end* of cleansing the sanctuary.

(2) Christ was not, like the scapegoat, sent away alive to a land not inhabited.

(3) The goat received and retained the sins of Israel, but Christ will come the second time "without sin."

(4) The goat was sent away from the priest, but Christ is the priest.

(5) The scapegoat is contrasted with the other goat, which is called the Lord's goat and which was offered as a sin offering; while the scapegoat was not called the Lord's goat and was *not* offered as a sacrifice.

(6) The Hebrew name is not scapegoat, but *Azazel*, which is the name of the devil (for which he cites authorities).

(7) At Christ's second coming, Satan is to be bound and cast into the bottomless pit—fitly symbolized by the high priest's sending away the goat into the wilderness.²⁰

Crosier cannot justly be accused—as critics afterward held—of making Satan have a part in atoning for the sins of the saved, for his very first argument is that, as the account in Leviticus plainly states, the atonement is already *finished* before the sins are placed on the scapegoat's head for final removal. He definitely made this clear.

"A little attention to the law will show that the sins were borne from the people by the priest, and from the priest by the goat. 1st, They are imputed to the victim. 2d, The priest bore them in its blood to the Sanctuary. 3d, After cleansing them from it on the 10th of the seventh

²⁰ O. R. L. Crosier, "The Law of Moses," *Day-Star Extra*, Feb. 7, 1846, p. 43; a similar list, submitted by Crosier, appeared in *Voice of Truth*, Oct. 21, 1845, p. 505.

month, he bore them to the scapegoat. And 4th, The goat finally bore them away beyond the camp of Israel to the wilderness.

"This was the legal process, and when fulfilled the author of sins will have received them back again."²¹

See Appendix D for fuller statement of Crosier's views.

XI. Further Proclamation Forecast in Prophecy

But there was yet another angle demanding study, an inkling of which had also been caught by Edson as he walked through the cornfield that epochal October day in 1844. With Crosier and Hahn he also saw that the bitterness of the Disappointment—and in fact of the whole advent experience—was itself a matter of inspired prediction, portrayed through the apostle John in Revelation 10. This they also studied. Here a message, that "there should be time no longer," is represented as proclaimed on land and sea by a "mighty angel come down from heaven." And the heavenly messenger "clothed with a cloud" seemingly indicated something that at the time was obscured, or not clearly understood. And with the message that prophetic "time shall be no longer," there was opened a "little book"—apparently the book of Daniel, a portion of which had been sealed. The eating of this bitter-sweet book obviously symbolized the joy of expectation and the bitterness of disappointment, after which came the declaration, "Thou must prophesy again." Apparently God still had a work to be done by those who had passed through the Disappointment. Another message was obviously to go forth, after the first and the second angel's messages had spent their initial force. But how—with all the bitter, unreasoning prejudice from without and the factional disputes within already beginning to grow out of the Disappointment—could they meet the people? And what would be their message?

They had thought that when the seventh trumpet should begin to sound the mystery of God, the gospel, would suddenly

²¹ *Ibid.*

be finished. They had felt that the close of Christ's ministry involved a sudden cleansing of the sanctuary and the precipitous end of all things. But now they began to see that there was an interval of time—short, they thought—between the beginning of this trumpet and the second advent.

They also saw that when the temple of God was opened in heaven there was to be seen the ark of His testament. (Rev. 11:19.) They became convinced that the particular apartment of the temple, or sanctuary, which contained the ark, was entered only at the close of the typical yearly service, that is, on the Day of Atonement. That was when the high priest entered to cleanse the sanctuary. Moreover, the ark contained the testament, or testimony, that God had given to Moses on Mount Sinai, which He wrote on tables of stone, and which were placed in the ark. Then the thought began to suggest itself that this must involve some special emphasis upon the law of God. This all helped to explain the Disappointment. Even Joseph Marsh, in his *Voice of Truth*, at Rochester, New York, had written:

"We cheerfully admit that we have been mistaken in the *nature* of the event we expected would occur on the tenth of the seventh month; but we cannot yet admit that our great High Priest did not *on that very day*, accomplish *all* that the type would justify us to expect. We now believe he did." ²²

XII. Periodical Articles Carry "Light" to Adventists

By the spring of 1845, Edson, Crosier, and Hahn had carried their studies to a point where the sanctuary, its services, and its cleansing stood forth clearly in their minds, with its various phases in quite balanced and symmetrical form, as the "light and truth" that the scattered flock then needed. As for themselves, it made the blessed gospel of Christ luminous with a deeper, fuller meaning, and shed light on the entire question of their disappointment, as well as on the propriety and justification of the Advent Movement. It gave significance

²² Editorial, *Voice of Truth*, Nov. 7, 1844, p. 166.

Day-Dawn, and publish this truth."²⁵ Among others, it reached Joseph Bates and James White, both of whom accepted it gladly. The article was likewise received heartily by the local Port Gibson group. And the favorable reception accorded it by Enoch Jacobs, editor of the *Day-Star* of Cincinnati, encouraged them next to write out a fuller systematic exposition—covering “fifty foolscap sheets”—to reach its larger list of subscribers.²⁶

This appeared, in time, as a large *Day-Star* Extra (a double number), of February 7, 1846. The article bore the endorsing signatures of Hiram Edson and F. B. Hahn at the close, thus representing their united conclusions. They shared the expense between them, and spread their findings as far as they could. Mrs. Edson even sold her set of silver spoons, a wedding gift, to help provide the needed money. Joseph Bates and James White were particularly pleased with this fuller presentation. Bates said it was the best thus far produced on the subject. It brought light and hope to many.

The early *Day-Dawn* articles appeared in 1845,²⁷ and the *Day-Star* amplification some ten months later.²⁸ Another article by Crosier appeared in Joseph Marsh's paper,²⁹ presenting ten fundamental points on the sanctuary, which he used in combating the spiritual-advent idea. The sanctuary doctrine, emanating from Port Gibson and Canandaigua, was thus spread far and wide and was gladly received by many.

XIII. Important Conference Convened at Edson's Place

As before noted, when copies of the initial *Day-Dawn* presentation came into the hands of Joseph Bates and James White and various other Eastern Adventists, many readily

²⁵ See Crosier Ms.

²⁶ See Appendix D for epitome of entire Crosier article on the sanctuary.

²⁷ Portions later reprinted in the *Review and Herald* of May 5, 1851, pp. 78, 79; with later comment in *Review* of March 17, 1853, p. 176.

²⁸ Crosier had been an occasional contributor to the *Day-Star*. See issues of Aug. 25, Oct. 11, and Nov. 15, 1845, and May 16, 1846. Some points on the sanctuary also appeared in these issues.

²⁹ *Voice of Truth*, Oct. 21, 1845, p. 505.

accepted the position set forth. It was therefore the *Day-Dawn* articles that opened up correspondence between their sponsors and the New England leaders. Later a conference of the "scattered remnant" was appointed for Edson's place, and these Eastern brethren were invited to meet with them. Among them, Bates and White both started for the conference. White, however, was called back to conduct a funeral, and was unable to be present. But Bates arrived, and was invited to participate in the services. This he did.

Bates's burden was the relation of the seventh-day Sabbath to the sanctuary position. During his presentation Edson became so interested and delighted that he could hardly keep his seat. And upon its conclusion he was on his feet with the declaration: "That is light and truth! The seventh day is the Sabbath, and I am with you to keep it!" He had already caught certain glimpses of the Sabbath through his study of the sanctuary, the ark, and the Ten Commandments, and through reading "a few lines from T. M. Preble,"* but he had not yet seen its importance. This was the first public instance of joining the sanctuary and Sabbath positions in united relationship, these constituting two of three distinctive tenets of faith characterizing this slowly forming body of believers, which had their inception in widely separated spots. (See map on p. 845.)

So the Port Gibson group was the first to take its stand on the dual nature, or two phases, of Christ's high priestly ministry in relation to the heavenly sanctuary service in general. A little later, in 1848, in the series of six important "Sabbath Conferences," one was to be held in Edson's barn, hallowed with sacred memories of the hour of prayer and assurance on the early morning of October 23, 1844. Nearly all of the Sabbathkeepers in western New York and adjoining States were in attendance somewhere in the series. These conferences will be carefully discussed in chapter 47.

* Edson, Ms., "Life and Experience," p. 10; Spicer, *Pioneer Days*, pp. 61, 62.

We must now notice the second of three widely separated groups, or nuclei, of the emerging Seventh-day Adventist denomination. The first group, centered in western New York, who had studied the prophetic bearing of the sanctuary teaching, soon made contact with the second nucleus in New Hampshire—the small group who had begun to observe the seventh-day Sabbath of the fourth commandment. The rise of Sabbatarian Adventism will next be traced.

Seventeenth-Century Emergence of Sabbath Issue

I. Historical Beginnings of the Sabbath Revival

We now turn to the second distinguishing doctrine of the Sabbatarian Adventists—their acceptance and observance of the seventh-day Sabbath. Prophetic interpretation, as we have seen from the sources, has persisted through the vicissitudes of the passing centuries, despite certain stormy upheavals and periodic setbacks. In a similar way, though not so commonly known, the Christian observance of the seventh-day Sabbath has likewise persisted throughout the Christian Era. At times it has been driven underground, into silence and obscurity. But it has inevitably reappeared to bear its witness and urge its message upon mankind. The Sabbath, and its change and restoration, are tied inseparably into the very structure of Bible prophecy, the Sabbatarian Adventists firmly believed.

From postapostolic times down to the fifth century its observance continued on in various parts of the Roman Empire, though with diminishing force and adherence. It was even observed by some in Rome in the sixth century, to the distress of Pope Gregory I, the Great.¹ And eminent historians state that it was likewise the practice of some in the Celtic Church in Scotland. And the same practice was carried on down in Ethiopia and Abyssinia and up in pre-Reformation Norway.

In Reformation and post-Reformation times Sabbath-

¹ See Frank H. Yost, *The Early Christian Sabbath* (1947); Walter E. Straw, *Origin of Sunday Observance* (1939); Robert Leo Odom, *Sunday in Roman Paganism* (1944).

keeping reappeared in Sweden and Finland, in Bohemia and Poland, as well as in France, and more aggressively in Germany. But such observance was particularly true in England, where a definite Sabbatarian revival occurred among the Baptists.² This, in time, was crystallized into the Seventh Day Baptist communion. And from the Seventh Day Baptists in England came Samuel Mumford to Colonial America in 1664, as the pioneer Sabbathkeeper in this land. That is the connecting link.

Agitation over the Sabbath arose in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth (d. 1603), and was the center of sharp controversy for more than a century. Controversial writings began to appear in 1585. The liberal attitude concerning Sunday observance, counseled in the *Book of Sports* published by James I, added fuel to the flames, and noted theologians began to wield their pens in earnest. Well over a hundred tractates and books appeared in Britain alone.³ The conflict between the Anglicans and the rigid positions of the Puritans was a contributing factor, and the Fifth Monarchy expectations intensified the Sabbath issue.

Illustrious names were involved—Theophilus Brabourn, Peter Heylen, Francis White, Thomas Tillam, William Saller, Edward Stennett, and many others. Clergymen were deposed for their Sabbath faith. Men and women—like John and Dorothy Traske—were sent to prison for their Sabbatarian practices, and John James was put to death in the tension of the times. The conflict continued for decades, and intensive discussions and debates were the order of the day.

Men of prominence, like Cambridge professor of mathematics William Whiston (d. 1752), London barrister Sir William Tempest (d. 1761), court physician Dr. Peter Chamberlen (d. 1684), Anglican clergyman Francis Bampfield, and Commonwealth speaker of the House of Commons Thomas

² On these historical backgrounds see J. N. Andrews and L. R. Conradi, *History of the Sabbath*; A. H. Lewis, *A Critical History of the Sabbath and the Sunday* (1903); *Source Book for Bible Students* (1927), pp. 505-508; *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America*, 2 vols. (1910).

³ Based on personal research in the British Museum and other British libraries. Photostats in Advent Source Collection.

Bampfield were on the roster of Sabbatarians. These men all charged the papal Antichrist of prophecy with making the change in the law of God foretold in Daniel 7:25. This was definitely a matter of prophecy, they held. They solemnly averred that there is no divine command or sanction authorizing the change, and that the original Sabbath of the divine precept is therefore binding on all men. Citation of the case of Dr. Peter Chamberlen must suffice as an example. And that we may see the character and caliber of these men, we shall trace Chamberlen in some detail.

II. Dr. Peter Chamberlen—Sabbatarian Court Physician

PETER CHAMBERLEN,⁴ M.D. (1601-1683), brilliant court physician to three Stuart kings of England—James I, Charles I, and Charles II—and their queens, and a pioneer in scientific midwifery, was at the same time a Nonconformist, and for several years a Baptist pastor. But, most unique of all for a man in his position, for the last thirty-two years of his life he was an observer of the seventh day as the Sabbath. He was descended from a distinguished family of French Huguenots, the family leaving France in time to escape the bloody St. Bartholomew's Massacre of 1572, and settling in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Both Peter's father and grandfather were well-known physicians in London. But Peter's distinction was in achievement rather than ancestry. He was born at Blackfriars and educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. From thence he was sent to Heidelberg, Germany, and to Padua, Italy, for medical training. From the latter university he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1619. He was rigidly examined, and his degree was approved by Oxford in 1620 and by Cambridge in 1621.⁵ According to the records, Peter first assisted in the medi-

⁴ Variantly spelled, ending with -lain, -laine, -lan, -leyne, and -len, which last form he used personally.

⁵ Biographical data from J. H. Aveling, M.D., *The Chamberlens*; J. W. Thirtle, in *Transactions of Baptist Historical Society*, vol. 2, pp. 9-30, and vol. 3, pp. 176-188; William Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, vol. 1, pp. 194-197, and N. Moore, M.A., in vol. 16, p. 14; and J. H. A. Micklewright, *Notes and Queries* (vol. 191),

cal care of James I (d. 1625), succeeding his uncle, Pierre Chamberlen, as physician.

In 1628 Chamberlen was granted an examination, followed by a fellowship in the Royal College of Physicians, and was soon selected to give the yearly demonstrations in anatomy to the barber-surgeons. He is reputed to have improved, if not indeed to have invented, the obstetrical forceps. In many ways he was far ahead of his age. He was a decided progressive—a man of ideas and achievements. In other matters he was distinctly a victim of his age. His role was cast in the troubled times of the Interregnum and Cromwell. He achieved fame, and his medical skill and surgical knowledge were jealously retained by the house of Stuart. Because of his eminence his religious liberty seems not to have been curtailed, as was the case with most other Baptists of the time.

Following his service to James I, when Charles I came to the throne in 1625, the young doctor was again appointed physician to the king and queen, and was held in highest esteem by the court. His reputation was such that the czar of Russia later sought to secure him as his physician. But Charles II, to whom Chamberlen also ministered, would not release him.

Chamberlen was a reformer in medicine, pressing his cause before high and low. He took up the burden that his father had carried back in 1616—to create professional standards and to have proper supervision for midwives. He proposed they be organized into a sisterhood and have a special garb. This he presented before a meeting of the “College of Phisitions.” But after much discussion it all came to nought. The measure had to wait more than two centuries before it was wrought into law.

Disappointed in that endeavor, Chamberlen next proposed a system of hydrotherapeutics—the use of hot and cold water—as a remedial agency to relieve pain, promote convalescence, and to cure disease. He advocated baths and bath stoves. But

Oct. 15, 1946, pp. 137. 138. Autobiographical data, by Chamberlen, appears in *A Voice in Rhama* (1634).

the College of Physicians likewise opposed and rejected this proposal in 1648—it being considered dangerous for cold climates.

Although later Chamberlen appealed for the application of the principles of the good Samaritan to human needs, the breach between Chamberlen and his fellow physicians grew wider. So in 1649 he was disfellowshipped from membership in the College of Physicians. Yet he remained the royal physician to three kings, and was retained for years thereafter as court physician.

Now let us turn to another side of Chamberlen. In his religious life too, Chamberlen was a reformer. He became a sincere, baptized Christian believer in 1648, and joined the church of which John More was pastor. Formerly classified among the Independents, he was now labeled an Anabaptist—and so became the object of increasing scorn and sneers.

Always a man of ideas, Chamberlen entered actively into the arena of religious discussion, and maintained a series of spirited discussions with the religious leaders of his day—in fact, virtually until his death. He wrote at least ten unusual religious broadsides and tracts, and was ever the center of controversy.

Among the issues under discussion was that of Sabbatarianism. Public debates were then the order of the day. So he had a debate with Cranford—*Disputes Between Cranford and Chamberlen* (1652). This was followed by a four-day debate between Chamberlen, Coppinger,⁶ Tillam, and Ives in the Stone Chapel in old St. Paul's Cathedral. The issue was over worship on a special day of the week, that is, the Sabbath.

In 1654, 150 signatories asked Dr. Chamberlen to lead them in worship. So at the age of fifty-three he assumed the dual role of pastor and physician. And after the Restoration, upon the accession of Charles II (1660), he was once more made physician to the king, and thus escaped persecution. Chamberlen could not escape the jibes and jeers of those who

⁶ Matthew Coppinger was a pedo-Baptist, a survivor of the Traske movement.

resented his religious teachings, however, for he had not only been a Puritan but was now of the smallest of the despised sects—the Seventh Day Baptists. He was a contemporary of John Bunyan,⁷ who also suffered for his faith in prison. It was the temper of the times. Like many others, Chamberlen was denounced as mad, and like Francis Bampfield and other clerics, was called a “Jew” in contempt of his Sabbathkeeping. These epithets aroused his indignation, and he was not hesitant about saying so. In 1666 he published *A Sober Man's Vindication*. In this he spoke of the evils afflicting the nations, and rehearsed the five proposals he had put forth to save lives.

Still smarting under the unjust calumny, Chamberlen wrote to Archbishop William Sancroft his interesting *Letter to the Jews*, dated July 2, 1680. Though objecting to being styled a “Jew” by way of contempt, Chamberlen took a real interest in that scattered people. He also wrote to them as “Sons of the East” (1682). He too was a student of the book of Daniel, and had had discussions with certain Jewish rabbis at Geneva, touching on prophecy's prediction of the Sabbath's change. So he wrote:

“I have heard, that some (of the most Worthy amongst You) have made some Enquiry after a few Christians who keep the *Sabbath* of the Lord Your God, and Ours. Wherefore, (by the Providence of God) having been the First that endeavoured to rescue that Commandment from the Triple-crowned-little Horns Change of Times and Laws, as was foretold by your Prophet *Daniel*, (chap. 7. 25).”⁸

He was convinced from Daniel's great prophetic outline as to the Papacy's responsibility for the change of the fourth precept of God's law, with its Sabbath-time requirement.

Chamberlen began the personal observance of the seventh-day Sabbath in 1651, though it was evidently several years before he presented his Sabbath faith publicly to the world. It was

⁷ JOHN BUNYAN (1628-1688), celebrated author of *Pilgrim's Progress*, followed his father as a tinker. He was then a soldier. Bunyan joined the Nonconformists in 1653, at Bedford. He was appointed preacher by the congregation in 1655. Arrested in 1660, under the statutes against Nonconformists, he was “detained” in prison at Bedford until 1672, when Charles II suspended the statutes. During the remainder of his life he served as pastor to the New Bedford congregation. Part of *Pilgrim's Progress* was written during his imprisonment.

⁸ A broadside, *The Sons of the East*; see also J. H. Aveling, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 112.

during the period of 1652-1654 that Dr. Chamberlen began openly to express himself in most vigorous terms on the seventh-day Sabbath. Though he was a Sabbatarian personally, he apparently still presided over a congregation that did not observe Saturday as the Sabbath.⁹ The records of the church speak of meetings on certain days of the month and year. This was the peak of the period of intense Sabbath agitation, with Spittalhouse, Saller, and Tillam writing on the seventh-day side. In 1658 the series of discussions took place in "Stone-Chappel by Pauls," London, involving Chamberlen, Tillam, and Coppinger, and against Jeremiah Ives.

This clash split the church in 1654, and Chamberlen associated himself with the dissentient group. Following the break-up, Chamberlen entered upon a new chapter in his career—he left the pulpit for the pew. The Mill Yard Seventh Day Baptist Church,¹⁰ which accorded the doctor a welcome, was then in the heyday of its prominence. Dr. Chamberlen, now free from pastoral cares, gave himself to the fellowship of this church. His name appears on the church book when he took part in the famous debate with Jeremiah Ives over the Sabbath.

In the same year, 1654, Chamberlen, disappointed that the kingdom of God on earth¹¹ had not been realized in the Commonwealth, wrote *A Scourge for a Den of Thieves*. And as a diversion he turned his fertile mind to invention—horseless carriages propelled by wind, tariff reform, et cetera. In such connections, his name is mentioned many times in state papers. His public activities, and particularly his inventions, were all for the public good. But inventors were then commonly looked upon as simply trying to fleece the public, and finally in 1675 the Mill Yard Church expelled Chamberlen from church fel-

⁹ Joseph Stennett, though a Sabbatarian, likewise served as pastor of the First Day "Little Wild Street Church." This was not an uncommon practice.

¹⁰ The Mill Yard Church is said to have been started by John Traske. As noted, Mrs. Traske went to prison for sixteen years for resting on the Sabbath and working on the "Lord's Day"—which ended only with her death. (J. W. Thirtle, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 183.) Seventh Day Baptists in those days believed they should work on Sunday as well as rest on Saturday (*Ibid.*, p. 179). Returne Hebdon was likewise imprisoned for the same reason.

¹¹ The name "Peter Chamberlen," as noted, was on the Fifth Monarchy Manifesto of 1654.

lowship—because of allegedly pursuing his own interests and filling his own pocket.

Toward the close of his life Chamberlen had one great burden—to affect a reconciliation of all the different churches that held the name of Christian. This he embodied in a letter to Gilbert Sheldon, then Archbishop of Canterbury.¹² Chamberlen urged healing for the nation—"oyl and wine" for the wounds of the world. He was against pride and contention, and urged that the pope and his cardinals, and the heads of the various papal orders, together with the chief Protestant leaders, be brought together to seek reunion.¹³

Before Archbishop Sheldon's death in 1677, Chamberlen again wrote him on the prophetic angle of the papal change of the Sabbath, referring to the "mark of the beast," pressing upon the peace of Christendom, and urging him—

"to Unite All the Churches of Europe into a Reformation, by Advising about the Angels [coming?] to the greatly beloved Prophet Daniel Concerning the Little Triple Crowned Horn's Change of Times & Lawes Which being Discovered What Times & Lawes those are. Good Counsell may be taken from those Angels that appeared to the Beloved Disciple John, to Blott out & Escape the Mark of the Beast: & Return to the Keeping of the Lawes of God, & the Faith of Jesus, as celebrated by the Angels."¹⁴

In April of 1682 Chamberlen had written requesting permission to print a "disputation" upon part of the seventh of Daniel. He wanted—

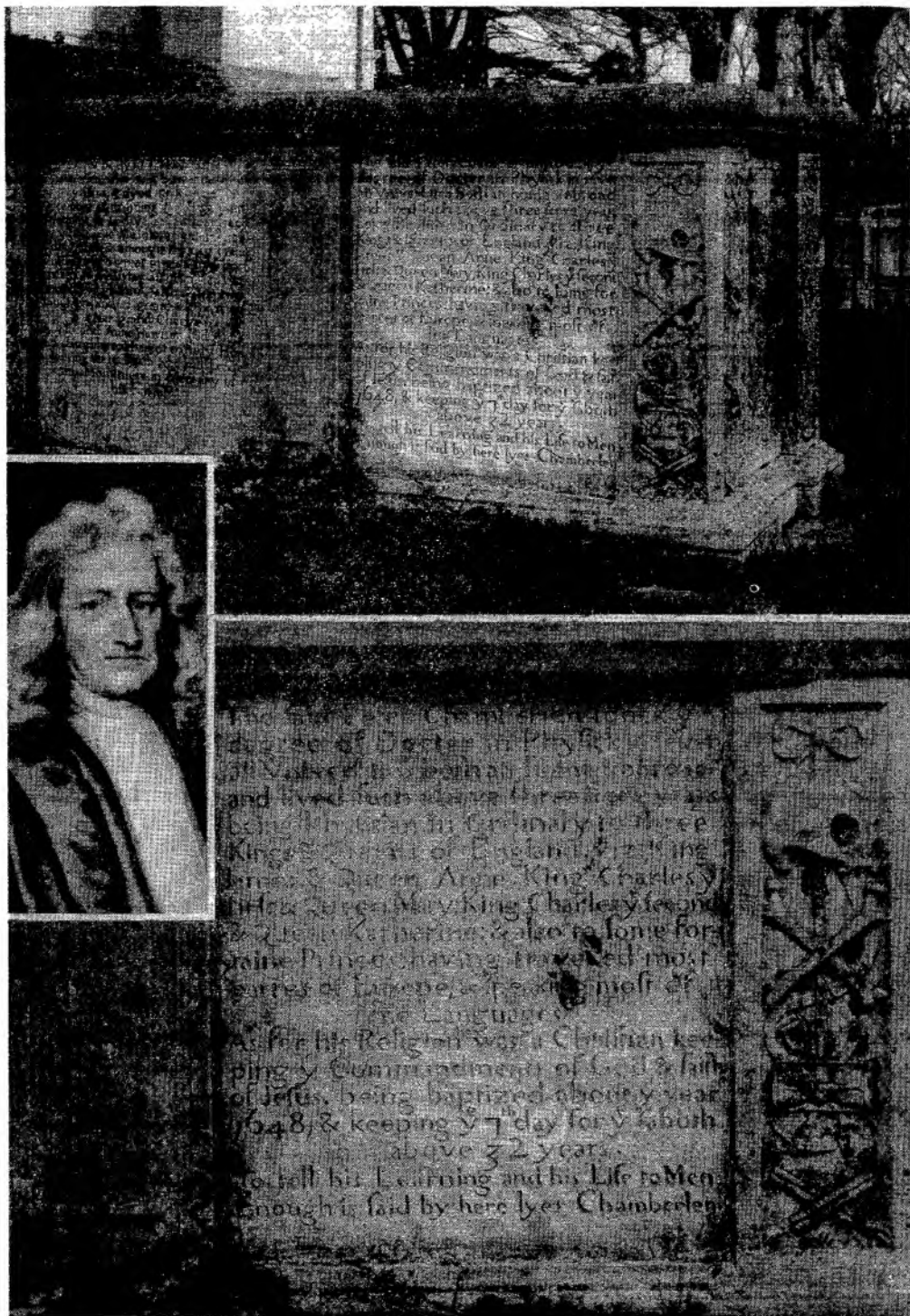
"to make this One Question in Print, to all Bishops and Clergy, and both Universities. Who is Meant by the Little Horn in Daniel (Chap. 7th) before whom 3 Horn Kings fell, pluckt up by the Roots. Who had Eyes like a man, and his Looks more Stout than his fellowes. And a Mouth Speaking Great things of Blasphemy. Killing and Wearing out the Saints of Ye most High, and thinking to change Times and Lawes. To which, if I obtain no Answer, then after one Moneth, to Publish my Opinion in Print."¹⁵

¹² Upon the restoration of the monarchy, Gilbert Sheldon (1598-1677) was made bishop of London, and in 1663 advanced to archbishop of Canterbury. A strong high churchman, he was also a patron of learning.

¹³ Dated Oct. 2, 1673.

¹⁴ Tanner Ms., No. 36, fol. 147 (at Bodleian Library, Oxford); also given in J. H. Aveling, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 117.

¹⁵ Tanner Ms., No. 35, fol. 2; printed in J. H. Aveling, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 120.



NOTED ENGLISH COURT PHYSICIAN A PIONEER SABBATARIAN

Dr. Peter Chamberlen, Physician to James I, Charles I, and Charles II, and Their Queens, Was a Sabbathkeeper for Thirty-two Years, as Recorded on His Impressive Tombstone. He Was a Stalwart Among the Progressive Scientists of the Time. (Lower) Close-up of Historic Biographical Statement

That he understood the Little Horn to be the Papacy, springing out of the horn-kingdom divisions of Rome, is crystal clear.

Dr. Chamberlen wrote his will in May, 1681, when eighty years of age, referring to himself as "Doctor of Phisic." This Sabbatarian court physician rested in the love and mercy of God, in His free pardon and full remission of sin, and in the inheritance of eternal life. Moreover, he held death to be a sleep—resting in darkness from sorrow and labor. On the morning of the resurrection he believed he would awaken clothed in eternal light.¹⁶ His life story is compressed into this quaint tombstone epitaph in the churchyard of Woodham Mortimer, in Essex:

"The said Peter Chamberlen tooke ye degree of Docter in Physick in severall Universities both att home & abroad and lived such above three score years being Physician in Ordinary to three Kings & Queens of England, viz. King James & Queen Anne, King Charles ye first & Queen Mary, King Charles ye second & Queen Katherine; & also to some forraine Princes: having travelled most partes of Europe, & speaking most of the Languages. As for his Religion he was a Christian keeping ye Commandments of God & faith of Jesus, being baptized about ye year 1648, & keeping ye 7th day for ye Saboth above 32 years. To tell his Learning and his Life to Men; Enough is said by here lyes Chamberlen."

III. Daniel's Prophecy of Sabbath-Change Constantly Affirmed

As mentioned, the prophetic aspect of the Sabbath issue runs like a golden thread all through the tapestry of this Sabbath-Sunday literature. Thus it was with the Saller and Spittalhouse *Appeal to the Consciences of the Chief Magistrates of This Commonwealth* (1657), which persuaded Thomas Bampfield. In speaking of the prophesied change of the Sabbath, they said:

¹⁶ Various men about this time came to hold that immortality is a gift bestowed through Christ at the second advent—one even going to the Tower for his faith. Thus with Richard Overton and his *Man Wholly Mortal*, issued in 1653, which caused considerable excitement. On August 26, 1644, the House of Commons ordered the author, printer, and publisher to be "diligently sought for," and Overton was sent to the Tower of London for his "soul-sleeping" innovation. (C. E. Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism From the Restoration to the Revolution*, p. 317. On Overton see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, p. 575.)

"It is as much a changing of the Truth of God into a lie, as in any other action of the Man of sin, 2 *Thes.* 2.4, & it being a *grand Character* of the *man of sin* to change Times and Laws, Dan. 7:25." ¹⁷

On the contrary, in his opposing treatise on *The Jews Sabbath Antiquated, and the Lords Day Instituted* (1659), Edmund Warren takes issue with such an exposition, and has recourse to the familiar old Antiochus Epiphanes theory, in these words:

"He [Thomas Tillam] would fain perswade silly people, That *Antichrist* changed the *Sabbath*, and goes about to prove it from Dan. 7. where we read of a little horn that thought to change Times and Laws; and with this little horn he makes a loud noise up and down his Book. But who told him that this horn was Antichrist? Our best Expositors take it to be meant of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and indeed Dan. 8. clearly proves it. But what desperate insolency is this, to take the crown of Christ and set it upon the head of Antichrist?" ¹⁸

So the Sabbath, and the prophecy of its change, were regarded back in the seventeenth century as inseparable.

IV. Establishment of Seventh Day Baptist Churches in America

The history of the early Seventh Day Baptists in America forms a significant page in the long chapter of struggle for soul liberty and the rights of conscience, spanning our Colonial history. It dates back, says Platts, almost to Plymouth Rock and the *Mayflower*. But those who came to New England to escape Established Church intolerance began to formulate doctrines and practices as severe against those who differed from them as had been those of the mother church from which they too had fled. To escape these severities, several Baptist refugees made their way through the unconquered forests to the New Haven Colony, now Connecticut. Not finding relief there, they established themselves in Rhode Island under the leadership of Roger Williams. Here was organized the first Baptist church of the colonies, at Providence.

¹⁷ William Saller and John Spittalhouse, *An Appeal to the Consciences of the Chief Magistrates of This Commonwealth*, p. 12.

¹⁸ Edmund Warren, *The Jews Sabbath Antiquated*, To the Reader [second page].

Then about 1664 Stephen Mumford, member of the Bell Lane Seventh Day Baptist Church of London, came to Rhode Island. Finding no church of his own faith, Mumford affiliated with the regular Baptists. Within a few years several families embraced his views on the seventh-day Sabbath and the perpetuity of the Ten Commandments—the Hubbards, Hiscoxes, Basters, Solomons, and Wilds. It was not their intention to sever their connection with the Baptist Church, fondly supposing that those who had suffered for Bible baptism would fellowship with those who defended the Bible Sabbath.

But that was not to be. Before long the Baptist leaders began to preach against the seventh-day Sabbath and to denounce its observers as heretics and schismatics. Some taught that the Ten Commandments were done away with. To the seventh-day adherents it was most dismaying. Indeed, the controversy became so sharp that four—Nicholas Wild and his wife and John Solomon and his wife—gave up the struggle and returned to Sundaykeeping. And then the issue of communion between the variant groups in the church brought the case to open trial. The Sabbathkeepers, cited to appear, hoped they would have a chance to state their case.

The church, however, refused to hear their reasons, and so the “faithful five” withdrew on December 7, 1671. And on December 23, they—with the pioneer Stephen Mumford and his wife—entered into a solemn covenant as they formed the first Seventh Day Baptist Church of the New World, at Newport. By 1705 there were three centers—Newport, Rhode Island; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Piscataway, New Jersey. And by 1802 there were about two thousand members in twenty churches, scattered from New England to Georgia.¹⁹

¹⁹ Lewis A. Platts, “Seventh-day Baptists in America Previous to 1802,” *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America*, vol. 1, pp. 119-125, 133.

The Sabbath

Penetrates the Western World

I. Continental European Agitation Transferred to America

A similar revival of the seventh-day Sabbath observance occurred in Germany and Holland in the seventeenth century. Certain Pietistic groups sought to foster a more vital religious experience, with serious controversies arising as a result. One of these groups was known as the German Baptists, or Dunkers. Persecution drove many, like the Mennonites and *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren, to seek refuge in America. Some settled in Pennsylvania, near Germantown. Another group located at Ephrata, near Lancaster, where the seventh-day Sabbath began to be observed. Conrad Beissel and Michael Wohlfarth issued books in 1728 and 1729, on the principles at stake in the seventh-day Sabbath observance. The Beissel title reads, *The Mystery of Lawlessness: or Lawless Antichrist Discover'd and Disclos'd Shewing that ALL those do belong to that Lawless Antichrist, who wilfully reject the Commandments of GOD, amongst which, is his holy, and by himself bless'd Seventh-Day-Sabbath, or his holy Rest, of which the same is a Type.*

Wohlfarth likewise published his own account of the certainty of the Sabbath, *The Lord's Seventh Day*, in both German and English, entitled *The Naked Truth, Standing against all Painted and Disguised Lies, Deceit and Falsehood, or the Lord's Seventh-Day-Sabbath Standing as a Mountain Immovable Forever.*

MYSTIRION ANOMIAS

THE

Mystery of Lawlessness

O. R.,

Lawless ANTICHRIST

DISCOVER'D and DISCLOS'D

Shewing that ALL those do belong to that Lawless Antichrist, who wilfully reject the Commandments of GOD, amongst which, is his holy, and by himself blessed *Seventh-Day-Sabbath*, or his holy Rest, of which the same is a Type.

For thus saith the Lord, *Exod. xx. ver. 10.*

The Seventh Day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God.

Written to the Honor of the Great GOD and his Holy Commands.

By **CUNRAD BEISELL.**

Translated out of the High-Dutch, by M. W.

Printed in the Year 1720

THE

NAKED TRUTH,

Standing against all Fancied and Disguised

Lies, Deceit and Falshood.

OR THE

Lord's Seventh-Day-Sabbath

Standing as a **MOUNTAIN** immovable for ever.

Proved by Three **WITNESSES** which cannot Lie.

By **M. W.**

Printed in the Year, 1729.

TWO 1729 SABBATH TREATISES PRINTED IN PHILADELPHIA

(Left) English Translation of Conrad Beissel's Unique *Mystery of Lawlessness*, First Printed in German; and (Right) Translator Michael Wohlfarth's *The Naked Truth*, Issued at the Same Time. One Was Printed on Benjamin Franklin's Press

A spectacular pilgrimage to Philadelphia, in 1735, was climaxed by the solemn proclamation of the seventh-day Sabbath from the steps of the city courthouse. Similar pilgrimages followed to New Jersey in 1738 and New England in 1744.

As noted, the Old World Sabbatarian writers had uniformly charged the Papacy with presumptuous responsibility for the attempted change of the Sabbath, as predicted in Daniel 7:25, which Little Horn power was considered to be the same as the Beast and the Babylon of the Apocalypse. Such audacious tampering, they declared, must be repudiated. So taught Tillam (1651), Saller (1657), Chamberlen (1682), Bampffield (1792), and others in the Old World—their positions thus tallying with these independent writers in the New. So eighteenth-century Sabbath agitation and Sabbath observance in North America were tied inseparably to Bible prophecy, and the substitution of Sunday was declared to be but a human act, without divine authorization and therefore invalid. Hence they maintained

that the seventh day was still the Christian Sabbath, binding upon all men.

This was true of Samuel Beebee (1722), English Seventh Day Baptist of Long Island, who published the earliest controversial work in America on the Sabbath. He too placed the issue squarely on the prophetic basis, borne out by the historical fulfillment. Here is his contention:

"Daniel also prophesied of this change, in his seventh chapter where he is speaking of the fourth Beast; supposed to be the *Roman Empire*, and ten kings, the powers thereof; *and another shall Rise after them, diverse from the rest*; which I take to be the *Roman Power* (called Christian, which is the Woman, the false Church, the Mother of Harlots Rode upon, Rev. 17:3) *and he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the Saints of the Most High and think to CHANGE TIMES and LAWS: and they shall be given into his hands, etc.*

"And now we see those Prophecies fulfilled, *to wit*, that the false Church, the Mother of Harlots, who Ruled over the *Roman Power*, and in Conjunction with it, TRANSGRESSED THE LAWS OF GOD, CHANGED THE TIME, AND ORDINANCES OF GOD'S SABBATH, and thereby broke the Everlasting Covenant; which was begun by *Constantine's Edict*, in the 4th Cent. which was the first Law that ever the First Day of the Week had for its celebration and was afterwards Confirmed by succeeding Emperors."¹

And this Sabbath revival, spreading in ever-widening circles, appears in the early nineteenth century in new sections of the New World as well as the Old. We shall next note a South American patriot, and then a Scottish advocate of the seventh-day Sabbath. Such developments form the background and throw clarifying light on the Sabbath emphasis of the slowly developing Sabbatarian Adventists.

II. Ramos Mexía Introduces Sabbath into Argentina

FRANCISCO HERMOGENES RAMOS MEXIA (1773-1825),² Argentine patriot—representative of his country in Pacajes (now Bolivia), and for a time serving in the Cabildo, helping

¹ Samuel Beebee, *An Humble Address to the Honourable Gordon Saltonstall, Esqr. Governor of His Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New England*, p. 71.

² Enrique Udaondo, *Diccionario biográfico argentino* (1938), pp. 882, 883; also two collections of letters (14 and 30, respectively), preserved by descendants of the patrician.

the executive power in the government at Buenos Aires during Argentina's struggle for independence from Spain—was born in Buenos Aires and received his training at Royal College Seminary of that city. A Scottish Protestant ancestral strain is recorded on his mother's side back to María Cristina Ross y Pozo, but his father was Spanish Catholic. In 1804 Don Francisco married the daughter of a brigadier of the Royal Spanish armies, who was also fiscal governor of the province of La Paz, Bolivia.

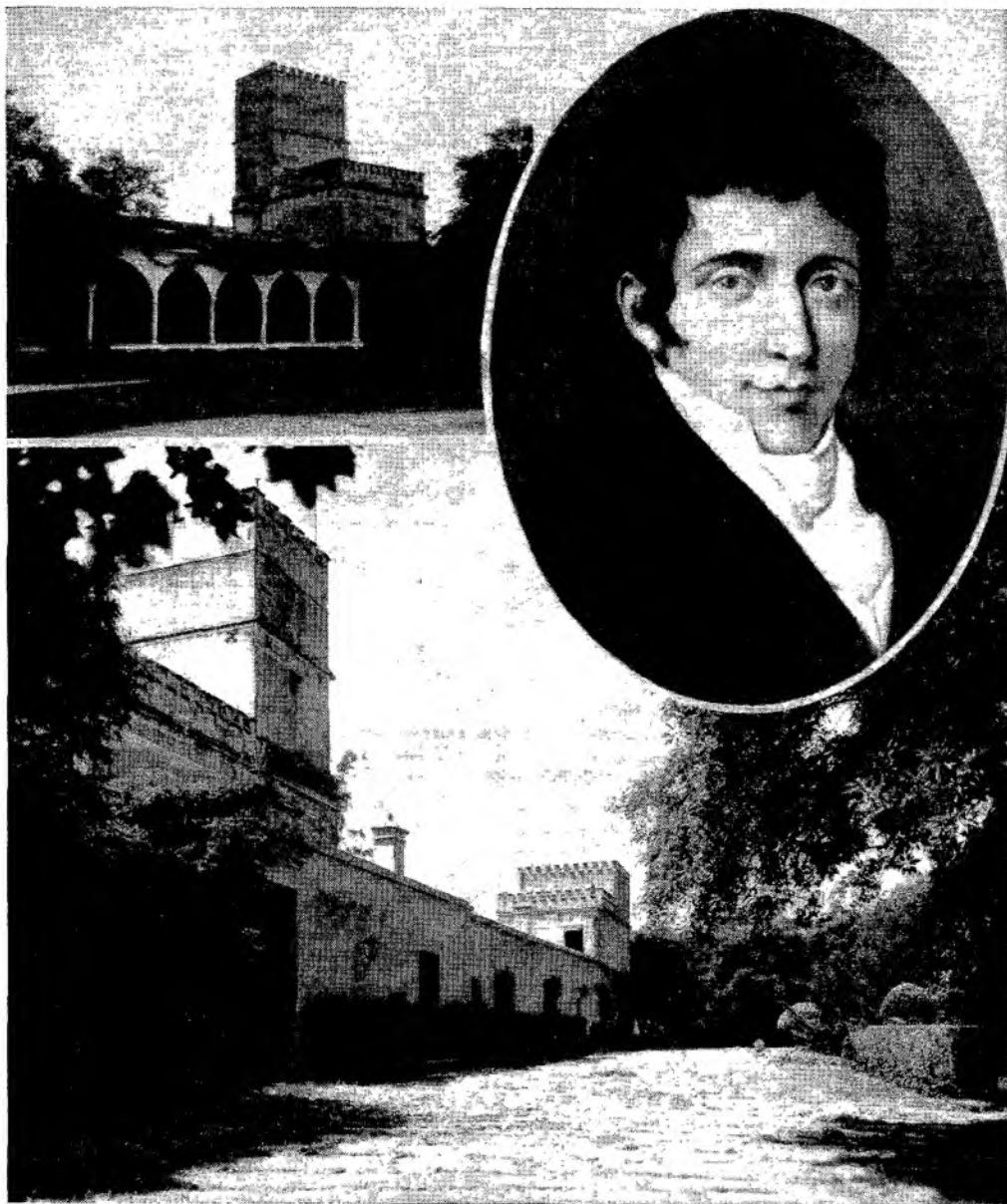
Ramos Mexía³ himself was a subdelegate of finance, as well as a delegate to the legislature of Argentina, and had a large estate at Miraflores, near Kaquel, south of Buenos Aires. He was also author of several unique treatises, including *Evangelio de que responde ante la nación el ciudadano Francisco Ramos Mexía* (The Gospel That Is Represented Before the Nation by the Citizen Ramos Mexía), and *Abecedario de la religión* (The A B C of Religion), both published in 1820. And these were written, it should be noted, in those convulsive days of ecclesiastical and political reform in Argentina which became to him a vivid symbol of the prophesied ruin of all things earthly.⁴

Clemente Ricci, late learned professor of ancient history in the Buenos Aires University and author of a score of important works on history and Christianity, penned several penetrating monographs on Ramos Mexía. In one of these he is described as a blend of the mystic, or visionary, and the rigid and inflexible reformer bent on following the Bible in its purity, constantly warring against the ecclesiastical hierarchy in its pontifical robes,⁵ and citing Biblical texts at every turn. He is called a "man of genius," and is important as a unique representative of Sabbatarianism in South America.

³ Because it is customary in Spanish-speaking countries to follow the family name of the father (Ramos) with that of the mother (Mexía), these two paternal surnames—Ramos Mexía—will be uniformly used together hereafter.

⁴ This chapter was written while the author was in Uruguay and Argentina, with access to Argentine scholars. Indebtedness for translations from the Spanish by Charles A. Rentfro, Leona Running, and Leo Odom is here recorded, and for source materials and photos to the grandson of Ramos Mexía. Additional research by D. Hammerly Dupuy has supplemented the evidence.

⁵ Clemente Ricci, *Un puritano argentino*, pp. 3, 4, 7, 8 (also in *La Reforma*, September, 1913).



PHOTOS BY FORERO

COURTESY OF AUGUSTIN ELIA

PALATIAL HOME OF ARGENTINEAN FRANCISCO RAMOS MEXIA

Spacious Fortress-Residence of Francisco Ramos Mexia at Tapiates, South of Buenos Aires, Showing the Lookouts and Beautiful Grounds. (Inset) Portrait of Don Francisco. In 1820-1821 He Blended the Heralding of the Second Advent and the Seventh-Day Sabbath

III. Like a Voice in the Desert of Apostasy

Ramos Mexía was ever the stalwart champion of justice and liberty. In tone and temperament he was more like the North American pioneer Roger Williams, Baptist founder of Rhode Island. He stood in sharp contrast to the South American Spanish noblemen of the time, who, fearless and daring, but superstitious and cruel, and armed with sword and spear, were constantly seeking gold and adventure, and were invariably accompanied by the Catholic friar, who ever raised the Roman altar on the fields of carnage and of booty.

Don Francisco was notoriously the great "Heretic of the South," preaching to the masses hungry for truth, reality, and social justice, and teaching that religion is an individual relationship to God, independent of an earthly priesthood, that the Father is to be worshiped in spirit and in truth, and that mere external forms but harm and falsify."

The very fact that a mere layman should occupy himself with religion was itself considered a heresy. According to current concept, how could there be any truth or true religion without a priest, a temple, and an altar? How could our heavenly Father be invoked outside the orbit of the church with its liturgy, robes, trappings, and incense? How was it possible to worship without the mass, or to be a Christian without the stipulated baptism and confession and all the sacraments? And how could religious morals be inculcated without recourse to the moral pressure of paradise, hell, and purgatory?

I. PROTESTS UNFAIR TREATMENT OF INDIANS.—According to Carranzas, Ramos Mexía was a member of the Government Council in the early days of the revolution, in 1811, and was a member of the Observers Commission in 1815-1816. Later, after becoming thoroughly immersed in the famous work on the second advent written by the noted Chilean Jesuit, Manuel Lacunza,⁷ he published his own memoirs. Then he represented

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.

⁷ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 303-324.

sixteen Pampas Indian chiefs in the peace treaty signed with the government of Buenos Aires on March 7, 1820, from his establishment at Miraflores.⁸ And he wrote a letter to Governor Marcos Balcarce protesting the treatment of the Indians by the Catholic officers and by the priests of the Roman faith, and sent with it a copy of his new *Abecedario de la religión* (The A B C of Religion).⁹

Professor Ricci, who brought Ramos Mexía out of the twilight of Argentine history, considers him unique in the annals of South America.¹⁰ Because of his relationship to police administration, he was able to prepare his own exposition of common law in its various religious, social, and juridical implications—which he did. This will be noted later.

2. CLAIMED TO BE SPOKESMAN FOR GOD.—Ramos Mexía comes into the limelight in the hectic period of South American independence movements, amid the distracting din of threats and battle and savage sorties of primitive ferocity that threatened to level everything substantial before them, and reduce all to ruin. It was during the height of these convulsions that a new national life struggled to see the light of day. And it was in the midst of conflicting voices, by various thinkers, statesmen, warriors, and orators, that the solitary figure of Francisco Ramos Mexía arose—the Argentine Puritan.

His was a character that would not bend his convictions before any earthly authority or force that might oppose him, for he considered himself as constituting a voice from on high, clothed with power to speak with authority to the people. He cited the epistle of Romans, from the Vulgate, with impressive emphasis, insisting that "only God is true and every man a liar." It was this authoritarian character of his declarations that provoked the wrath of the church. From his establishment at Miraflores his voice was heard like the voice of a prophet in the

⁸ C. Ricci, *Un puritano argentino*, p. 10.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-15. Historian Adolfo Saldías certifies to the faithfulness of the copy, declaring the original to be in his own archives. *Vida y escritos del Padre Castañeda*, pp. 201, 202.

¹⁰ Clemente Ricci, *En la penumbra de la historia*, p. 7 (also in *La Reforma*, December, 1912).

desert, vibrant with the "loneliness of the Pampa," declaring, "The Omnipotent has sent me to you—the Omnipotent has placed His hand on my shoulder—and since He took the veil from my face, I have never remained silent."¹¹

IV. Ramos Mexía, the Protestant; Lacunza, the Catholic

Most of Ramos Mexía's written works were later destroyed by his own family, during the auto da fé, for they were fanatically Catholic. But happily the marginal notations in his own characteristic handwriting have been preserved on the volumes of his set of Manuel Lacunza's *La venida del Mesías*,¹² who was his favorite author. Here Don Francisco's personality finds full expression.¹³ This annotated copy of Lacunza is the famous London Belgrano edition of 1816, published in Spanish, at London, specifically for distribution in Argentina. Here is revived the old teaching of twelfth-century Joachim of Floris, which had largely fallen into discard,¹⁴ but which had markedly influenced the Protestant Reformation positions on prophecy.

1. THE ALL-SUFFICIENCY OF THE BIBLE.—The contrast between Lacunza and Ramos Mexía is most illuminating. Their only common ground is the doctrine of the blessed second advent. In Lacunza we have largely the Catholic theologian, whereas in Ramos Mexía the Protestant theologian is ever present—hence, his critique on the Lacunzan text. Ramos Mexía holds the sixteenth-century Reformation position—no other book but the Bible; no other authority in the whole world but Sacred Scripture. To him it is the inspired Word of God, containing all that man needs to know and embracing the transcendent secrets of past and future. Thus Ramos Mexía is basically the Calvinist Presbyterian and is decidedly Puritan in his concept of the individual and of society.¹⁵ He did not learn any-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹² On Lacunza, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 303-324.

¹³ Clemente Ricci, *Francisco Ramos Mexía: "Un heterodoxo argentino como hombre de genio y como precursor,"* pp. 6, 7 (also in *La Reforma*, July, 1923).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* (also in *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 683-716).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

thing fundamental from Lacunza, as his own theology was completed before he had knowledge of the Chilean Jesuit. And he also possessed an excellent knowledge of Latin, and his Biblical citations from the Vulgate penetrate to its inner meaning.¹⁶

2. RAMOS MEXIA—PROFOUND PROTESTANT THEOLOGIAN.—In another Ricci monograph, *Francisco Ramos Mexia y el Padre Lacunza*,¹⁷ the professor comments on a scholarly work by Dr. Abel Chaneón, entitled *En torno de un "papel anónimo" del siglo XVIII* (Concerning an Anonymous Paper of the 18th Century).¹⁸ This noted writer claimed that Ramos Mexia obtained his views from Lacunza. But Ricci insists that Ramos Mexia's exegetical and theological system is diametrically opposed to that of the Chilean Jesuit. Lacunza is the able Catholic theologian; Ramos Mexia the profound Protestant theologian. Though believing in the advent, he at the same time attacks the Catholic system, basing his own views to no small degree on Lutheran and Calvinist theology. Lacunza had endeavored to support his Adventist faith by Catholic theories, hence the indignant retort of Velez and of Catholic theologians.

Ramos Mexia, on the contrary, frankly recognized the undeniable "heresy" of Adventism, but based his own Adventism solidly on Biblical exegesis, which was the heart of the Protestant thesis. Lacunza, on the other hand, had resided for many years at Imola and Bologna—that region of Italy which was a constant source of "heresies." This was where Joachim of Floris had produced his *Expositio apocalypsis*,¹⁹ which was available both in the original and in clandestine translations. In contradistinction, the Adventism of Ramos Mexia had its origin in Daniel, Paul, and John, as well as in the teachings of the Montanists, the Fraticelli, the Bohemian Brethren, and numerous other "sects."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 10.

¹⁷ Clemente Ricci, *Francisco Ramos Mexia y el Padre Lacunza*, pp. 9-12 (also in *La Reforma*, May, 1929).

¹⁸ Published by the Institute of Historical Investigations of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the Buenos Aires University.

¹⁹ Ricci, *Francisco Ramos Mexia y el Padre Lacunza*, pp. 11, 12.

3. APOSTASY FOLLOWS TIME OF CONSTANTINE.—Ramos Mexía's concept of the original conflict of the primitive church is intriguing, as he compares it with the fateful epoch of Constantine. On the margin of page 384 of Lacunza's Volume III, Ramos Mexía wrote tersely:

"For this they say that fifteen centuries of Rome are worth more than three obscure ones of the first faithful, including the Apostles; against whom they arise and say that they governed themselves without a constitution. Ignorants!"²⁰

And on page 391 he insists:

"Consequently the present church closed its eyes obstinately to the Light, and its ears to the voices of the Messengers, after the first three centuries had elapsed. How much more would they now close their ears and their eyes."²¹

V. Ramos Mexía Protestant in Theology

1. RESTS COMPLETELY IN CHRIST'S SACRIFICE.—Ramos Mexía's purely Protestant theology is on record through his marginal notations on Lacunza (Vol. IV, p. 387), "The just lives by faith, before Jesus"—virtually the same words used by Luther.²² And the complete sufficiency of the sacrifice of Calvary, and our one and only priest—another fundamental postulate of the Reformation—is likewise clearly expressed:

"... there should be no priests, nor repetition of sacrifices, neither daily nor annual: in view of the fact that the sacrifice which Jesus Christ offered once in His body, is enough and more than sufficient [sobra] by that one occasion to blot out the sins of the world, from among all the generations of the world from Adam till its end."²³

He calls transubstantiation crude "idolatry," and declares that Jesus Christ does not excuse "idolatry in a little flour and a little wine."²⁴

2. THE COMING KINGDOM HIS SOLE HOPE.—The advent of the kingdom of God is his sole hope and faith, though "the nations are still in possession of the enemy." Then he invokes,

²⁰ Ricci, *Francisco Ramos Mexía: Un heterodoxo argentino*, p. 11 (also in *La Reforma*, July, 1923).

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 23.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

"Jesus, son of David, Thy Kingdom come!"²⁵ And on a later page he declares that all mankind, individually and personally, "is being invited to the place each one will occupy, when Thy Kingdom shall come."²⁶

3. LITERAL RESURRECTION AND MORNING STAR SOON.—Ramos Mexía likewise insisted on a literal resurrection to take place "soon." Though it may be disputed by men, he expects to "see the Morning Star of the morrow."²⁷ The world has passed its midnight, and he sees the dawning light of Jesus the Light Bearer, who will make all things right. Ramos Mexía likewise strikes at the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, pulverizing it with Protestant logic, and declaring it to be an "impiety."²⁸

VI. Lancastrian Schools Spread Biblical Knowledge

Yet another factor that had a bearing was the Lancastrian system of monitorial education, which was commonly coupled with the distribution of the Bible and free education for the emancipated masses. This plan had its inception in 1787 with a Scotsman, Dr. Andrew Bell, but was perfected by Joseph Lancaster, an English Quaker, who reduced it to a system in 1801,²⁹ writing several books thereon. This was fundamentally a mutual help provision, not requiring much money, and in which a few preceptors could help a large number of children, the teaching being conducted largely by monitors. This plan, then in vogue in many schools of Europe and the United States, had penetrated South America about this time. It was in operation in Mexico,³⁰ and was also employed in Chile and other countries.³¹

²⁵ Ramos Mexía's marginal notations in Lacunza, Vol. III, p. 28.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 26.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁹ JOSEPH LANCASTER (1778-1838), founder of the Lancastrian system of monitorial instruction, became a teacher with more than one thousand pupils under his care. He perfected the Andrew Bell system. Gaining the support of royalty, the Royal Lancastrian Society was formed, and schools were established. This then developed into the British and Foreign School Society, supported by Nonconformist churches. The plan spread to Holland, France, and Germany, and to the United States. Then it was extended to Mexico and several South American countries.

³⁰ Jesús Romero Flores, *Historia de la civilización mexicana*, pp. 246-248.

³¹ Domingo Amunátegui Solar, *El sistema de Lancaster en Chile i en otros países Sud-Americanos* (Santiago, 1895), pp. 14-19.

In these Lancastrian schools of mutual learning the Bible was adopted as a reading text. After Lancaster, Diego Thomson was doubtless the most active propagator of the new system in South America. In due time he arrived at Buenos Aires, representing both the Lancastrian Schools (called the British and Foreign School Society), and the British and Foreign Bible Society. He founded some one hundred schools in Buenos Aires, with five thousand children, for which he received from the government council the title of Honorary Argentine Citizen. Thomson sought to spread not only his school system but also the knowledge of the Bible. And he was one of the first who sought liberty of worship for South America. He built schools in Uruguay, Bolivia, Chile, Peru, and Ecuador. In Bogotá he founded the Colombian Bible Society, the sole object of which was to publish and distribute the Scriptures in Spanish.³² Thomson's work had the approval of the Argentine president, who liberalized the constitution.

VII. Irreconcilable Conflict Between Castañeda and Ramos Mexía

Such free education for the masses, coupled with free circulation of the Scriptures, alarmed the Roman hierarchy. This was particularly true in the case of Friar Francisco de Paula Castañeda (c. 1770-1832), crusading priest and church writer against democratic trends and governments as well as heretics and their heterodoxies. Castañeda was exiled to a remote spot in the Pampas, where he encountered the influence and teachings of Ramos Mexía, exponent of this new and strange Protestant religion, and who had become the beloved benefactor of that region.³³ First of all, Castañeda attacked the Protestant aspect of the Lancastrian system of reciprocal teaching, in which each child became the teacher of others. This had begun automatically to undermine the older dogmas of religious tradition. Multiplied thousands in America and Europe had learned to read under this new plan.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 20-31, 220, 360, 49.

³³ *Desenganador Gauchi-Político*, Aug. 20, 1822, p. 543.

Catholics were alarmed that mutual teaching might become truly free, and hence dangerously democratic. The clergy fought it fiercely, fearful lest they lose their educational monopoly—for Lancaster, the founder, was a Quaker; and Thomson, the current propagandist, arrived with a shipment of Bibles as well, which he distributed like contraband.³⁴

The government was, meantime, pressing for ecclesiastical reform, and requiring reports from monasteries and convents concerning the lives and finances of the friars and nuns. Then came the decree that prohibited entry into the province, by any ecclesiastic who had not previously obtained permission of the government.³⁵ Don Manuel José García, Minister of Finance, was demanding reform in the houses of the ecclesiastics, and asserted that respectable clergymen desired it. And the situation called for reform.³⁶ Padre Castañeda felt the structure of the church reeling, as in an earthquake. So he saw "porticos warping, walls bulging outward, columns bending and sagging." He "roared like a lion" against the democratic trends, and founded periodicals to fight them, as he sought permission to bring a halt to it all.³⁷

Things were now critical. A political, social, and religious tempest was sweeping over the Spanish colonies of South America. The vortex was swirling around Buenos Aires, in 1820, before Argentina, Chile, Peru, and other colonies succeeded in making their independence from Spain secure. Friar Castañeda exceeded the prerogatives of his order and violated the liberty of the press, defying the authorities. So he was banished for nine months to the deserts of Kaquel-Huincul, to quiet his rash anxiety in that uninhabited Argentine southern frontier, in sight of the savages. Taking but a few Catholic devotional books with him, he arrived in the winter. But here in a sparsely inhabited country, and with garrison unarmed, he

³⁴ Arturo Capdevila, *La santa furia del Padre Castañeda*, p. 32. Published in 1833 during the short-lived Spanish Republic (1831-39) on one of a succession of nineteenth-century men who fought for or against liberty of thought and religion in Spain and Latin America.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-194.

learned about the daring colonizer, Ramos Mexía, heretic propagator of a new religion, who was faithfully catechizing the neophytes among the Gauchos and the Indians of the region.³⁸

But Friar Castañeda met his equal in Francisco Ramos Mexía, man of influence in government circles. And Castañeda was where Ramos Mexía could keep an eye on his activities. But even during the friar's short stay the forces of liberty gained considerable momentum, while he battled ardently for the church.

Prior to this episode, the reorganized *Junta* obliged Sarratéa to resign, and named Ramos Mexía's brother Idelfonso, acting governor. Then another council soon got into action, and in time ordered the acting governor to resign to the metropolitan council. So three governors came to succeed one another in quick succession.³⁹ The political tempest involved everything and everybody. Everything seemed torn from its hinges. Men of affairs of every class clashed with one another. Sarratéa, Soler, Alvear, Balcarce, Dorrego, Idelfonso Mexía, the council, and Pagola succeeded one another in government between February and September of that fateful year "XX" (1820). And Castañeda fought his way into the midst of the fire and sought to smother it.⁴⁰

This action provoked noisy protests from the multitude in the plaza, who gathered in front of the jail where the Franciscan was held. But on September 25 he was transferred to his place of exile in Kaquel, today called Maipú.⁴¹ This was in the midst of an immense desert extending to the Andes and Magellan. It was a place of solitude. Only the camps of the Pampas and Ranquele Indians were there, who roamed as sovereigns and owners of the fertile flat lands where they were born. Few had attempted to civilize them.⁴²

1. RAMOS MEXÍA SEEKS CONVERSION OF INDIANS.—This

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 197.

³⁹ Adolfo Saldías, *Vida y escritos del Padre Castañeda*, p. 83. Saldías is author of nineteen volumes.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 199.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 199.

brings us again to Ramos Mexía as owner of a large tract of land in this southern region. He had made friends with the chiefs of the Pampas, the Tehuelches to the South, and the Ranquele Indians, declaring that they were the true owners of the territory. And he rebought the land from the Pampas, so they would not be prejudiced against him. These were the Indians who continued to live on his farm at Los Tapialas. Then he undertook their conversion to the principles of a new (Bible-Protestant) religion he had developed from his reading and study. In this endeavor he was most ardent, carefully instructing and catechising the Indians. And he was regarded by them as a "beloved king and respected pontiff."⁴³

2. PROTESTS EXPLOITATION BY PRIESTS AND AUTHORITIES.—There he elaborated the writings of the prophets and apostles into a system, setting forth definite principles governing right and wrong. This he made known to Governor Marcos Balcarce in a long document in which he pleaded for the Indians and protested against the abuse practiced by the Roman priests and against the orders of governors calling for the massacre of the primitive owners of the land, as if the Indians were not human beings. He urged their recognition and instruction instead of their exploitation. To this end he sent an accompanying *Primer (A B C) of Religion*, which was dated "Miraflores, Nov. 28, 1820."⁴⁴

3. CASTANEDA-RAMOS MEXIA CLASH INEVITABLE.—This was the situation when Padre Castañeda arrived and sought to force the issue presented by Ramos Mexía's teachings and to spread traditional Catholicism among the Indians. A clash between the two viewpoints was inevitable. Ramos Mexía was possessed by his reformatory mission; and Castañeda, who had opposed the government, thought he could easily thwart Ramos Mexía and the Indian tribes. So he set about his task, often facing personal danger. But Ramos Mexía appealed to Governor

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 201.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 202.

Rodriguez to remove the officious priest. So the friar's sentence of banishment was commuted, thus permitting him to return to Buenos Aires in August, 1822. But there he found the fires of anticlericalism burning even more fiercely than before.⁴⁵

So Ramos Mexía, the image-burning "heretic," and Friar Castañeda were soon in mortal conflict. In fact, the fighting friar was caught between two fires—civil anticlericalism as well as the "heresies" observed and taught by Ramos Mexía. Both of these aroused the friar's combativeness, and he fought tenaciously against these twin "heresies," as he saw them. But history shows that the fundamental causes of the struggles were profound, with roots that were deep and tenacious. The civil ax bared the diseased heart of repressive ecclesiastical dogmatism, aided by Biblical knowledge and democratic education of the masses, whose first primers were portions of the gospels and other New Testament books. Such was the setting and the principal figures.

4. COMMANDANT CONVERTED TO RAMOS MEXÍA'S TEACHINGS.—Another Catholic work, written by Friar Pacifico Otero, throws further light on Ramos Mexía from the Catholic viewpoint. Otero declares Ramos Mexía to be a "powerful dogmatizing heresiarch," who proclaimed himself "hero of the south." He quotes a legal accusation brought against him by Castañeda. This charges Ramos Mexía with being a "heresiarch," having "burned images," and with creating "six schools of theology in the south country," with the full knowledge and consent of the commandants and the present government—the commandant having been "so thoroughly converted that he instituted the new religion professed by Ramos Mexía at the post and in the *estancia* (ranches) of the nation."

Further, the teachings of Ramos Mexía were observed in both localities without a soul to oppose him except the foreman of the government *estancia*, Manuel Gramajo, of Tucumán. Castañeda further claimed that for seven years the government had not taken any steps against this "false dogmatizer." And

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 203-222.

because of this, many at Kaquel oft exclaimed, "*Viva la ley de Ramos*" (Long live the law of Ramos).⁴⁶ It was this "Ley de Ramos," or law, or teachings, of Ramos, acclaimed by the people, and revolutionizing the southern part of the province, that alarmed the clergy and provoked the fear of the government in Buenos Aires, finally leading to restraining actions.

VIII. Makes Sabbath-Sunday Issue the Heart of Conflict

The treatise, *The Gospel That Is Presented Before the Nation by the Citizen Francisco Ramos Mexía*, was published by him in 1820 at the height of the wave of reform that was sweeping over the nation. Shortly before this the citizenry had called his brother Idelfonso Ramos Mexía into the turbulent swirl of affairs at Buenos Aires to act as governor. But Don Francisco's own mission at the peak of his reformatory career (writing in the calm atmosphere of his ranches) was, according to his own declaration, designed to enunciate certain basic principles in the midst of disturbing elements which recognized neither laws of reason nor of order—and all of this in the very storm center of the church-and-state struggle over independence and ecclesiastical reforms.⁴⁷

1. GREAT CONTROVERSY CENTERS ON SABBATH.—In this classic treatise Ramos Mexía sums up the struggle of all creation from the days of Adam onward, as between unbelieving men, given to idolatry and paganism, and believers in the mediation of Jesus Christ through His blood and sacrifice. Sunday, he boldly declared, was the iniquitous symbol of the former, and the seventh-day Sabbath, the holy emblem of the latter—the sign between believing men and their Creator. Ramos Mexía contrasted the order of Abel, who believed in the true Passover (and whose blood cried out to the Creator from the earth), with that of Cain—or, like the men who carried on their unholy traffic in the Temple. Then he adds:

⁴⁶ Otero, *El Padre Castañeda*, p. 51, footnote (1).

⁴⁷ Ricci, *En la penumbra de la historia*, pp. 15-25.

"Casting out from it the memory of Sunday the seventh,⁴⁸ and restoring the delightful law of the Sabbath [Sábado], that of the will of the Creator."⁴⁹

2. AUTHORITIES OPPOSE HIS SABBATH OBSERVANCE.—Professor Ricci in his thirty-five-page monograph, titled *Francisco Ramos Mexía: Un heterodoxo argentino como hombre de genio y como precursor* (an Argentine heterodox as a man of genius and a forerunner), declares that "our patriot was also a *sabatista* [Sabbathkeeper]." ⁵⁰ Ricci likewise cites another document concerning Ramos Mexía, found in the general archives of the Argentine Republic, stating that on December 11, 1821, the ecclesiastical authorities united with the political leadership to force Ramos Mexía "to abstain from promoting practices contrary to those of the land," for it had been found that "the sanctification of the Sabbath had been introduced in that district."

3. SABBATH OBSERVED IN VARIOUS LOCALITIES.—In Appendixes II to VI a series of notations on Ramos Mexía appear showing certain legal exemptions in 1814, and in 1821 at Kaquel, and reporting serious developments, "scandalously" working "against the religion" by the Indians established on Ramos Mexía's ranch and ordering him to appear in Buenos Aires within six days.⁵¹ That he was arrested is attested by the periodical *El Centinela* (The Sentinel) of September 8, 1822, and ordered to cease observance of the Sabbath.

In February, 1821, the commandant of Kaquel himself informed the government that, fearing another invasion of Indians, he had recovered the war material assembled at the house of Ramos Mexía. And in Appendix VI, in December, 1821, the general vicar of the bishopric informs the minister of government that investigation had established the fact of this "Jewish observance" ["sanctification of the Sabbath"]. Consequently

⁴⁸ Ramos Mexía apparently was having to contend with the argument that the week started on Monday and ended on Sunday as the seventh day, while he argued that the question involved "restoring the delicate original law of the Sabbath," which, according to the Bible, was the seventh day of the week.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26 (p. 12 of Ramos Mexía's *The Gospel*).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵¹ Ricci, *Francisco Ramos Mexía y el Padre Lacunza*, pp. 24-27.

measures are requested to permit the "extirpation" of this evil.³²

The Sabbath, it should be added, was kept not only on the Ramos Mexía estate at Miraflores, near Kaquel-Huincul, but by groups on his farm near Buenos Aires, known as Los Tapialas, also south of the river Salado, and on the estate of the Patria. He had established six chairs, or professorships, of theology in the South, evidently in and around Miraflores, and at the Indian camp Ailla-Mahuída (New Hills), also known as Llamóida. So the observance of the Sabbath was quite widespread.

IX. The Case for Ramos Mexía Summed Up

Francisco Ramos Mexía emerges not only as a patriot and diplomatic negotiator of peace treaties but likewise as a spiritual father, preacher, theologian, and writer, with uncommon aptitude for original theological thinking. Like John the Baptist in the wilderness, Ramos Mexía had found in the desert country of Kaquel a quiet haven away from the political and ecclesiastical turbulence revolving in and about Buenos Aires during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Argentina had considerable dissension in her early struggles for independence from Spain and the church. But with the Bible as his guidebook, Ramos Mexía erected for himself a structure of Christian faith, hope, and doctrine, which was the essence of true Protestantism.

He was an Adventist, longing for the soon coming of Christ. He knew the night of evil and turmoil surrounding him was dark, but he could see the bright Morning Star heralding the coming day, when the dead would be resurrected to new life. And to all this he coupled the seventh-day Sabbath as the sign of loyalty to God. He claimed that the Omnipotent had given him that message, and that he never kept silence after receiving his commission. He was not only fearless of man but revered God, and kept the faith entrusted to him. Such was Ramos Mexía, Argentine patriot and early herald of the seventh-day Sabbath in South America.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 27-30.

X. Scottish Begg—Blends Advent, Prophecies, and Sabbath

Another nineteenth-century herald of the seventh-day Sabbath, beginning to be heard about this time, was JAMES A. BEGG (1800-1868),⁵³ born in Paisley, Scotland. His father was a teacher and saw that he obtained a liberal education. Begg was then apprenticed to the printing trade, which he followed for some time. Next he became a book seller and stationer in Glasgow, but was at the same time publisher of works on prophetic, doctrinal, and other Biblical subjects, some of them being his own. And he continued to be a persevering student even to his old age. He excelled in the use of the English tongue, rising to a recognized place among the prophetic expositors of his time.⁵⁴ But while especially attracted to Bible prophecy, he also lectured on Biblical science—geology, creation, and the Flood.

In his earlier life he was an adherent of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, but came to differ from that church over the question of the prophecies. Emphasis on the imminent, second, premillennial coming of Christ then sweeping over Great Britain and the Continent—and just getting under way in North America—gripped his young heart. And in 1829 he published the first edition of *A Connected View of Some of the Scriptural Evidence of the Redeemer's Speedy Personal Return* (later revised and enlarged). This was followed, in 1831, by *The Scriptural Argument for the Coming of the Lord, Letters to a Minister of the Gospel, on His and Other Interpretations of Our Saviour's Predictions of His Return, and Christ's Speedy Return in Glory*. In 1832 he issued a pamphlet, *True Cause of the Prevalence of Pestilence*, and in 1835 published *Extracts on Prophecy, Chiefly the Approaching Advent and Kingdom of Christ*. In this he quotes from thirty prominent expositors, an evidence of his own wide reading.

Begg was particularly emphatic and explicit on the Little

⁵³ Previously noted in *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 560-564.

⁵⁴ William Fulton, "James A. Begg. A Memorial Discourse" (originally prefixed to *Summary of Doctrines Taught in Christian Meeting-House . . . Glasgow, by the Late James A. Begg*); see also the *Sabbath Recorder*, May 13 and 20, 1869, pp. 77, 81. Begg was highly commended by William Anderson in *An Apology for Millennial Doctrine* (1830), part 1, p. 63.

Horn as the papal Antichrist and Babylon of the prophecies, upon whom tremendous judgments were due. In common with most British expositors, he stressed the literal restoration of Israel and looked forward to the overthrow of Turkey. He also included spiritism, just appearing on the horizon, among the signs of the approaching end of the age. But beginning about 1832, soon after publishing his first work on prophecy, Begg began the observance of the seventh day as the Sabbath.⁵⁵

His espousal of the seventh day as the Sabbath and his personal observance of it thereafter until his death; his contact with the newly published Millerite *Signs of the Times* in 1840, as the first to welcome it as a stalwart American herald of the advent; his offer of articles on the continuing obligation of the seventh-day Sabbath, which it declined; his first communications in the *Seventh Day Baptist Sabbath Recorder*, in New York in May, 1845;⁵⁶ his publication in Glasgow of *An Examination of the Authority for a Change of the Weekly Sabbath at the Resurrection of Christ* (1850); and finally his baptism in Glasgow, on July 7, 1853, by J. W. Morton, a Seventh Day Baptist minister from Plainfield, New Jersey—all form part of a unique and fascinating story. And it appears that Begg was convinced of the binding obligation of the seventh-day Sabbath by the study of the Word itself, not initially from contact with Seventh Day Baptists.⁵⁷

Begg's earliest acquaintance with unfulfilled prophecy was derived from Archibald Mason,⁵⁸ his fellow countryman and Presbyterian minister, to whose "occasional pulpit ministrations" Begg was indebted.⁵⁹ His *Connected View* was a reply to a score of antagonistic articles in the *Christian Instructor*. He makes frequent allusion to the writings on prophecy of Cuninghame, Faber, Way, Irving, and Keith (all discussed in Volume

⁵⁵ Letter, from J. A. Begg to George B. Utter, editor, *Sabbath Recorder*, May 1, 1845, p. 175.

⁵⁶ *Sabbath Recorder*, May 1, 1845, p. 175; Oct. 30, 1845, p. 73; Nov. 13, 1845, p. 81.

⁵⁷ In this conclusion Corliss F. Randolph, historian of the Seventh Day Baptists, concurs. (Letter to the author, "Maplewood, New Jersey, February 11, 1935.")

⁵⁸ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 396-404.

⁵⁹ James A. Begg, *A Connected View of Some of the Scriptural Evidence of the Redeemer's . . . Return*, pp. ix, 43, 79, 87, 142.

III of *Prophetic Faith*). He extols the study of prophecy and shows how it determined the time of Christ's first advent. He holds Antichrist will be destroyed by the brightness of Christ's second coming, *before* the millennium.⁶⁰ This is found to be after the four world powers, of Daniel 7, and the time of the ten nations into which Rome was divided, and the period of the Little Horn, or papal Antichrist, when the beast with the ten horns is destroyed.⁶¹

The same destruction is visited through the seven vials of the Apocalypse, under the sixth of which the Turkish Empire is dried up and by the last of which Antichrist is destroyed as well.⁶² Begg also places the angelic message of Revelation 14:6, 7, on the hour of God's judgment, just before the destruction of mystic Babylon, and with this the final overthrow of the ten horns which have power one hour with the Beast.⁶³ The first resurrection, he holds, introduces the thousand years. The grand prophetic outline, prior to the millennium, is this:

"The seventh chapter [of Daniel] contains, as we have seen in speaking of the destruction of Antichrist, a prediction of four great empires which should exist from the beginning of the captivity till the Millennium. From three of these, viz. the Babylonish, the Persian, and the Grecian, the extensive dominion has long since passed away; and as it was predicted of the fourth or Roman empire, that 'the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise,' so was it divided into ten kingdoms, forming the present European dynasties, in which state it has continued many centuries. The rise of Antichrist was predicted, as a little horn growing up among these horns or kingdoms; on account of whose blasphemies, thrones of judgment for his destruction are represented as being at length set by the Ancient of Days."⁶⁴

These are the same four monarchies, he understood, as are represented in the great image of Daniel 2, the Roman Empire forming the legs and feet, and its subdivision into the present European kingdoms appearing as the ten toes, with the mingling of the iron and clay as "royal intermarriages," and the whole "broken to pieces when Christ shall come in the clouds of heaven for the establishment of that Kingdom which 'shall

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 191.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 243.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 149, 190, 191.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 153.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 190, 191.

not be left to other people.' " This synchronizes with the sounding of the seventh angel, when the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and the downfall of Babylon is announced by a heavenly shout of triumph.⁶⁵

Britain is one of the ten "toes" of Daniel 2 and of the ten "horns" of Daniel 7, and will be involved in the general overthrow of all nations. Begg looks upon the close of the 2300 years as determining the "mighty year of God's glory."⁶⁶ And Turkey not only is the special objective of the visitation of the sixth vial but is involved in Daniel 11 as well. According to Begg, "Daniel, in predicting the final overthrow of the Ottoman power, (this application being generally admitted, we stop not to notice the grounds on which it is made,) foretold that '*tidings out of THE EAST and out of THE NORTH shall trouble him.*' Dan. xi. 44."⁶⁷

Such was the prophetic interpretation, in brief, of Sabatarian Begg.

Begg's proffered articles on the Sabbath, for the American *Signs of the Times*, were tendered in these words:

"For myself, I must be allowed to say, that the little leisure which my business allows for the more congenial occupation of authorship, I require in the meantime for a work on the continued obligation of the *Seventh Day*, as the Christian Sabbath, which I am preparing for the press. If acceptable, I would, however, be glad to furnish you with notes of a course of Lectures on Prophetic Subjects, which I have delivered here."⁶⁸

But these discussions, which included the prophesied change of the Sabbath, appeared unacceptable to the Adventists of either Britain or America at that time. Rebuffed in these overtures, he then made contact with the Seventh Day Baptists. And in the issue of the *Sabbath Recorder* for November 13, 1845, he began a series headed "Original Sabbath Unchanged." In his writings Begg contends consistently that Sunday observance is the direct fruitage of the "falling away" of 2 Thessalonians 2, which was uncorrected by the Reformation.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 192, 193, 232. ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 232. ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 246. (Italics in the original.)

⁶⁸ James A. Begg, Letter dated Jan. 28, 1840 [1841?], in *Signs of the Times*, April 1, 1841, p. 3.

The Rise of Sabbatarian Adventism

The seventeenth-century revival of the seventh-day Sabbath centered chiefly in England, touched Continental Europe slightly, and was projected into the New World. And we have seen how, in North America, agitation over the seventh-day Sabbath appeared first in the Colonial Era, and then in the early National period, and this among men of British as well as German background. And now, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, simultaneously in Argentina and Scotland, new Sabbatarian voices break forth early in the great revival of prophetic exposition, which appeared at the same time in the different countries of Christendom. Thus the Sabbath message was brought out in the connection with the Old World Advent Awakening (traced in *Prophetic Faith*, Volume III, Part 2), and in the New World Second Advent Movement which has just been compassed in this present volume.

These two doctrines combined—the second advent and the Sabbath—were proclaimed, as we have noted at length, by two widely separated pioneer advent heralds—Francisco Ramos Mexía, prominent Argentine patriot (with a Scottish Protestant background on his mother's side), and Presbyterian James A. Begg, substantial bookseller, printer, and author of Glasgow, Scotland. Within a few years of each other they began to combine emphasis on the binding obligation of an unchanged seventh-day Sabbath with the heralding of the imminent second advent, planting both doctrines squarely on the foundation of Bible prophecy. At the same time there was a distinct stirring

among the now long-established Seventh Day Baptists, with designated days of fasting and prayer in 1843 and 1844, that God would raise up friends in behalf of His downtrodden Sabbath.

Meantime, Methodist Rachel Oakes began the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath and joined the Seventh Day Baptists. She then brought the Sabbath to Washington, New Hampshire, center of a devout Adventist group, where it was accepted by two clergymen. The first was the Methodist-Adventist circuit rider, Frederick Wheeler, in the spring of 1844. He, in turn, brought it in August of that year to Free-will Baptist-Adventist Thomas M. Preble.

With this setting we are now prepared to trace the beginning of a new combination and emphasis, destined to grow to surprising proportions—Sabbatarian Adventism, of which Ramos Mexía and Begg were clearly nineteenth-century fore-runners. Again the international aspect of the new prophetic emphasis on the Sabbath revival appears, just as it has been the case all the way along on other points through the centuries. Note first the Seventh Day Baptist endeavors and Protestant reactions around 1843-1844.

I. Seventh Day Baptists Appoint Days of Fasting and Prayer

For nearly two centuries the Seventh Day Baptists of North America had stood practically alone in upholding the seventh day as the Sabbath. Their General Conference was not organized until 1801, and then reported but 1,031 members.¹ Their denominational periodical, *The Seventh-day Baptist Register*, which came into being in March, 1840, merged into the *Sabbath Recorder* in June, 1844. In 1843 they were deeply exercised over the threat of fresh Sunday legislation, which might affect their liberties, and "betook" themselves to prayer and greater activity in behalf of the Sabbath.² And they were moved

¹ Arthur E. Main, "The Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, 1802 to 1902," in *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America*, vol. 1, p. 153.

² *Ibid.*, p. 185; James Bailey, *History of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference*, pp. 225, 226.

with concern over the general spiritual declensions of the popular religious bodies, coupled with the prevailing indifference toward the Sabbath. In fact, their General Conference passed a resolution to send an appeal to the Baptist denomination, urging examination of the Sabbath question, and to set apart November 1, 1843, as a day of fasting and prayer that God would "arise and plead for his holy Sabbath."³

And again, in their 1844 General Conference, another day of intercession was appointed, reading:

"*Resolved*: That inasmuch as the first day of November, 1843, was observed in accordance with the recommendation of this [Seventh Day Baptist] General Conference, as a day of humiliation before God, and earnest entreaty to Him to arise and plead for His holy Sabbath, since which time a deeper and wider-spread interest upon the subject has sprung up, than has ever been before known in this country: therefore, *Resolved*, That the 1st first day of the week in January next [1845], be observed as a day of fasting, devout acknowledgment for blessings bestowed, and earnest prayer that God would continue to plead for his holy Sabbath, and also prepare us by his Holy Spirit for the labor thus devolved upon us.

"*Resolved*, That we invite all who love the Sabbath, and desire its better observance to unite with us in presenting its interests at the throne of grace."⁴

Earnest editorials appeared, such as one headed "O Lord, Revive Thy Works."⁵ And in 1845 an *Appeal for the Restoration of the Lord's Sabbath* was issued in New York, stressing the change from Saturday to Sunday as one of the "abominations of popery" and constituting "popery's chief pillar," citing Daniel 7:25 as the telltale prophetic portrait given in advance.⁶ Their appeals, however, were unwelcomed by the Sundaykeeping churches. And this attitude was shared by the Millerites in general, then at the climax of their movement, and who up until the summer of 1844 had rather generally retained their connection with the various Protestant churches.

³ General Conference Minutes, in *Seventh-Day Baptist Anniversaries*, for 1843, pp. 8, 9; see also A. E. Main, *op. cit.*, pp. 185, 186.

⁴ *Sabbath Recorder*, Dec. 12, 1844, p. 99; see also A. E. Main, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 186. There had been previous days of fasting and prayer.

⁵ *Sabbath Recorder*, Aug. 7, 1845, p. 26.

⁶ *Appeal for the Restoration of the Lord's Sabbath*, pp. 20, 21.

The leaders and editors of the Adventist journals deprecated this agitation among the Adventists in behalf of the Sabbath. Thus, in the *Midnight Cry*, under the title "The Lord's Day," editorial opposition was expressed: "Many persons have their minds deeply exercised respecting a supposed obligation to observe the *seventh day*."⁷ Then, in discussing the specific Seventh Day Baptist agitation of the *Sabbath Recorder* of August 22, 1844, the *Midnight Cry* makes this rather cryptic declaration:

"We feel borne irresistibly to the conclusion that *there is no particular portion of time which Christians are required by law to set apart, as holy time*. If the Scriptures, and the considerations presented, do not convince our readers of this, then we think there is another conclusion to which they must come, viz. *The particular portion of time which God requires us to observe as holy, is the seventh day of the week, that is, Saturday*."

"We regret to leave the argument at this point, but space fails, and we must beg our readers to search the Scriptures to see if these things are so. They have learned to bow to no authority but God's, and having that, to treat the decisions of men as utterly worthless."⁸

Then, in the issue for September 12, this final word is given:

"We love the seventh-day brethren and sisters, but we think they are trying to mend the old broken Jewish yoke, and put it on their necks, instead of standing fast in the liberty wherewith Christ makes free."⁹

On the other hand, the Seventh Day Baptists were very skeptical of an advent message and movement—meaning the Millerites—which did not recognize and honor the seventh-day Sabbath.

II. Washington, New Hampshire—Where Sabbath and Advent Unite

Let us now go to the sturdy little village of Washington, New Hampshire, planted back in Revolutionary days in the

⁷ Editorial, "The Lord's Day [No. 1]," *Midnight Cry*, Sept. 5, 1844, p. 68.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁹ *Ibid.*, "No. 2," Sept. 12, p. 77.

heart of the rolling hills of central New Hampshire, about twelve miles from Hillsboro. According to the bronze historical marker in the village, it was the first town in America to call itself after George Washington, being so christened in 1776. In this vicinity massive stone-wall fences mark out the fields of the Granite State. And here the great barns are generally attached to the houses, bearing mute testimony to the heavy snows of severe winters. Here also rugged men are born and nurtured, growing up in close harmony with their surroundings. It is here at Washington that we find the home of Cyrus and William Farnsworth. And here also outspoken Rachel Oakes (later Preston), with her "corkscrew curls and strong convictions," came to live with her daughter, Rachel Delight Oakes, the local schoolteacher, who later married Cyrus Farnsworth.

It was here, one Sunday in the winter of 1843, that Frederick Wheeler, on his riding circuit—which included Washington—was conducting the communion service for the Christian congregation, which had accepted the advent teaching. And forthright Mrs. Oakes, who was present and watching him closely, had to restrain herself from speaking out her convictions then and there. Wheeler had just made the appropriate observation that all who confess communion with Christ in such a service as this "should be ready to obey God and keep His commandments in all things." When Wheeler visited the family shortly thereafter, candid Mrs. Oakes told him that she almost arose and spoke out in meeting that day. Asked what she had had on her mind, she responded that she had wanted to tell him that he had better push back the communion table and put the communion cloth back over it until he was willing to keep *all* the commandments of God, *including the fourth*.

This remark cut him to the quick, for he knew she was a Seventh Day Baptist, with positive views on the Sabbath. As she plied him with questions and pressed him for a decision, Wheeler was put in an uncomfortable spot. But the episode started Wheeler to serious thinking and earnest study. And it was not long after—about March, 1844—that he began to



HISTORIC SCENES ENACTED IN WASHINGTON, NEW HAMPSHIRE, CHURCH
 (Upper Left) Rachel Oakes Preston, Intrepid Sabbath Proponent; (Upper Right) William Farnsworth. First Convert to Her Sabbath Faith; (Below) Humble Christian Church Where the Covenant Was Made and Where a Later Sabbath Conference Was Held

observe the seventh-day Sabbath of the fourth commandment.¹⁰

Here also Thomas M. Preble, of East Weare, New Hampshire, formerly a Free-will Baptist minister—but then an Adventist preacher in both the 1843 and 1844 phases—just a little later accepted the Sabbath, in August, 1844, either directly from Mrs. Oakes or through Wheeler. These men each shared the Disappointment with others, but retained their advent faith, and each had personally accepted the Sabbath prior thereto. It was Preble's revealing article on the Sabbath, in the Portland (Maine) *Hope of Israel* of February 28, 1845, that brought the seventh-day Sabbath to Joseph Bates,¹¹ who later wrote his own tract on the Sabbath. And this in turn led James and Ellen White to accept the Sabbath, both men engaging thereafter in teaching the Sabbath to the advent believers. So it was here at Washington that the first union of these two teachings—the second advent and the Sabbath—took place in North America.

And it was here also, only a month or so after the Disappointment—but evidently before the close of 1844—that a little group in the Washington church amid those inspiring granite hills, announced their decision to keep the seventh-day Sabbath as one of the foundation stones of their faith. The modest meetinghouse of that first Sabbathkeeping company still stands among the trees on the mountain road, about three miles from Washington. The pews are of the old straight-backed box type. It was the day of small beginnings, but the earnest of greater developments to come.

And it was here also that Joseph Bates, having heard of the little Sabbatarian group at Washington, and wishing to meet those first Sabbatarian Adventists, made the hurried trip by train and stagecoach to the nearby Hillsboro home of Frederick Wheeler. He reached there at ten o'clock at night, just after the family had retired. Wheeler heard the knock and let Bates in. Then they talked all through the night. In the morning Bates

¹⁰ Spicer, *Pioneer Days*, p. 43.

¹¹ Joseph Bates, *The Seventh Day Sabbath, A Perpetual Sign* (1846), p. 40.

was introduced to the family, and after breakfast and further talk, lasting until noon, the two drove over to Washington to confer with Cyrus Farnsworth.¹²

Here at Washington, under a cluster of newly leafed maples, Wheeler, the Farnsworths, and Bates discussed the law of God and the neglected Sabbath, as well as the article by Preble in the *Hope of Israel*, setting forth the claims of the seventh-day Sabbath. There a pact between them was sealed. Then having obtained the confirmation he sought, Bates hastened home. Thus it was that Washington became the cradle of the seventh-day Sabbath among the body that, in 1860, took the name Seventh-day Adventists. Now let us turn to the principal characters, and meet them.

III. Rachel Oakes Preston—Brings Sabbath to Washington Group

Mrs. RACHEL OAKES, nee Harris (1809-1868)—later married to Nathan Preston—was born in Vernon, Vermont. She was baptized at seventeen, joining the Methodist Church. In 1837 she became interested in the seventh-day Sabbath and purposed to join the Seventh Day Baptists. But on such a move she was opposed by her Methodist pastor, who finally told her she might keep her seventh-day Sabbath if she must, but urged her not to leave their ranks. Nevertheless, she joined the Seventh Day Baptist church of Verona, Oneida County, New York. Later, taking a supply of Seventh Day Baptist literature with her, she moved to Washington, New Hampshire, to be near her daughter, Delight, the schoolteacher.

Mrs. Oakes sought to introduce the Sabbath to the ardent company of Adventists who lived there. But they were so engrossed in preparation for the coming of the Lord that they paid little attention to her Seventh Day Baptist literature. However, as noted, Methodist preacher Frederick Wheeler, in the spring of 1844, became persuaded concerning the Sabbath, and Baptist

¹² Letter from F. W. Bartle, quoted in W. A. Spicer, *Pioneer Days*, p. 50.

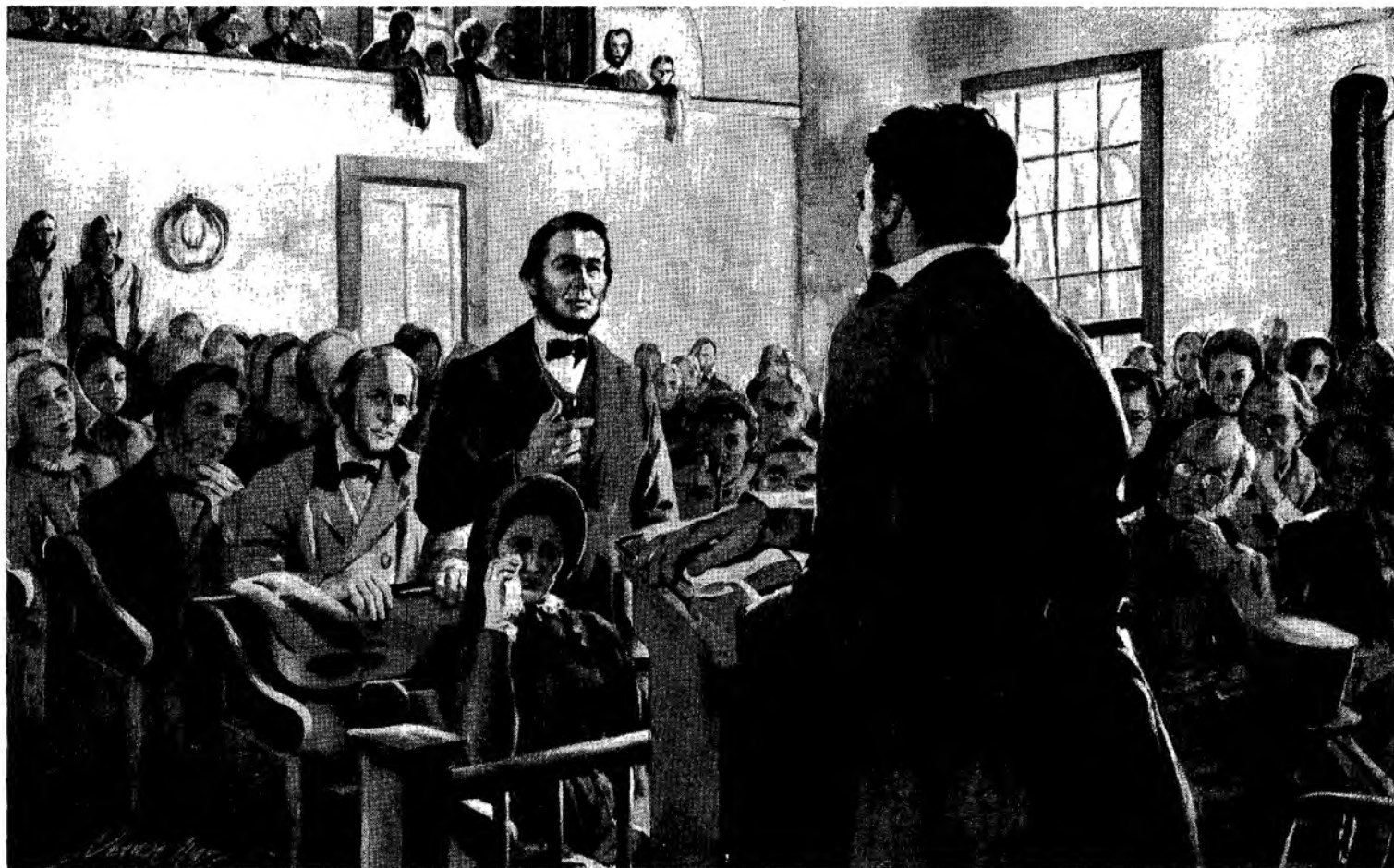
minister Thomas M. Preble began its personal observance in August. Neither, however, pressed its claims publicly. Mrs. Oakes hoped, after the October 22 Disappointment, that the entire Adventist company would at least read her literature. Yet even then, for a time, they were not interested. This lack of concern grieved her. But she, on the other hand, did not believe that God would translate a Sabbathbreaking host of Adventists. And she, in turn, paid little attention as yet to their teachings on the prophecies and second advent.

Finally, during a Sunday service in the Washington church, after the Disappointment—but before the close of the year 1844—William Farnsworth arose during the meeting and stated publicly that he had been studying the Bible and was convinced that the seventh day of the week was the Sabbath, and had decided to keep it. He was immediately followed by his brother Cyrus and several others. And Mrs. Oakes, in turn, soon embraced the Adventist teachings. Thus it was that the first little Sabbatarian Adventist group in the world came into being.¹³ Incidentally, about this time Mrs. Oakes requested the Seventh Day Baptist church at Verona to drop her name from their church book. But this they declined to do, saying that she had done nothing for which they should take it off, as she still observed the Sabbath. She was therefore evidently continued as a member of both groups.

And that this little Washington group began the observance of the Sabbath *after*, not before, the Disappointment of October 22, 1844, is further attested by Stephen N. Haskell, who preached Mrs. Preston's funeral sermon, and by the express statement of the obituary itself, which says, "In 1844, after the passing of the time she introduced the Sabbath among the Adventists." And this is borne out by the later obituary of Cyrus Farnsworth, which says he began "observing the Sabbath soon after the passing of the time in 1844."¹⁴ These terms were used only of the October Disappointment.

¹³ Stephen N. Haskell, obituary of Rachel Oakes Preston, *Review and Herald*, March 3, 1868, p. 190; also Haskell, *General Conference Bulletin*, June 2, 1909, p. 290.

¹⁴ Harriet A. Farnsworth, obituary of Cyrus Farnsworth, *Review and Herald*, May 30,



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WILLIAM FARNSWORTH PLEDGES OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH

VERNON NYE, ARTIST

In the Washington, New Hampshire, Meetinghouse, William Farnsworth Solemnly Makes Known His Decision to Keep the Sabbath. At His Side His Brother Cyrus Is About Ready to Make the Great Decision, and Others Follow, While in Front Pew Rachel Oakes (Preston) Watches the Scene With Deep Emotion. Significant Developments Followed

IV. Wheeler—First Adventist Minister to Accept Sabbath

The town of Hillsboro, New Hampshire, is not far from the birthplace of Daniel Webster. Here also lived FREDERICK WHEELER (1811-1910), of "kindly eye and bearded face," Methodist circuit rider of that section of the Granite State in those rugged days. Wheeler was born in Massachusetts and ordained by the Methodists in 1840. By 1842 he had become interested in the Advent Movement through reading William Miller's works, and soon began to advocate the doctrine of the soon coming of Christ. Residing at Hillsboro, about twelve miles from Washington, and serving the Christian church at Washington—which was now almost entirely Adventist—he was the first Adventist minister to accept the seventh-day Sabbath, through the influence of Seventh Day Baptist Rachel Oakes Preston—in March, 1844.¹⁵

We have already noted the incident of the communion service that started him on the road to Sabbathkeeping. However, his personal observance of the seventh day did not seem to interfere with successful cooperation with the Millerite leaders in proclaiming the coming of the Lord in 1844. He did not at that time make the Sabbath part of his public presentations. In 1857 Wheeler moved to Brookfield, Maine, and in 1861 to West Monroe, New York, which became his home. A slight impediment in his speech kept him from prominence in public ministry, but he was a faithful shepherd and wholesome counselor.

V. Preble—Introduces Sabbath to Bates and Andrews

THOMAS M. PREBLE, of East Weare, New Hampshire,¹⁶ was in charge of the Free-will Baptist church at Nashua from 1842 to 1844. He likewise espoused the Adventist faith, and had a somewhat prominent part in it, itinerating with Miller as well

1899, p. 350; see also C. K. Farnsworth's account of the church in *History of Washington, New Hampshire, From the First Settlement to the Present Time*, 1786, 1886, p. 119. For variant views on the date, see Spalding, *Captains*, pp. 108, 674.

¹⁵ *Review and Herald*, Oct. 4, 1906, p. 9; see also Spicer, *Pioneer Days*, p. 43.

¹⁶ William Little, *The History of Weare, New Hampshire*, pp. 452, 580, 626.

as preaching alone in 1844, including the time of the great seventh-month phase. His proximity to Washington and Hillsboro is presumptive evidence that he had his first contact with the seventh-day Sabbath position through Rachel Oakes Preston in nearby Washington, beginning its observance by August, 1844. Preble was the first to advocate it in printed form. This was on February 28, 1845, through an article in the *Hope of Israel*,¹⁷ Adventist periodical of Portland, Maine. This article was then reprinted in tract form in March. It kindled an unquenchable flame in the heart of forthright Joseph Bates and influenced several others, including J. N. Andrews, who also became a strong Sabbath champion. But Preble observed the Sabbath for only three years.¹⁸

J. B. Cook,¹⁹ still another talented Adventist minister who accepted the Sabbath a few months after Preble, during 1845-1846, preached and wrote articles on the seventh-day Sabbath which were published in the *Day-Dawn* and the *Day-Star*, the two papers then favorable to the doctrine. Cook had a thorough theological training and was an effective preacher, exerting a strong influence in the 1844 movement. Preble and Cook both had the gift of presenting their newfound Sabbath light effectively to others, and their acceptance of the Sabbath gave some publicity to the issue and led a number to begin its observance. But while they caught the facts and arguments of the teaching, they somehow missed its real spirit. It became an academic question rather than a living, vital, spiritual thing in their lives—the sign of the Creator's power. And so they soon gave it up.²⁰

But there were others who sincerely accepted the seventh-day Sabbath, and soon this unpopular doctrine found substantial supporters and gained ground in various sections of New England. Let us first note the development in Washington, New Hampshire.

¹⁷ T. M. Preble, *Tract, Showing That the Seventh Day Should Be Observed As the Sabbath*, p. [2].

¹⁸ Preble kept the Sabbath from 1844 to 1847. He was author of several works. (*Advent Herald*, July 3, 1852, p. 214.)

¹⁹ See p. 820; also I. C. Wellcome, *op. cit.*, pp. 275, 276.

²⁰ J. N. Andrews, *History of the Sabbath* (1873), p. 502.

VI. William Farnsworth—First Washingtonian to Declare Acceptance

WILLIAM FARNSWORTH (1807-1888), of the Christian-Adventist church in Washington, New Hampshire, on that memorable Sunday in the late autumn of 1844, announced his decision to observe the seventh day as the Sabbath. He was born within a few miles of Washington, lived there all his life, and was converted at an early age. When the advent message was preached by William Miller and his associates he readily embraced it, as did a majority of the Christian church members there in Washington. It was here that William, on that memorable Sunday morning—*after* the Disappointment, but before the close of 1844—made known, in the midst of the service, his decision henceforth to keep the seventh day as the Sabbath. He was soon followed by his younger brother, Cyrus, his wife and father, and others, totalling about fifteen or eighteen, who withdrew from the little Christian church, since the majority retained it as the Christian chapel until about 1862.

VII. Bates—Writer of First (1846) Sabbath Tract

New Bedford, Massachusetts, has had a long and illustrious history. It was formerly an old whaling town in those early times when Yankee merchantmen were sailing the seven seas, not only to European ports but to South America, the Orient, and even Australia. They were chiefly in quest of whale oil, the best illuminating and lubricating oil then known. New Bedford's sister city, Fair Haven, across the Acushnet River, was the home of Captain JOSEPH BATES (1792-1872). At that time, however, Fair Haven was simply called East New Bedford. Here Joseph came with his parents when only a year old. His father was one of sixteen who, in 1798, banded themselves together to bring the Fair Haven Academy into being.²¹ And this interest in education was transmitted to his son Joseph.

²¹ It still stands, with its quaint slab desks in three levels or terraces, and the teacher's desk high in the corner.

Young Bates wanted to become a sailor, and in 1807, when only fifteen, made his maiden voyage to England. On his second trip, however, in 1809, he fell into the hands of Danish privateers, used by Napoleon in his battle against all merchandising with Britain. Then, escaping and reaching England, he was a prisoner of war, until America and England came to blows in the War of 1812, spending five years in servitude on King George's ships of war. He advanced through the years from second to first mate and finally to master, captain, and shipowner, retiring in 1828, when he had made a modest fortune—just twenty-one years from the time he first set sail as a cabin boy.

He was converted when all alone aboard his ship, and turned from drinking, smoking, and swearing. He became an ardent health reformer, and at eighty was still as "straight as a marble shaft." After quitting the sea he returned home, because of his father's death and to help his mother settle the estate. But within a year she died also, leaving him the Meadow Farm, where he lived. He had married in 1818, and for the first ten years his companion had lived the life of the typical sea captain's wife of the time, waiting through the long voyages of separation. Along with some devotional books, she placed a Bible in his seaman's chest, which finally brought him to Christ. So upon his retirement he joined her church, the Christian Connection,²² which held to baptism by immersion.

In 1831 he sold the old home of his mother and joined with three other members in building the Washington Street Christian meetinghouse, where he was a faithful worshiper until 1839. In 1832 he had bought a piece of land called his "little farm," and erected the usual buildings, including a two and one-half story home with seven rooms. He also planted a grove of mulberry trees, thinking to start a silk industry. Another building was for a manual labor school, because Bates was an ardent believer in education.

From 1839 onward, Bates was in the forefront of the 1844

²² It is to be remembered that the Christian Church of that period was not the Campbellite Church.



THE BRIDGE THAT MADE SABBATH HISTORY

Original Bridge Between New Bedford and Fair Haven, Massachusetts, on Which James Hall's Inquiry, "Captain Bates, What's the News?" Brought the Startling Rejoinder, "The Seventh Day Is the Sabbath." (Inset) Joseph Bates

Advent Movement with Miller, through both the first and second messages. He read Preble's *Hope of Israel* Sabbath article in March, 1845. He never lost faith in God's leadership, despite the fact that the Millerites had been mistaken in first believing the cleansing of the sanctuary involved the second advent in 1844. He had held fast, waiting, praying, and expecting more light. He studied the whole question of the Sabbath from the viewpoint of the Bible evidence, reviewed the historical angles cited by Preble, and investigated prophetic angles of its change and restoration.

He was both convinced and convicted. He must obey God, for that was the primary rule of his life. With characteristic promptness and vigor he made his decision to keep the seventh day as the Sabbath. Naturally, the difficulties in the way of acting upon his decision arose before him—his family, friends, livelihood. And his money was now gone. But, he says, "In a

few days my mind was made up to begin to keep the fourth commandment.”²³ He was ever a man of decision and of action.

Next came the contact at Hillsboro and Washington, New Hampshire, and the confirmation he sought. Then followed the meeting between Bates and Hall on the low-slung toll bridge between Fairhaven and New Bedford. Bates, just returned from Washington, was hailed by James Madison M. Hall, his neighbor and fellow Adventist, with the question, “Good morning, Captain Bates, what’s the news?” (Original bridge pictured on page 955.) Hall was likewise looking for “light.” And then came the historic response, which must have come as a shock to Hall, “The news is that the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord our God.”²⁴ To Bates the Sabbath had brought the sweetness and rest of Eden, and he wanted to share it with others. So, shortly after this, he carried the good news to Hiram Edson in western New York, to James and Ellen White up in Maine, to Belden and Chamberlain in Connecticut, and to Otis Nichols in Dorchester, Massachusetts.

But, as upon his whole-souled acceptance of the advent faith in 1839, his wife Prudence was again hesitant over the Sabbath matter, and did not accept it until 1850. Bates, however, never wavered. He had persevered in various social and religious reforms—temperance, abolition, manual-labor schools, and the advent faith—and now the Sabbath! He was an ardent Adventist, his customary closing salutation being, “Yours in the Blessed Hope.”

VIII. Scope and Emphasis of Bates’s Sabbath Tract

It was early in 1846 that Bates decided to write a tract on the Sabbath question. How to pay for its publication he did not know, since his funds were now exhausted. But having made his decision on his knees, he took his Bible, concordance, and histories, and proceeded to write. So the forty-eight-page tract.

²³ Bates, *The Seventh Day Sabbath, A Perpetual Sign* (1846). p. 40 (2d ed., p. 44).

²⁴ See Spalding, *Captains*, p. 112; Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement*, p. 251.

The Seventh Day Sabbath, A Perpetual Sign, was brought forth in August, 1846, with payment for its cost coming in small sums from friends of the enterprise, the last of the money being given anonymously by faithful H. S. Gurney, who settled the remainder of the bill with the printer.²⁵

Here Bates presented his case for the Sabbath almost exclusively on the premise that the Sabbath was instituted at creation and reinforced at Sinai. He maintained that the Ten Commandments are the moral guide and rule for all mankind, including Christians—the historic Protestant position—with the seventh day enjoined as the Sabbath. He touched briefly on the prophesied change of the Sabbath, as the papal Little Horn of Daniel 7 thinks “to change times and laws” of God, particularly the law of the Sabbath. (It was the typical Seventh Day Baptist presentation.) Then, as a prophetic expositor, he asks pointedly: “Now the second advent believers have professed all confidence in his [Daniel’s] visions; why then doubt this?”²⁶

However, in the second edition of the tract, issued in 1847, Bates adds a fuller prophetic argument, based primarily on Revelation 14:9-12 in conjunction with the aforementioned argument of Daniel 7. On the basis of the long-accepted Protestant identification of the beast with the Papacy, he contrasts God’s appointed Sabbath with its change as the badge of papal power—and therefore finally as the “mark of the [papal] Beast.”²⁷ This became henceforth a characteristic and separating feature of Sabbatarian Adventist preaching. Bates here held that the message of Revelation 14 is the foundation of the full advent message—“Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come.” This, he maintained, began to be fulfilled in the preaching of the Millerite movement. And the second angel’s message, on the fall of Babylon, with its

²⁵ The story of his wife’s shortage of flour, the letter with money, and the barrel of flour for the wife, is effectively told by Spalding, *Captains*, pp. 114-116.

²⁶ Bates, *The Seventh Day Sabbath* (2d ed.), p. 42.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 59.

climax in the call, "Come out of her, my people," was likewise initially sounded in 1843-1844.

Then, Bates continues with logical progression, according to Bible prophecy a third message is to follow those two, which will warn against following and worshiping the papal Beast and ultimately receiving his "mark." And he notes that those who refuse that mark are immediately described thus: "Here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus." (Rev. 14:12.) They must not stop with the first two messages. There is a third, inseparable in the series, to be received and obeyed—namely, full obedience to God's holy commandments, including the observance of the seventh day as the Sabbath. But that obedience is by faith.

The Sabbath was next set forth as the "seal of God," as based on the sealing work of Revelation 7. In January, 1849, Bates issued his tract, *A Seal of the Living God*.²⁸ From the fact of John's declaration that the number of the sealed is 144,000, Bates drew the conclusion that the "remnant" who keep the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus Christ would number 144,000.

So, to the concept of Christ's entering the most holy place of the heavenly sanctuary, on October 22, 1844, for the final work of judgment and the receiving of His kingdom, was added the Sabbath, as involved in the third of this commissioned series of special last-day messages. This concept of the "seal" was likewise built into the message of the Sabbath, as an added prophetic element. And this thought was similarly attested by Ellen White, who wrote, "This seal is the Sabbath,"²⁹ and described the most holy place in which was the ark (Revelation 11:19), containing the Ten Commandments, with a halo of light surrounding the fourth.³⁰ Thus the Sabbath and sanctuary became inseparably tied together.

²⁸ Joseph Bates, *A Seal of the Living God*, pp. 35-38.

²⁹ E. G. White, in broadside, *To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God*, Jan. 31, 1849.

³⁰ *A Sketch of the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White*, p. 16.

So the Sabbatarian Adventists held the doctrine of the second advent much as preached in the Millerite movement, except that they dropped the element of definite time for the advent as a gratuitous and erroneous interpretative addition. But they separated the 2300 years from any dating of the second advent, thus avoiding the pitfall of periodic time setting that plagued not a few of the first-day Adventists. They simply declared that the signs of the times and the fulfilling prophecies all show that Christ's return is near.

Thus the Sabbath, first received under the simple binding claim of the law of God, was now reinforced by various prophetic passages, particularly of Revelation 14:9-12, which gave the Sabbath the significance of a testing, sealing message for the last days. And the doctrine of the heavenly sanctuary, which explained the Disappointment and enforced the soundness of their basic positions, was now clearly interlocked with the doctrine of the Sabbath.

Bates's argument on the Sabbath did not, however, at first appeal to Ellen Harmon and James White—the former having been brought up in Methodist “free grace and dying love,” and the latter at first holding that Christians are “not under the law.” They both felt Bates erred in placing so much stress upon the keeping of the Sabbath, at that time regarding it as Jewish. However, after their marriage in August they studied Bates's pamphlet, which meanwhile he had sent them, and on the basis of the clear Biblical and historical evidence soon began to keep the Sabbath.³¹

They were all amazed at the bitterness of opposition that developed as they pressed the claims of the Sabbath. And in the intensity of the controversy some had recourse to stern replies. They used such texts as, “He that turneth away his ear from hearing the law, even his prayer shall be abomination.” (Prov. 28:9.) In their early earnestness to turn men away from the wrath to come they exhibited a vehemence they soon came

³¹ E. G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 75, 76; E. G. White, Letter 2 to J. N. Loughborough, 1874; James White, *Life Incidents* (1868), p. 269.

to modify. To them their message was a life line they were flinging out to men floundering in the ocean of sin, transgression, and indifference, urging them to lay hold of it. But their very earnestness tended to create early conflict.

IX. Sabbath Draws Strength From Sanctuary Setting

Although the seventh-day Sabbath came to the attention of a group of Adventists through the Seventh Day Baptists, it was the light on the sanctuary and the prophecy of Daniel 7:25 coupled with that of Revelation 14:9-12 that invested it with a significance and an importance that the Sabbath had never had under the Seventh Day Baptists. They had long held that all the Ten Commandments are moral, not ceremonial; that they are unchangeable, being a revelation of the character of God; and that the change of the Sabbath was made by the papal church without authorization from God. Their position in this was impregnable. But Mrs. Preston, in Washington, New Hampshire, simply urging the claim of the unchanged seventh-day Sabbath, did not have much initial success. Only in the sanctuary setting did it begin to grip hearts. The belief that men were living in the judgment hour, and were to be judged by the great unchanged standard of the judgment, with the coming of Christ drawing near, drove home the conviction that the Lord was calling men to obey all of His commandments.

The incident of the conference at Edson's home needs to be borne in mind. When Bates arrived he was asked to take the opening service. After Edson had grasped the larger principle of the sanctuary service, he had already become aware, solely from his study of the sanctuary, the most holy place, and the ark, that the seventh day was doubtless the Sabbath. But he did not sense its significance or importance. Then Bates, after opening the service, began to unfold the Sabbath truth with the logical clarity for which he was noted. Edson was so impressed and delighted that he could scarcely restrain himself from responding openly to this epochal discourse on the Sabbath until Bates finished. It will be remembered that as soon as Bates had com-

pleted his presentation Edson was on his feet exclaiming, "Brother Bates, that is light and truth! The seventh day is the Sabbath, and I am with you to keep it."³² Thus the connection was made between the Sabbath message and the sanctuary message, which from that time forward were increasingly and inseparably associated.

X. Andrews—First Missionary; Author of Sabbath History

JOHN NEVINS ANDREWS (1829-1883) was born in Poland, Maine, and came of Methodist background. In his childhood he went with his parents to Paris, Maine. In his youth he became deeply interested in the Millerite movement, and was but seventeen when he accepted the seventh day as the Sabbath. Well-trained and scholarly, he planned on the law, his uncle being a member of Congress. John seemed likely to rise in political circles, for which he was well trained. But the Andrews family accepted the first, second, and third angels' messages progressively, and John's political ambitions gave way to that of unstinted service in the advent ministry. He was among the earliest to get his bearings, after the Disappointment, by discovering the relation of the first and second messages to a third which was to follow, and embracing the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath.

Up in Paris, Maine, the large Edward Andrews home gave shelter to the Stowell family, who had sold their farm when they were expecting the Lord to come. And Marian, Stowell's fifteen-year-old daughter, had read the tract reprint of Preble's article in the *Hope of Israel*. As a result she and her brother observed the next Sabbath. She then gave the tract to seventeen-year-old John Nevins Andrews, and he was likewise persuaded, and promised to follow their example. The parents of both then read it. And as a result both families observed the next Sabbath, meeting in one room of the home. Soon there were several families in this and adjoining towns observing the Sabbath. The

³² Ms., "Hiram Edson's Experience, as Related to P. Z. Kinne," quoted in Spicer, *Pioneer Days*, p. 83.

first of these was the Cyprian Stevens family, whose two daughters later became Mrs. J. N. Andrews and Mrs. Uriah Smith.³³ The Sabbath was now steadily gathering momentum.

Andrews was the youngest of the trio of pioneer Sabbatarian leaders—Bates, White, and Andrews—to come through the 1844 experience. (Illustration on p. 1050.) He was the studious, mild, Melancthon type, just as James White was the vigorous, driving, Luther type. Tall, thin, and bespectacled, he had a quiet unassuming way, and was always cheerful and helpful. But there was nothing soft or yielding about him when he felt that truth was at stake. Then he was courageously bold, for he was an intense lover of truth. "I would exchange a thousand errors for one truth," he insisted.³⁴ And that was the general attitude.

While the Whites traveled and preached, Andrews devoted his talents chiefly to the writing of solid substantial articles, joining the publishing committee on the *Advent Review* in 1850. He was a logical reasoner and a dauntless advocate of the advent faith. In 1850 he began writing on the sanctuary, the United States in prophecy, and the three messages. He was particularly zealous in behalf of the Sabbath, and stood stanchly against the no-law teaching that was then at flood tide. In this he was bold and determined. He took up the cudgels with such men as O. R. L. Crosier, who had now turned against the faith he had once championed. But Andrews' greatest contribution, on which he had spent years of study and research, was unquestionably the scholarly *History of the Sabbath and of the First Day of the Week*—presenting the Scriptural and historical evidence on these paralleling institutions. And in all his emphasis he put the Bible forward as supreme: "Reader, we entreat you to prize your Bible. It contains *all* the will of God, and will make you wise unto salvation through faith in Jesus Christ."³⁵

The Sabbath now spread in ever-widening circles.

³³ Spalding, *Captains*, pp. 112, 113.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

³⁵ J. N. Andrews, "Things to Be Considered," *Review and Herald*, Jan. 31, 1854, p. 10.

XI. Honest Hewitt—First Sabbath Convert in Michigan

Bates's pioneering spirit soon led him West to Michigan in 1849. It was the time of the famous gold rush of the "forty-niners" to the Far West. But Bates was seeking golden characters—truth seekers, men of honest heart. The flaming torch of Bates's own faith and ardor soon set other souls ablaze. And a company of Sabbathkeepers was raised up in Jackson, Michigan. In 1852 he went on to Battle Creek. Arriving early in the morning, he asked the postmaster for the name of the most honest man in Battle Creek. The reply was that a Presbyterian by the name of David Hewitt, living on Van Buren Street, had the reputation of being the most honest man in those parts.

Bates was soon rapping on his door, telling Hewitt that he had some important Bible truth to tell him. Hewitt replied, "Come in. We are just sitting down to breakfast. Eat with us, and we will then listen to you."³⁶ After breakfast they had family worship together, and then Bates conducted him through a systematic, thorough study of the entire Advent Movement. The session lasted until dinner. Then, after the noon meal, Bates continued throughout the afternoon, until five, this time setting before them the third angel's message of Revelation 14 and the Sabbath. It covered a vast amount of territory. But the Hewitts accepted the entire presentation, and became the first converts in Battle Creek—the Hewitt home constituting the meeting place for a growing group until a little wooden church could be built. That episode was characteristic of Bates. He would go where there were no churches, secure a schoolhouse, hall, church, or even a home, hang up his chart and preach the new-found light. And churches came into being. And always the prophecies were a vital factor in his success.

And when at last, in 1860, the Sabbatarian Adventists decided to organize, Joseph Bates was placed in the chair and guided the conference through to a successful conclusion. Thus the Seventh-day Adventists were formally brought into being.

³⁶ Spalding, *Captains*, p. 230; also his *Footprints*, p. 159.

The Spirit of Prophecy Manifested

Along with the sanctuary and Sabbath teachings, the third feature that characterized the Sabbatarian Adventists was the belief that the gift of prophecy, placed by Christ in the church along with the other "spiritual gifts," was not intended to be confined to the early church. They based this belief on the fact that when Christ "gave gifts unto men," after His ascension, "he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." (Eph. 4:11.)

They therefore felt that those who were "waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" should "come behind in no gift," especially "the testimony of Christ" (1 Cor. 1:6, 7)—the "testimony of Jesus" being elsewhere defined as "the spirit of prophecy," and associated specifically with the "remnant" portion of the church. (Rev. 12:17; 19:10.)

I. God's Established Channel of Communication

1. **ROLE OF THE PROPHET IN THE PLAN OF GOD.**—Through past ages God had often spoken through men whom He inspired with divine messages. The call to the prophetic office came not by human appointment but from God, and it came with convincing power and authority directly to the individual

chosen. (Heb. 5:4; 2 Peter 1:11.) The messenger was, in earlier times, called a "seer" (1 Sam. 9:9)—one who sees things beyond natural sight, often in a vision or a dream from God (Num. 12:6). Sometimes he was designated as a messenger (2 Chron. 36:15), and sometimes a watchman (Eze. 3:17). But more often he was called a "prophet"—not merely a *foreteller*, as we generally use the word today, but a *forth-teller*, or a *for-teller*—a spokesman for God. These prophets, called from all walks of life, were moral and religious teachers. They were often reformers and counselors and spiritual guides, as well as predictors of immediate or distant future events.¹ Some, like Elisha, worked miracles; others, like John the Baptist, did not. But moved of God (2 Peter 1:21), they all delivered messages from God, not their own. To Hosea God said, "I have also spoken by the prophets, and I have multiplied visions, and used similitudes, by the ministry of the prophets." (Hosea 12:10.)

Thus the purposes of God may be revealed to the prophet by vision, dream, oral communication, or otherwise.²

2. THE BIBLE THE SUPREME PRODUCT OF PROPHECY.—The supreme manifestation of God's inspired revelation to man is found in that unrivaled book called the Word of God. (Heb. 4:12.) We are told that "all scripture is given by inspiration of God" (2 Tim. 3:16), and that "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Peter 1:21). It was Moses, the early prophet, who received and delivered the matchless Decalogue, written by the "finger of God" (Deut. 9:10), the principles of which underlie the moral laws of all civilized nations. Through him also was given the Mosaic ceremonial law for Israel, which typified in advance, through the yearly

¹ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 26-29. Plummer thus sets forth three main functions of the prophet: "(1) A *for-teller*; one who speaks for . . . God;—a Divine messenger, ambassador, interpreter, or *spokesman*. (2) A *forth-teller*; one who has a special message to deliver *forth* to the world—a proclaimer, harbinger, or herald. (3) a *fore-teller*; one who tells *beforehand* what is coming; a predictor of future events. . . . Both in the Jewish and primitive Christian dispensations, the prophets are the means of communication between God and His Church." (Alfred Plummer, *The Pastoral Epistles*, chap. 6, pp. 65, 66, commenting on 1 Tim. 1: 18-20.) See also C. von Orelli, "Prophecy, Prophets," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, vol. 4, p. 2459.

² See W. T. Davison, "Prophecy, Prophets," in James Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 759.

round of sacrifices, the atoning death of Christ—the all-sufficient Sacrifice for a lost world—and foreshadowed His ministry in the heavens above as man's great High Priest, ending with the final eradication of sin from the universe.

It was through the prophetic gift that God repeatedly recalled the backsliding children of Israel during their national existence—reproved, admonished, pleaded, foretold their apostasy and dispersion, promised the Redeemer and Messiah to come, and pointed forward to the “last things” of the world's history and the glorious kingdom of God. There was Joel, stressing the “day of the Lord”; Isaiah, pressing on the Messianic prophecies; Micah, foretelling Messiah's birthplace; Zephaniah, also on the “day of the Lord”; Jeremiah, on the coming desolation; Habakkuk, on the triumph of righteousness, and others.³ And of course Daniel, the inspired forecaster, deals, as has been seen throughout these four volumes, with the sweeping span of the ages—closing with the “time of the end.” And in and through them all the second advent of Christ in great power and glory is ever the climax, the goal, the consummation of all prophetic outlines and utterances.⁴

Then, linked inseparably with the Old Testament penmen, come the apostolic, or New Testament, writers, who give the inspired record of Christ, the supreme Prophet and Fulfiller of prophecy, and the recital of the early days of the infant Christian church.⁵ And then there are prophets of the last things—Paul, Peter, and finally John, the beloved apostle, who closes the Book of God with the Apocalypse, the most amazing cluster of prophecies of all time—the full complement of the book of Daniel.⁶ The realization that the Bible, the express product of the gift of prophecy, is, next to Christ Himself and the Holy Spirit, God's best gift to man, lifts the gift of prophecy out of the realm of some strange vagary onto the highest plane in the operation of the marvelous plan of redemption.

³ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 117-124.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-134.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-148.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-160.

3. A NORMAL CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION.—Prophecy, given through instruments of God's own choosing, has therefore been a normal, customary channel for instruction, warning, and guidance. The genuine bestowal of the gift of prophecy is consequently a benediction, a heartening assurance of close connection between God and His people. Prophecy was thus given to the Christian church along with other gifts of the Spirit, such as apostles, teachers, helpers, administrators. (1 Cor. 12:28, R.S.V.) But the prophetic gift was clearly not confined to the apostles or restricted to the Bible writers. In the early Christian church there were Agabus and other unnamed prophets (Acts 11:27, 28; 21:10, 11), certain prophets at Antioch (Acts 12:1), Judas and Silas (Acts 15:32), and the four daughters of Philip the evangelist (Acts 21:9).

4. GOD'S METHOD OF PROPHETIC REVELATION.—God chose patriarchs, priests, apostles, laymen, and women as well as men, to receive instruction they were to give to the people. The divine method is illustrated in the call of Jeremiah and of Amos:

"The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, . . . I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations. . . . Thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak. . . . Then the Lord put forth his hand, and touched my mouth. And the Lord said unto me, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth." Jer. 1:4-9.

"I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was an herdman, and a gatherer of sycomore fruit: and the Lord took me as I followed the flock, and the Lord said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel." Amos 7:14, 15.

Some prophets and prophetesses delivered oral messages that were rarely recorded, if at all—such as Miriam (Ex. 15:20), Deborah (Judges 4:4), Asaph (2 Chron. 29:30), Heman (1 Chron. 25:6), Huldah (2 Kings 22:14), Micaiah (2 Chron. 18:6, 7), Azariah (2 Chron. 15:1), Eliezer (2 Chron. 20:37), Oded (2 Chron. 28:9), and certain unnamed prophets (Judges 6:8 ff.; 1 Sam. 2:27 ff.; 2 Chron. 25:7-10). Then there were various other prophets who wrote messages but whose writings were not

included in the Sacred Canon—such as the book of Jasher (Joshua 10:13; 2 Sam. 1:18), of Nathan the prophet (2 Sam. 7:2 ff.; 1 Chron. 29:29; 2 Chron. 2:29), of Gad the seer (2 Sam. 24:11; 1 Chron. 29:29), of the prophet Iddo (2 Chron. 9:29; 12:15), of Jehu (2 Chron. 20:34), of Ahijah (2 Chron. 9:29), and Shemaiah (2 Chron. 12:15). Of their writings little is known, and they evidently had only a local or temporary application. Yet they are recognized as prophets.⁷

As noted, God's established method of communication with His appointed prophets of old was often through visions and dreams. (Num. 12:6.) This included night visions or dreams, through which the prophets received what they solemnly avowed to be direct revelations from God (as in the prophetic symbols of Daniel 7), as well as public visions given in the presence of others. Some of these were accompanied by certain physical phenomena.

For example, Daniel—whose prophecies, received through such revelations, form the basis for much of the investigation recorded in these four volumes—describes his experiences in vision. There was first the loss and then the renewal of physical strength, and there was "no breath" in him. (Dan. 10:7-11, 15-19.) In this particular case an angel, after strengthening the prophet, delivered an oral message. Elsewhere somewhat the same initial effect is mentioned of Ezekiel (Eze. 1:28), Paul (Acts 9:4), and John (Rev. 1:17). And in another case still another detail is referred to—the prophet is described as falling down, having his eyes open. (Num. 24:2-4, 15, 16.) So real were Paul's "visions and revelations" that he did not know whether he was "in the body" or "out of the body," when he seemed to be taken up to heaven. (2 Cor. 12:1-4.)

Paul mentions hearing things unlawful to utter. John's visions in the Revelation are mostly pictorial—scenes vividly enacted which he afterward described. Daniel's revelations were sometimes given verbally by an angel (Daniel 10), and

⁷ For their approximate dates, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I, pp. 58, 59.

sometimes pictorially (Daniel 7). Isaiah and Ezekiel received both types, but some prophets seem to have had only verbal messages.

Students of prophetism have discussed these various aspects of revelation. But skeptics, ever prone to deny the supernatural in Christianity, have constantly attempted to explain away the visions described of Bible prophets, asserting that such phenomena were merely the artifice of fanatics, ecstasies, epileptics, or trance mediums, or were the result of hysteria, the product of hallucination or of some other nervous disorder, or were accounts written after the occurrences—anything except the simple admission that men were functioning as the prophets of God.⁸

5. LOSS OF PROPHETIC GIFT FROM THE CHURCH.—But as the early church lost her first love, while ecclesiastical machinery multiplied and dogma crystallized into creeds, then the early faith and power declined. And simultaneously, the gift of prophecy faded. False manifestations threw discredit on the true (1 Cor. 14:26-29), and men turned more and more to the authority of the developing Catholic Church, in which the pope came finally to be regarded as God's mouthpiece and was eventually declared infallible when speaking officially on faith and morals.⁹ J. C. Lambert names the same two causes which "gradually led to the elimination of the prophetic ministry": false prophets and—

"the growing importance of the official ministry, which begins to claim the functions previously accorded to the prophets alone. . . . Into the hands of the official class all power in the Church gradually passed, and . . . the prophet in the distinctive NT sense disappears entirely from the Catholic Church, while the ministry of office takes the place of the ministry of inspiration."¹⁰

⁸ The inadequacy of the rationalistic explanations is pointed out by E. König, "Prophecy (Hebrew)," in James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 10, p. 391; C. von Orelli, "Prophecy and the Prophetic Office," *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. 9, pp. 275, 276.

⁹ Vatican Council, "First Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of Christ," chap. 4, in Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, vol. 2, pp. 270, 271.

¹⁰ J. C. Lambert, "Prophet (in NT)," in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 765. Wesley says that the loss of the first love and the apostasy in the church were "the real cause why the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost were no longer to be found in the Christian Church; because the Christians were turned Heathens again, and had only a dead form

In the Reformation the inevitable "lunatic fringe," as at Zwickau, exhibited enough fanatical "prophets" to drive the main Protestant bodies into rejecting as fanatical and spurious any and all claims to the prophetic gift, and into contending that such belonged only to the Old Testament and apostolic ages. And indeed, down to this day their alarm has often been justified by the claims of those whose alleged revelations have been totally out of harmony with the tests given in the Word of God and often in conflict with reason and fact. Witness the Irvingites in England (discussed in Volume III), and in America the Mormons, Spiritualists, and Shakers.

6. RESTORATION OF GIFT IN LAST DAYS EXPECTED.—Now the early Sabbatarian Adventists understood that the Bible predicts Satan's counterfeit miracles in the last days. (2 Thess. 2:9; Rev. 16:14.) On the other hand, they could not escape the conviction that the Scriptures indicated that the gift of prophecy was likewise to be vouchsafed to the last-day "remnant" church. They noted that Jesus warned against *false* prophets among the signs preceding His second coming. (Matt. 24:24.) Would He not have warned against *all* prophets, they reasoned, if there was to be no true prophecy at that time? And they noted that Christ specifically told how to distinguish true from false prophets—"by their fruits" (Matt. 7:10); that John warned the church to "try the spirits, whether they are of God," because of many *false* prophets (1 John 4:1); and that Paul admonished to "despise not prophesyings," but to sift the true from the false (1 Thess. 5:20-22).¹¹

Further, they believed that they constituted the predicted "remnant" of Revelation 12:17, characterized by the keeping of the "commandments of God and the faith of Jesus," and having the "testimony of Jesus," which is defined as "the spirit of prophecy." (Rev. 19:10.)¹² So they came to regard the restora-

left." ("The More Excellent Way," Sermon 89 in *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley*, vol. 7, p. 27.)

¹¹ As Moffatt translates it: "Never disdain prophetic revelations but test them all, retaining what is good and abstaining from whatever kind is evil."

¹² "For the testimony or witness of (i.e., borne by) Jesus is (i.e., constitutes) the spirit of prophecy." This . . . specifically defines the brethren who hold the testimony of

tion of the prophetic gift as part of God's plan for His last-day "remnant" people, definitely associated with the restoration of the Sabbath of the "commandments of God."

They found this association of prophecy with the law of God appearing repeatedly in the Bible: "Where there is no vision ["prophecy," R.S.V.], the people perish: but he that keepeth the law, happy is he." (Prov. 29:18.) "The law is no more; her prophets also find no vision from the Lord." (Lam. 2:9; cf. Eze. 7:26.) And the Lord refused to give Ezekiel a message, because Israel had "despised my judgments, and walked not in my statutes, but polluted my sabbaths: for their heart went after their idols." (Eze. 20:3, 16.) Only a clear understanding of the historic and prophetic New Testament background of the gift of prophecy could dispel that instinctive and otherwise inevitable hesitancy cherished by a materialistic modern age concerning any last-day manifestation of the gift of prophecy.

The genuineness of any modern manifestation of the prophetic gift would, it was recognized, have to be demonstrated by meeting the clear Biblical *tests*, rigidly applied. And the four sure Biblical tests by which it would be checked were recognized as (1) conformity "to the law and to the testimony" (Isa. 8:20), (2) fidelity to the verities of the faith (Deut. 13:1-5,¹³ (3) wholesome character of the fruits they bring forth (1 John 4:1-3; Matt. 7:10), and (4) fulfillment of its predictions (Deut. 18:20-22). In addition, six other *evidences* may be listed as aids in testing the gift: (1) The practical nature of the counsels given, (2) the timeliness of their application, (3) their high spiritual plane, (4) the way in which they are received and delivered, (5) the certainty of the message conveyed, and (6) independence of outside influences.¹⁴

Jesus as possessors of prophetic inspiration. The testimony of Jesus is practically equivalent to Jesus testifying (xxii. 20). It is the self-revelation of Jesus (according to i.i., due ultimately to God) which moves the Christian prophets." (James Moffatt, comment on Rev. 19:10, in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, vol. 5, p. 465.)

¹³ See also W. T. Davison, *op. cit.*, p. 760; Andrew C. Zenos, "Prophecy. Prophet," Funk and Wagnalls *New Standard Bible Dictionary*, p. 741.

¹⁴ Denton E. Rebok, "The Spirit of Prophecy in the Remnant Church," in *Our Firm Foundation*, vol. 1, pp. 228, 229.

The early Sabbatarian Adventists came to be satisfied that, in harmony with the predictions and specifications of the Bible, the gift of prophecy had now been manifested in the Advent Movement in the work of Ellen G. White (nee Harmon). They did not consider her as their founder or as the originator of their distinctive doctrines, as we have seen,¹⁵ but as one chosen of God to help keep their feet on the solid rock of Scripture—the true Protestant position. And they did not make faith in her writings a test of church membership.¹⁶

They asserted that the counsels thus received did not in any way add to or supersede the Bible, but were always to be tested by the Scriptures; that they were given to guard against error and fanaticism, to expose sin and correct wrong, to sound danger signals when there was peril of going astray, to bring about unity, and to help keep their feet on the solid pathway of Scripture, and moving straight forward toward the kingdom. They always insisted that the writings given through the Spirit of prophecy¹⁷ should never be considered either a part of, or an addition to, the canon of Scripture, which all understood was closed with the apostolic book of Revelation. There was no deviation from this position.

7. RELATION OF SPIRIT OF PROPHECY TO BIBLE.—The matter of this relationship was so vital to the Adventists that amplification here is desirable. The classic early statements of the relationship of the spiritual gifts, or the Spirit of prophecy, to the Bible are given by James White, who, with Joseph Bates, was widely recognized as the cofounder of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. He stated:

“The Bible is our lamp, our guide. It is our rule of faith, and

¹⁵ On the sanctuary and the Sabbath, see pp. 903, 955. On her relation to the leaders who were subsequently developing and systematizing denominational teachings, see p. 1046.

¹⁶ She herself urged that this not be done. (See Ellen G. White, *Testimonies*, vol. 1, p. 328.)

¹⁷ The gift of prophecy came to be referred to as the Spirit of prophecy, for the Bible again and again records that such persons were “moved” by the Spirit of the Lord to give their messages. (See Num. 11:25, 26; 1 Sam. 10:2-10; Eze. 11:24, 25.) The phrase is also used by many commentators and other writers (e.g. A. C. Zenos, *op. cit.*, p. 743; C. von Orelli, “Prophecy and the Prophetic Office,” in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. 9, p. 274; J. C. Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 764).

practice: still there is no reason why God may not give special revelations to lead the erring to God, and his living word."¹⁸

And two years later, in 1851, he declared:

"The gifts of the Spirit should all have their proper places. The Bible is an everlasting rock. It is our rule of faith and practice. In it the man of God is 'thoroughly furnished unto all good works.' If every member of the church of Christ was holy, harmless, and separate from sinners, and searched the Holy Scriptures diligently and with much prayer for duty, with the aid of the Holy Spirit, we think, they would be able to learn their whole duty in 'all good works.' Thus 'the man of God may be perfect.' But as the reverse exists, and ever has existed, God in much mercy has pitied the weakness of his people, and has set the gifts in the gospel church to correct our errors, and to lead us to his Living Word. Paul says that they are for the 'perfecting of the saints,' 'till we all come in the unity of the faith.'—The extreme necessity of the church in its imperfect state is God's opportunity to manifest the gifts of the Spirit.

"Every Christian is therefore in duty bound to take the Bible as a perfect rule of faith and duty. He should pray fervently to be aided by the Holy Spirit in searching the Scriptures for the whole truth, and for his whole duty. He is not at liberty to turn from them to learn his duty through any of the gifts. We say that the very moment he does, he places the gifts in a wrong place, and takes an extremely dangerous position. The Word should be in front, and the eye of the church should be placed upon it, as the rule to walk by, and the fountain of wisdom, from which to learn duty in 'all good works.' But if a portion of the church err from the truths of the Bible, and become weak, and sickly, and the flock become scattered, so that it seems necessary for God to employ the gifts of the Spirit to correct, revive and heal the erring, we should let him work."¹⁹

Ellen White herself always exalted the Bible as the source of revealed truth, the guidebook to holiness, the handbook of true devotion, and the word of the living God for her own life. Her relation to that Word, and that of her writings, is consistently expressed:

"I recommend to you, dear reader, the word of God as the rule of your faith and practice. By that word we are to be judged. God has, in that word, promised to give visions in the 'LAST DAYS;' not for a new

¹⁸ James White, editorial, *Present Truth*, December, 1849, p. 40.

¹⁹ James White, editorial, "The Gifts of the Gospel Church," *Review and Herald*, April 21, 1851, p. 70. (Also reprinted in issue of Oct. 3, 1854, p. 61; authorship corroborated in another editorial, Oct. 16, 1855, p. 61.)

rule of faith, but for the comfort of his people, and to correct those who err from Bible truth.”²⁰

“The word of God is sufficient to enlighten the most beclouded mind, and may be understood by those who have any desire to understand it. But notwithstanding all this, some who profess to make the word of God their study, are found living in direct opposition to its plainest teachings. Then, to leave men and women without excuse, God gives plain and pointed testimonies, bringing them back to the word that they have neglected to follow.”²¹

“The Testimonies are not to belittle the word of God, but to exalt it, and attract minds to it, that the beautiful simplicity of truth may impress all.”²²

8. MEANING OF THE TERM “SPIRIT OF PROPHECY.”—The “spirit of prophecy,” of Revelation 19:10, may be defined basically as the Holy Spirit speaking, or prophesying, through a prophet of God’s choosing, as had been His accustomed procedure through all past communication with His church. Thus it was both in Old Testament times²³ and in apostolic days.²⁴ And so the Sabbatarian Adventists came to understand that it was again to be found in the last days, in the remnant portion, or final segment, of the Christian church. The Spirit of prophecy, they held, was destined to appear for the special guidance of the church of the latter times.

This larger over-all picture of God’s designated mode of communication with man was, they held, clearly the intent of the apostle John. He himself was imprisoned on the Isle of Patmos for having, and giving utterance to, the “testimony of Jesus” in his day (Rev. 1:2, 9), which he explicitly declared to be identical with the “spirit of prophecy” (Rev. 19:10).²⁵ And the book of Revelation, penned by the apostle, was the pre-eminent exhibition of the “testimony of Jesus.” (Rev. 1:1.)

²⁰ E. G. White, *Christian Experience and Views* (1851), p. 64.

²¹ E. G. White, *Testimonies*, vol. 2, p. 455.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 606.

²³ Cf. Eze. 11:5, 24—“The Spirit of the Lord fell upon me, and said unto me, Speak; Thus saith the Lord.” “The spirit took me up, and brought me in a vision by the Spirit of God.”

²⁴ 1 Peter 1:11—“The Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand,” 2 Peter 1:21—“Prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.”

²⁵ Paul similarly declared it to be the “testimony of Jesus” and the “testimony of God.” (1 Cor. 1:6; 2:1; cf. 2 Tim. 1:8.)

The Apocalypse stands as the climax of prophetic revelation, being given not only to disclose the conflict of the ages, but in a special sense to pilot the remnant church through the final scenes of earth's climactic hour. The book, or prophecy, of Revelation would therefore be the special object of concern and study by the remnant church—as it portrays the rise and development of the Second Advent Movement, its authorizing mandate and message, and its destined triumph. (Rev. 14:6-12.) And the last appearance of the Spirit of prophecy, they reasoned, is to be at the time appointed in inseparable connection with the revival of the keeping of the commandments of God and the restoration of the original faith of Jesus.

9. AIDS AS A MAGNIFYING GLASS ASSISTS.—These early Sabbatarian Adventists held the Bible to be basic, unique, and complete, their sole rule of faith and practice. What they spoke of as “the Spirit of prophecy” counsels, they regarded primarily as an aid to a fuller, clearer understanding of the Bible. They aptly likened those counsels to a magnifying glass that brings out, not something new, but details that otherwise might be missed by the unaided human eye. Ellen White herself called them “a lesser light to lead men and women to the greater light [the Bible].”²⁶

So they accepted these counsels because they believed them to meet the Biblical specifications for the Spirit of prophecy predicted for the last days, and to be in fundamental accord with the spirit and the express teachings of the Bible. They constantly claimed that the writings were ever to be judged by the Word, and any doctrine or moral teaching therein that is contrary to, or in conflict with, the Bible, was to be rejected.²⁷

Moreover, every distinctive Bible truth constituting the body of belief of the Sabbatarian Adventists was, they main-

²⁶ E. G. White, “An Open Letter,” *Review and Herald*, Jan. 20, 1903, p. 15.

²⁷ Denton E. Rebok, then secretary of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, in a major address at the 1952 Bible Conference of Adventist leaders, teachers, and preachers, strongly reiterated the unchanged position. He declared that E. G. White's writings “were not in any way to supersede, surpass, or supplant the Holy Scriptures.” (D. E. Rebok, *op. cit.*, p. 250.)

tained, derived directly from diligent and prayerful study of the Scriptures themselves. No single major doctrine was ever initially received through the Spirit of prophecy. The doctrines were simply confirmed by the gift, or the concept broadened, or erroneous ideas pointed out. All their cardinal beliefs were based on, and in turn were preached from, the Bible alone. So it was that James and Ellen White, and all other Adventist pioneers, ever insisted that the Spirit of prophecy was not a substitute for either personal or group Bible study. And the Seventh-day Adventist denomination holds the same position today on the primacy of the Bible.²⁸

Before discussing further the relation of Ellen G. White to the emerging group who were to become the Seventh-day Adventists, it will be well to sketch the life of this remarkable woman.

II. A Messenger to the Advent People

I. CHILDHOOD, YOUTH, AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE.—The birthplace of ELLEN GOULD HARMON, later Mrs. James White (1827-1915), was Gorham, some ten miles north of Portland, Maine. According to the local historical plaque, Gorham grew up around a fort erected in 1744 as "A Refuge and a Defense Against the Attacks of the Indians." The little town spreads itself along the main road. And here, just beyond the site of the fort, the old Harmon homestead (pictured on opposite page), beautifully located on an elevation, overlooks a broad green valley spread out between two lakes—affording a charming view of forest and meadow. And across the Connecticut River the impressive White Mountains of New Hampshire form the inspiring background.

Ellen, with her twin sister, was the youngest of a family of eight. She was a normal child of sunny disposition, quick of

²⁸ The best available discussions of the gift of the Spirit of prophecy are: D. E. Rebok, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-298; Francis M. Wilcox, *The Testimony of Jesus* (1944); Carlyle B. Haynes, *The Gift of Prophecy* (1931); Arthur C. Daniells, *The Abiding Gift of Prophecy* (1936); Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement* (1905); Lewis H. Christian, *The Fruitage of Spiritual Gifts* (1947); W. E. Read, *The Bible, the Spirit of Prophecy, and the Church* (1952); and A. W. Spalding, *There Shines a Light* (1952).



**ELLEN G. WHITE, PROLIFIC WRITER OF THE
SABBATARIAN ADVENTISTS**

Harmon Home at Gorham, Maine, Where Mrs. White Was Born, and Early
Photo of Ellen Gould Harmon White

mind and resolute. Moving to Portland when Ellen was still a child, her father, who was a hatter, continued his business in the home—all the family helping. Here Ellen attended the old Brackett Street School. Nor was there anything unusual about her early years. However, when she was only eight (in 1836), she found a newspaper account of a prominent preacher in England who had recently declared that the Lord would come some thirty years hence.²⁹ She took it home to the family, greatly impressed that she should be ready to meet her returning Saviour.³⁰

Between 1837 and 1843 Ellen passed through a spiritual

²⁹ Possibly Edward Bickersteth or John Cumming. Several English writers of the day looked to 1866 as the possible time of the world's climax, though a much larger number looked to 1843 or 1844. (See tabular chart, *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 744, 745.) Her first intimation of an imminent advent thus came from a British clergyman.

³⁰ E. G. White, *Life Sketches*, p. 20. This section is based on *Life Sketches*; also A. W. Spalding's delightful description in *Captains of the Host*, pp. 62-76.

crisis, similar to that of many others who have struggled to find God. She rebelled against the dismal prospects resulting from an early accident, and its attendant invalidism. But in 1840, in the large Casco Street Christian Church, of which L. D. Fleming was pastor, William Miller gave a series of lectures on the second advent, which stirred Portland and the whole State. From the first the Harmon family was deeply impressed with Miller's clear expositions, and his kind and fatherly attitude, but continued on in the fellowship of the Chestnut Street Methodist Church of Portland. (Cut of both churches appears on p. 979.) Later in the same year, responding to an altar call at a Methodist camp meeting at Buxton, Ellen found her burden rolled from her shoulders. From then on she knew herself to be a child of God, and was soon baptized by immersion.³¹ However, her Christian life was still filled with perplexity, especially over certain theological points—sanctification, and particularly the eternal torment of the wicked.

In the midst of these spiritual struggles, when she was nearly fifteen, Miller gave his second course of lectures in Portland, in 1842, at the same Casco Street Church. It was then that the Harmon family were confirmed in their belief in his teaching on the nearness of the second advent. But by this time the Maine Methodist Conference had passed resolutions condemning Miller's views, and required its ministers to refrain from promulgating them. Discipline was also meted out to lay members. And among those disfellowshipped for their convictions were the Harmon family, including Ellen.

Levi F. Stockman (see chapter 36), was one of the Methodist ministers who, about this time, was disciplined by the Maine Conference. Hearing of Ellen Harmon's singular religious experience, he assured her that God has a plan and a place

³¹ One of the sights of present interest in Portland, along the bay to the west, in the once aristocratic residential section, stands Longfellow's birthplace—now a dilapidated old three-story house in the midst of an industrial section and filled-in ground covered with railroad tracks. Back in Longfellow's day, however, a beautiful sandy beach, coming up close to the front of the house, provided the favorite baptizing place of the Methodists. (Spalding, *Footprints*, p. 63.) While not emphasizing immersion like the Baptists, they then gave candidates their choice of sprinkling or immersion. And it was the conviction of Ellen Harmon that she should be immersed.



MOMENTOUS OCCURRENCES IN PORTLAND (MAINE) CHURCHES

(Left) Upon Lorenzo Fleming's Invitation, William Miller Gave Two Series of Lectures in the Casco Street Christian Church, in 1841 and 1842, Leading to Fleming's Acceptance of the Advent Faith. Fleming Soon Became One of Their Editors. Here Also Ellen Harmon First Heard Miller, and Likewise Accepted the Premillennial Faith; (Right) Chestnut Street Methodist Church From Which Ellen Harmon, Her Older Sister Sarah, and Their Parents Were Disfellowshipped in 1843 for Holding the Second Advent Hope

for each of His children, and must have some special work for her to do. This encouraged her to participate publicly in the prayer meetings. Immediately her distress of soul left her and her perplexities vanished, and she constantly bore witness to the transforming power of God. She was now sixteen, in the summer of 1844, when James White, visiting Portland, was deeply impressed by her piety.

2. PUBLIC LIFE BEGINS AT SEVENTEEN.—It was in December, 1844, when Ellen, visiting her friend Mrs. Elizabeth Haines, in South Portland, was kneeling quietly at the family altar with some other young women of the Adventist faith.³² They were earnestly praying for light and guidance. Then it was that she experienced her first vision, in which was portrayed before her the travels of the advent people on their way to the city of God.³³

³² E. G. White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 64-68; also her *Christian Experience and Teachings*, pp. 57-61; *Testimonies*, vol. 1, pp. 58-61; and *Christian Experience and Views* (1851), p. 5.

³³ It was essentially the same view that had been shown to the reluctant Hazen Foss,

When Ellen Harmon related this vision to the little group of sixty perplexed and disappointed Adventist believers in Portland, their personal knowledge of her unique Christian experience, her sincerity, and her consistent life, and the practical nature of the message, led them to accept it as a message from Heaven. Shortly after this a second vision revealed the disbelief, fanaticism, misrepresentation, and calumny she must meet, but she was told that it was her duty to relate to others what God had shown her. Overwhelmed by the prospect and its unknown implications, she shrank from such a mission. Despair pressed upon her, and for a time she absented herself from public services.

It was a crisis hour in her life. But in one of the Portland meetings, light seemed suddenly to come upon her, and she responded, "Be it unto me according to Thy Word." Her life thenceforth forms an amazing story. From the weakest of the weak she developed into a well-poised, eloquent, persuasive speaker and a forceful writer. She found great pleasure in study of the Word. She was well read, and her travels greatly broadened her views of life and helped her in expounding truth. In her public work she spoke with a persuasive authority, based on the conviction that she bore a message for and from God. She helped guide the infant Sabbatarian church through crisis after crisis—when it was plagued by abuse, divisive suggestions, defection, and poverty.

She neither claimed nor accepted the role of infallibility—which is vastly different from inspiration, which is the influence of the Spirit of God upon the spirit of the submissive servant and messenger. Like the prophets of old, she illuminated and applied truth, and gave guidance to her fellow believers. She did not lay claim to the title of prophet, preferring to be called a "messenger"³⁴ and "servant" of God. But she

studying for the Episcopal ministry, who had been bidden to bear his testimony to the bewildered Adventists around Portland. But, feeling that he had been deceived by the recent Disappointment, he refused to relate what had been shown him. Then the dismal conviction came to him that the Spirit of God had left him. (Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement*, pp. 182, 183.)

³⁴ E. G. White, Ms. 140, 1905; cf. her article "A Messenger," *Review and Herald*, July 26, 1906, pp. 8, 9.

proved herself to be in the line of succession of those worthies of old—humble, earnest, faithful, and effective. At the time of her death an editorial in *The Independent*, leading New York weekly of the time, after giving a recital of the rise and world-wide expansion of Seventh-day Adventists, declared:

“In all this Ellen G. White has been the inspiration and guide. Here is a noble record, and she deserves great honor. Did she really receive divine visions, and was she really chosen by the Holy Spirit to be endued with the charism of prophecy? Or was she the victim of an excited imagination? Why should we answer? One’s doctrine of the Bible may affect the conclusion. At any rate she was absolutely honest in her belief in her revelations. Her life was worthy of them. She showed no spiritual pride and she sought no filthy lucre. She lived the life and did the work of a worthy prophetess, the most admirable of the American succession.”³⁵

3. TRAVELS OF THE ADVENT PEOPLE PORTRAYED.—During that informal season of prayer in Mrs. Haines’s Portland home, in December, 1844, Ellen Harmon was given her first revelation, portraying the future experiences through which the believers were yet to pass, and on to the final return of Christ. This extraordinary message gave light—just a few rays, like the early glow of sunrise appearing long before the noontide blaze of light. Unconscious of her surroundings, she saw a lighted pathway stretching straight through to a glorious destination—the city of God. The light behind the advent believers, which was declared to be that of the Midnight Cry—obviously the well-known seventh-month movement—shone all along the pathway the Christian pilgrims were to travel, until they reached the shining city of God at the end of the far-stretching pathway.

Jesus was their guide and leader, and so long as they kept their eyes on Him they were safe. Moreover, as they journeyed the light increased in brightness. Others joined them, until there was a great company. On the other hand, she saw that some grew weary, indifferent, and discontented. The journey

³⁵ Editorial, “An American Prophetess.” *The Independent*, Aug. 23, 1915.

was much longer than they had anticipated, and they decided that God was not leading. Such would stumble off the lighted path into dense darkness below.⁹⁸

And along with this revelation came the conviction, which could not be silenced, that she must tell what had been shown to her to the scattered, confused, and troubled advent believers. First in Portland and then throughout New England, this vivid message brought comfort and assurance. Its primary effect was to confirm faith in God's past guidance. Despite their disappointment, there was light in the message—light that would illuminate their entire future pathway. They were not to look to the world. They were traveling on a path to the heavenly city, high above the world. The portrayal did not explain the *nature* of their disappointment; that must come through personal Bible study. But they were not to cast away their confidence, for Jesus was leading them. And they were safe as long, but only as long, as they kept their eyes on Him. They were not to grow weary because the journey was long—"a great way off"—but were to persevere to the end of the road.

The saints would suffer persecution, but God would deliver them, for "My grace is sufficient for you." And the wicked would be terrified as they beheld Christ at His second glorious appearing, and all the holy angels approaching. Then would come the resurrection of the sleeping saints and the glad reunion, the ascension to the sea of glass, and the welcome into the city containing the throne of God and the river and tree of life. Such was the sweeping panorama opened before her astonished eyes.

It is to be particularly noted that Ellen's first revelation could not be accounted for as in any wise springing subjectively from her personal beliefs, or that of any of her friends or associates in Portland. Rather, it was their complete opposite. She and they, like the Millerite leaders, had previously come to feel

⁹⁸ This was first printed in a letter in the *Day-Star* (Cincinnati), Jan. 24, 1846, pp. 31, 32. Ellen G. White later published it in her *Christian Experience and Views* (1851), pp. 9-13, which was incorporated into her still current volume, *Early Writings*, pp. 14-20.

that the Midnight Cry movement must have been a tragic mistake. The very fact that Jesus had not come was taken as evidence that their time calculation of the 2300 years as ending on October 22 had been in error. But in the vision the Midnight Cry was declared instead to be a brilliant light, like the penetrating beam from a giant searchlight—an abiding truth, which was to illuminate the path of the advent people all the way to the city of God. This they accepted. And the fact that it served to change her own personal belief, as well as that of others, is strong evidence that it did not spring from her own consciousness.

4. HER SOUL-WINNING INFLUENCE.—Thus while the basic positions of the seventh-month movement were being abandoned by many on the right hand and on the left, Ellen Harmon now identified herself with those who maintained that God had assuredly led them in that great movement, and they advanced step by step in the providence of God, studying the Word of God until a clear, systematic body of truth was gradually established. From 1844 onward she taught that, despite its human frailties and mistakes, the Millerite movement fulfilled a divine purpose, and she strengthened the faithful to believe that clearer light would be given as needed.

When the call to bear special messages for God was extended to Ellen Harmon in December, 1844, she had for some years been passing through experiences designed to prepare her for that very ministry. For four and a half years, during the most impressionable period of her life, Ellen's all-absorbing interest had been that of preparation for the coming of Christ and of actively doing her part to make known to others the Saviour she had found, who, she believed, was returning ere-long. During the year "1843," in the Millerite movement, she had been an earnest worker for her girl companions, starting prayer bands for her friends and winning them to Christ. So that first revelation in the closing month of 1844 and the call to deliver the messages to the people came to one who had the

burden of prayer and was active in personal work for her friends. Unrealized at the time, it was to begin a lifetime of almost unparalleled public witnessing, speaking, and writing on three continents.

5. FALSE MANIFESTATIONS CREATE POPULAR PREJUDICE.—But Ellen White's mission was not accepted among the former Millerites at large. There had been a feeling against any manifestation of the spiritual gifts because of the fanaticism of the Irvingites among the English Adventists and the publication of supposed visions in certain religious journals. The "Declaration of Principles" adopted by the Adventists of Boston in May, 1843, contains the following:

"We have no confidence whatever in any visions, dreams, or private revelations. 'What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord.' We repudiate all fanaticism, and everything which may tend to extravagance, excess, and immorality, that shall cause our good to be evil spoken of."³⁷

The fanaticism of John Starkweather and the episode of Dr. C. R. Gorgas led to the adverse attitude and action toward all "special illumination," taken by the Mutual Conference of Adventists at Albany, New York, in May, 1845.³⁸ And the New York Conference, that soon followed, passed this action:

"Resolved, that we have no confidence in any new messages, visions, dreams, tongues, miracles, extraordinary gifts, revelations, impressions, discerning of spirits, or teachings, &c. &c, not in accordance with the unadulterated word of God."³⁹

Ellen G. White was often confronted with the type of excesses and fanaticism there referred to, but her own life and witness were totally different. Hers was a steadying influence amid the post-Disappointment confusion. Multiplied thousands of Adventist believers from the various churches and the world had been united in their expectation of Christ's return. And when that failed of realization, the bond of unity that held them

³⁷ "Declaration of Principles," *Signs of the Times*, June 7, 1843, p. 107.

³⁸ See *Advent Herald*, May 14, 1845, p. 107.

³⁹ "Conference of Adventists at New York, Commencing May 6th, 1845," *Advent Herald*, May 21, 1845, p. 118.

together was broken. Confusion reigned. Extremists arose to distract and annoy. Discordant opinions were voiced and conflicting publications appeared on every hand. Fanaticism sought entrance into the "little flock," as they were called.

It was under these strained circumstances that the prophetic gift was revived, the Sabbatarian Adventists believed. It was not given to teach new truths, they insisted, but to rebuke false and fanatical teachings, and to place a confirming endorsement upon those truths of the Word that had previously been dug out through the diligent prayer and study of individuals or by groups of earnest seekers for light, and to encourage and guide the "little flock."

Moreover, the popular wave of mesmerism, or hypnotism, in those days, was soon followed by a sharp upsurge of spiritualism. These Ellen White was also called upon to face and expose, as well as the fanatic and erratic who sought entrance into the movement. At seventeen she bore witness that those who set successive times for the coming of the Lord would be mistaken. Writing, speaking, and counseling were to be her lifework.⁴⁰ And in time she was addressing the largest audiences of the day, so that leaders of the time recognized her speaking power as unique.

6. BROAD SCOPE AND INFLUENCE OF WRITINGS.—Though she never formally studied theology or ecclesiastical polity, and never held official churchly office, Ellen White set forth and applied foundational principles that aided to no small extent in building up a highly efficient organization. And the wide range of subjects she discerningly discussed is remarkable—salvation in all its phases; instruction for youth, parents, and the aged; counsel on the home and society, for the individual and for the church. Her comprehensive writings deal with equality and liberty for rich and poor alike. They emphasize health, education, temperance, evangelism, sane finance, and world-wide

⁴⁰ E. G. White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 85-94.

missions. They penetrate to the heart of preaching and enunciate great basic principles of soul winning.

Concerning the church, she dealt with definite doctrinal foundations, spiritual power, and organization on the basis of Bible order. Moreover, she gave messages on the inspiration and validity of the Bible when the whole trend was toward skeptical and higher critical views of Scripture, and when exposition was surrounded by a cloud of mysticism. And her writings stood as a bulwark against the rising tide of evolution beginning to sweep over the land.

By voice, and in the volumes issuing in a continuing stream from her pen,⁴¹ Mrs. White's influence upon the growing church was profound. And the world, looking on, recognized a special gift, which had materially aided in the build-up of the Seventh-day Adventist movement, and which had guided the infant organization through its difficult early period. It was her voice of encouragement that built morale and put courage into the poverty-stricken nucleus of Sabbatarians over a century ago. It was her rebuke that had silenced fanatics and extremists. Her voice had called to diligent Bible study and to holier living. It had insisted on world evangelism, and urged a special kind of school, publishing house, and medical institution to meet their own special needs.

7. HER REMARKABLE LIFE AND WORK.—Apart from her extensive travels Mrs. White lived thirty years in Battle Creek, Michigan, and fifteen years near St. Helena, California, where she died in 1915. She spent two years in Europe (1885-1887), and nine years in Australia (1891-1900). She was never ordained in the ordinary understanding of the term⁴² and was elected to no office or administrative post in the church. She grew up in an age of intense spiritual agitation, when America was engaged in historic, religious, and social discussions and experiments. The weight of Mrs. White's influence and counsel was

⁴¹ See Appendix E.

⁴² She did, however, carry ministerial credentials.

ever behind the major moral and physical reforms of the day. In the crisis over slavery her writings were always on the side of freedom and the individual rights of mankind; in temperance reform they were ever in the forefront, going beyond others in teaching the basic control of appetite—not only as regards alcoholic drinks, but including tobacco and narcotics, and all stimulants and injurious foods—with a positive, well-balanced program of health promotion through rational living.

Mrs. White was not tutored in the universities and had no influential connections. She had no outstanding physical vitality or beauty of person such as has frequently marked the dominant women of history. But when she spoke from the platform her simple, moving eloquence held thousands spellbound. Her program of tireless, incessant public speaking and effective writing stands almost without a parallel. The mere physical task of writing over twenty thousand pages of book manuscript and some three thousand periodical articles is itself staggering.⁴³ The sheer extent of her literary output is incredible, yet many of the best literary minds of the century frankly admired the remarkable character of the books she produced. Specialists have been amazed at the knowledge and the fundamental grasp of basic principles in their own and other quite different specialized fields.

8. SIGNIFICANT TRIBUTE FROM RELENTLESS CRITIC.—As stated, Mrs. White held no official position in the church. There was nothing pretentious about her bearing—no attitude of officiousness, no claim of personal authority, superlative wisdom, impeccability, or infallibility. But with it all there was an inflexible courage to speak forth her message as she felt directed. While Deborah of old was called a “prophetess,” she was also known as “a mother in Israel.” The same was true of Mrs. White. Possession of the prophetic gift, her neighbors found, did not make the human agent a strange and abnormal sort of person. Though considered a messenger to the remnant

⁴³ See Appendix E.

church, she was, at the same time, a normal, natural, kindly person, a helpful friend and neighbor, a mother and wife, with a home and children, respected in the church and community because of her godly life and influence.

Mrs. White's bitterest and most relentless critic, Dudley M. Canright, formerly a Seventh-day Adventist minister, who had been well acquainted with her, came with his brother to her funeral. His brother tells the incident:

"We joined the passing throng, and again stood by the bier. My brother rested his hand upon the side of the casket, and with tears rolling down his cheeks, he said brokenly, 'There is a noble Christian woman gone.' " ⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Quoted in William A. Spicer, *The Spirit of Prophecy in the Advent Movement*, p. 127.

Testing the Validity of the Messages

It was Ellen White's unwavering conviction that, from 1844 on to the close of her long life in 1915, divine revelations were given her from God. She never claimed verbal inspiration or verbal perfection for the messages she bore. But she did maintain that these communications came from the Lord, and were the result of an enlightened mind, though expressed in her own language and style. The character and claims of these messages called for careful investigation, in order to determine whether they were indeed a restoration of the true prophetic gift or were merely a deceptive counterfeit.

I. Evidence of the Gift Found in the Writings

The ultimate proof of the genuineness of this spiritual gift lies in the writings themselves. Their source can be known by their spirit and their fruits. And these, the Adventists came to see, have ever been good and wholesome. Here profound spiritual principles appear in simple form. They always tend to the highest morality. They discountenance every vice and extol every virtue. They set forth Christ as man's only hope and Saviour. They lead to the Bible, exalting it as the unalterable Word of the Lord, which is extolled as the all-sufficient guide to God, the source of all needed counsel, the sole rule of Christian faith and practice.¹

¹ Mrs. White's own statements are crystal clear, and many. Here is one: "The Bible, and the Bible alone, is to be our creed, the sole bond of union; all who bow to this holy word

These writings, the Sabbatarian Adventists held, expose the devices and denounce the pitfalls of Satan. They safeguard against the perils besetting the Christian pathway and warn against extremism and fanaticism. They never counsel evil or lower the standard of morality. They never lead in the paths of transgression and sin. They do not cause men to serve God less faithfully or to love Him less fervently; rather, they bare hidden sins and inspire to holiness of life.² That was their appraisal.

Ellen White's counsels were given sometimes to individuals, sometimes to congregations, sometimes to denominational leaders. They might deal with specific problems, with future plans, or constitute spiritual counsel for personal Christian living or church leadership. Many of these writings, containing principles applicable to others besides those to whom they were originally addressed, were published over the years for the church members in general, in such books as *Testimonies for the Church*.

Other works, not written for specific persons or occasions, called in more general terms to greater consecration, explained the meaning of the Christian life or the teachings of Christ, or outlined God's leading of His people through past ages. Her books of this latter type have circulated far beyond the ranks of Seventh-day Adventists. Many readers of many faiths and various languages, who know or care nothing about the question of the author's prophetic gift, have found personal inspiration and spiritual help in these books, ranging from the pocket-sized *Steps to Christ* to the large volume *The Desire of Ages* (a life of Christ).³

Mrs. White's exposition of Bible prophecy, though often

will be in harmony. Our own views and ideas must not control our efforts. Man is fallible, but God's word is infallible." E. G. White, "A Missionary Appeal," *Review and Herald*, Dec. 15, 1885, p. 770.

² Uriah Smith, *The Visions of Mrs. E. G. White* (1868), pp. 5-9.

³ Others circulated generally are *Christ's Object Lessons* (on the parables), *Thoughts From the Mount of Blessing* (on the Sermon on the Mount), and particularly the Conflict of the Ages Series, beginning with *Patriarchs and Prophets*, a survey of the first part of the Old Testament story, and ending with *The Great Controversy*, which deals with the history of the Christian church in the light of its beginnings, its vicissitudes through the centuries, and its glorious hope of the Saviour's return.

secondary to the main theme of her writings, is sound and historical. Stressing essentials and ignoring minor, unprofitable, and divisive points, her expositions sustained the fundamental Protestant positions, and were a unifying, steadying force, to hold Biblical exposition along solid, substantial lines in the Adventist faith. Here again *they were designed to confirm already established prophetic truth*, hewn out of the quarry of the prophetic Word by venerable students of Scripture, past and present, rather than to introduce new teachings. These expositions will be considered in chapter 52, "The Larger Aspects of Prophecy."

But in the beginning of Ellen White's work—when it was too early to judge by the character and content of her later published writings, or by the subsequent fulfillment of predictions, and the results of following the counsels given—the manner of receiving these messages first served to arrest the attention of immediate personal observers. It was apparent that here was a manifestation of some supernatural or supernormal power. Whether this was of God or from Satan would, they realized, have to be determined by the character of the messages themselves, as well as that of the messenger. Satan, they were aware, might simulate physical manifestations of similar character in persons under his control.

The messages must therefore be judged, according to Scripture, by their fruits. (Matt. 7:16, 20.) The phenomena of the visions,⁴ it was emphasized, were not an integral part of the message itself, but simply served to arrest attention and to create initial confidence in the supernatural or supernormal character of the manifestation. They were chiefly for those early days, as one evidence among other evidences, before there was sufficient time for the results to be seen by which they were finally to be judged. Mrs. White invited the investigation of her writings, which she said were prepared under the instruction of God.

⁴ These were observed to be in fundamental accord with the experience of Bible prophets. For accounts, see Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement*, pp. 204-211; George I. Butler, "Visions and Prophecy," *Review and Herald*, June 9, 1874, pp. 201, 202.

Such were some of the determining factors in weighing the evidence. Later she declared:

"Of myself, I could not have brought out the truths in these books, but the Lord has given me the help of His Holy Spirit. These books, giving instruction that the Lord has given me during the past sixty years, contain light from heaven, and will bear the test of investigation."⁵

But just *how* were they to be judged?

II. The Four Determining Factors Enumerated

When the Seventh-day Adventist Church in embryo—the emerging group that was gradually uniting on the special inter-related teachings of the second advent, the Sabbath, and the sanctuary—was confronted with what appeared to be a last-day restoration of the prophetic gift, they had to determine, on the basis of Biblical specifications, whether the manifestation was genuine. Some decided only after considerable deliberation and scrutiny. While they recognized that they were to "despise not prophesyings," they knew that they must also "prove all things" and "hold fast to that which is good." They must accept only what gave clear evidence of being from God.

Miller and his associates had become somewhat conditioned against any such concept because of unfortunate experiences with a few who had gone into fanaticism.⁶ This would naturally give occasion to fear that the acceptance of Ellen G. White's messages as genuine might likewise lead to credulity, and susceptibility to the vagaries of anyone who should claim to have "new light." But the very gift that seemed to many of the older Millerite leaders as possibly only another manifestation of fanaticism, helped to guide the emerging Sabbatarian group safely through the rapids of post-Disappointment confusion that threatened to intrude and to engulf them. These in-

⁵ E. G. White, Letter 55, 1905. She rested her case on such investigation, for she said: "God is either teaching His church, reproving their wrongs and strengthening their faith, or He is not. This work is of God, or it is not. God does nothing in partnership with Satan. My work . . . bears the stamp of God or the stamp of the enemy. There is no halfway work in the matter. The Testimonies are of the Spirit of God, or of the devil." (E. G. White, *Testimonies*, vol. 4, p. 230.)

⁶ Such as C. R. Gorgas. See F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, pp. 321-329.

cluded false messiahs, sanctificationists, the no-work doctrine, repeated time settings, as well as mesmerism, Spiritualism, and the like, besetting on every hand.

And what caused them to accept that guidance was the rigid application of the Scripture tests that have been mentioned in the preceding chapter in connection with genuine prophetism. Here are the guiding principles that the Sabbatarian Adventists followed in considering the work and teachings of Ellen G. White.⁷

1. "TO THE LAW AND TO THE TESTIMONY."—The first of these tests was unqualified faithfulness to the Scriptures—to God's commands and to the testimony of the inspired messengers of God in olden times. (Isa. 8:20.) Although the Spirit of God speaks to all His children, and within certain limitations *through* many of them, still the distinctive prophetic gift is a special bestowal of the Holy Spirit. It was of course obvious that the Spirit will not speak through one messenger in contradiction to what He has given through earlier prophets or to anything in the inspired Word of God.

The Sabbatarian Adventists always insisted that any modern prophetic counsels are to be tested by the Scriptures, and accepted or rejected by this criterion. And they pointed out that the writings of Ellen G. White consistently exalt the Bible, teach obedience to the law of God (including the neglected fourth commandment of the Decalogue), and ever harmonize with what the prophets of old have taught.

2. FIDELITY TO THE VERITIES OF THE FAITH.—Those who believed that they were fulfilling the prophetic picture of the "remnant" people and were heralds of the threefold message of the latter days—combining the "commandments of God" and the "*faith of Jesus*"—could consider no prophetic gift genuine that did not ring true to the fundamental verities of the Christian faith. (1 John 4:2.) And these messages, they held,

⁷ See also D. E. Rebok, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-228.

have through the years iterated and reiterated the basic themes of the full inspiration of the Scriptures, the incarnation of the Son of God, the fallen state of man, salvation only through Christ's vicarious atoning death, justification and sanctification by faith, the fruits of the Spirit in the individual life, immortality only through Christ, the resurrection of the body, Christ's premillennial coming again to judge the quick and the dead, the creation of a new heaven and a new earth, and the ultimate eradication of all evil. This was the basic platform upon which all other counsels were built.

These writings stressed righteousness by faith—not faith as a mere assent to doctrine, but as a personal, living, saving transaction, a personal relationship to Jesus Christ, and not a dead faith without works. In the very nature of the case, Sabbatarians would not be susceptible to antinomianism, but legalism would be a danger. And against this peril Ellen G. White warned faithfully, stressing daily dependence upon Christ as the only source of obedience, as well as salvation. From this platform she never varied.

3. "BY THEIR FRUITS YE SHALL KNOW THEM."—The third test was the one laid down by Jesus Himself—judging "by their fruits." (Matt. 7:16, 20.) Those who first had to decide on the basis of the Biblical tests, the character and origin of Ellen G. White's messages, could in the beginning apply this test only at short range. That was why, they believed, the initial manifestation was through the "open vision" with its accompanying phenomena. But the gift could only be progressively judged by its results—by the effect on the Christian experience of individuals as well as on the group, and as reflected in her own life. And this, they saw, must continue constantly as long as the gift operated.

The influence of these messages was evident in the inculcation of the highest ideals and in the building of individual Christian character. It was also seen in the unifying and encouraging counsel given to the group. It confirmed the faith

of the Sabbatarian Adventists in their Bible-founded message and mission, steered them away from the numerous time settings that caused repeated setbacks to other groups, and warned against one sort of fanaticism or another. Thus the counsel given—though sometimes tardily understood and followed—pointed out to the infant church a clear Scriptural course through an initial period of disappointment, threatened discord and extremism, and guided them into paths of sane, balanced growth.

These messages did not lay out a complete plan of static perfection. Instead, they progressively corrected early errors and restricted views. They led the church into an ever-larger concept of the task before it, and urged it on into a world-wide work. Again and again through the years the messages came—sometimes from halfway around the world—in a time of discouragement, of perplexity, or of crisis, and proved to be the counsel that pointed in the direction of loyalty to God, and of progress and strength to the advent cause. And through it all they held unswervingly to the Bible as the supreme guide, devotion to Christ as the supreme ideal, and the spread of the everlasting gospel to every creature as the supreme task of the church and its individual members.

4. PREDICTIONS MUST COME TO PASS.—It has been noted that the fourth Biblical test mentioned—fulfilled predictions (Jer. 28:9; Deut. 18:22)—is subordinate to the question of harmony with God's revealed Word, for an occasional shrewd human prognostication that chanced to prove correct might serve to lead people away from truth. But a genuine gift of the Spirit cannot be the source of false predictions. Hence this fourth test is valid and necessary, though not primary evidence. The foregoing three sections have no direct bearing on the exposition of Bible prophecy. They have therefore been treated rather briefly. But this fourth test will be given proportionately more space in order to present various examples of Ellen G. White's predictions that were related to the fulfillment of certain Bible

prophecies, and therefore come within the scope of prophetic application here under survey.

III. Meeting the Test of Fulfilled Predictions

Prophetism, as has been noted, is much more than mere prediction. But when an individual professes to speak through the Spirit of prophecy, and in the name of the Lord explicitly depicts future events or conditions to come, then failure of such predictions to come to pass would obviously demonstrate the falsity of such a claim.⁸ Therefore, not only must Ellen G. White's teachings accord with the principles and precepts of the Word of God, just surveyed, but her predictions must be judged by the clear evidence of fulfillment. They stand or fall upon these basic tests. That was clearly recognized.

These predictions that we shall now note were neither in the category of the basic "time prophecies" and great "outline prophecies" of the Bible, such as those of Daniel and John—the exposition of which we are systematically tracing in these volumes—nor are they to be confused with them. Such master prophecies are the sole prerogative of Scripture and are confined to Holy Writ. In contrast, Ellen White's predictions concerning modern developments—along national, international, religious, social, industrial, and political lines—*were but the local, or present, and more expanded application of these over-all Bible prophecies on record through the centuries.*

That, in a word, is the relationship. Mrs. Ellen White's predictions are not contrary to or part of Bible prophecy, but fit into the fundamental framework of Bible prophecy. They give particular applications to the general prophecies of the Word. They foretell specific developments or fulfillments, so men need not be taken unaware when they come to pass. Let us now survey a few specific predictions.

⁸ Deut. 18:22. The conditional element in certain prophecies must, of course, always be recognized, as in the Biblical case of Jonah's prediction concerning the overthrow of Nineveh—where the populace repented and God did not carry out His threat of overthrow. This principle is very clear from Jeremiah 18:9, 10—where, on the contrary, the Lord will repent of the good He purposes toward men if they persist in doing evil.

IV. Streams of Published Light to Encircle Globe

Beginning in 1846 a few tracts began to be issued by the Sabbatarian leaders—two by Joseph Bates in 1846, two broadsides by Ellen Harmon in 1846 and 1847, two more tracts by Bates in 1847, and a pamphlet by James White in 1847. Then a call was sounded forth by Ellen Harmon White in November, 1848, for a publishing work that would, in time, become world-wide in scope and influence. In Otis Nichol's home in Dorchester, Massachusetts, she was given her first view of this new and expanding work. At the close of this vision she said to James White:

"I have a message for you. You must begin to print a little paper and send it out to the people. Let it be small at first; but as the people read, they will send you means with which to print, and it will be a success from the first. From this small beginning it was shown to me to be like streams of light that went clear round the world."⁹

That was a bold prediction to make in the presence of an unbelieving world, which looked upon the advent cause as a complete failure that would soon go into oblivion. It was also a faith-testing commission to give to a mere handful of penniless adherents to certain cherished principles. No one else in that small group would have dared to paint such an incredible picture of a world-wide work to come. Everything was at low ebb. They were just getting their bearings, just finding a clear message to give. And at the time Ellen White was but twenty-one, and James White only a few years older. In fact, with the exception of Joseph Bates, the group was largely made up of youthful crusaders for a cause, with a burden of leadership resting upon them. These statements, and others by Ellen White, troubled the "little flock," for they could not see how this could ever be fulfilled, and their opposers tormented them over the remoteness of the prospect.¹⁰

However, moving forward by faith, they issued the first

⁹ E. G. White, *Life Sketches*, p. 125.

¹⁰ Spicer, *Pioneer Days*, pp. 100, 101; Loughborough, *Great Second Advent Movement*, p. 275.



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HARRY ANDERSON, ARTIST

STREAMS OF LIGHT TO ENCIRCLE THE GLOBE

The Bold Prediction Was Made by Ellen G. White, in 1848, That a Publishing Work Was to Be Started That Would Spread Until It Belted the Globe. Time Has Fulfilled the Prediction in an Amazing Way

little number of *Present Truth* in July, 1849, and sent it forth accompanied by prayer. (Facsimile reproduction on p. 1024.) And James White now put his whole soul into writing as he had done into preaching. His was an infectious energy—an overflowing ardor that moved and molded other lives. Periodicals, pamphlets, and books began to appear with steadily increasing frequency—twenty-six in all, just up to 1854, in addition to the periodicals. But it was a “peripatetic” press, as Spalding aptly phrases it.¹¹ Wherever the Whites went, their “editorial office” went, and local printers published the various issues.

Such was the humble beginning of a publishing work that is now turning out books and periodicals by the multiplied millions. In 1875 a second publishing house, the Pacific Press, was founded in Oakland, California. Tract societies and colporteur distribution followed. Uriah Smith's two books, *Thoughts on Daniel* and *Thoughts on the Revelation*, bound together, formed the first subscription book.¹² So it was that the prophecies, as might be anticipated, were in the forefront of the Adventist publishing work from the very first.

Here is a thumbnail picture of the remarkable fulfillment of that 1848 prediction:

As this is being written Seventh-day Adventists have 39 publishing houses scattered around the world in 35 countries, with a capital investment on January 1 of \$12,428,715, and a gross annual sale of \$16,371,888, with 1,704 publishing house employees, and 3,557 colporteurs. This literature is now issued in 198 languages, with Braille for the blind, and includes 348 periodicals, the world around.¹³ These simple facts speak for

¹¹ The succession of different publishers' cards tells the story—seven different towns in four separate States—1849-1855. The *Present Truth* was first issued at Middletown, Connecticut (four numbers), next at Oswego, New York (six numbers), then the final issue at Paris, Maine. The first four numbers of the *Advent Review* were printed at Auburn, New York. And Paris, Maine, marked the launching place of the first issues of the larger *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, with Saratoga Springs, New York, as the mailing place for volume 2 (Aug., 1851-March, 1852). The first press of their own was finally secured in Rochester, New York (1852-1853)—just an old-fashioned hand press. The *Youth's Instructor* was also started at Rochester. Then in 1855 the publishing work was moved west to Battle Creek, Michigan, and was incorporated in 1861. Here was the first real headquarters, where it stayed for forty-eight years, until moved to Washington, D.C., in 1904.

¹² Sold by George King of Canada, who became a colporteur in Michigan in the 1870's.

¹³ *Ninetieth Annual Statistical Report of Seventh-day Adventists* (1952). pp. 3, 5, 26, 29.



PHENOMENAL SPREAD OF SPIRITUALISM PREDICTED

(Upper Left) Cottage Home of Fox Sisters, at Hydesville, New York, 1848, Cradle of Modern Spiritistic Phenomena; (Right) Stone Marker That Tells Its Own Story; (Lower Left) Initial Spiritualist "Church" at Rochester, New York, Called "International Shrine of Spiritualism." With Commemorative Obelisk by Its Side; (Lower Right) Plaque at Base of Obelisk; (Inset) Katie, One of the Two Fox Sisters

themselves. The test of fulfilled prediction seems fully met in this earliest example concerning literature production.

V. Rochester "Rappings" to Become World-encircling Delusion

The year 1848 likewise witnessed some strange developments or manifestations in the secluded village of Hydesville, New York, and then in nearby Rochester. These, Ellen White predicted, were destined to assume world-wide proportions and to take on definitely religious connotations. This development has since become popularly known as Spiritualism. But in 1848 it consisted only of a certain mysterious signal code of "rappings," or "knockings," as the localized fad of the Fox sisters was then called.

When it first began with these crude communications, it was regarded by the learned as largely a fraud or trick, a humbug or delusion that would soon die out and be forgotten. Many churchmen had an aversion to it; others were simply amused by it. It had not yet been dignified by a name, and had no semblance of a religious character, much less of a church. Years passed before that aspect became predominant. But on March 24, 1849, Ellen White stated that she had received a revelation regarding this mysterious phenomenon, declaring it would become more and more common, and would come to assume a religious garb. Here is her first statement, in 1849:

"I saw that the mysterious knocking in N.Y. . . . was the power of Satan; and that such things would be more and more common, clothed in religious garb, to lull the deceived to more security; and to draw the minds of God's people, if possible, to those things and cause them to doubt the teachings, and power of the Holy Ghost."¹⁴

Then in August, 1850, Mrs. White again saw that "many in the churches" would accept this development as the "power of God":

"I saw that soon . . . it would spread more and more, that Satan's power would increase. . . . I was shown that by the rapping and

¹⁴ E. G. White, letter in *Present Truth*, August, 1849, p. 21; also quoted in *Early Writings*, p. 43.

mesmerism these modern magicians would yet account for all the miracles wrought by our Lord Jesus Christ, and that many would believe that all the mighty works of the Son of God when on earth were accomplished by this same power.”¹⁵

Once more Ellen White wrote:

“I saw the rapping delusion—what progress it was making, and that if it were possible it would deceive the very elect. Satan will have power to bring before us the appearance of forms purporting to be our relatives or friends now sleeping in Jesus. It will be made to appear as if these friends were present; the words that they uttered while here, with which we were familiar, will be spoken, and the same tone of voice that they had while living will fall upon the ear.”¹⁶

All this was recorded when spiritism was little known, with no one dreaming it would later number its adherents by the million. This was before the materialization of spirits, trances, and spirit messages had become characteristic, which have since become the chief phenomena of Spiritualism. It has not only permeated the thinking of many in the churches, but has set itself up as a religious “reformation,” destined to correct theological errors.

But here again Seventh-day Adventists believed that “the dead know not anything” (Eccl. 9:5) while awaiting the resurrection, and that the last-day activity of “seducing spirits” and the “spirits of devils” was a matter of recorded Bible prophecy (1 Tim. 4:1; Rev. 16:13, 14). Thus fortified by Scripture they avoided the widespread acceptance of the spiritistic claims and developments. Mrs. White’s prediction, however, was not regarded as the enunciation of something new, but simply as the identification of latter-day spirit manifestations already foretold in Scripture. On the contrary, many in other churches, believing in the consciousness of the dead, became susceptible to its baleful teachings.

The 1949 *Year Book of American Churches* lists the International General Assembly of Spiritualists, their largest organi-

¹⁵ E. G. White, *Early Writings*, p. 59 (published in 1851 in her *Christian Experience and Views*, p. 47).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87 (published Jan. 10, 1854, in the *Review*, and in the pamphlet *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White*, pp. 5, 6).

zation; The National Christian Spiritual Alliance, which "believes in supernormal and impersonal manifestations and in intercommunication between denizens of different worlds"; and the National Spiritualist Association, which proclaims its membership to be "believers in communication with the so-called dead."¹⁷ Spiritism's spread has been phenomenal. Within a few years the number of mediums practicing in the United States was said to be forty thousand.¹⁸ And by the 1880's the cult had "extended to the remotest bounds of the known world," and had "challenged the scrutiny and excited the wonder of monarchs, savants, popes, philosophers, divines, councils and synods." Thus Spiritualism's present-day claims bear out fully Mrs. White's predictions of 1849-1854, in applying the basic Bible prophecies. (See Appendix F for supplemental evidence.)

VI. Troubles and Disasters Predicted for Cities

From 1902 onward Mrs. White warned repeatedly of disasters destined to come upon the great cities of earth. Many of these admonitory predictions are on record. Spiritual darkness covering the earth was portrayed as intensified in the great centers of population. Crime, corruption, capital-labor tensions, disease, epidemics, disasters through earthquake, fire, and flood, as well as the cataclysm of war, were frequently portrayed as impending events soon to strike the great metropolitan centers of earth. A great crisis was nearing. There would be resultant destruction, devastation, and death.¹⁹

The rising power of labor unions and the approaching time of trouble—which form part of the picture—were emphasized in 1903 and 1904.²⁰ "Gigantic monopolies" will be formed, Mrs. White wrote, to rob the poor. And in retaliation, she said, the working men "will bind themselves together in unions." Strife,

¹⁷ *Yearbook of American Churches* (1949), pp. 87, 88.

¹⁸ Within ten years after the development of Spiritualism, newspapers estimated the number of avowed adherents at one and one-half million, with one thousand public advocates, and forty thousand public and private mediums. (R. M. Devens, *American Progress*, p. 346.)

¹⁹ E. G. White, *Letter 200*, 1903; *Letter 26*, 1903; *Letter 5*, 1904.

²⁰ E. G. White, *Testimonies*, vol. 7 (1902), pp. 82, 83; *Evangelism*, pp. 25-29 (1902-1910); *Life Sketches*, pp. 409, 410 (dated 1906).

confusion, and bloodshed will result. Here are three terse expressions of a general character, penned in 1903, 1906, and 1910 respectively:

"O that God's people had a sense of the impending destruction of thousands of cities."²¹

"I am bidden to declare the message that cities full of transgression, and sinful in the extreme, will be destroyed by earthquakes, by fire, by flood. All the world will be warned that there is a God who will display His authority as God."²²

"The time is near when large cities will be swept away, and all should be warned of these coming judgments."²³

The terrors of Revelation 18 form the background of the picture, "warning of what is coming on the earth."²⁴ And these startling events are all presented so as to speed on the messengers of the gospel to the millions now living in the shadow of impending doom. Their primary purpose was to hasten the evangelization of the cities in the light of increasing difficulties and coming judgments.

In 1900 Mrs. White had written:

"Calamities, earthquakes, floods, disasters by land and by sea will increase. God is looking upon the world to-day as He looked upon it in Noah's time. He is sending His message to people to-day as He did in the days of Noah."²⁵

From these general admonitory predictions we note one particular fulfillment—the San Francisco earthquake. Back in 1902 Mrs. White wrote:

"Not long hence these cities will suffer under the judgments of God. San Francisco and Oakland are becoming as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the Lord will visit them in wrath."²⁶

And again on April 20, 1903, the specific word was penned:

"Not far hence they [San Francisco and Oakland] will suffer under His judgments."²⁷

²¹ E. G. White, "The Work Before Us," *Review and Herald*, Sept. 10, 1903, p. 6; *Evangelism*, p. 29.

²² E. G. White, Ms. 35, 1906; *Evangelism*, p. 27.

²³ E. G. White, Ms. 53, 1910; *Evangelism*, p. 29.

²⁴ E. G. White, "Notes of Travel—No. 3," *Review and Herald*, July 5, 1906, p. 8.

²⁵ Letter in *Review and Herald*, Dec. 11, 1900, p. 796.

²⁶ E. G. White, Ms. 114, 1902; *Evangelism*, pp. 403, 404.

²⁷ E. G. White, Ms. 30, 1903.

Then, on April 16, 1906, just two days before that dread disaster came, Mrs. White was given a view of—

“houses shaken like a reed in the wind. Buildings, great and small, were falling to the ground. Pleasure resorts, theaters, hotels, and the homes of the wealthy were shaken and shattered. Many lives were blotted out of existence, and the air was filled with the shrieks of the injured and the terrified.”²⁸

The predicted quake came. But again it is to be noted that these predictions were not presented as something new or outside the purview of Scripture prophecy, but as specific applications of the long-recorded, inspired forecast of Christ Himself. Christ foretold that “great earthquakes shall be in divers places,” along with the “distress of nations,” the violence of the sea, destruction, floods, and the fearfulness of men’s hearts before they see Christ returning “with power and great glory.” (Luke 21:10, 11, 25-28.) The fulfillments that have already taken place are obvious.

Mrs. White wrote specifically of coming devastation of cities and the destruction of supposedly fireproof buildings.²⁹ And in another place she described “great balls of fire” wreaking devastation in every direction, with indescribable terror resulting.³⁰ To one who has visited the war-ruined cities of Europe, or atom-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, following World War II, the fulfillment is inescapably visible. But irrespective of detailed application, her vivid descriptions of unspeakably destructive wars have been fulfilled to a degree and on a scale no one at the time envisioned. And her hints that the “civilized world” would become a “horde of robbers and assassins”³¹ if God’s restraint were withdrawn, instinctively bring to mind the dread concentration camp horrors and other barbarities that, until recently, many thought mankind had outgrown.

The intense anxiety on the part of world leaders and this

²⁸ E. G. White, *Testimonies*, vol. 9, pp. 92, 93.

²⁹ *Testimonies*, vol. 9 (1904), p. 13.

³⁰ E. G. White, “Go Preach the Gospel,” *Review and Herald*, Nov. 17, 1910, p. 8.

³¹ E. G. White, *The Spirit of Prophecy* (1884), vol. 4, p. 402.

distress of entire nations that have already come to mark this Atomic Age, seem destined to continue and perhaps to increase³²—despite any peace compacts that may be achieved. These declarations are explicit predictions recorded in advance in cold type. There may be further and more dreadful developments. But, placed alongside the fulfillments that have already taken place, it must be admitted that the test of fulfillment is already fully met.³³

VII. World War Cataclysms Predicted Back in 1890

Doubtless the most striking of all Mrs. White's forecasts was a series of predictions, beginning back in 1874,³⁴ of a "coming crisis" of international proportions, an unprecedented "storm relentless in its fury," soon to break upon the world. That dread storm broke with a vengeance, as the whole world knows, in World War I. But sixty years ago it seemed rash and impudent to predict a coming "tempest," and urge men to prepare for its dread "fury," for prominent religious and political leaders were at that very time vigorously proclaiming the speedy dawn of world peace. The variance, yes, the irreconcilable conflict between the two, was marked. This would constitute a clear test. Here is Mrs. White's key paragraph, with seven important points indicated by the numbers in brackets:

"The tempest is coming, and we must get ready for its fury, by having repentance towards God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord will arise to shake terribly the earth. We shall see [1] troubles

³² Dr. Harold C. Urey, outstanding physicist of Columbia University, frankly said, under the article titled "I'm a Frightened Man," that in the "race between education and catastrophe, atomic power has given catastrophe a fearful lead." (*Collier's*, Jan. 5, 1946.) And Bernard M. Baruch deplored, "We have damned every man to be the slave of fear." (*United States and the United Nations Report*, Series No. 2, pp. 1, 2.) See also Harrison Brown's *Must Destruction Be Our Destiny?* (1946), and especially the comprehensive survey in Wilbur M. Smith's *This Atomic Age and the Word of God* (1948).

³³ To keep the record straight, it should be repeated that Mrs. White's predictions of coming upheaval and disaster were simply an application of the already recorded prophecies of Daniel and of John, and especially of the prophecy of Christ Himself. Among the Bible signs of the latter days is the anger of the nations (Rev. 11:18), the widespread wars and national upheavals (Luke 21:10, 11, 25-27), along with the paralleling persistent "peace and safety cry" (1 Thess. 5:2, 3)—and all amid frenzied preparations for war (Joel 3:9-14). These form the general anomalous, conflicting picture. Christ, near the close of His mission, gave what was doubtless the most amazing prophecy of all time, spanning the Christian Era and growing more detailed as it climaxes with His own return—the same as do the great prophecies of Daniel and John. These are recorded by each of the synoptists—in Matthew 24, Mark 13, and Luke 21. (For this great prophecy in analytical chart form see Appendix H.)

³⁴ E. G. White, *The Spirit of Prophecy* (1884), vol. 4, p. 402.

on all sides. [2] Thousands of ships will be hurled into the depths of the sea. [3] Navies will go down, and [4] human lives will be sacrificed by millions. [5] Fires will break out unexpectedly, and no human effort will be able to quench them. The palaces of earth will be swept away in the fury of the flames. [6] Disasters by rail will become more and more frequent; [7] confusion, collision, and death without a moment's warning occur on the great lines of travel. . . . Oh, let us seek God while he may be found, call upon him while he is near." ³⁵

Here is outlined a series of developments to come that was directly at variance with the roseate expectation of the religious world leaders. It seemed incredible at the time—particularly the concept of "thousands of ships" being "hurled into the depths of the sea," and of whole "navies" going down, and human lives "sacrificed by millions." It was in total conflict with the predominant religious philosophy of the day. Mines, torpedoes, and submarines were then scarcely known in modern destructive form. But their ruthless use, beginning in World War I, has already fulfilled these specifications literally.

According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, more than six thousand ships made up the dreadful toll of ships sunk, ³⁶ just in World War I alone, by Germany and her allies. As to whole "navies" going down, the mind need only go back now to the unprecedented sinking of the German, Italian, and Japanese navies in the two world wars to realize the remarkable fulfillment of these startling words. Human lives "sacrificed by the millions" had its dire fulfillment in the loss of life in World War I, which was put at twenty million. ³⁷

1. OTHER APPALLING DEVELOPMENTS FORETOLD.—But look more closely at the statement. This sevenfold prediction was uttered at a time when nothing on the horizon indicated that these particulars would ever be fulfilled on such a world-wide scale. Back in 1890 no inventor, poet, or philosopher dreamed of such appalling situations and developments. But there never-

³⁵ E. G. White, "The Danger of Skepticism in Our Youth," *Signs of the Times*, April 21, 1890, p. 2.

³⁶ H. W. Griffin, "Shipping: War Losses of," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1954 ed.), vol. 20, p. 556.

³⁷ William L. Langer, *An Encyclopedia of World History* (1948), pp. 939, 951.

theless followed a succession of earthquakes, beginning with San Francisco in 1906, Valparaiso in 1908, and the greatest of all in Japan in 1923; world troubles and tensions climaxing in World Wars I and II; cumulative capital-labor (or labor-management) troubles with their strikes, lock-outs, and violence; and social, moral, and political upheavals, including the great Russian Revolution and later Communist and Fascist developments. Mounting "disasters by rail" are so well known as scarcely to need comment. But particular note should be taken of the "collisions and death" statement, on the "great lines of travel." This, be it noted, was uttered before the great revolution in travel had taken place. Automobiles and airplanes had not yet been invented.

2. MOUNTING FATALITIES ON "LINES OF TRAVEL."—It is particularly significant that the first American gasoline auto was not produced until 1892, and was first regularly made for sale in 1895. The first auto accident was recorded in 1896.³⁸ In 1951 the millionth person to die by auto accident was widely publicized. Such is the mounting death toll on one line of travel.³⁹

And air lines surely constitute another line of travel. The first sustained flight for a whole hour and the first passenger carried officially were both in 1908. And the first airplane fatality was likewise in 1908. The first commercially sold plane was in 1909, and the first cross-country flight similarly in 1909. But regularly scheduled transcontinental air service was not established until 1936, and the first regular trans-Atlantic service in 1939, with the first around-the-world air service in 1947.⁴⁰ From the first air fatality in 1908 the casualties in this only recently established line of travel had risen to 1,912 in 1948.⁴¹ And now transport crashes come in tragic waves.

³⁸ In 1900 there were 4,192 cars produced in the United States. But by 1915 the factory output was not far from 1,000,000 motor vehicles, and in 1950 over 8,000,000—with 59,300,000 drivers' licenses issued in the United States in 1950. *World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1952*, pp. 188, 470, 660, 653; Joseph N. Kane, *Famous First Facts* (1950).

³⁹ John Kieran, *Information Please Almanac* (1951), pp. 107, 108; see also *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (1951).

⁴⁰ J. N. Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-64.

⁴¹ *Accident Fatalities in the United States* (Vital Statistics), Aug. 25, 1950 (vol. 36, no. 14), p. 227.

VIII. Difficulties in Travel to Hedge Up Evangelism

After the admonishing of the gospel herald to hasten on with his saving message to all mankind, warning is given of growing peril and coming difficulty of passage from place to place in carrying out that commission. First, the general admonition was given:

"Sound an alarm throughout the length and breadth of the earth. Tell the people that the day of the Lord is near, and hasteth greatly. Let none be left unwarned."⁴²

Then follows the depiction of specific difficulties and hamperings in travel, and in gaining access to other lands:

"We have no time to lose. The end is near. The passage from place to place to spread the truth will soon be hedged with dangers on the right hand and the left. Everything will be placed to obstruct the way of the Lord's messengers, so that they will not be able to do that which it is possible for them to do now."⁴³

Before World War I, travel during the first decade of the twentieth century was simple and comparatively unrestricted. In most lands passports and visas were not required. Not until August, 1918, did the United States have a law requiring all American citizens who travel abroad to carry United States passports. But following the outbreak of World War I, and in the lull between World Wars I and II, and especially after the tensions consequent upon the cessation of hostilities in 1945 and the erection of the iron curtain across Europe, travel has been forbidden in many sections. And this is likewise true of sections of the world outside of Europe, such as portions of the Far East. It now takes vastly more time and effort to secure entrance permits for missionaries to enter various accessible lands. In others the prohibition is complete. Pertinent also were those earlier words of 1882 that speak of the final witnessing of the church amid "fiercest opposition":

"The work which the church has failed to do in a time of peace and prosperity [that is, to carry the light of the gospel and "the great truths

⁴² E. G. White, *Testimonies* (1900), vol. 6, p. 22.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

of prophecy for this time," "to all people" throughout the "length and breadth of the earth"], she [the church] will have to do in a terrible crisis, under most discouraging, forbidding circumstances." ⁴⁴

IX. Speed to Characterize Final Movements

These warnings were repeated often and in varying forms, the repetition indicating their great importance. A few years before the outbreak of World War I (1914-1918) Mrs. White gave additional forewarnings of an impending crisis. In 1904 she declared:

"Soon great trouble will arise among the nations,—trouble that will not cease until Jesus comes." ⁴⁵

Again in 1904 she wrote:

"The wars and rumors of wars, the destruction by fire and flood, say clearly that the time of trouble, which is to increase until the end, is very near at hand. We have no time to lose. The world is stirred with a spirit of war. The prophecies of the eleventh of Daniel have almost reached their final fulfillment." ⁴⁶

International strife will increase, she declared in 1910:

"Soon strife among the nations will break out with an intensity that we do not now anticipate. The present is a time of overwhelming interest to all living. Rulers and statesmen . . . observe the intensity that is taking possession of every earthly element, and they realize that something great and decisive is about to take place, that the world is on the verge of a stupendous crisis." ⁴⁷

And still earlier in 1897 she had written:

"Great changes are soon to take place in our world, and the final movements will be rapid ones." ⁴⁸

A universal revolution in human affairs has indeed taken place—the most tremendous, sweeping changes in the long changing history of mankind. Beyond question we have entered a new epoch in human affairs—social, economic, moral, material, and political. The map of the world has been altered in a manner no one had ever previously envisioned. Old empires

⁴⁴ E. G. White, *Testimonies*, vol. 5, p. 463.

⁴⁵ "The Need of Earnest Effort," *Review and Herald*, Feb. 11, 1904, p. 8.

⁴⁶ "The Day of the Lord Is Near, and Hasteth Greatly," *Review and Herald*, Nov. 24, 1904, p. 16.

⁴⁷ "Go Preach the Gospel," *Review and Herald*, Nov. 17, 1910, p. 8.

⁴⁸ E. G. White, *Testimonies*, vol. 9, p. 11, from her Letter 21a, 1892.

and dynasties have disappeared. New nations and systems have sprung up. This is particularly true of the world's philosophy of life and political ideologies. Universal revolution has come in human affairs, and the movements are incredibly rapid ones. The tempo has been stepped up, and mankind lives at a pace unparalleled in all past time. Ours is now a "split-second" world.

X. Powerful Engines of Destruction to Be Invented

Another declaration, this time of technical developments to come, written in 1894, has likewise had remarkable fulfillment. It was penned toward the close of that great lull before the storm of World War I broke forth, followed not long after by World War II. And it pertained to the development of engines of destruction before unknown. It was written at the very time that many of the world's leading theologians were predicting an abiding world peace and telling of disarmament soon to be established on earth and of the beating of the swords of the nations into plowshares.

This was shortly before the collapse of the old regimes in Russia, Austria, Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and China, which changed the entire face of the world and became the harbinger of grave things to come. It was back in the peaceful nineties that Mrs. White wrote, "Human agents are being trained, and are using their inventive power to put in operation the most powerful machinery to wound and kill." Here is the statement in its setting:

"The Lord is removing His restrictions from the earth, and soon there will be death and destruction, increasing crime, and cruel, evil working against the rich who have exalted themselves against the poor. Those who are without God's protection will find no safety in any place or position. Human agents are being trained and are using their inventive power to put in operation the most powerful machinery to wound and kill."¹⁶

The date—1894—is the vital factor here, for the submarine had not yet been developed for practical use until 1900, the

¹⁶ E. G. White, *Testimonies*, vol. 8 (1904), p. 50.

dreadnought in 1906, the superdreadnought in 1910, the submarine mine, the Zeppelin airship, and chemical warfare all in 1915. Lethal projectiles and the hand grenade both came into use in 1916, and the tank into active use in 1918. It was in connection with World Wars I and II that the great advances in implements of destruction were made—the aircraft carrier in 1920, the smoke screen in 1923, and later the automatic aircraft cannon in 1941, and the mine layer and the rocket gun in 1942.

Then there were the block busters and incendiary bombs and the flame throwers, long-distance land and naval guns, the jet plane in 1942, and finally the A-bomb in 1945³⁰—with the H-bomb and guided missiles promising to be the most deadly of all. Other developments have been repeatedly hinted at by military and other authorities, but are not yet clearly disclosed.

As to destructive effects, in April, 1917, submarine warfare reached its high point. In this month alone German submarines sank 875,000 tons of shipping, and by October their 134 submarines had destroyed 8,000,000 tons.³¹ As the result of these dread engines of destruction, World War I losses were 10,000,000 in known dead, military and civilian, and the wounded were listed as 20,000,000. And in World War II, in 1939 the world tonnage for merchant ships (of 100 tons or over) was 68,509,432. More than half of this was destroyed in the next five years by submarine and air attack.³² Between May and August the greatest air offensive in history took place, as United States land- and carrier-based aircraft destroyed or immobilized the remnants of the Japanese Navy, shattered its industry, and curtailed Japanese sea communications by submarine and air attacks and mine fields. United States battleships shelled densely populated cities and the Twentieth Air Force dropped 40,000 tons of bombs on Japanese centers in a single month. Then, on August 6, the atomic bomb destroyed three fifths of Hiroshima.³³

³⁰ Based largely on J. N. Kane. *op. cit.*, and encyclopedia articles. Precise dates vary, but the facts remain.

³¹ William L. Langer, "The Submarine War, 1917," *An Encyclopedia of World History* (1948), p. 939.

³² William L. Langer, "Naval Warfare and Blockade," *An Encyclopedia of World History*, p. 1156.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 1169.

The 1894 prediction has been most amazingly fulfilled. But here again it is simply the immediate application of such basic Biblical predictions as Joel 3:9-14, Matthew 24:7, Luke 21:25, 26, and Revelation 11:18.

XI. Jets of Light to Encircle the Earth

While some of Mrs. White's forecasts were predictions of coming calamity, there were greater and more frequent predictions of a glorious gospel work that will close the age. She consistently stressed a world-wide missionary program for the everlasting gospel, destined to close in a blaze of triumph. This Mrs. White constantly called the "loud cry" (Rev. 18:1, 2), or "latter rain" of the Holy Spirit, just as Pentecost was denominated the "early" or "former rain." Thus she said:

"There is before the church the dawn of a bright, glorious day." "The outpouring of the Spirit in the days of the apostles was the 'former rain,' and glorious was the result. But the latter rain will be more abundant."⁵⁴

"The time is coming when there will be as many converts in a day as there were on the day of Pentecost, after the disciples had received the Holy Spirit."⁵⁵

"In heathen Africa, in the Catholic lands of Europe and of South America, in China, in India, in the islands of the sea, and in all the dark corners of the earth, God has in reserve a firmament of chosen ones that will yet shine forth amidst the darkness, revealing clearly to an apostate world the transforming power of obedience to His law."⁵⁶

These counsels have helped to give Adventists an inspiring hope and an irrepressible optimism such as perhaps no other church possesses. That is one reason why Seventh-day Adventists consider themselves true optimists in a world now generally shrouded in gloom and pessimism.

Mrs. White's early utterances began to urge the pioneer leaders to world-wide missionary planning and action. At that time it seemed incredible. In the very first view given through this gift, in December, 1844, the journey of God's faithful peo-

⁵⁴ E. G. White, *Testimonies*, vol. 8, pp. 11, 12.

⁵⁵ E. G. White, "The Need of Home Religion." *Review and Herald*, June 29, 1905, p. 8.

⁵⁶ E. G. White, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 189.

ple to the city of God is described, with the world, spread out before her, lying in darkness. However, in those early days she also saw "jets of light" springing up amid the darkness and encircling the globe, increasing in number and brilliance, and growing stronger and stronger, until they lightened the world—a remarkably vivid portrayal of world missions given in figure. Here it is in Ellen White's own words:

"In my very girlhood the Lord saw fit to open before me the glories of heaven. I was in vision taken to heaven, and the angel said to me, 'Look!' I looked to the world as it was in dense darkness. . . .

"Again the word came, 'Look! ye.' And again I looked intensely over the world, and I began to see jets of light like stars dotted all through this darkness; and then I saw another and another added light, and so all through this moral darkness the star-like lights were increasing. And the angel said, These are they that believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and are obeying the words of Christ. These are the light of the world; and if it were not for these lights, the judgments of God would immediately fall upon the transgressors of God's law.

"I saw then these little jets of light growing brighter, shining forth from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, and lighting the whole world. Occasionally one of these lights would begin to grow dim, and others would go out, and every time that this occurred there was sadness and weeping in heaven. And then some of the lights would grow brighter and brighter, and increase in brilliancy; and their light was far-reaching, and many more lights were added to it. Then there was rejoicing in heaven. I saw that the rays of light came directly from Jesus, to form these precious jets of light in the world."³⁷

This call to a world-wide work was hard for those pioneers to understand—with time seemingly so short and their numbers so pitifully few. To send out missionaries in sufficient numbers, from America to the remotest lands of earth, seemed beyond all possibility. But bold advances were called for that would embrace the world. On April 1, 1874, Mrs. White wrote, "The whole world . . . is God's great vineyard." Then she set forth the cities and villages of earth as a beckoning challenge. The light must reach them. Never lose sight of the fact, she admonished, that this is to be "a world-wide message." "You are not

³⁷ E. G. White, "Serving God Feivelently," *Review and Herald*, July 26, 1887, p. 466.

to localize the proclamation," she admonished. And she declared that the—

"ideas of the work for this time are altogether too limited," that the "light must not be confined to a small compass, put under a bushel, or under a bed; it must be placed on a candlestick, that it may give light to all that are in God's house—the world."⁵⁸

Yet the total Seventh-day Adventist membership at this time was only 8,022. And again, on January 3, 1875, Mrs. White was given a view of the growth of the work to take place in foreign lands. She saw printing presses in many lands pouring forth periodicals, tracts, and books heralding the advent message.⁵⁹ Yet at the time there was only one denominational press, one health institution, and one college—and these all in Battle Creek, Michigan! And in 1892 the call was sounded to extend to all the great heathen lands and islands of the sea the very same work, with its institutional phase, that had been done in the homeland.⁶⁰ As a result, restricted views were abandoned and missionary training was undertaken in earnest. Then presses were started in Switzerland, Scandinavia, Australia, and so on, until there are, at this writing, 34 Seventh-day Adventist publishing plants *outside of North America*, 132 sanitariums, hospitals, and dispensaries, and 130 colleges and academies⁶¹ in countries overseas.

But it was when this Sabbatarian Adventist band numbered less than a hundred that Mrs. White was first shown that as the threefold message of Revelation 14 was faithfully presented to the world—with the commandments of God in inseparable relation to the faith of Jesus—it would meet with a welcome response. A great number would embrace it and it would spread to the ends of the earth.⁶² Under such circumstances, such a conception seemed like an impossible fancy, a mocking mirage. Every contingent seemed to be against such

⁵⁸ E. G. White, *Testimonies*, vol. 7, p. 36.

⁵⁹ William C. White, "A Comprehensive Vision—II," *Review and Herald*, Feb. 17, 1938, p. 9.

⁶⁰ E. G. White, *The Bible Echo*, Sept. 1, 1892, Supplement, p. 258.

⁶¹ *Statistical Report*, 1951.

⁶² E. G. White, *Life Sketches*, p. 125.

an outcome. The prospect seemed well-nigh hopeless for the penniless little group that had withdrawn from the once large Adventist body, which had begun to disintegrate immediately following the Disappointment.

The Sabbatarian Adventists were constricted by grinding poverty, ridiculed on every side, and harassed by annoying fanatics from without, seeking to intrude. And to the general condemnation that had descended upon all Adventists, was now added the harsh criticism of former brethren of the Millerite movement, because of the insistent emphasis on the seventh-day Sabbath. And all this was complicated by attempts of designing extremists determined to edge their way into their confidence, intent on bringing about division and disaster. Casual onlookers had simply dismissed the Sabbatarian Adventists as the "rumpled remnant" of a discredited movement, as aptly phrased.

Yet that prediction is matched today by approximately one million Seventh-day Adventists scattered over every part of the world, and that despite their strict standard of church membership. And the membership of their Sabbath schools the world around considerably passes the million mark. Indeed, they are pressing their missionary and evangelistic endeavor in every continent with great vigor, as they seek to bear to all the earth the clarified message of preparation for Christ's return. These mission endeavors are recognized as one of the wonders of the religious world,⁶³ and their radio and Bible correspondence schools circle the globe.⁶⁴ So again remarkable fulfillment meets the demands of the prediction.

⁶³ Seventh-day Adventists are now working in 197 countries, employing 198 printed languages, and are working orally in 523 additional languages and dialects—or a total of 721—with a force of 17,774 evangelistic workers and 39,159 workers in all categories. The number of missionaries sent out between 1900 and 1952 was 7,054. In 1952 the tithes and offerings for the support of the world-wide church totaled \$56,097,969—\$34,051,131 in tithes, and \$22,046,818 in offerings—\$174.70 per capita in North America. Their 1954 mission budget totaled \$20,119,648. (*Statistical Report*, 1952.)

⁶⁴ Their world-encircling radio and television work, with 1,065 broadcasts each week, utilizes 749 stations in North America and 254 more in foreign countries—a total of 1,003 stations, spread over 41 countries and island groups. Their internationally known world radio program (*The Voice of Prophecy*) is sent out over 806 stations, in 14 languages and 21 countries, with television programs, originating in New York, on 67 network stations. And their Bible correspondence schools, conducted in 53 languages, have more than 1,500,000 enrollments. This calls for a budget of approximately \$2,000,000.

XII. Adventists Not Pessimists but Bible Optimists

Sobering forecasts like some of the foregoing—which were simply the application and enforcement of repeated Bible prophecies of somber last-day conditions and events⁶⁵—led the early Seventh-day Adventists to predict publicly that gravely troublous times lay before the world, and that war and disaster and “sudden destruction,” instead of “peace and safety” (1 Thess. 5:3), faced huge sections of the human race. They refused to be lulled into a sense of false security. They looked for war and disaster, not peace and plenty, and that on a scale hitherto unknown, and unbelievable.

And because they did not join in the popular lullaby of peace, which had enthralled the religious world—that mankind had at last learned its lesson on the folly of war and evil, that humanity was becoming better and better, and that world peace would soon be assured forevermore—they were constantly denounced as chronic pessimists and castigated as calamity howlers. They were labeled preachers of doom and gloom, always painting a depressing picture—sincere perhaps, but sadly deceived and misled.

The passage of time has, however, indicated clearly who were misled by the roseate, un-Scriptural dreams of impending world peace and universal good will. Yet, even after the disconcerting shock of the cataclysm of World War I, that bloody conflict soon came to be explained away and regarded as just the final “war to end all wars.” So men again took heart, and the League of Nations was established. And because the Adventists once more dissented from this wistful view, they were again denominated prophets of doom, out of step with the glorious march of human progress, while the world was alleged to be striding toward the very threshold of universal brotherhood and enduring peace.

⁶⁵ For example, Isaiah 2:3, 4 sets forth what the nations in the last days will be *saying*—that they will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, and not lift up the sword, nor learn war any more. But on the contrary Joel 3:9, 10 portrays what they actually will be *doing*—preparing war, waking up the mighty men of war, assembling the heathen, and beating their plowshares into swords and their pruning hooks into spears.

But, lo! there burst upon the nations World War II, climaxing with its A-bomb. Then men were thoroughly disillusioned, and many liberal leaders publicly confessed that they had been mistaken and had misread the times and the prophetic blueprint. But again the temporal-millennialist die-hards revived the dream of everlasting peace, and of righteousness covering the earth as the waters cover the sea. Now the haunting fear of World War III looms before mankind, and dark despair fills the hearts of millions. And the world looks to the United Nations and the hydrogen bomb as the only hope for peace.

Such noted religious leaders as Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, in his *Faith and History*, after referring to "the soft illusions of the previous two centuries," and how men neither anticipated nor understood the "true nature of the terrors and tumult to which they would be exposed," says bluntly:

"The history of mankind exhibits no more ironic experience than the contrast between the sanguine hopes of recent centuries and the bitter experiences of contemporary man."

"The contradiction between the hopes of yesterday and the realities of today has created something like despair in those parts of the world where past stabilities have been most seriously shaken; and it is generating a kind of desperate complacency in those parts of the world in which the crisis of the age is dimly, though not fully, sensed."

"Insofar as the phenomenal increase in human power in a technical age has created that illusion [that man's increased emancipation from nature increases his emancipation from himself], it has also involved our culture in the profound pathos of disappointed hopes, caused by false estimates of the glory and the misery of man."⁶⁶

And Samuel M. Shoemaker states with stark frankness:

"Two world wars, the rise of nazism and communism, the realists in literature, the Kierkegaards, Barths, and Niebuhrs in theology, have knocked this kind of sky-blue optimism into irrelevant oblivion."⁶⁷

And scores of similar or even stronger statements could be cited from statesmen, scientists, educators, editors, writers, and clergymen—but space precludes.

⁶⁶ Reinhold Niebuhr, *Faith and History*, pp. 1, 12, 13, 234. On page 243, he adds plainly, "Experience has proved that mode of salvation [through historical progress] to be an illusion." See also Elton Trueblood, *Alternative to Futility* (1918); Paul Hutchinson, *The New Leviathan* (1946); Roger Babson and Dudley Zuver, *Can These Bones Live?* (1946).

⁶⁷ Samuel M. Shoemaker, "Recapturing the Lost Radiance," *The Christian Century*, March 5, 1952, p. 276.

Through it all, Seventh-day Adventists have stoutly maintained that they are not among the world's pessimists, as many aver,⁶⁸ but are, instead, true Bible optimists. They hold that they are simply realists, with their feet planted squarely upon the rock of Bible prophecy concerning last-day conditions. They believe that Bible prophecy explicitly predicts that times will wax worse and worse—with wars, disasters, destruction, and ruin coming as judgments on the world.⁶⁹ But that dismal prospect is not the end. Beyond all that, they believe and herald the soon-coming glorious advent of Christ as God's one way out—the sole hope of a distraught and desperate world. That is the glorious prospect they set forth. Sin and wrong and war and violence will indeed end forever—but the end will come through the intervention of God, not the achievement of man. The darkest hour, they hold, comes just before the dawn.

That is why they are not overwhelmed with depression as they witness the mounting national, international, and racial tensions, the fierce outbreaks of conflict, and the development of increasingly terrible instruments of war, that world leaders fear, and frankly warn, may bring the very end of civilization. The Adventists avow their faith is simply based on the multiple prophecies of the Bible that foretell it all, and that have been illuminated, applied, and brought vividly to their attention, as by a magnifying glass, through the amplifying, steadying declarations of the Spirit of prophecy.

⁶⁸ In Elmer T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America*, pp. 22, 25, they are listed among the "pessimistic or Adventist sects."

⁶⁹ 2 Tim. 3:1-7, 13; Matthew 24:7; Luke 21:25, 26.



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LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A WORLD-ENCIRCLING MOVEMENT

VERNON NYE, ARTIST

In a Series of Six Epochal Conferences in New England and New York State, the Founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Faith Came to United Conclusions and Launched the Church on Its Mission. Joseph Bates Is Here Presenting Evidence on One Point

Sabbath Conferences Consolidate Emerging Movement

I. The Scope of the Six Sabbath Conferences

We now turn to the six Sabbath conferences, really Bible conferences, held in Connecticut, New York, Maine, and Massachusetts, between April and November, 1848. These conferences were vital, and proved to be a unifying, clarifying, and fortifying force, consolidating the positions of the growing Sabbatarian group,¹ as well as molding and shaping the future course of an emerging movement, soon destined to be heard from. These six conferences,² in order and place, were as follows:

I. ROCKY HILL, CONNECTICUT, APRIL 20-24 (ALBERT BELDEN'S HOME).³—The first of the six was held at Rocky Hill,

¹ The records are meager, but are sufficient to give the essential outline. The sanctuary position, developed by Edson, Crosier, and Hahn, was set forth in the *Day-Dawn* and the *Day-Star* of 1845 and 1846. And the literature that developed immediately after, and as a result of the conferences, reveals much more of the scope—the *Present Truth* (1849), the *Advent Review* (1850), the early volumes of the *Review and Herald*, and the *Youth's Instructor*. Add to these a dozen pamphlets, broadsides, and books of the time—by Bates, White, and others, the biographies of Bates and the Whites, and the letters, diaries, and retrospective articles by Ellen G. White, as well as the explanatory notes by J. N. Loughborough—and the remarkable range and content of the positions taken are disclosed.

These all required time for the fuller development, but were all there in embryo in 1848. We do not know the precise order of all of the discussions or in just which conference certain of the items were presented, but we know the conclusions reached, and can reconstruct with fair accuracy a composite picture of their total discussions. The best sources are the James and Ellen White contemporary ms. letters, in the Ellen G. White Publications vault. See also Joseph Bates, *The Opening Heavens* (1846), *The Seventh Day Sabbath* (1846), *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps* (1847), *A Seal of the Living God* (1849), and *An Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary* (1850); James White, *A Word to the "Little Flock"* (1847); Ellen G. White, *Christian Experience and Views* (1851), and the periodicals named, of 1849-1852.

² While some have listed only the first five as the 1848 Sabbath conferences, the important Dorchester meeting belongs properly in the list. See also Spalding, *Captains*, p. 178.

³ E. G. White, *Life Sketches*, p. 108. A good epitome of the first five conferences is found in Arthur L. White, *Prophetic Guidance in Early Days*, pp. 14-16. A running account also appears in Spalding, *Captains*, pp. 175-178.

eight miles from Middletown, Connecticut. It was initiated by E. L. H. Chamberlain, of Middletown, and held in a "large unfinished chamber" in the second story of the Albert Belden home. Fifty were present as the conference got under way, among whom was H. S. Gurney.⁴ Joseph Bates and James White were the chief speakers in this first conference. Bates's principal theme was the Sabbath and the law, while White's special emphasis was the dawning significance of the third angel's message, its scope and specifications.⁵ (Illustration appears on p. 1020.)

2. VOLNEY, NEW YORK, AUGUST 18—(DAVID ARNOLD'S CARRIAGE HOUSE).⁶—Hiram Edson urged the Whites to attend the next conference, held at Volney, New York, in August. They had to pay their own way, but arrived on time. Here they met Edson for the first time. Bates, Gurney, and Chamberlain likewise attended from New England, with about thirty-five present from the western part of New York State. Bates still preached on the Sabbath, and White presented the parable of Matthew 25:1-13. There was, however, much diversity of view on minor matters, on which "hardly two agreed." And this occasioned much serious prayer and study.

Mrs. White was shown some of their errors in contrast to the opposite truths. She was bidden to admonish the contenders to yield their errors and unite upon the fundamentals of the third angel's message of Revelation 14:9-12.⁷ To this they responded, and the discordant elements were brought into harmony. So the conference closed in a triumph of unity. And

⁴ These early Sabbatarians examined every feature of "advancing light" before accepting it, seeking to "prove all things." Thus H. S. Gurney, the singing blacksmith and preacher's helper—who had previously accompanied Bates on the trip to Maryland and Kent Island—examined with great care the manifestation of the Spirit of prophecy. At the Advent Hall in New Bedford, Massachusetts, he heard Ellen Harmon relate her experiences. She appeared to be a humble, conscientious Christian. Getting her home address, he went to Portland, Maine, located her father and the family, and found them to be humble and God fearing. Here he made extensive inquiry concerning Ellen. All testified to her devoted, self-sacrificing character. Thus he became convinced that God had assuredly called this lass to an important work. With another brother, Gurney paid much of the cost of printing this first message on a "broadsheet," or broadside in 1846, for distribution, just as he helped to bring out Bates's first tract on the Sabbath. (H. S. Gurney, "Recollections of Early Advent Experience," *Review and Herald*, Jan. 3, 1888, p. 2.)

⁵ James White, Letter to Brother and Sister Hastings, April 27, 1848.

⁶ E. G. White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 108-111 (see also *Christian Experience and Teachings*, pp. 118, 119; *Testimonies*, vol. 1, pp. 85, 86).

⁷ James White, Letter to Brother and Sister Hastings, Aug. 26, 1848; E. G. White, *Life Sketches*, p. 111; *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 2, p. 99.

David Arnold⁸ soon became one of the stalwart workers and writers in the emerging movement.

3. PORT GIBSON, NEW YORK, AUGUST 27, 28 (HIRAM EDSON'S BARN).⁹—The third conference was held in late August on Hiram Edson's place. It was here, it will be recalled, in the historic granary of Edson's barn, where the assurance came to Edson and his praying associates on the early morning of October 23, 1844, that light on the nature of their disappointment would be given. And here again, in the same humble but hallowed place, another unifying conference was held, and harmony prevailed.

4. ROCKY HILL, CONNECTICUT, SEPTEMBER 8, 9 (ALBERT BELDEN'S HOME).¹⁰ Returning to Rocky Hill on September 8 and 9, the fourth conference was held, and again the work of the conferences and the growing cause went forward.

5. TOPSHAM, MAINE, OCTOBER 20-22 (STOCKBRIDGE HOWLAND'S HOME).¹¹ At the Topsham conference, the work in Maine was solidified. And here the possibility of publishing a paper was discussed. But they were without funds, and the project seemed beyond them. So the matter rested for the time.

6. DORCHESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, NOVEMBER 18 (OTIS NICHOLS' HOME).—The sixth and last of the Sabbath conferences was held at Dorchester, at Otis Nichols' home.¹² Concerning this, Bates says:

"Before the meeting commenced, some of us were examining some of the points in the sealing message; some difference of opinion existed about

⁸ DAVID ARNOLD (1805-1889), of Mount Vernon, New York, was born at Lennox, Massachusetts. At sixteen he joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. Accepting the advent message, he helped in the proclamation of God's judgment hour. After the Disappointment he accepted the advancing light, heralding it stanchly by voice and pen.

⁹ James White, Letter to Brother and Sister Hastings, Aug. 26, 1848; E. G. White, *Life Sketches*, p. 112; *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 2, p. 99.

¹⁰ James White, Letter to Brother and Sister Hastings, Aug. 26, 1848.

¹¹ James White, Letter to Brother and Sister Hastings, Oct. 2, 1848; Spalding, *Captains*, p. 177.

¹² It was Otis Nichols, who, using the back of a copy of the first Ellen G. White broadside, "To the Remnant Scattered Abroad," wrote in detail to William Miller in April, 1846, giving a comprehensive statement concerning the sanctuary, Sabbath, and Spirit of prophecy developments. This was duly received and recorded by Miller, who filed it under "Otis Nichols, Dorchester, Mass." (Original in Adventual Collection, Aurora [Illinois] College; photostat in Advent Source Collection.)

THE PRESENT TRUTH.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY.—BY JAMES WHITE.

Vol. I.

MIDDLETOWN, CONN, JULY, 1849.

No. 1.

"The secret of the time is with them that fear him; and he will show them his covenant."—Ps. xix. 15.

"**WARNING.** I will not be negligent of this time. What is done to spread the truth must be done quickly. The four things, though ye know them, and be established in the **'PRESENT TRUTH'** check but a few days, until the saints are assembled; then the nations will rush like the

It is through the truth sanctified, and made ready everlasting kingdom. Obedience will kill us to this world, made alive, by faith in Jesus through thy truth; in John. xvii. 17. This was Jesus. "I have no greater that my children walk in it."

Error, darkens and so but the truth brings with gives light and life. **LOVE**, "rejoiceth in the truth."

"Thy law is the truth," Ps.

David describing the day when the pestilence shall waste and destruction waste at no "a thousand shall fall at thy thousand at thy right hand."

"He shall cover thee with and under his wings shalt **TRUTH** shall be the **BUCKLER**," Ps. xix. 4.



THE ADVENT REVIEW.

Vol. I.]

AUBURN, (N. Y.) AUGUST, 1850.

[No. 1.

"CALL TO REMEMBRANCE THE FORMER DAYS."

HIRAM EDEON,
DAVID ARNOLD,
GEO. W. HOLT,
SAMUEL W. RHODES, and
JAMES WHITE.

} Publishing
Committee.

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H. Oliphant, Printer.

situation and comfort, who had faithfully given the warning to the world, and were disappointed, when we passed the point of time, in which we so confidently looked for the Lord.

In reviewing the past, we shall quote largely from the writings of the leaders in the advent cause, and show that they were boldly allocated, and published to the world, the same position, relative to the fulfillment of Prophecy in the great leading advent movements in our past experience, that we now occupy; and that when the advent host were

YOUTHFUL ELLEN WHITE URGES HUSBAND TO WRITE AND PUBLISH

Without Resources, Influence, or Experience, the Whites Entered Upon a Publishing Program That Developed Into Remarkable Proportions, Now Issued in 198 Languages and Dialects. (Upper) *Present Truth*, First Periodical, Published at Middletown, Connecticut; (Lower) *Advent Review*, First Issued at Auburn, New York; (Inset) James and Ellen White

the correctness of the view of the word 'ascending,' &c., and whereas we had made the publishing of the message a subject of prayer at the Topsham Conference [Me.] a little previous, and the way to publish appeared not sufficiently clear, we therefore resolved unitedly to refer it all to God." ¹³

After a period spent in prayer for guidance and instruction there was brought before Mrs. White the appearance of a light, as of the sun, with its powerful rays growing in strength. And the message was given, "The angels are holding the four winds. . . . The saints are not all sealed. Yea, publish the things thou hast seen and heard, and the blessing of God will attend." "Look ye! That *rising* is in *strength*, and grows brighter and brighter." ¹⁴

Then it was that she said to James White:

"I have a message for you. You must begin to print a little paper and send it out to the people. Let it be small at first; but as the people read they will send you means with which to print, and it will be a success from the first. From this small beginning it was shown to me to be like streams of light that went clear round the world." ¹⁵

This led directly into their earliest printing activity. Let us here advert a moment to this publishing venture. Albert Belden, of Rocky Hill, Connecticut, offered the Whites the "large unfurnished chamber" where the first Sabbath conference had been held in his house. So the Whites returned from Maine, and the *Present Truth* was started. In its editorial policy it took for granted the premillennial second advent position and the great prophetic outlines, as reaffirmed at the conferences, but stressed particularly the Sabbath, the sanctuary, and the Spirit of prophecy as truths for the time then present. At last the paper was off the press, and the simple, touching record is:

"The precious printed sheets were brought into the house and laid on the floor, and then a little group of interested ones were gathered in, and we knelt around the papers, and with humble hearts and many tears besought the Lord to let His blessing rest upon these printed messengers of truth." ¹⁶

¹³ Joseph Bates, *A Seal of the Living God*, p. 24.

¹⁴ Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement*, p. 274.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 275.

¹⁶ E. G. White, *Christian Experience and Teachings*, p. 129.



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HARRY ANDERSON ARTIST

PRAYER CIRCLE FOR SUCCESS OF FIRST PERIODICAL

James and Ellen White, and Associates, Plead for Divine Blessing Upon the New *Present Truth* Before It Was Sent Forth With Its Clarifying Message on the Meaning of the Times

The papers were then folded, wrapped, and addressed, and James White carried them afoot in a carpetbag to the Middletown post office. Thus the periodical publications of the Sabbatharians had begun, this journal proving to be a molding, welding influence among the "little flock" of Sabbatharians. Then a new venture was started, the *Advent Review*.¹⁷ It was composed of extracts from the leading Millerite papers *prior* to the Disappointment, showing that the Sabbatharian group were simply retaining and perfecting the prophetic interpretations that all Adventist leaders had once taught, particularly in the

¹⁷ The early issues were printed in Auburn, New York, and in Paris, Maine. Finally, at a conference at Paris, it was decided to replace both *Present Truth* and *Advent Review* with a permanent paper, *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*. And its purpose was just that—to review past teachings on the advent, and to herald the Sabbath and kindred "advanced truths." The positions of 1844 had been so generally repudiated by the former leaders that they required a clear restatement, with further illumination and explanation.

seventh-month phase, but which the larger body of the Adventists had now largely abandoned.

So it was that, six times in 1848, groups of these earnest men and women, together with such leaders as James and Ellen White, Joseph Bates, and Hiram Edson, met for systematic Bible study and prayer, seeking to reach united conclusions, which they achieved. Mrs. White took little part in these discussions, but gave priceless clues, which were followed through by earnest Bible study. As a result of these conferences and studies a "line of truth" was unfolded extending clear through to "the city of God."¹⁸

II. Disciples' Disappointment Parallels Their Own

One feature of the conferences was a review of the past. They pondered again the close parallel between the apostolic band and the disappointed advent host of 1844. They re-examined the Disappointment in the light of history, type, and prophecy. They reviewed the study made by Edson and his study group. They saw the remarkable parallel with their own experience: They reiterated the fact that the apostles were commanded, "Go, preach, . . . The kingdom of heaven is at hand." (Matt. 10:7.) But the disciples' minds were so dominated by the popular concept of Messiah's coming as a temporal prince, and so imbued with the common expectation of the exaltation of Israel to the throne of universal empire, that they did not sense the real meaning of Christ's own words, and failed to understand His clear predictions concerning His approaching sufferings and death.

Had not Christ Himself sent them forth with the message, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe"? That commission was based upon the Messianic time prophecy of Daniel 9—the 69 weeks of years reaching to Messiah the prince. So they looked forward with high hopes and eager expectation—though without justifi-

¹⁸ E. G. White, *Special Testimonies*, Series B, no. 2, pp. 56, 57.

cation—to His establishment of the Messianic kingdom at that time in Jerusalem, from whence He would rule as King of kings over all the earth. It was a glowing prospect, and they were to have a vital part therein.

They had earnestly preached their commissioned message to the Jewish nation and had admonished them to repent, though they actually misunderstood and misapplied the vital part of that very message—the *actual event to take place*. And while they based their time argument rightly on Daniel 9:25, they somehow had not seen that the very next verse called for Messiah to be “cut off.” Their hearts were so set on the glory of an earthly empire and on the conclusiveness and accuracy of the time feature that their eyes were blinded to the actual demands of the prophecy itself. And at the very time that they had expected Him to ascend the throne of David, to their consternation they saw Him seized instead as a malefactor and scourged and put to death on the cross of Golgotha. Their disappointment was inexpressible.

But Christ had indeed come at the exact time and manner foretold by prophecy. The specifications of Scripture had been fulfilled in every detail in His life and ministry. Yet they had met with tragic disappointment as to *what* was to be accomplished at His first advent, and were cruelly disillusioned over the outcome. Nevertheless, the *actual specifications of the prophecy were meticulously fulfilled*—and Christ’s death, resurrection, ascension, and heavenly ministry, though unanticipated by them, and unrecognized at the time, became the very rock upon which the entire hope and faith of the Christian church structure was built.

In the same way the entire group of Sabbatarian Adventists were now more than ever convinced that the early advent movement had given the preliminary message of Revelation 14:6, 7. They had preached the everlasting gospel, and had declared the hour of God’s judgment had come. And the very event they preached—the hour of His judgment—had indeed come, though not at all in the way they had anticipated. For centuries

the church had believed that the second advent would immediately precede the judgment. And when Miller presented that as the destined order of last events, it was simply the commonly accepted understanding, the generally received view of the religious world. His argument was: God has appointed a day of judgment, that judgment follows the resurrection, and the saints are raised and judged at the second advent. So they proclaimed the second advent as at the door. They believed Christ's priestly ministry in heaven above would cease. And escorted by all the holy angels, He would appear in glory to bless His waiting people, with the judgment somehow attendant.

They had preached the actual consummation of the ages to be at hand. And the nearness of the advent was fundamentally true. The signs of that transcendent event were seen all about them. The outline prophecies had been almost entirely fulfilled—all but the final segments. The scoffers had appeared. But clinging to the popular misconception of the judgment as coming just following the second advent, and still holding that the cleansing of the sanctuary involved the earth being cleansed by fire, they had thought that, when the 2300 years ended, Christ would terminate His work as priest in the holy of holies, or heaven of heavens, and would come to judge the world and purify the earth from sin and sinners—thus cleansing the sanctuary. And that, they had reasoned, would be in immediate connection with His second advent.

They knew that this would take place in the allotted "time of the end," after the close of the 1260 years of the dominance of the power of the papal Little Horn—or after 1798. And they were familiar with the fact that it was shortly after that time that the deep conviction came simultaneously upon the scores of earnest students in Europe and America that the 70 weeks were the first part of the 2300 years, and the interrelated longer period would end about 1843 or 1844—although, as observed, there was sharp division among them as to just *what* would then happen.

And just as the disciples had clear light and understanding

as to the chronological close of the 70 weeks at the first advent, so the Adventists had similarly had reliable knowledge of the time of the terminus of the related 2300 years, as connected with the last events. But as the disciples had declared that "the time is fulfilled," and that the Messiah was to be manifested to the world as King instead of atoning Sacrifice, so they, while rightly proclaiming the ending of the 2300 years to be in 1844, had similarly declared that Christ would then come as King, instead of entering upon His final Day of Atonement priestly ministry. The parallel was remarkably clear and close. *They had both been mistaken as to the event to take place.* And their own mistake was apparently no greater than that of the disciples. The judgment must *precede* the second advent.

The prophecy was true enough, they said. But the cleansing of the sanctuary was in heaven, not on earth. And it had indeed begun. Yet the event forecast was not the advent itself, but the preliminary hour of God's judgment—a period of time preceding, and leading up to, the advent. This was becoming increasingly clear.

III. Sevenfold Scope of Conference Studies

Individuals who had given much study to special subjects presented their findings. There were the aforementioned divergent viewpoints on minor matters, but out of this joint study fundamental unity developed on the main doctrinal positions and basic expositions of prophecy. And by the close of the series they came to stand shoulder to shoulder on the vital points. In addition to the primary Christian truths shared in common with other Christians—concerning Christ, sin, salvation, atonement, regeneration, justification, sanctification, et cetera—the seven principal doctrinal positions upon which they reached an accord were:

1. The imminent, personal, premillennial, second advent.
2. The major prophetic outlines and time prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation—including the cleansing of the sanctuary in 1844.

3. The conditional immortality of man.
4. The seventh-day Sabbath.
5. The heavenly sanctuary and the twofold ministry of Christ.

6. The Spirit of prophecy.¹⁹

7. The specifications and involvements of the third angel's message, which included (a) the Beast—already identified by Protestantism generally as the Papacy; (b) his image, and the two-horned beast; (c) the mark of the Beast; (d) the seven last plagues—past, present, or future; and (e) the intent of "tormented for ever and ever."

These seven "principal points," with their component parts, became the new area of special Bible study, and the results constituted the "landmarks"—the essentials, pillars, or fundamentals, forming the "firm platform" upon which they stood thereafter. Writing later, in retrospect, Ellen White outlined the "old landmarks" thus:

"The passing of the time in 1844 was a period of great events, opening to our astonished eyes the cleansing of the sanctuary transpiring in heaven, and having decided relation to God's people upon the earth, [also] the first and second angels' messages and the third, unfurling the banner on which was inscribed, 'The commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.' One of the landmarks under this message was the temple of God, seen by His truth-loving people in heaven, and the ark containing the law of God. The light of the Sabbath of the fourth commandment flashed its strong rays in the pathway of the transgressors of God's law. The non-immortality of the wicked is an old landmark. I can call to mind nothing more that can come under the head of the old landmarks."²⁰

IV. Formulating a Harmonious System of Truth

In these conferences the participants were not assembling an aggregation of detached, isolated, disconnected points of faith. As they studied they found this feature or that, which had been obscured by tradition, coming into view as part of a har-

¹⁹ The first three points, brought over almost intact from the seventh-month phase of Millerism, were here restudied and reaffirmed. The next three, considered "new truths," had been developed independently, in widely separated sections. Now they were studied through together and adopted. The last point was gradually developed.

²⁰ E. G. White, *Counsels to Writers and Editors*, pp. 30, 31 [from Ms. 13. 1889]. (Brackets in the original.)

monious and integrated system of truth. They literally prayed and studied their way into light. For example, James White in his first tract, in 1847, began his exposition with the statement of a concept that was new to most of the group:

"For more than one year, it has been my settled faith, that the seven last plagues were all in the future, and that they were all to be poured out before the first resurrection."²¹

This soon came to be generally accepted.

So they here began to build up a system of truth from the foundations—the prophecies, climaxing with latter-day events, the signs of the coming of Christ, the order of events at His coming, the heavenly judgment hour, the close of probation, the nature and manner of Christ's coming, the bestowal of immortality through the first resurrection and the translation of the righteous living, the slaying of the living wicked, the binding of Satan, the reign of the saints with Christ in heaven during the thousand years, the descent of the New Jerusalem at its close, the second resurrection, the loosing of Satan, the final destruction of all the wicked, the earth made new, and the eternal inheritance. Now note the larger issues, the fundamentals of this faith.

I. STAND ON IMMINENT ADVENT REAFFIRMED.—The blessed hope of Christ's return had been the chief target of Satan's attacks through the centuries, from both within the church and without. The advent hope had become confused and muddled, first through the vagaries of Jewish eschatology, then by the heresies of early Christian theologians and by the departures of more recent times. The plain promises and simple prophecies of the Word had been twisted by some to fit the developing concept of a secret coming or spiritual rapture. With others it was the "glory burst of death," or the diffusion of Christianity in the world. During the Millerite movement, skeptics and philosophers, materialists and infidels, had ridiculed a

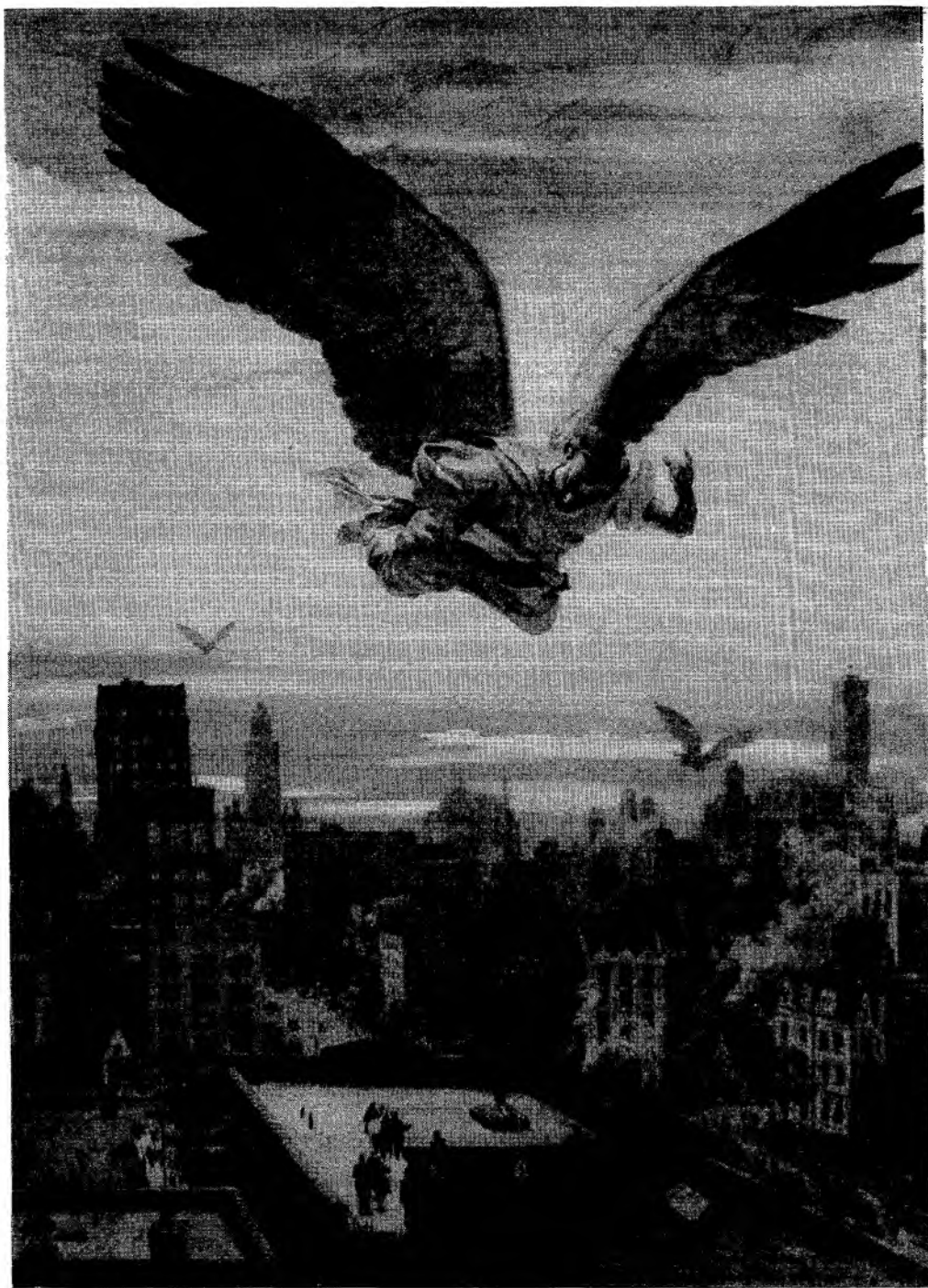
²¹ James White, *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* p. 1.

literal resurrection and the personal return of Christ in glory as unreasonable or impossible.

Holding to the accepted verities concerning the first advent, the second, personal, premillennial advent of Christ in power and glory, with its attendant resurrection of the righteous, was boldly reaffirmed in these 1848 conferences. That had been the position of primitive Christianity, declared alike by Christ, apostle, and prophet. But it had long been lost from view, or been kept out of sight. And because of the great Latin apostasy in the church, the initial fervor of the early centuries had been submerged under the dominant errors of the Dark Ages. However, the Protestant Reformation had brought it forth again. And all the Reformers were expositors of the prophecies culminating in the second advent. And most of the early nineteenth-century expositors, as well, had held the same, in both the Old World and the New.

On this platform the conferences stood without wavering. The imminent second advent was not an extraneous concept brought tardily into the Christian church, but was an integral part of its historical body of doctrine—the logical end, or goal, of the gospel. It was a legacy of the centuries, and now it was pre-eminently “present truth.” They were assuredly Adventists.

2. TENET OF CONDITIONAL IMMORTALITY HELD FIRMLY.—They likewise held tenaciously to the tenet of immortality only through Christ, introduced into the Millerite movement chiefly through George Storrs. This involved repudiation of the belief, popular among most Christians, of an eternally burning hell of torture for the damned, based on the concept of the innate immortality of all men. Instead, they took the position that God “only hath immortality” (1 Tim. 6:16), that death is a dreamless sleep (Eccl. 9:5; Job 14:11-15), that the dead, both just and unjust, will be raised to judgment by the resurrections in the last day, the righteous then to receive their immortality in Christ (1 Cor. 15:51-55; 1 Thess. 4:16, 17), the wicked later to suffer destruction in the second death (Rev. 20:12-14). This



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HARRY ANDERSON, ARTIST

HERALDS OF A WORLD-WIDE MESSAGE

The Millerites Believed That They Were Helping to Herald the Message to Mankind, Portrayed Under the Graphic Symbolism of a Flying Angel, to Help Men to Get Ready for the Great Judgment Day. By 1843 They Became Suddenly Aware of the Fact That a Second Angel, Warning of Babylon's Fall, Was Due and Was Beginning to Take Its Flight. The Third Angel They Did Not Yet See

very position led them to reject the budding of modern Spiritualism, the first "raps" of which were just being heard around Rochester, New York. Such was another solid plank in their platform.

3. HUMAN COUNTERPART OF ANGELIC HERALDS.—They remembered the profound conviction that had given the Millerite Adventists their crusading zeal and devotion—the conviction that they were fulfilling the prophecy of the flying angel with the judgment-hour message (Rev. 14:6, 7)—the prophet John, in holy vision, had seen three moving objects in the heavens, like "pin points of glory," that increased in size and brilliance as they drew near, sweeping through the heavens. Coming sharply into view, they appeared as angels, proclaiming their appointed messages, one after the other—the first one heralding the judgment hour. It was tremendously impressive, symbolic of a message being delivered to mankind.

They recalled that the same consciousness of fulfillment was true with reference to the message of the second angel, on the moral fall of popular Babylon. Strong opposition had developed to the Millerite declaration that the 2300 years would close with fiery judgments at the second advent, and the creation of the new heaven and earth. Most of their opposers believed that, instead of a cataclysmic end of the age, there would be a regeneration of the world by a gradual improvement of men and of moral and material conditions. Both were manifestly wrong.

But many Millerites had been cast out of their respective churches, or at least warned not to witness publicly to their belief in the second advent. Widespread ridicule and opposition from press and pulpit, and even mob violence, was common during the climax of the movement. The second message—of separation—had been proclaimed, and a great host had been called out of the opposing churches. But while the failure of their October expectations was tauntingly tossed into their faces, somehow no one had seemed to notice the third angel that

was to follow, with another message, or to grasp its intent, with the possible exception of Josiah Litch.²²

4. THIRD ANGEL ADDS THE FINAL NOTE.—The conference participants now saw that to prepare a people for the supreme event of the ages—the glorious second advent—these *three* mighty angels of heaven appear, in symbol, proclaiming the call through the preaching of men, to worship the God who created heaven and earth, to come out of spiritual Babylon, and to refuse to worship the Beast or his image or receive his dread mark. They came to see that the threefold message began with the proclamation, in the years shortly before 1844, of God's imminent judgment hour, each symbolic angel adding his special emphasis, until their combined voices swell into a loud cry just before the second appearance of Christ Jesus the Lord in power and great glory. But this dawned upon them only gradually.²³

The first thought of this "little flock" was to seek to rally the old 1844 Adventists, who had proclaimed the first and second messages, to a realization that a *third* message was due—to accept the Biblical fact that "the third angel followed them," gathering up and enforcing the truths of the first and second messages, investing them with a meaning and a content not before perceived, adding the newly recovered truth of the Sabbath, and continuing thenceforth as a threefold advent message. This led them later to see that a sealing message (Rev. 7:1-3), involving the Sabbath, was to go to the world.

The group believed stanchly in the full inspiration of the Old Testament, as well as of the New. So they looked upon its wonders of creation and its Sabbath rest, its sad record of disobedience and estrangement, its gleam of hope in the promised Seed, and its Old Testament church watching through the centuries for the first coming of Christ. They found the fulfill-

²² See Josiah Litch, "Cleansing of the Sanctuary," *Midnight Cry*, June 22, 1843, pp. 126, 127. Some British Adventists as William Cuninghame (*Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, p. 371), believed likewise.

²³ See James White, "Our Present Position," *Review and Herald*, December, 1850, p. 15; J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV," May 19, 1851, pp. 81, 82.

ment of promise and prophecy in the New Testament message of Christ's atoning sacrifice, a present salvation for the true Israel of God, and its culmination in the restitution of all things—all these as parts of the "everlasting gospel." Thus they felt that they were restoring truths that had largely been obscured or abandoned, in part or in whole, by the church of the Middle Ages, and likewise in more recent times.

V. Main Millerite Prophetic Positions Simply Reaffirmed

With a minimum of discussion they reaffirmed the *great outline prophecies*, especially of Daniel, and their *inseparable time periods*. They held in essentially the same form as in the Millerite seventh-month movement the following doctrines: DANIEL 2: The standard Historical School interpretation—the four world powers of Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome, succeeded by the nonadhering ten kingdom-divisions of medieval and modern Europe, with Christ's impending kingdom as the smiting stone, to fill the earth. DANIEL 7: The same four empires of prophecy, with the ten horns as the same ten kingdoms, and the Little Horn as the Papacy, with its spiritual dominance of 1260 years (538-1798)—the power (equated with Antichrist and the Man of Sin) that had not only persecuted the saints but had presumptuously imposed a change of the Sabbath upon Christendom, and had sought to reduce the designated 1260 years of the prophecy to 1260 days at the end of the age, and with the judgment and second advent closing the outline.

DANIEL 8: The last three kingdoms—Persia, Grecia, and Rome—with the paralleling 2300 years (457 B.C. to A.D. 1844), extending to the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary and its truth of the heavenly priesthood of Christ cast down (as stressed primarily by Edson and Crosier), during the Roman section of the 2300 years (symbolized by the desecrating horn that cast down the truth to the ground), which period reaches specifically to October 22, 1844, when the heavenly judgment began. DANIEL 9: The 70 weeks from the autumn of 457 B.C. to A.D. 34, with

the crucifixion of Christ the Messiah in the "midst" of the seventieth week-of-years, in the spring of A.D. 31—the 70 weeks being "cut off" as the first part of the 2300 years, and thus automatically dating the beginning of the larger period.

DANIEL 11: The same three powers—Persia, Grecia, and Rome (with James White holding the position advocated by Miller, that the Papacy was the power prominent in the latter part of the chapter, just as in Daniel 2, 7, and 8,²⁴ and Uriah Smith at that time agreeing with him on the Papacy, but later changing to the view that Turkey was the power in Daniel 11). DANIEL 12: The increase of the prophetic knowledge, as men searched the Bible; and Michael as Christ, soon to stand up; the 1290 years and the 1335 dated the same as in the Millerite seventh-month movement.

They held similar views concerning the book of Revelation: The *seven churches* were seven periods, or phases, of the true church, spanning the Christian Era, though they were not yet quite settled on just what comprised the seventh, or final, Laodicean section,²⁵ or when it began. The *seven seals* represented the progressive apostasy in the Christian church, the sixth seal including the signs in the heavens heralding Christ's return (as the darkening of the sun and moon, on May 19, 1780, and the falling of the stars on November 13, 1833, et cetera). The first four of the *seven trumpets* were the Barbarian scourges on western Rome, and the fifth and sixth trumpets, the 150-year and 391-year special periods of the Turk, the latter ending in August, 1840. And the time message of the angel with the little book was that there should be specified prophetic "time" no longer (similar to the angel of Revelation 14:6). The *little book* was the sweet anticipation and bitter aftermath of the Disappointment of October 22, 1844, and then a further witnessing before mankind. (This last Edson emphasized.)

²⁴ James White, *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* pp. 8, 9.

²⁵ Bates early held that Laodicea began in 1845 with the Albany Conference. ("The Laodicean Church," *Review and Herald*, November, 1850, p. 7.)

God's *Two Witnesses* were the Old and the New Testament, slain in France (1793-1797), with France as the *tenth part of the City*, and the French Revolution as the *great earthquake*. The *woman clothed with the sun* (Revelation 12) was the true church persecuted by the Roman power, and preserved during the 1260 years (538-1798), and then the dragonic wrath turned on the last-day commandment-keeping *remnant*, characterized also by "the testimony of Jesus" (defined as the Spirit of prophecy—Revelation 12:17; 19:10). The papal *beast* of Revelation 13 was, of course, the Papacy, with the deadly wound given by the stroke of the French sword in 1798, at the end of the 1260 years. But the identity of the *second beast* was not yet too clear—whether France, or possibly Protestantism in some form (as variantly held in the Millerite movement)—but there was a profound conviction that the *mark of the Beast* involved the change of the Sabbath. The 144,000 were bound for the city of God, and Christ was ministering in the heavenly holy of holies, in the second and final phase of His mediatorial ministry.

Two of the *three angels' messages*, as noted, were first given under the Millerite movement; the *third* was just now taking shape—and its scope and content were now the chief area of their study and concern. The *second advent* and the *gathering of the harvest* of God and of the grapes of wrath for His vintage were shortly to come. The *seven last plagues* were evidently future, according to James White, to fall after the close of probation and to eventuate in the second advent. The symbolic *woman in scarlet*, the Harlot, or Babylon Mystery, of Revelation 17, was the Papacy, but the *daughters* were, they said, creed-bound Protestant churches that spurned the second advent, clung to the mark of papal apostasy, and persecuted dissenters. *Babylon's final overthrow* was imminent, and the supper of the Lamb was likewise at hand.

The premillennial position was tenaciously held—the second advent with its attending first resurrection to usher in the *millennium* and the second resurrection to mark its close. And

the saints reign with Christ during the thousand years, followed by the *new heavens and the new earth*, springing out of the ashes of the old and to continue on forever. That was the grand outline—essentially the Millerite seventh-month movement positions on prophecy reaffirmed and clarified.

Further study was to follow. Their attitude toward advancing light was simply this: They held undeviatingly to the principle of a progressive unfolding and perception of light, and that there was to be a constant advance in knowledge of the Word. They were ready to exchange a dozen errors for one truth. With no formulated creed to defend, they were not ashamed to acknowledge their limitations and not afraid to grow in the knowledge of advancing truth. They never sought to surround themselves with an aura of perfection. Years later, when one critic complained at the revision of an exposition, James White replied: "Now we never claimed that we wrote by inspiration, and have supposed that we had the same privilege of learning and exchanging error for truth with other men."²⁶

VI. Edson View of Sanctuary Definitely Adopted

They held that the view of the heavenly sanctuary and of the twofold mediatorial service of Christ our great High Priest therein, advocated by Edson, was a truth that had been swept aside by the rising Man of Sin, who had opposed God and truth and had "exalted himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped," so that he, as God, had planted himself in the temple of God, "showing himself that he is God." They believed that the Papacy had interjected its own earthly priesthood and sacrifice between God and man and obscured and distorted the work of Christ our great High Priest and His one, all-sufficient, vicarious, atoning sacrifice, and that the Protestant world had only partially freed itself from such errors. The sanctuary service, shadowed forth in the Mosaic ritual, and clearly explained in the book of Hebrews, was but dimly under-

²⁶ James White. Editorial, "Making Us a Name," *Review and Herald*, April 26, 1860, p. 181.

stood until it was brought forth in its beauty by the joint study of Edson and his associates. This sanctuary light—which had long been cast down by the dominant apostasy—was, however, to be more fully studied and amplified. But its essence had already been perceived.

So they reaffirmed their stand on the doctrine of the day of judgment—that on October 22, 1844, according to type, Jesus our High Priest entered the most holy place in heaven and began to cleanse the sanctuary. The examination of the lives of men through all past ages had begun in what came to be called the investigative judgment. That of the living would follow. When that work is finished and probation closed, then Jesus leaves the temple of God to come to earth in glory as King, to reward the righteous and execute judgment on the wicked. Satan, not Christ, was the scapegoat. But the atonement for man was made and completed by Christ the Lamb of God *before* the visitation of punishment upon the scapegoat as the great instigator of sin. Yes, the transaction with the scapegoat was *after* the atonement was finished.

Meantime, the righteous dead will all have been raised and the righteous living caught up to Christ, at the second advent. Then the millennium begins, which the redeemed spend with Christ in heaven. At the conclusion Christ and the saints return with the New Jerusalem from heaven to the devastated earth, the wicked dead are raised, and their final march of desperation upon the Holy City begins. Then Satan and all his hosts are destroyed, and the earth and its sin-scarred works are burned up. This is the executive judgment. And all this is followed, in turn, by the creation of the new heaven and new earth “wherein dwelleth righteousness.” Paradise is fully restored. That was their glorious prospect, and their faith.

VII. Sabbath Issue the Overshadowing Topic

1. SPECIFICATIONS OF THIRD MESSAGE STUDIED.—The hour had manifestly come, they believed, to recover all the long-lost, or at least obscured and undeveloped, truths of the gospel. As

the Biblical teaching on the Sabbath and the sanctuary in their inseparable relationships became plain, they continued to search for other neglected truths just rising into view. But the specifications of the third angel's message became increasingly the new focal point of study, the new area of special investigation. Each of its phases and features called for fresh study, and in due time became luminous with meaning—the Beast, the image to the Beast, the mark of the Beast, the futurity of the plagues, the nature of the punishment to be meted out to the sinner, and its duration, and various related features of the final events.

These men of the conferences, delving into the realm of Scripture truth, were seeking to round out the fuller understanding of the “everlasting gospel.” This gospel message had been obscured by the rubbish of error and tradition during that long period when truth was trampled to the ground by the great apostasy seen by Daniel the prophet in his vision of chapter 8. There the inspired record is, “It cast down truth to the ground.” They were now set upon lifting up those truths that had so long been “trodden underfoot.” Their investigative activities must therefore be read in the light of the guiding principles and inner aims that motivated them. They had the pioneer spirit, as they laid the foundations, stone by stone, of a structure that was just beginning to take on fair and harmonious shape.

2. SUNDAY MARK WILL BE ENFORCED BY LAW.—They studied most earnestly the meaning of the “remnant” of the “seed” of the “woman,” or Christian church, who would keep the “commandments of God” in the latter times and would have the “testimony of Jesus” in their midst. The trail of opposition by the apostate power that was to “think” to “change the times and the law” of the Most High was to make its last attack upon the “remnant” who were lifting up again the downtrodden law of God. So they were to warn against the presumptuous changing of God's law and to call back all who would adhere to the

New Testament platform—"the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus"—set forth in Revelation 14:12, which was to be restored shortly before the second advent.

Slowly they began to believe that the great papal apostasy, aided by a backsliding Protestantism, would renew the ancient warfare against God's law and its holy Sabbath. So they studied anew the latter part of Revelation 13, which portrays the effort to enforce the mark of apostasy. Thus Joseph Bates, who in 1849 wrote his pamphlet, *A Seal of the Living God*, speaking of the enforcing of the "mark," said:

"This last text is still in the future, and has a direct bearing on this very sealing message. This ungodly power from which God's people have been called out, (Revelation xviii:4,) will yet, as it now appears, enact a law for the express purpose of making all bow down and keep the Pope's Sabbath, (Sunday)." ²⁷

The third angel's message soon became their greatest concern and the field of their most earnest study.

3. CREATION AND REDEMPTION; LAW AND GOSPEL.—Believing in God, not merely as a primal cause or as a cold distant judge of mankind, but as a solicitous father, they built their faith upon the Bible record that God created the heavens and the earth literally in six days. That view, universally accepted by Christendom at that time, would ere long be first questioned, then attacked, and finally rejected. But creationism was one of the foundation stones of the Sabbatarian belief. They took their stand upon the Mosaic record of man's failure and fall, and had no part in that daring assumption—just being formulated—that man, evolving from primitive forms, physically, mentally, and morally, can lift himself by his own power to higher estates. They held that provision for man's redemption from the Fall is solely through the gift of God's only Son.

They held the law of God and the gospel of Christ to be in perfect harmony, each necessary and consistent with the operation of the other. They maintained that the law of God is immutable and impossible of abrogation, but that the gospel

²⁷ Bates, *A Seal of the Living God*, p. 37.

is provided to rescue doomed man from the effects of sin. They held that the Sabbath, the seventh day of the week, is the memorial of a fiat creation and the sign and seal of sanctification as well.

4. HELD TO BAPTISM BY IMMERSION ONLY.—In addition to these main positions, they held to the baptism of the adult believer only, by immersion. Rejecting sprinkling and infant baptism as originating in apostate practices, they regarded immersion as the sign of burial with Christ in death to sin and the acceptance of new life in Christ.

VIII. Prophetic Gift Restored in Remnant Hour

Accepting the apostle Paul's admonition to "despise not prophesyings" (1 Thess. 5:30), they held that men were not to think or speak disparagingly of the prophets and their writings. Jesus Himself, the greatest prophet of all time—the one supreme, divine, and only infallible Prophet—was that Great Prophet of whom Moses wrote: "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken." (Deut. 18:15.) He was frequently so recognized while on earth, and was called the "prophet of Nazareth," "a great prophet," "a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and the people." (Matt. 21:11; Luke 24:19; Luke 7:16; Eph. 4:11-14.) He revealed to man the will of God, the character of God, the love of God. He interpreted and fulfilled past prophecy; He illuminated the present; He opened the book of the future. And Holy Writ expressly states that when He ascended He "gave gifts unto men"—apostles, *prophets*, evangelists, pastors, teachers. (Eph. 4:8, 11.) He placed the gifts of the Spirit in the church, where they were to be found among those waiting for the coming of the Lord. (1 Cor. 12:4-10; 1:7.)

Joel's prophecy of an outpouring of the Spirit, to come upon all flesh (Joel 2:28)—that saw an initial fulfillment in the early church—Peter placed primarily in the "last days" (Acts

2:17), shortly before the "great and notable day of the Lord come" (Acts 2:19, 20). And the entire twelfth chapter of Revelation is, they understood, a history of the true church in her conflict with Satan, the dragon.

They saw how the "remnant of her [the woman's] seed"—the last period, or segment, or phase, of the church—would keep the "commandments of God" and have the "testimony of Jesus," defined by the apostle as the "spirit of prophecy." (Rev. 12:17; 19:10.) And again the apostle couples with the "commandments of God" the inseparable "faith of Jesus." (Rev. 14:12.) So the church of the last generation they believed to be characterized by restored obedience to the law of God blended with the faith of Jesus and the revived possession of the prophetic gift. The three were inseparable.

I. IDENTIFYING EARMARKS OF REMNANT CHURCH.—They held that these earmarks identifying the remnant church—the restoration of the "commandments of God," the "faith of Jesus," and the "spirit of prophecy"—were in their midst.²⁸ When the church of the past had been deep in the "wilderness," during the Dark Ages, only a whisper of the voice of the Spirit had occasionally been heard. But now, in the last days, they had confidence that the prophetic gift had been restored for the safety and guidance of the last-day church—a church built solidly on the Bible. Clues, suggestions, cautions, and early confirmations of truths that were dug directly out of the Scriptures—these were the contributions made by the Spirit of prophecy, but ever and only regarded as not replacing but pointing to and magnifying the Word. So they went on with greater assurance in open-minded study of the Bible. They walked in advancing light, ever alert for more light and truth, just as James White had written in 1847:

"As we travel onward toward the Holy City, our burning lamps discover new objects: but we cannot see all at once. If we reject a little light, because we cannot see the whole clearly at once, it will displease our

²⁸ See Introduction to *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 1, pp. 15, 16.

heavenly leader; and we shall be left in the dark. But if we cherish the light, as fast as it is our Lord's will to open it to us, he will increase the light; and our souls will feast upon the opening truths of the blessed bible."²⁹

And theirs was a spiritual, Christ-centered emphasis. Vital godliness and the grace of Christ, in good balance, went hand in hand with doctrinal truth. Thus White again said:

"It is no small thing to be a Christian. We must be pure in life and conversation here in time, if we would enter the Holy City.

"The keeping of the fourth commandment is all-important present truth; but this alone, will not save any one. We must keep all ten of the commandments, and strictly follow all the directions of the New Testament, and have living active faith in Jesus. Those who would be found ready to enter the saint's rest, at the appearing of Christ, must live wholly, WHOLLY for Jesus now."³⁰

2. RELATIONSHIP OF BIBLE STUDY AND SPIRIT OF PROPHECY.

—Joseph Bates, James White, Hiram Edson, Stephen Pierce,³¹ and others such as J. N. Andrews, "searched for truth as for hidden treasure." Ellen White often met with them. Here is her description of the spirit of that quest:

"Often we remained together until late at night, and sometimes through the entire night, praying for light and studying the word. Again and again these brethren came together to study the Bible, in order that they might know its meaning."³²

One description of the form and process of study in those early days, reads:

"We had to search and wait the opening of truth, receiving a ray of light here and a ray there, laboring and pleading for God to reveal truth to us. But now the truth is plain; its rays are brought together. The blazing light of truth when it is presented as it should be can be now seen and brought to bear upon the heart."³³

Throughout this entire time of intense searching, the Spirit

²⁹ James White, *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* p. 6.

³⁰ James White, Letter in *Present Truth*, July, 1849, p. 6.

³¹ STEPHEN PIERCE (1804-1883) was born in Vermont, residing later in Minneapolis and Iowa. A man of genuine piety and humility, he was an able Bible expositor and rose to the presidency of the Vermont and Minnesota conferences and was corresponding editor of the *Review and Herald*. He was ever a friend of the poor and suffering. (A. D. Olsen, obituary in *Review and Herald*, Oct. 9, 1883, p. 637.)

³² E. G. White, *Special Testimonies*, Series B, no. 2, p. 57.

³³ E. G. White, Ms. 3, 1854; quoted in Arthur L. White, *Prophetic Guidance in Early Days*, p. 15.

of prophecy was a help—but only a help. No doctrine or interpretation of prophecy was initially discovered or disclosed through the Spirit of prophecy. The doctrines of the Sabbatarians were *all* founded upon Holy Scripture, so that theirs was a truly Protestant platform. James White had expressly stated this in 1847: “The bible is a perfect, and complete revelation. It is our only rule of faith and practice.”³⁴

Of the relationship of the Spirit of prophecy thereto, Ellen White herself, after commending “the Word of God as the rule of your faith and practice,” said:

“God has in that Word, promised to give visions in the ‘last days’; not for a new rule of faith, but for the comfort of His people, and to correct those who err from Bible truth.”³⁵

IX. Concurrence of Fulfillments Identifies “Remnant”

The year 1844, the spokesmen of the conferences held, marked not only the beginning of the judgment-hour phase of Christ’s ministry in heaven but a new phase of a corresponding movement on earth also pointed out in prophecy. This movement proclaimed the message of the third angel of Revelation 14:9-12, which specifically calls upon men to “keep the commandments of God” as well as to hold fast “the faith of Jesus”—in addition to the messages of the first two angels (verses 6-8) heralding the second advent of Christ. So they, the Sabbatarian Adventists, had appeared at the time scheduled in the prophecy, and according to that prophecy they were also to have the “testimony of Jesus” in their midst, which “is the spirit of prophecy.” (Rev. 12:17; 19:10.)

In 1844, they contended, the light on the cleansing of the sanctuary in heaven, and its attendant judgment-hour annunciation, began really to be studied and then to be heralded in its fullness. The message was a command to “come out” of the Babylon of confusion that was still a heritage from the blighting apostasy of earlier centuries. And with these was combined the

³⁴ James White, *A Word to the “Little Flock,”* p. 13.

³⁵ E. G. White, *Early Writings*, p. 78.

call to restore the true Sabbath. The time had only just come for fulfillment. Now these must be correlated, and the special movement resulting was to gather momentum, declaring anew that "the hour of his judgment is come." The third angel's message, they felt, was definitely under way, for the Sabbath truth was now linked to, and integrated into, the prophetic message. This threefold development formed "a concurrence of fulfillments," they said, that could never come about by merely human foresight and devising.³⁶

The threefold message, now clearly due, they firmly believed, had actually begun to assume definite form and a semblance of symmetry. The larger outlines could now be clearly discerned. They realized the perfecting of these positions, and the development of detail would take time. But the conferences had successfully accomplished their purpose of unification, clarification, and consolidation.

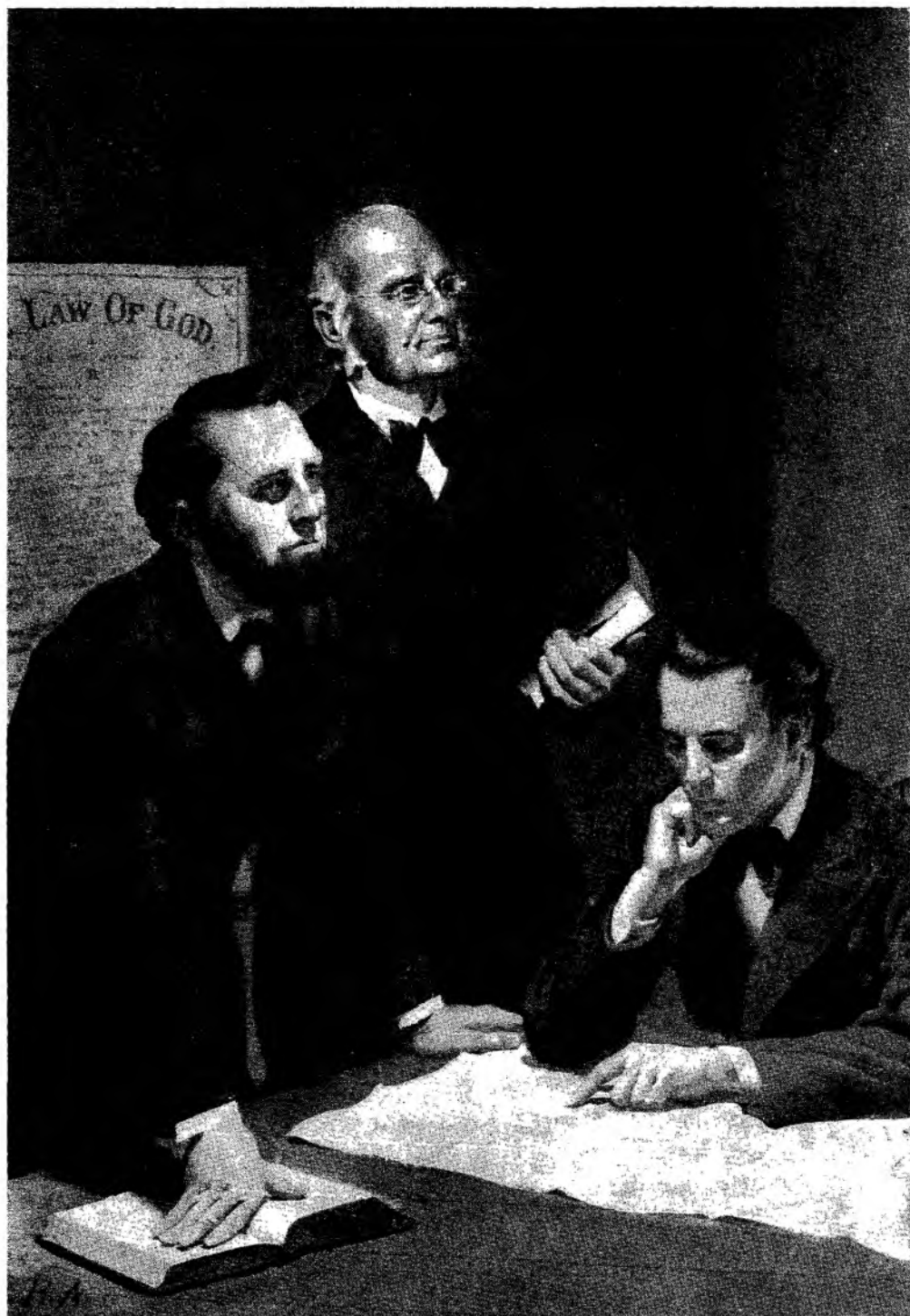
³⁶ Spicer, *Pioneer Days*, pp. 72, 73.

Raising Up the Foundations of Many Generations

In the remaining chapters we return to our tracing of the progressive development of prophetic exposition among the founding fathers of the early Sabbatarian Adventists. We will close this two-thousand year survey of prophetic interpretation with a summarization of the expositional platform developed between 1844 and 1875. These earnest men sought to build wisely by gathering up and bringing together in systematic form a harmony of the prophecies, based upon the sound and established truths of interpretation developed by reverent scholars over the course of centuries. These general positions will then be broken down into the individual expositions of some of their leading expositors. First, we list the guiding principles under which they proceeded, and the resultant platform.

I. Nine-Point Platform of Sabbatarian Adventists

1. RESTORATION AND RE-ESTABLISHMENT.—They sought to restore and re-establish the various historical principles and applications that had once held sway during the aggressive years of the Protestant Reformation, but which a later divided and compromising Christendom had largely let slip, as it began to accept—perhaps unwittingly—either the Futurist or the Preterist counterinterpretations, and later to adopt the fascinating Whitbyan postmillennial theory of gradual world betterment, increasingly popular and prevalent among Protestants,



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HARRY ANDERSON ARTIST

LEADERS OF THE DEVELOPING SABBATARIAN MOVEMENT

(Left to Right) James White, Vigorous Administrator and Pioneer Editor; Joseph Bates, Forthright Pioneering Preacher; and John Nevins Andrews, Scholarly Writer and First Foreign Missionary. These Three Led the Way. (See Also Page 1093)

with Porphyry's Antiochus Epiphanes theory concerning the Little Horn of Daniel 7 as another favorite diverting device. All these later departures the Sabbatarian pioneers steadfastly repudiated.

2. RETENTION AND APPLICATION.—They sought to retain and apply all the sound and demonstrated principles of the Historical School of interpretation still held by various individual scholars in the Christian world of the mid-nineteenth century. This included many men outside the Millerite movement, as well as within, and embraced Old World expositors as well as New. Such positions, for example, included as basic the standard view of the four world powers of Daniel 2 and 7, with Rome as the fourth, Rome's division into ten lesser kingdoms, the emerging Papacy as the Antichrist, the year-day principle for the 1260 year-days, and related prophetic time periods. These, and the paralleling outlines and time periods in the Apocalypse, were regarded as axiomatic, and foundational to all exegesis. These formed the groundwork and setting for all subsequent applications.

3. COMPLETION AND CONSUMMATION.—They sought to carry through to their logical conclusion and application those final phases, or segments, of the great outline prophecies that had been gradually unfolded. The progressive fulfillments had been recognized contemporarily during the course of the centuries—not only Rome, when pre-eminent, followed by Rome's division, and the period of papal Rome's special spiritual dominance, forcibly interrupted at the close of the French Revolution, but also the 2300 days. Many noted scholars in many countries during the early decades of the nineteenth century taught the ending of the 2300 year-days about 1843 or 1844, with some epochal event believed destined to come to pass, or at least to begin, about that time. In the early part of the Christian Era these last-day events had all been regarded as future, with advancing developments progressively perceived through the centuries. However, the Adventists felt that they

had now entered upon the final segments of the great prophetic outlines, which called for contemporary recognition and emphasis of these *final* phases.

4. **REVISION AND CLARIFICATION.**—They progressively revised, clarified, and corrected *details* of prophetic interpretation concerning events of the latter days which had been prematurely or hastily adopted in the past, but which were now perceived as out of harmony with the basic principles and outlines—and which time alone and greater perspective could rectify. This included such features as the time placement of the seven last vials, as all still future, the identity and location of the two-horned beast of Revelation 13, the meaning of the “mark” of the Beast, the identification of Laodicea, and similar items.

5. **HARMONIZATION AND SYNTHESIS.**—They then sought to harmonize and synthesize all the component prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, so part would fit logically and properly with part, and each individual prophecy parallel or integrate with the other prophecies, thus forming a systematic whole—much like a comprehensive harmony of the four Gospels or the interrelationship of various doctrines in a well-integrated systematic theology. Thus all features or details were to be brought into a harmonized whole. No single outline prophecy, or time period, was considered independent or unrelated to the rest. And none, therefore, were to be timed or placed without due regard to the rest. This was one of the most difficult aspects of their entire expositional endeavor. (See illustrative diagram on pp. 1128, 1129.)

Such a perfecting and harmonizing task, designed to preserve balance and symmetry, was a delicate matter, requiring wide knowledge of historical backgrounds and a broad grasp of the over-all picture and the historical development of interpretation. Uriah Smith was particularly adept at this, as we shall soon note, drawing the soundest expositions from the ablest sources of the years and bringing together in one coordi-

nated whole the product of scores of the strongest interpreters of the past whose works were justly revered and available. The resultant harmony of the prophecies appeared in his *Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation*. It was not a patchwork, but a skilled piece of expository architecture, which, after nearly a century, is still regarded as a conspicuously able and balanced exposition, calling for remarkably little revision, either in rugged outline or even of essential detail, considering the lapse of time and the progressive understanding and fulfillment of prophecy in the decades that have elapsed.

6. DISTINCTION AND DIFFERENTIATION.—The Sabbatarian Adventists sought to differentiate between basic primaries, or essentials in prophecy, upon which there was clear evidence and general agreement, and those minor details, or secondaries, upon which there were bound to be, and actually were, divergent views. And they sought to keep the primaries ever in the forefront as common ground, while holding the nonessentials in abeyance in the background for time and more complete fulfillment to clarify. Such items included the precise identity of the seven heads, and the eighth head, in Revelation 13 and 17, and the exact list of the ten horns, and others not yet fully agreed upon.

7. CHRIST-CENTERED AND REDEMPTIVE.—They sought increasingly to find and present Christ as the central figure and dynamic force of all prophecy. They looked upon the national and international, or secular, aspects of the great outline prophecies as merely the framework and setting, the staging in and through which the great redemptive acts of God in the divine drama of the ages are clearly portrayed. They considered prophecy as the revelation of the foreknowledge and controlling hand of God in the affairs of men, revealing the only true philosophy of history and constituting the only sound portrayal of the destiny of man and the universe. The first and second advents were clearly focal points of time and eternity, and Christ was central in it all.

8. PORTRAYAL OF AGE-OLD CONTROVERSY.—They looked upon prophecy as the inspired portrayal of the age-old conflict between good and evil; and, back of that, of the personalized war between Christ and Satan for the winning of the human race. Prophecy was to them the inerrant depiction of the great controversy between truth and error throughout the centuries and of the paralleling struggle between the true church and the great apostasy in the church, leading to the ostracism and persecution of the former and the exaltation and dominance of the latter—these following inexorably on to the final conflict, which is to end in the eternal triumph of righteousness and truth at Christ's impending second advent.

9. CONSUMMATION OF THE CONFLICT.—They believed that the consummation of the conflict in the last days involved, first of all, the recovery and reinstatement of all lost, forgotten, and forsaken truth. Many of these truths had been partially covered over or obscured by the accumulated debris of error. They firmly believed that the recovered gems of prophetic truth were to be reset, and would again assume their rightful place in the framework of the everlasting gospel, from which they had been dislodged. And thus restored, they would give the everlasting gospel a strength and a winsomeness of appeal destined to attract the minds of honest truth seekers who perhaps would not respond to any other approach. And thus they would definitely help to prepare a people for the coming King and kingdom of God.

II. Recovery of Established Orthodox Positions

So they considered their platform to be distinctly a *recovery* of the old and established in prophetic interpretation, *not a discovery* of something new, strange, and untried; a *retention* of the accredited and true, not an invention of the doubtful and fanciful; a *restoration* of the best and the soundest in exposition, *not an innovation*, advancing the questionable and debatable. As conservatives, and not radicals, they therefore stood as

resolute champions of old positions, not as doughty defenders of new contentions. They took their position as staunch upholders of interpretive orthodoxy, not as purveyors of heterodoxy or expositional heresy. They consequently expressed a certainty born of deep conviction. Their attitude was positive, not negative; and was definitely aggressive, not defensive.

They considered that they had come into being to revive and press those phases and features of prophetic truth that were now specifically due the world. They considered themselves to be a people with a mission, and a message pertinent to the times. This, they profoundly believed, was why they had been brought onto the stage of world action at that very time. They had a work to do, just as had others before them. They definitely felt that they were there to help complete the arrested Reformation. They believed that they had appeared at the time called for. They felt they were called into being to emphasize the prophetic message due the world and to stress the special truths destined, in the plan of God, for emphasis at that time. It was this sense of a mission and a mandate that gave them boldness and conviction in proclaiming the "message" as they saw it.

They were therefore engaged in gathering up the gold from the clattering dross of misconception and departure, in gleaning the gems of prophetic truth from the rubbish of error and departure—diamonds from the established expositions of Daniel, rubies from the sound interpretations of the Revelation, and pearls from Paul's prophecy in the Thessalonian epistle. Consciously drafting upon the expositional strength of the ages, they were raising up and deliberately building upon the foundations of many generations of sound, progressive principles of exposition. They claimed the heritage of the years as their very own—for truth, they held, becomes the lawful possession of all who exert themselves to recover and proclaim it. In the light of such an understanding and attitude, let us now review the individual expositions of the leading pioneer builders of the now steadily expanding Advent Movement. First we note James White, and then we will come to his associates.



JAMES WHITE—STALWART ADVENTIST LEADER

James White's Birthplace in Palmyra, Maine, and White at the Age of Forty-Two, Whose Father Was Deacon John White, of the Baptist Faith. These Pioneers Came From Sturdy Stock

III. James White—Pioneer Leader, Publisher, and Organizer

JAMES WHITE (1821-1881),¹ publisher of the first periodical (*Present Truth*) issued by the Sabbatarian Adventists, and thrice president of their General Conference—1865-1867, 1868-1871, and 1874-1880—was the son of Deacon John White of the Baptist and then of the Christian church at Palmyra, Maine. He came of sturdy New England stock, his ancestors being

¹ Sketch based on James White, *Life Sketches*; Uriah Smith, Funeral Discourse, *In Memoriam, A Sketch of the Last Sickness and Death of Elder James White* (1881); Spalding, *Footprints, and Captains*; "Representative Men of Michigan," in *American Biographical History*, pp. 106, 107; Dick, *Founders of the Message*, chap. 4; obituary in *Review and Herald*, Aug. 9, 1881.

among the earliest settlers to come to this country. James grew up in Maine, the fifth in a family of nine. He was sickly as a child, but by the time of his teens this handicap was overcome. And he was baptized into the Christian Connection at fourteen.

As he stood on the threshold of young manhood, he had heard some of the leading Millerite preachers present their arresting message. But for a time ambition to scale the heights in the field of education crowded religious experience far into the background. So he first spurned the doctrine of the second advent near, as he prepared for teaching at St. Albans, having to work his own way by dint of toil and economy. However, in 1841, returning home from a term of teaching, he found his parents seriously studying the advent message, yes, already well persuaded. He thought to parry the force of his mother's new views, and turned to the Bible for countering evidence. But he soon became convinced that these teachings, and his mother, were right. The father, however, was still under the spell of the Whitbyan postmillennial philosophy, which was rampant in most of the larger churches. This delayed his acceptance of the advent hope until the next year.

Of fine presence and sturdy character, young White was a born leader, a strong dynamic spirit of real capacity. He was unusually bold, resourceful, and farseeing. But at first, like Jonah, he ran away from his conviction of duty. One day, however, all alone out in the field he battled it out with God, and then made a partial surrender—one with a condition. So in 1842 he was still quite unsettled. About this time the powerful revival preaching of Miller, Himes, and Preble, at a camp meeting in eastern Maine, changed the whole course of his life. As White attended these meetings, he resolved to become a preacher of the advent faith. Of this vital decision he wrote in his autobiographic sketch:

"I had neither horse, saddle, bridle, nor money, yet I felt that I must go. I had used my past winter's earnings in necessary clothing, in attending Second Advent meetings, and in the purchase of books and the ["1843"] chart. But my father offered me the use of a horse for the

winter, and Elder Polley [a Christian minister] gave me a saddle with both pads torn off, and several pieces of an old bridle."²

Mending the saddle and bridle, and taking his Bible, his "1843" chart, and some literature, he started out. He had a silvery tenor voice, characteristic of the Whites, his father having been a teacher of vocal music. This valuable gift James used constantly in his public work. Erelong a thousand people would listen with rapt attention, with many moved to tears. Often he would enter the pulpit impressively singing some moving advent hymn like—

"When I can read my title clear
To mansions in the skies,
I'll bid farewell to ev'ry fear,
And wipe my weeping eyes."

White had the happy gift of carrying people along with him. He was enthusiastic, and possessed a grace and a dignity that kept every enterprise with which he had to do on a high spiritual level.³ His first meetings started a revival. Following along the Kennebec River to Augusta, Maine, he began a series in a community that was predominantly Universalist. A rough element that had gotten into the hall proceeded to heckle the young speaker with howls and catcalls and to pelt him with snowballs and other missiles.

But they failed to drown him out. He launched into a vivid description of the judgment day, his voice rising above the roar of the crowd. He called upon them to repent and turn to God for mercy and pardon. Soon the noise subsided, and before long the turbulent crowd was subdued and a revival broke out. But a sullen mob was waiting outside for the dismissal. As he was leaving, a total stranger stepped up, and linking arms with him, guided him through the still menacing mob—and disappeared! White turned to thank his protector, but none was there. He wondered, but was exceedingly grateful.

White went on to the Eastern Maine Christian Conference.

² James White, *Life Sketches*, p. 49.

³ Spicer, *Pioneer Days*, p. 147.

This section and this particular group had already been deeply affected by Millerism. Invited into the desk to speak on his new-found faith, he preached on the second advent, closing with the song, "You will see your Lord a-coming," which was punctuated with approving exclamations from the sympathetic, while the opposing party were chilly and critical. Times were tense and the conflict very real.

James White first met Ellen Harmon at Orrington, Maine, where she was bearing her testimony in February, 1845. And their association in service for the saving of souls culminated in their marriage in August, 1846. It was a happy and successful union, and together they comprised a remarkable team. White's character was cast in the heroic mold and his life was of the patriarchal pattern. His thinking was bold, clear, and logical, and he was an able disputant. He infected others with his zeal and persuaded them with his convictions. He had marked executive ability, and was calm and collected when others lost their bearings. In the formative period of the new movement, when conflicting positions were frequently advanced, he found anchorage in the unassailable facts and sound principles of the preceding Millerite movement. There was too much evidence of the clear leading of God for it to be renounced as largely erroneous. He had a good sense of values, and emphasized fundamentals:

White was progressive, independent, and strong in his planning. He had an acute perception of right, and would never yield to discouragement, whether pinched by poverty or plagued by opposition. He saw that their future needs called for organization, and helped to arrange for a legally incorporated and effective organization through which the business of the church should be conducted, as well as formulating a wise church polity. He bore the earmarks of a wise builder, and was the father of church order among the Sabbatarians. He exerted a molding influence in framing the basic platform of Seventh-day Adventist belief and practice. And he gave form and solidity to the growing movement. But, like all strong leaders, he had

enemies and opposition. However, the slander of the detractors melted under investigation.⁴

White had a statesmanlike vision of the future. He was the founder and promoter of most of the early key enterprises. He fostered their first humble printing plant—with modern counterparts now operating on all continents. Then he promoted the first Health Reform Institute—now succeeded by a chain of sanitariums and hospitals extending out to the ends of the earth. And he had to do with the founding of their first college—this too developing into an entire denominational system of elementary and intermediate schools and academies and colleges that now belt the globe, and with strong graduate institutions as well.

When the new transcontinental railway was opened up, he advocated pushing the work of the church to the West Coast. He wrote the first Sabbath school lessons in 1852. He promoted the church's first overseas foreign missionary venture—sending John N. Andrews to Europe in 1874—and today Adventists operate one of the most extensive foreign mission enterprises in the world. White's writings are therefore thoroughly representative of the early leadership. (On Andrews see p. 1093.)

IV. James White's Early Convictions on Prophecy

Having been through the Millerite movement, White was one of the earliest investigators and interpreters of prophecy following the Disappointment, with articles appearing first in the *Day-Star* of 1845-1846. And in *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* which he wrote and compiled (1847), his expositions demonstrate how in this transition hour many revisions on details were already being made.

I. LAST PLAGUES BELIEVED STILL FUTURE.—White was about the first of the group who, in sharp contrast with prevailing views in the Millerite movement and general concept,

⁴ See *Defense of Elder James White and Wife, Vindication of Their Moral and Christian Character* (1870, 112 pages).

in both Europe and America, placed the plagues in the future, not the past. On "The Seven Last Plagues" he says:

"For more than one year, it has been my settled faith, that the seven last plagues were all in the future, and that they were all to be poured out before the first resurrection."⁵

2. MICHAEL'S STANDING UP YET FUTURE.—Under "The Time of Trouble" he discusses the Papacy in the latter part of Daniel 11.

"That Jesus rose up, and shut the door, and came to the Ancient of days, to receive his kingdom, at the 7th month, 1844, I fully believe. See Luke 13:25; Mat. 25:10; Dan. 7:13, 14. But the standing up of Michael, Dan. 12:1, appears to be another event, for another purpose. His rising up in 1844, was to shut the door, and come to his Father, to receive his kingdom, and power to reign; but Michael's standing up, is to manifest his kingly power, which he already has, in the destruction of the wicked, and the deliverance of his people. Michael is to stand up at the time that the last power in chap. 11, comes to his end, and none to help him. This power is the last that treads down the true church of God: and as the true church is still trod[d]en down, and cast out by all christendom, it follows that the last oppressive power has not 'come to his end;' and Michael has not stood up. This last power that treads down the saints is brought to view in Rev. 13:11-18. His number is 666. Much of his power, deception, wonders, miracles, and oppression, will doubtless by [be] manifested during his last struggle under the 'seven last plagues,' about the time of his coming to his end. This is clearly shadowed forth by the magicians of Egypt, deceiving Pharaoh [*sic*] and his host, in performing most of the miracles, that Moses performed by the power of God. That was just before the deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage; and may we not expect to see as great a manifestation of the power of the Devil, just before the glorious deliverance of the saints? If Michael stood up in 1844, what power came 'to his end, and none to help him,' 'AT THAT TIME?'"⁶

So in 1847 the distinction between the two beasts of Revelation 13 had not yet been worked out.

3. REVELATION 13 TO 14:1-5 IS CONSECUTIVE.—White's "Thoughts on Revelation 14" discusses the sequence and continuity of events in Revelation 13 and 14.

⁵ James White, *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* p. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9. White consistently held the Papacy to be the power indicated in Dan. 11:45, the same as William Miller. From this position he never changed. See his "Where Are We?" *Review and Herald*, Oct. 3, 1878, p. 116; and "The Time of the End," *Signs of the Times*, July 22, 1880, p. 330. But he, like various writers, for a time connected the number 666 with the second beast (see also Otis Nichols' chart), though later with the first beast.

"The 13th chapter of Revelation, and the first five verses of the 14th, is one connected chain of past, present, and future events, down to complete redemption of the 144,000."⁷

4. REVELATION 14:6 FF.—SUCCESSIVE MESSAGES OF ADVENT TRUTH.—The message of the three angels he considered of primary importance.

"The 6th verse [of Revelation 14] commences a series of events, relative to the successive messages of holy advent truth. All classes of second advent believers agree, that the angel brought to view in the 6th and 7th verses of this chapter, represents the advent message, to the church and world. . . . The work of the second angel, was to show to the advent host that Babylon had fallen. And as a large portion of them did not learn this fact, until the power of the MIDNIGHT CRY waked them up, just in time for them to make their escape from the churches, before the 10th day came on; it follows, that the second angel brought us to the 7th month, 1844. The third angel's message was, and still is, a WARNING to the saints to 'hold fast,' and not go back, and 'receive' the marks which the virgin band got rid of, during the second angel's cry. And has not the true message for God's people, since the 7th month 1844, been just such a warning? It certainly has."⁸

However the "mark," or "marks," of the beast are not yet sharply defined.

"Some tell us that Babylon here, is the Roman Catholic church; but God's people were not in that church. The first message was to the churches, from about 1840 to 1843; and the second angel '*followed*,' therefore the message—'Babylon is fallen'—'Come out of her my people' was in 1844.—We heard it with our ears, our voices proclaimed it, and our whole being felt its power, and with our eyes we saw its effect, as the oppressed people of God burst the bands that bound them to the various sects, and made their escape from Babylon."⁹

5. BEAST AND 1260 YEARS: FROM 538 TO 1798.—There was no variation of view as to the first Beast and his special allotted period. It was ever and always the Papacy:

"The Papal beast that was to 'make war,' and 'wear out the saints of the most High,' 1260 years, from 538 to 1798 is the one mentioned by the third angel. The image beast has come up since that time, and both will be on the stage at the pouring out of the vials of God's wrath in the great day of the Lord."¹⁰

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

⁹ "The Third Angel's Message," *Present Truth*, April, 1850, p. 66.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* The "image beast" was still a matter of study. A specific interpretation of its identity was just dawning upon them.

6. KEY DATES OF 2300 YEARS REAFFIRMED.—All the Sab-batarians stood adamant on the dating of the 2300 years:

"A school boy, that can add and subtract, can see that if the seventy weeks commenced B.C. 457 as shown by the 'Herald,' the 2300 days certainly terminated in 1844. It was oft repeated in 1843, 'FIGURES WON'T LIE.' This is as true in 1850, as it was in 1843.

"Jesus caused the 'sacrifice and oblation to cease' in the 'midst' [middle] of the seventieth week by 'nailing it to the cross' in the spring of A.D. 31. To this add three years and a half, the last half of the seventieth week, and it brings us to the autumn of A.D. 34 for the termination of the seventy weeks, [490 years]. Then add 1810 years, the last part of the 2300, which reach to the cleansing of the sanctuary, and it brings us to the autumn of 1844."¹¹

7. HEAVENLY SANCTUARY TRODDEN UNDERFOOT.—White stood solidly with Crosier on the heavenly sanctuary as the one trodden underfoot (Dan. 8:11-14) when the "daily" was taken away. And from this he never veered. Because of this, his position is therefore recorded with some fullness:

"Those that teach that 'the promised land' is the Sanctuary must, therefore, admit that the words 'trodden under foot,' and 'trodden down,' are figurative expressions, and mean that the promised land has been overrun with 'the wicked agents of its desolation.' Then they should not object to our using the expressions figuratively, in applying the words 'trodden down' [Isa. lxiii, 18] to the typical Sanctuary, and the words 'trodden under foot' [Dan. viii, 13] to 'the true Tabernacle' or 'Sanctuary' in heaven.

"It may be said that the heavenly Sanctuary is not 'capable of being trodden under foot.' But we ask, is it not as capable of being trodden under foot as 'the Son of God,' who is the 'MINISTER' of the same Sanctuary? Says Paul:

"'Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath TRODDEN UNDER FOOT THE SON OF GOD, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of Grace.'—Heb. x, 29.

"We say, then, that the Sanctuary in heaven has been trodden under foot in the same sense that the Son of God has been trodden under foot. In a similar manner has the 'host,' the true church, also, been trodden down. Those who have rejected the Son of God have trodden him under foot, and of course have trodden under foot his Sanctuary.

"The Catholic Church have trodden under foot, not only the 'Holy

¹¹ *Ibid.*, May, 1850, p. 78 (brackets in the original). The "Herald" refers to a preceding extract from the *Advent Herald*, March 2, 1850; the same extract is also quoted in the *Review and Herald*, December, 1850, p. 14.

City,' but the Sanctuary, and its Minister, or Priest, 'the Son of God.' Rome has been called 'the Holy City,' and the 'Eternal City,' which can only be said of the City of the living God, the New Jerusalem.

"The Pope has professed to have 'power on earth to forgive sins,' which power belongs alone to Christ. The people have been taught to look to 'the man of sin,' seated in his temple, or as Paul says—'so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God,' &c.—instead of looking to Jesus, seated at the right hand of the Father, in the heavenly Sanctuary. In thus turning away from Jesus, who alone could forgive sins, and give eternal life, and in bestowing on the Pope such titles as MOST HOLY LORD, they have 'trodden under foot the Son of God.' And in calling Rome the 'Eternal City,' and the 'Holy City,' they have trodden down the City of the living God, and the heavenly Sanctuary. The 'host,' the true church that have looked to Jesus in the true Sanctuary for pardon of sins, and eternal life, has, as well as their Divine Lord and his Sanctuary, been trodden under foot. Yes, the true worshipers have been rejected and persecuted, and some of the brightest 'stars,' or gospel ministers, in the church have been 'stamped upon' by the little horn."¹²

So in 1851 James White held the unvarying position that the treading down of the sanctuary and the taking away of the "daily" typified the daring career of the Little Horn of Daniel 8. He also remarks that those Protestants who rejected the idea of the heavenly sanctuary and applied it to the holy land must, in order to be consistent, allow a typical sanctuary, since they believe in a figurative treading underfoot.

8. TWO-HORNED BEAST SYMBOLIZES "OUR NATION."—By 1851 White was convinced that the second, or two-horned, beast of Revelation 13 was a symbol of the United States, with its Protestant and Republican characteristics.

"We confess that we know not where to look for this beast with its two lamb-like horns, but in our own country. The rise of our own nation, with its two leading principles, Protestantism and Republicanism, answers the prophetic description of the beast 'coming up out of the earth' having 'two horns like a lamb.' "¹³

"*The two LAMB-LIKE horns.* The mildness and youth of this power seem to be indicated by its lamb-like horns. These, we understand, represent the civil and religious powers of this nation—its Republican civil power, and its Protestant ecclesiastical power."¹⁴

¹² James White, Editorial, "Our Present Position," *Review and Herald*, January, 1851, pp. 28, 29. (Brackets in the original.)

¹³ James White, Editorial, "The Angels of Rev. xiv," No. 1, *Review and Herald*, Aug. 19, 1851, p. 12.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 4, Dec. 23, 1851, p. 69.

9. IMAGE CAUSED TO SPEAK AND ACT.—The Image and its tyrannical acts were also clear:

"As the two-horned beast causes the image to be made, and gives it life, we conclude that it can be no other than the Protestant churches clothed with authority 'to speak,' as the Papal church has done and to carry its decrees into execution by laws and severe penalties."¹⁵

10. REVELATION 18:1-4—MESSAGE YET FUTURE.—To White the Revelation 18 repetition of the "Babylon" message of Revelation 14:7 was still future, but represents a time of further rejection of truth.

"In our last we gave some reasons for believing that the nominal churches of the present day are the Babylon of Rev. xiv, 8; xviii, 2, and that her fall is a moral change, and not her final destruction. We now design to point out that fall, and show that Rev. xiv, 8 and xviii, 1-4, do not represent one and the same message, but that Chap. xiv, 8 applies in the past, and that the message of Chap. xviii, 1-4 is yet to be given."¹⁶

11. DANIEL 12:4—RUNNING TO AND FRO WITH PROPHECY.—Great running "to and fro" before the end was a *searching back and forth in prophecy*, and the increase of knowledge was of *prophecy*, and the sending forth of the message of the approaching advent:

"*'Many shall run to and fro.'* This was to be fulfilled in the time of the end, when the prophecy of Daniel should be unsealed, and knowledge should be increased relative to the end of the wonders.—With this knowledge, which is the truth relative to the coming and kingdom of Christ, many of the servants of God have, for the last twelve years, run to and fro in the land to proclaim the glad tidings that Christ was coming. In 1843 and 1844, there were several hundred ministers from the different churches, devoting their whole time to this subject; besides as many more who had never before preached, who left their farms, shops and stores to proclaim the coming of the Lord. And as they went out on their heavenly mission from city to city, and from town to town, they crossed each other's track, as they 'ran to and fro' to sound the alarm."¹⁷

12. EACH MESSAGE DISCERNED WHEN PROCLAIMED.—The three messages of Revelation 14, he says, were perceived as the time of their application or promulgation became due:

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁶ James White, Editorial, "Babylon," *Review and Herald*, June 24, 1852, p. 82 [i.e., 28].

¹⁷ James White, "Signs of the Times," *Review and Herald*, Aug. 11, 1853, p. 55. See Appendix A.

"When the first message of Rev. xiv, was being given, what did we know of the second and third? We had no just views of them. When they became *present truth*, all was made plain. Now to engage in a full exposition of the fourth and fifth messages of Rev. xiv, we should probably commit as many errors as those who attempted an exposition of the third message twelve years since. Then let us concentrate our efforts on the present message, and do the work God requires of us as a people at this time."¹⁸

13. MARRIAGE OF LAMB—WHEN THRONE AND CAPITAL RECEIVED.—The sequence of the last events before the advent was a matter of earnest study and increasing conviction. The new earth was dear to his heart:

"The Throne of the Fifth Universal Kingdom will be in the New Jerusalem, the metropolis of that Kingdom, hence when Christ is united to that Throne, he receives the City as the Capital of the Kingdom, therefore in the marriage of the Lamb, the Holy City is represented as the Bride.

"Christ receives the title and office of King, and receives the Throne, and the Capital of the Fifth Kingdom, which is called the marriage of the Lamb, before his second coming to destroy his enemies, and raise from the dead, and change to immortality, the subjects of the Kingdom. To this agrees the word of the Lord, as we shall now show."¹⁹

14. CAUTION CONCERNING UNFULFILLED PROPHECY.—White gave wholesome counsel against attempting to prophesy or prognosticate on unfulfilled prophecy before it comes to pass. This was particularly true of the Eastern question. He later wrote:

"But in exposition of unfulfilled prophecy, where the history is not written, the student should put forth his propositions with not too much positiveness, lest he find himself straying in the field of fancy.

"There are those who think more of future truth than of present truth. They see but little light in the path in which they walk, but think they see great light ahead of them.

"Positions taken upon the Eastern question are based upon prophecies which have not yet their fulfillment. Here we should tread lightly, and take positions carefully, lest we be found removing the landmarks fully established in the advent movement. It may be said that there is a general agreement upon this subject, and that all eyes are turned toward the war now in progress [in 1877] between Turkey and Russia as the fulfill-

¹⁸ James White, "Unfulfilled Prophecy," *Review and Herald*, April 3, 1855, p. 204.

¹⁹ James White, "The Marriage of the Lamb," *Review and Herald*, Feb. 21, 1856, p. 165.

ment of that portion of prophecy which will give great confirmation of faith in the soon loud cry and close of our message. But what will be the result of this positiveness in unfulfilled prophecies should things not come out as very confidently expected, is an anxious question."²⁰

15. PAPACY THE LAST POWER OF DANIEL 11.—The year following White repeats his position at the General Conference of 1878 and, following his impressive succession of "if's," comes to certain emphatic conclusions. Differing from Smith's later views on the latter part of Daniel 11, he found a distinct parallel between this chapter and Daniel 2, 7, and 8. White's position in 1877 and his line of reasoning are as follows:

"Let us take a brief view of the line of prophecy four times spanned in the book of Daniel. It will be admitted that the same ground is passed over in chapters two, seven, eight, and eleven, with this exception that Babylon is left out of chapters eight and eleven. We first pass down the great image of chapter two, where Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome are represented by the gold, the silver, the brass, and the iron. All agree that these feet are not Turkish but Roman. And as we pass down, the lion, the bear, the leopard, and the beast with ten horns, representing the same as the great image, again all will agree that it is not Turkey that is cast into the burning flame, but the Roman beast. So of chapter eight, all agree that the little horn that stood up against the Prince of princes is not Turkey but Rome. In all these three lines thus far Rome is the last form of government mentioned.

"Now comes the point in the argument upon which very much depends. Does the eleventh chapter of the prophecy of Daniel cover the ground measured by chapters two, seven, and eight? If so, then the last power mentioned in that chapter is Rome."²¹

And again, in a General Conference session sermon almost a year later, he said:

"There is a line of historic prophecy in chapter eleven, where the symbols are thrown off, beginning with the kings of Persia, and reaching down past Grecia and Rome, to the time when that power 'shall come to his end, and none shall help him.' If the feet and ten toes of the metallic image are Roman, if the beast with ten horns that was given to the burning flames of the great day be the Roman beast, if the little horn which stood up against the Prince of princes be Rome, and if the same field and distance are covered by these four prophetic chains, then the last power

²⁰ James White, Editorial, "Unfulfilled Prophecy," *Review and Herald*, Nov. 29, 1877, p. 172.

²¹ *Ibid.*

of the eleventh chapter, which is to 'come to his end and none shall help him,' is Rome. But if this be Turkey, as some teach, then the toes of the image of the second chapter are Turkish, the beast with ten horns of the seventh chapter represents Turkey, and it was Turkey that stood up against the Prince of princes of the eighth chapter of Daniel. True, Turkey is bad enough off; but its waning power and its end is the subject of the prophecy of John and not of Daniel."²²

V. First Sabbath School Lessons Include Prophecy

The first set of Sabbath school lessons for the Sabbatarian Adventists was prepared by James White in 1852, and publication began with the very first (August) issue of the *Youth's Instructor*. These lessons were a blend of doctrinal and practical truths—including the Sabbath, sanctuary, law of God, life of Christ, and second advent. They were not in question-and-answer form, but carried questions at the end of each lesson discussion. But White soon found that he did not have time to continue writing lessons.²³ In the issue of February, 1853, beginning with Lesson 20, he launches a series on the prophecies of Daniel, from J. V. Himes's 1844 "Berean's Assistant," which he endorsed. In effective question-and-answer form, these cover Daniel 1:1 to 8:12 (June, 1853), and follow the established Millerite seventh-month movement exposition of these basic prophetic outlines and their related time periods.

Then from August, 1853, onward, the paper carries a new series of lessons by Uriah Smith. These cover the Old Testament sanctuary and the daily and yearly phases of its ritual, climaxing in the Day of Atonement, all of this symbolizing the mediation of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary, beginning with the time when He became our all-sufficient Sacrifice and High Priest and ending with the final phase of His ministry, in connection with the cleansing of the sanctuary spoken of by Daniel.

Following a year's gap without lessons, Roswell F. Cottrell contributed a series (August, 1854-July, 1855) on the command-

²² James White, "Where Are We?" *Review and Herald*, Oct. 3, 1878, p. 116. (From sermon on Sabbath preceding General Conference session.)

²³ Traveling part of the time, White wrote some of these lessons with his lunch box resting on his knee as his desk. But he was unable to continue beyond the first five issues. (See *Youth's Instructor*, February, 1853, p. 39; July, 1853, p. 80; editorial, "The Instructor," September, 1854, p. 68.)

ments of God and the faith of Jesus, ending with signs of the second advent, the 2300 years, and the three angels' messages.

That was the essential content and scope of the first systematic Sabbath school lessons, including a large proportion of lessons on prophecy, for the young people of the developing church, written between 1852 and 1855.

Studies Cluster Around Third Message

As we trace the interpretation of the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation over the formative years of the Sabbatarian Adventists, we will find certain transitions, and see the development, ere long, of an integrated and balanced exposition upon which they became united as a group. From this essential platform they have never departed. Subsequent changes were more along the line of correction of minor matters. And with it all was the growing perception of the still unfulfilled or fast fulfilling end-portions of the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse—the final sections pertaining to the great consummation in these latter days. This they believed to be in harmony with the principle enunciated by the Master, that only when the prophecies “come to pass,” and are fulfilled historically, can one see the fullness of their intent and match the prophecies with their historical accomplishments.¹

The discovery and affirmation of truth was the sole objective throughout this early period of intensive study of doctrine and prophecy. There were no precedents to disturb or deter, no traditions to fear or uphold, and no danger of creating misunderstanding on the part of the brethren—for all were seeking truth. As a result, the advances were noteworthy, and certain of these early expositions have never been surpassed to

¹ In the very nature of the case there will be certain repetitions as the positions of individual leaders are reviewed, for their views were quite similar. But in no other way can the ground be comprehensively covered. Portions of this chapter, and the next, are therefore more for record and reference in the field of interpretation than for advances in interpretation.

this day. We now note briefly the expositions of Rhodes, Nichols, Edson, Arnold, Holt, Case, Cottrell, Andrews, and Cornell. Others will follow in succeeding chapters. The growing pains of the early years of the developing movement soon gave way to the sturdiness of youth and in time to the strength of maturity. The new 1850 and 1863 prophetic charts enter the picture. Progression becomes apparent, as improvements of the second chart will indicate.

I. Rhodes and Nichols—Produce Earliest Sabbatarian Chart

Ardent and energetic SAMUEL W. RHODES² of Oswego, New York, was one of the publishing committee of five responsible for the *Advent Review* issued throughout 1850. More than that, he has the distinction of designing the first illustrated prophetic chart on the symbols of Daniel and the Revelation, issued by the Sabbatarian Adventists. He showed it to the Whites in August, 1850. They were highly pleased with it, and encouraged its publication.³ So this early venture had representative backing.

Then OTIS NICHOLS,⁴ engraver of Dorchester, Massachusetts, a Boston suburb, published this first pictorial chart to be brought out after the Disappointment. Lithographed at Boston, in December, 1850,⁵ it differs but little in general outline from the positions of the Millerites taught during the seventh-month movement—except in the expanded treatment of the sanctu-

² SAMUEL W. RHODES (1813-1883), called by Spalding a "blazing star," had been in the Millerite movement, in which he was a successful evangelist. He was warmhearted and vigorous, but sometimes a bit impetuous. He was won to the Sabbatarian faith by Hiram Edson, and was aggressive and successful in meeting fanaticism. Restless by nature, he went out to Michigan to evangelize for his faith, and to the Northwest as well, rendering valuable service. He was also a frequent writer in the *Review*. One of his converts was Hiram S. Case of White Plains, New York, who had been a preacher in the 1844 message. Rhodes also helped to win J. N. Loughborough. (Spalding, *Footprints*, pp. 149-155; Rhodes, Letter in *Review and Herald*, Dec. 23, 1851, p. 69.)

³ E. G. White, Letter to Stockbridge Howland and wife, Aug. 15, 1850; see also James and E. G. White, Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Loveland, Nov. 1, 1850.

⁴ OTIS NICHOLS (n.d.), early Sabbatarian expositor who had also been in the 1844 movement, was evidently the first to write to William Miller after the Disappointment, giving a terse explanation of the Sabbatarian positions then being developed on the sanctuary, Sabbath, and Spirit of prophecy. This he did on the back of the first E. G. White broadside, "To the Remnant Scattered Abroad." As an engraver he produced this first prophetic chart. (*Present Truth*, November, 1850, p. 88; *Review and Herald*, January, 1851, p. 31.) He was also an agent for the Adventist publications.

⁵ "A Pictorial Illustration of the Visions of Daniel & John and Their Chronology." See *Present Truth*, November, 1850, p. 88; *Review and Herald*, January, 1851, p. 31. Price was \$1.50. Some 300 copies were issued.



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THE TWENTY-THREE HUNDRED DAYS

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THE FIVE WEEK.



THE TEN THOUSAND



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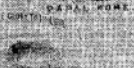
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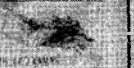
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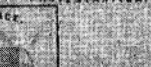
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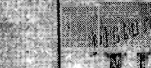
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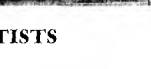
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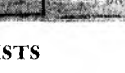
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THE SEVENTY WEEKS



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VISIONS
OF
DANIEL & JOHN
SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
BATTLE CREEK, MICHIGAN

ary and the flight of the third angel. About 30 by 44 inches, it is arranged in four vertical columns. The second column, which is rather narrow, is confined to chronological data, while the three larger ones deal systematically with the symbols. (Facsimile reproduction appears on opposite page.)

Here were its features: The metallic image of Daniel 2, at the left, is matched on its right by the four beasts of Daniel 7 (both symbolizing the prophetic series of the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and pagan Roman empires). The Little Horn of Daniel 7 is "papal Rome," with its 1260 years terminating in "1798-9," "just 1290 years after paganism lost its CIVIL POWER." Then appear the three flying angels of Revelation 14:6-12 (respectively dated 1837, 1843, and 1844), followed by the coming of Christ in the clouds with a sickle in hand. An angel issues from the temple crying, "Thrust in Thy sickle and reap," while a second angel comes with a sickle, and a third bears the commission to gather the grapes of wrath for the wine press of God. There is also inserted a pictorial diagram of the two apartments of the sanctuary and their appurtenances, as "TYPES of the Ministration of our great High Priest in the heavenly holy places."

The second column begins with the "7 times" beginning in 677 B.C., previously stressed by the Millerites. Then follow the 2300 years, beginning jointly with the 70 weeks in 457 B.C.; the league between the Jews and the Romans (still mistakenly given as 158 B.C.); the cross, in the "midst" of the seventieth week, dated A.D. 31, and the related close of the 70 weeks placed in A.D. 34; the "daily" taken away in A.D. 508, and the Papacy set up in 538, with the papal dominion taken away in 1798; and the 2300 years ending in 1844, with the close of the first phase of Christ's ministration, that in the holy place.

The third column begins the 2300 years in the time of the Persian ram, followed by the Grecian goat, with the exceeding great horn that developed as Rome in its pagan and papal phases. Then follow the seven-headed great red dragon of Revelation 12, pagan Rome, and the ten-horned beast from

the sea, papal Rome. But the two-horned beast from the earth is here called the "image of Papacy." Its two horns, originally designated as "papist and protestant," are revised to "REPUBLICANISM & PROTESTANTISM."⁶ The "666," however, is still curiously represented as connected with the second beast, with reference to the enforcement of its mark, which is not here explicitly defined.

In the last column are pictured the three angels heralding the three woe trumpets. The first—involving the "Mahometans"—dated 1299 to 1449; and the second woe as the Ottoman supremacy for 391 years and 15 days, extends to August 11, 1840. The second woe being past, the third woe would come quickly, following 1844, which woe would, in turn, bring on the seven last plagues. And then the kingdoms of this world would become the kingdom of Christ the Lord.

The closing explanation pertains to the year-day principle; a "prophetic year or time is 360 days denoting, years"—the "7 times" are 2520 years, and the three and one half times constitute 1260 years. The seven times of the Gentiles (2520 years) are again dated from 677 B.C. to A.D. 1843, and the "daily" is recorded as ending in "508-9" (which also dates the beginning of the 1290 years). And after an interval of 30 years, the 1260 years are noted as leading to "1798-9," with the additional 45 years (of the 1335 years) from "1798-9" to 1844.⁷

Produced in this formative transition hour, this Rhodes-Nichols chart reflected certain still doubtful dates and periods which were soon dropped—such as the "seven times," 158 B.C. for the date of the league between the Jews and the Romans, and particularly the number "666" as covering the two beasts. But it was the first attempt, and served all the Sabatarian Adventist preachers for a time. Corrections came gradually in a work of this kind.

⁶ It was originally printed "The two lamb like horns, the papist and protestant, whose names number 666, . . . cause it to make themselves the IMAGE of papacy." The pasted corrections have partly disintegrated, allowing the original to be deciphered.

⁷ Printed as "1845," but the final 5 shows a spot resembling those on the two-horn correction. Evidently it had been similarly corrected to 1844 and the pasted digit is gone. The other end dates read 1844.

II. Otis Nichols' Interpretation of Key Positions

The development of Revelation 13-17 in detail as the special new area of study and emphasis is seen in these points discussed by Nichols according to the sequence of publication, between 1851 and 1853.

1. REVELATION 13—CRISIS FROM IMAGE YET FUTURE.—In 1851 he explicitly explains the two-horned beast of Revelation 13:11-18 as the "Protestant Republic of the United States." This was his explanation of the two beasts, after the chart had been produced:

"The burden of the 'loud voice,' so far as the worship of the 'image' is concerned, is yet future. The 'image' is an institution which receives its life and power from the two-horned beast, the Protestant Republic of the United States. It is an image, or a *likeness* to the beast which received a wound by the sword.

"The beast that received 'a deadly wound' is called 'the *first beast*.' Rev. xiii, 12. It is described briefly in verses 5-10. It was the *union of the ecclesiastical and civil bodies, under a supreme ecclesiastical head*, the Pope; or, in other words, it was the Papal church *instituted with the supremacy, the highest authority, or 'dominion.'*"⁸

2. BABYLON—CATHOLIC MOTHER AND HER DAUGHTERS.—In discussing an 1844 article from the *Voice of Truth* on mother Babylon and her Protestant daughters, he speaks of this mother-and-daughter relationship:

"The '*great city*' I understand symbolizes the church incorporated, and united to the state. Both the Catholic and Protestant are included. Its primitive existence commenced with the Catholic church, the '*mother*.' The Catholic church as a '*mother*,' or parent, exercised its authority during its appointed time, 1260 years. Then her *daughters* came on the stage, and as her children have been growing in strength, influence and power, the mother's power has been diminishing, as our parents naturally do, through enfeeblement by age. Take them as a whole, mother and children, they are one family, 'that great city, Babylon' Rev. xviii."⁹

3. POWER VESTED IN PAPACY DURING 1260 YEARS.—Nichols contends for the papal control of the European nations during the 1260 years.

⁸ Otis Nichols, Letter to the editor, *Review and Herald*, Sept. 2, 1851, p. 22. This was much more specific than on the chart he engraved for Rhodes.

⁹ Nichols, "Babylon," *Review and Herald*, Jan. 13, 1852, p. 75.

"During this period of time, [the 1260 years] the woman was seated upon the beast, held the reins, dictated, guided, and was the *mouth* of the beast, (chap. xiii, 5,) had the '*dominion*' and *reigned* over the (ten) kings of the earth. The history of the Catholic church proves this to be literally true. She did actually have dominion over the crowned kings and emperors."¹⁰

4. REVELATION 17—HATING THE "WHORE" ANTEDATES REVOLUTION.—The "hating" of the apostate church is thought to be before 1798:

"Rev. xvii, 16, 17, shows conclusively the chronology of the 'whore' seated upon the beast, as it is described in verses 3-6, to be *previous* to 1798. 'The ten horns shall *hate* the *whore*, make her desolate, &[c]. For God hath put in their hearts to fulfill his will.' This has been literally true with regard to the Papal church supremacy. For the last 50 years the ten kingdoms have hated the *temporal dominion* of the Pope, who is the head of the Catholic church. The reign of Napoleon made her desolate and naked; 'for God put in their hearts,' to do this, to 'fulfill his will.'"¹¹

5. REVELATION 12—JUSTINIAN CONFERS SEAT, POWER, AUTHORITY.—Justinian's part in the spiritual establishment of the Papacy in 538 was this:

"The Emperor Justinian became the *head* of the civil and ecclesiastical governments, and consequently was the instrumentality, and mouth of the dragon, that gave the beast his seat, and power, and great authority. . . . 'The dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority.' Chap. xii, 2, 5, 7. The Emperor Justinian (who was the chief executive of the eastern empire of Rome) made the bishop of Rome the head of all the churches, in A.D. 538; and he gave him his seat, (Rome,) and the supreme authority over the church 'in all nations, and tongues,' to dictate and discipline, according to his will, in matters of religion, and chastise or put to death such as would not obey the dictates of the church of Rome; and the civil governments were subservient in executing the mandates of the Pope."¹²

6. DANIEL 11—VERSES 40-45 APPLIED TO EUROPE.—The prime place occupied by the Papacy in European affairs throughout the Middle Ages and up to the closing scenes, but involving France, is put in this way:

"Since the days of Pagan Rome, the little horn, Papacy, has been the principal noted power referred to in the prophecy of Daniel's visions.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Nichols, "The Dragon, the Beast, and the False Prophet." *Review and Herald*, March 2, 1852, p. 99.

Chapters vii, viii, xi, 32-39. Verses 40-45 refers more particularly to the doings of France, as that nation had the ascendancy from 'the time of the end' in A.D. 1798, and effected the reversion of the Papal power, and subjected the Pope to its dictation. . . . Thus France has been the principal acting power in all the important events that have affected the little horn. And it remains to be seen whether France, under the reign of Napoleon III, in confederacy with the Pope and his priesthood, will be the principal actors, on the one part, in the closing scenes of 'the little horn that waxed exceeding great,' when it 'shall come to its end with none to help.' Dan. xi, 44, 45."¹³

7. DANIEL 11:45—ENGLAND BELIEVED "KING OF NORTH."
—Nichols differed from most of the early Sabbatarians in suggesting Protestant England as the specific king of the north, with papal France as king of the south:

"As the empire of France, under Napoleon III, is viewed with alarm and jealousy by England and Russia, the *northern* and *eastern* powers of Europe, it is not improbable that 'tidings out of the *east* and out of the *north*' may trouble him; [verse 44,] the French empire confederate with the Pope. England stands at the head of the Protestants in Europe, 'the king of the north,' France now stands as the head of the Papal power, 'the king of the south, and Russia is the power of the Greek church in the east,—the three divided parts of the great city, Babylon.'" ¹⁴

So, while the early 1850's show definite advances, there are yet many details they are still studying and seeking to clarify.

III. Bates—Pagan Rome, Papal Europe, and Protestant America

In general, Joseph Bates gave the standard interpretation to the various prophecies of Daniel ¹⁵ and the usual exposition of the seven churches of Revelation 2 and 3—although Laodicea, he felt, was nominal Adventism since the Albany Conference of April, 1845.¹⁶ And he held to the Litch exposition of the trumpets.¹⁷

In addition to the Bates oral presentations at the Sabbath conferences, and what he printed in his Sabbath tract on the

¹³ Nichols, "Papacy and France," *Review and Herald*, Jan. 20, 1853, p. 142.

¹⁴ Ibid. (Brackets in the original.)

¹⁵ See his articles in the *Review and Herald*, 1851-1854, also his tracts, *The Opening Heavens*, *A Seal of the Living God*, *Way Marks and High Heaps*.

¹⁶ Joseph Bates, *An Explanation of the Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary*, p. 13; Bates, "Our Labors in the Philadelphian and Laodicean Churches," *Review and Herald*, Aug. 19, 1851, p. 14.

¹⁷ Bates, *A Seal of the Living God*, p. 7.

papal Little Horn, Roman Catholicism's change of the Sabbath in Daniel 7:25, and the "mark" of the papal Beast of Revelation 14 in connection with the three angels' messages, note should be taken of his early published position on the three powers in Revelation 12 and 13, in which he accorded with his Sabbatarian companions. Four extracts, in 1851, must suffice for this survey.

1. REVELATION 12 AND 13—DRAGON, PAGAN ROME; BEAST, PAPACY.—His was the standard, commonly accepted position on pagan and papal Rome and the 1260 years, with the Papacy as the seventh head of the Beast. Here is his terse coverage:

"The dragon denotes the imperial power of Rome. The beast with seven heads, Papal Rome, or Popery. 'His power, seat and great authority,[] Justinian, the emperor of Rome, clothing his head bishop with authority to become the Pope of Rome in A.D. 533. Horns, civil power. Wounded to death, the seventh head or form of government overthrown. Wound healed, the seventh form restored. John in vision saw the Papal power of Rome coming up among the nations of Europe in A.D. 538, with power to continue forty-two months. [1260 years.] At the expiration of this period 'one (the seventh) of his heads is wounded to death.' By adding 1260 years to A.D. 538, we come down to A.D. 1798, at which period the French nation conquered Rome, and destroyed the seven-headed power, or Papal Rome. Thus that government was wounded to death."¹⁸

2. REVELATION 13—HEALING OF WOUND IN 1815.—With others Bates felt for a time that the wound from the French sword received in 1798 was now healed:

"At length after all the ruling powers of Europe had conquered France, and exiled their leader, and had signed treaties of peace with one another on both sides of the Atlantic, in A.D. 1815, then a general restoration of dominions, kingdoms and thrones took place in which Rome, with its Pope, was once more reinstated in its ancient domain, with civil and ecclesiastical power.—From thence it would seem that the deadly wound was healed."¹⁹

3. IMAGE—TO BE ESTABLISHED IN NORTH AMERICA.—There was likewise unanimity of view by this time that the

¹⁸ Bates, "The Beast With Seven Heads." *Review and Herald*, Aug. 5, 1851, p. 3. (Period bracketed in the original.)

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

two-horned, lamblike beast of Revelation 13:11 centers in the Protestant United States:

"The location of this corrupt and fallen Protestant church, which is to be the image to the beast, cannot be in Europe, because there is the location of the beast with the seven heads, and ten horns. Then shall we not search in vain, if we seek for it beyond the limits of the United States of North America? The land of light, where the first and second angels' messages were given, proclaiming the Second Advent of the Saviour. And where also the third angel's message is *now* going forth, waxing stronger and stronger, with the solemn denunciation of destruction and death upon every one who worship the beast, and his image, and receive his mark in their foreheads, or in their hands.—How can the location of the two-horned beast, and the image which he makes, be found any where beyond the very spot of country where God in mercy is moving out his messengers to give the warning?"²⁰

The seven last plagues are still future, and precede the second advent.²¹

4. REVELATION 17 AND THE MILLENNIUM.—On most other features, Bates held to the standard expositions perfected under the Millerite movement, which in turn were drawn from the ablest commentators of Reformation and post-Reformation times. The Babylon of the Apocalypse is the professed Christian churches, with a form of godliness.²² Bates's view of Revelation 20 is strictly premillennial.²³ And according to Bates, this earth, made new at the close of the thousand years, will become the eternal home of the redeemed—the paradise of God restored—with the New Jerusalem and its many "mansions" as the capital of this everlasting kingdom in the Promised Land, where our Lord was crucified.²⁴

IV. 1863 White Chart Becomes the Standard Exposition

For some time James White had felt the need of an improved, cloth-backed prophetic chart for the use of the Sabatarian ministers in their public evangelism and for Bible

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Bates, "The Laodicean Church," *Review and Herald*, November, 1850, p. 8.

²² Bates, "A Consecutive View of the Prophecies Concerning the Kingdom of God and Its Establishment on the Earth," *Review and Herald*, Sept. 4, 1856, p. 138.

²³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1856, p. 130; Sept. 11, 1856, p. 145.

²⁴ Joseph Bates, *The Opening Heavens*.

studies in the home. He designed it himself, and arranged for it to be competently made by lithograph process in Boston. The *Review and Herald* of October 6, 1863, describes it as "much improved in arrangement" over the former chart. The cost of the charts and key was \$3,000 (for which White borrowed the money). The price was announced as \$3.50 and \$4.00 a set (including the companion Ten-Commandment chart). It bore the legend: "A Pictorial Illustration of the Visions of Daniel and John, Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, Battle Creek, Michigan. J. H. Bufford's Lith., Boston."²⁵

The charts were called for faster than they could be supplied, though by December 29 White stated they hoped now to fill all orders. On February 2, 1864, he reported that the charts were being received "with satisfaction." And on March 15 announcement was made of an accompanying *Key to the Prophetic Chart*, as now available, written by Uriah Smith (but representing the joint exposition of headquarters leaders). This issue of March 15 quotes Bates as saying, "The charts appear to be perfect. . . . The explanation by diagram of the 2300 days is simple and very plain."²⁶

1. MARKED IMPROVEMENT OVER 1850 CHART.—The 1863 White chart was definitely an improvement over the 1850 Rhodes-Nichols chart, which was cluttered with detail both in the symbols and in the text. White's chart was materially simplified and matured. There was omission of speculative details marking the earlier transition hour. They had now found their stride in exposition. Problematical items were dropped out, and emphasis was confined to the basic outlined and established fundamentals. It was so well designed, in fact, that it became standard for decades following.

2. AMPLIFIED EXPOSITION GIVEN IN SMITH'S "KEY."—The forty-six-page *Key to the Prophetic Chart*, prepared by Uriah

²⁵ William C. White, "Sketches and Memories of James and Ellen G. White," part 39, *Review and Herald*, Dec. 10, 1936, pp. 7-9.

²⁶ *Review and Herald*, March 15, 1864, p. 128.

Smith, but representing the exposition prevalent among the Seventh-day Adventist leaders in 1864, adheres strictly to the outline of the White chart. But it amplifies each feature, giving further descriptions, dates, and details, citing authorities (such as Croly, Clarke, Prideaux, and Hales) and making specific applications. The image of Daniel 2 is paralleled by the four beasts from Babylon to Rome. The ten horns are listed, along with the three that were plucked up. And the 1260 years of the papal Little Horn are placed from A.D. 538 to 1798.

The Persian ram, the Grecian he-goat, and the remarkable horn (pagan and papal Rome) form another series in the prophetic "line upon line." And special stress is placed on the 2300 year-days of Daniel 8, with the 70 weeks "cut off" from the first part of it for the Jews, and starting with Ezra—both periods beginning together in 457 B.C., with the timing certified by the cross in the "midst" of the seventieth week (A.D. 27-34), and the longer period extending to 1844.

Then the sanctuary, portrayed in diagram, is expounded in the *Key* in type and antitype—the great antitypical reality not being the earth, the land of Canaan, or the church, but being in heaven. The features of the daily and yearly services are rehearsed, the last phase of Christ's priestly ministry in heaven beginning in 1844. And the three symbolic angels, heralding three successive messages, are followed by the appearance of heaven's "royal personage"—the Lord Jesus Christ.

The dragon, pagan Rome, the fourth supreme earthly kingdom, with the seven heads indicating the seven successive forms of government, gives its power to the Beast, or papal Rome, which matches the Little Horn of Daniel 7, developed out of the fourth or Roman Beast of that chapter. The Little Horn, or Beast, persecuting and blasphemous, continues in special power for 1260 years, this period closing with the captivity of the pope in 1798.

Then the two-horned beast, coming up at this time in the presence of the Old World papal power, but rising out of the "earth" in a quiet peaceable manner, was designated as "Prot-

estantism." It is gentle in character, its two lamblike horns standing for civil and religious power, or Protestantism and republicanism. There are no crowns on its horns. It is not monarchical—the *people* making the "image," or likeness, of the papal union of church and state. That was the accepted position by this time.

Finally, the three woe trumpets are listed, with the first as the 150-year period of torment by the Ottoman Turkish power from the well-known July 27, 1299, to 1449, and the second woe of greater severity for 391 years, from July 27, 1449, to Aug. 11, 1840. The third woe, the *Key* concludes, coming after the end of the 2300 days, involves the finishing of the mystery of God, when the dead are judged, the saints rewarded, and the destruction of those who corrupt the earth takes place, and the vials are poured out. Seven distinct lines of prophecy are thus covered, all converging in the end of all things,²⁷ which is set forth as drawing nigh. Such is the representative outline held by the leaders in 1863.

V. Edson—Fundamental Emphasis on Revelation 13 to 17

HIRAM EDSON, already noted, will be remembered as the first to begin reconstructive study following the Disappointment, leading out in group investigation on the question of the sanctuary in prophecy. This was in central New York. Because of his early prominence, we note his expositions in some detail. Edson held the standard view of the great outline prophecies of Daniel 2, 7, 8, and 9 with their related time periods,²⁸ as carried over from the seventh-month movement. But he thought Russia might be the king of the north, of Daniel 11:45.²⁹ And there was little variance in his view of the true and false churches of the Apocalypse and of the major time periods of the Revelation. He held the usual view on the trumpets³⁰

²⁷ On the back cover thirty-five tracts, pamphlets, and books are advertised, six of which are on prophecy, as covered in these chapters.

²⁸ Hiram Edson, "The Shortening of the Days," *Review and Herald*, July 30, 1867, p. 102.

²⁹ Unpublished Ms., "The Time of the End" (1849), p. 10.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6.

and believed the two-horned beast to be "Protestant Rome," with civil and ecclesiastical power, or civil and religious liberty, as the two horns.³¹

Here are a few items in the special area of his personal study in the early fifties, namely, of Revelation 13-17. Following along chronologically from 1850 to 1856, Edson's leading positions were these.

1. THE SARDIS, PHILADELPHIA, AND LAODICEA CHURCHES.—Edson's view, in 1850, on the last three of the seven churches was still quite circumscribed:

"All Advent believers know perfectly well that the Philadelphia Church, the Church of Brotherly Love, was made up of those who came out of the Sardis, or nominal Church in [the summer and autumn of] 1844, under the cry 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen.' They know, also, that the Laodicean Church is the next in order, and is the seventh and last stage of the Church, as brought to view in Rev. chapters ii, and iii. This church is made up of such as have become 'luke-warm,' and have left the Philadelphia Church of brotherly love, and are saying 'I am rich and increased in goods, and have need of nothing;' and know not that they are 'wretched and miserable, and poor and blind, and naked.'"³²

2. REVELATION 14—FIRST AND SECOND ANGELS' MESSAGES.—His view of the first two of the three messages is "standard":

"The first angel was a message of warning and mercy to the world, and nominal church. The rejection of this message, by the churches proved their FALL. This prepared the way for the second angel to follow, saying, 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city,' &c. This brought God's people out of Babylon, and made them a free people, and prepared them to receive and obey the third angel's message, which thy could not have obe[y]ed while in Babylon no more than Israel could have kept the Holy Sabbath, while they were bondmen and slaves in Egypt."³³

3. REVELATION 13—BEAST FROM SEA WOUNDED.—Edson held the "deadly wound" to have been given in, or following, 1798:

"The beast then, whose mark and worship we are to avoid, is the one with seven heads, and ten horns, of Chap. xiii, which made war

³¹ Edson, "An Appeal to the Laodicean Church," *Advent Review*, Extra, 1850, p. 9 (see also Edson, "The Times of the Gentiles," *Review and Herald*, Feb. 14, 1856, p. 153).

³² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

with the saints, and overcame them; and had power given him to continue forty and two months, 1260 years; at the end of which he received a deadly wound by a sword, and was led into captivity. This [wounding] was somewhere between 1798 and 1809, when a quarrel of no short standing, between Bonaparte and the Pope, reached its crisis."³⁴

4. TWO-HORNED BEAST FROM EARTH—PROTESTANT ROME.
—Edson's view of "Protestant Rome," probably centering in America, as symbolized by the two-horned beast, was in step with other Sabbatarians by this time:

"At this point [in 1809], John saw another beast COMING UP—not yet up, but coming up—having two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon. Now it is certain that this two horned beast does not apply to the reign of Bonaparte, for this good reason—that Bonaparte was then already in the height of his power. Neither did he ever exercise ALL the power of the Papal beast, or do the miracles to be accomplished by the two horned beast. . . .

"The two-horned beast is Protestant Rome, and is the seventh head. The two horns are civil and ecclesiastical power. The great and grand principle on which the Protestant churches have reared themselves was the right of liberty of conscience, and free toleration. This was, indeed, lamb-like. The civil power became deeply imbued with the same spirit. It protected, sustained, and upheld the churches in this principle. This was also lamb-like in the civil power. . . . 'And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him.' . . . So that by learning the history of the first beast, we may know what to expect from the latter, which 'exerciseth ALL the power of the first beast before him,' although he continues but a short space."³⁵

5. REVELATION 17—SEVEN HEADS BEGIN WITH BABYLON.
—It may be well to record the detailed enumeration of the seven heads, beginning with Babylon, as conceived by Edson:

"At this point the angel talks with John, and gives him an explanation of the seven heads and the ten horns. He says, the seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth. Some would tell us that these seven mountains are the seven literal hills of earth on which the city of Rome is built.—But how could one of those literal hills of earth be wounded to death by a sword, and then be healed again? This cannot be the correct view. . . .

"These texts seem to authorize us to go back to the head of gold or lion, Babylon, to count the seven heads:—Babylon, one; Medo-Persia, two; Grecia, three; Rome Imperial, four; Rome Kingly, five; Rome Papal, six;

³⁴ *Ibid.* The wound, he later thought, was healed by 1815. (Edson, "The Times of the Gentiles," *Review and Herald*, Jan. 24, 1856, p. 131.)

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

and Rome Protestant, or two-horned beast, seven. Said the angel to John, 'there are seven kings, five ARE FALLEN,' in the past, 'one is' present, (the sixth) 'and the other (the seventh), is not yet come,' but is COMING UP. (Two horned beast.)

"Mark this—John in vision, is standing at the end of the 1260 years of Papal rule, when he sees the two horned beast COMING UP.

"The beast that thou sawest, WAS and IS NOT, [because he is wounded as it were to death, and gone into captivity] and shall ascend [future] out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition.' Chap. xvii, 8. Again, 'And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the EIGHTH and is of the SEVEN, and goeth into perdition.' Verse 11. This is the image; it is the son of perdition."³⁶

6. REVELATION 14—EMPHASIS NOW ON THIRD MESSAGE.—His view of the Sabbath—heart of the third angel's message—likewise coincides with the other Sabbatarians, and his paralleling of the exodus and advent movements is interesting:

"So far as the third angel's message has been proclaimed, it is known that the burden of the message has been to restore the down trodden Sabbath commandment. This is the most *prominent* characteristic mark of those who are proclaiming the present truth. It is the seal or mark of the living God. But some require a thus saith the Lord, that the Sabbath is the seal. They might with equal propriety require the same of every sealing truth that has ever been proclaimed to man. But thank heaven, we have got a thus saith the Lord for the Sabbath seal. He has said by his prophet, Isa. viii, 16, speaking of the present crisis, 'Bind up the testimony, SEAL [or ratify] THE LAW among my disciples.' This could never be done while they were violating one precept of that law.

"Again, when the children of Israel had left Egypt, the first commandment urged on them was the Sabbath of the Lord our God. So, also, it was with us, after we got out of Babylon into the wilderness of the people, this side of 1844. Then it began to ring in our ears, 'How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws, for see that the Lord hath given you the Sabbath.[']"³⁷

7. TERMINUS OF 1335 YEARS MUST COINCIDE WITH 2300.—The relationship between the 1335- and 2300-year periods is the same as the Millerite seventh-month leaders taught:

"There was no mistake in the figures given on the chart for the beginning of the 2300 days, there must also of necessity be, and there was, a harmony of the dates of the 1260, the 1290, and the 1335 days with that of the 2300 days."³⁸

³⁶ *Ibid.* (Brackets in the original.)

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁸ Edson, "The Times of the Gentiles," *Review and Herald*, Jan. 10, 1856, p. 113.

This terminus he puts in 1843-1844. Edson also shares the Miller view in holding that both paganism and the Papacy are involved in Daniel 8:13.³⁹

8. DANIEL 11—POPE CONSIDERED THE WILLFUL KING.—Edson shared what was evidently the majority view at this time; namely, that the Papacy is the power of the latter part of Daniel 11, as Miller and James White had held it, and many others back to Reformation times. Russia might become the king of the north.

"The king, that is, the Pope or Papal king, should do according to his will, and exalt [']and magnify himself *above every god*,' that is to say, above every one of the kings of Europe, by holding all those kings under his dictation and control, claiming the right to crown and depose kings at his will, practicing and prospering in doing according to his will in this magnified, exalted station, TILL the indignation be ACCOMPLISHED. . . .

"Verses 36-39 [of Daniel 11] contain a catalogue of the acts and doings of the Papal king; and verse 40 foretells an event which should mark the time of the end, where the indignation would cease; viz., 'And at the time of the end the king of the south shall push at him.' " ⁴⁰

But Russia might be the king of the north, of verse 45.⁴¹

9. 1260 YEARS—JUSTINIAN DECREE BECAME EFFECTIVE IN 538.—Edson clearly dates the beginning of the 1260 years from the 533 decree of Justinian, made effective A.D. 538, not from the uprooting of the opposing Ostrogothic power:

"In 538 the Papal form of government was established by the decree of Justinian being carried into effect. This was the dragon giving his power, his seat, and great authority, to the Papal beast. This decree clothed the Pope, the head of the church, with the civil power and the PURPLE AND SCARLET robe. The supremacy of the pope is limited in prophecy to 1260 years. Then the judgment was to sit and they should take away his dominion to consume and to destroy it unto the end. Add 1260 to 538 and it brings us to 1798." ⁴²

VI. Arnold—Agrees on Major Points, Differs on Minor

DAVID ARNOLD (1805-1889), of Mount Vernon, New York, united with the Methodist Church when sixteen. Later accept-

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 114 (see also January 17, p. 122).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁴¹ Edson, Ms., "The Time of the End" (1849), p. 10.

⁴² Edson, "The Times of the Gentiles," Jan. 24, 1856. p. 130.

ing the Adventist message, he joined in the proclamation of God's great judgment hour, and after the Disappointment soon accepted the Sabbatarian positions. The first conference of Sabbathkeeping Adventists in New York State was held in his barn in 1848, attended by about thirty leaders. He was made the first president of the New York Conference, and wrote considerably for the papers. His expositions were likewise essentially "standard," although he had a few individual views slightly different from the rest, at least at first.

1. SECOND PHASE OF CHRIST'S MEDIATION BEGAN OCTOBER 22.—All were united on the phases and the timing of Christ's ministry, or "continual ministration," in the heavenly sanctuary.

"Therefore, we are brought, by the force of circumstances, and the fulfilment of events, to the irresistible conclusion that, on the tenth day of the seventh month, (Jewish time), in the autumn of 1844, Christ did close his daily, or continual ministration or mediation in the first apartment of the heavenly sanctuary, and SHUT THE DOOR, which no man can open; and opened a door, in the second apartment, or Holiest of all, which no man can shut (see Rev. iii, 7, 8)." ⁴³

2. DANIEL 2—DIFFERS FROM STANDARD INTERPRETATION.—Arnold held, however, to the old fallacy on the two legs, as eastern and western Rome, for Daniel 2.

"A representation of four universal monarchies, comprising the Babylonian kingdom over which Nebuchadnezzar then reigned, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman in its eastern and western divisions, represented by the legs of iron. Its subsequent division into ten kingdoms, is represented by the ten toes of the image." ⁴⁴

3. DAILY SACRIFICE TAKEN AWAY BY TITUS.—Arnold did not, however, share the usual view of the little horn of Daniel 8, which he looked upon as the civil power of Rome, in contrast with ecclesiastical Little Horn of Daniel 7. And he made the "daily" neither paganism nor Christ's priestly mediation—two distinct views commonly held, but without enmity. Arnold evidently looked upon it as the Jewish sacrifices, and dated the

⁴³ David Arnold, "The Shut Door Explained," *Present Truth*, December, 1849, p. 45.

⁴⁴ Arnold, "Daniel's Visions, the 2300 Days, and the Shut Door," *Present Truth*, March, 1850, p. 59.

taking away at the death of Christ. This, however, was an isolated interpretation.

"He also sees the same oppressive power [Rome] 'standing up against the Prince of princes;' thus putting an end to the legality of all the daily sacrifices instituted at Sinai to be daily observed until the Seed should come. Here Christ, the substance, or great antitypical sacrifice was slain by the Roman soldiers. Thus by Rome 'the daily sacrifice was taken away,' and the place of his sanctuary was cast down by Titus, a Roman general, when he destroyed the city of Jerusalem, and the temple of God, which contained 'the sanctuary.'" ⁴⁵

There was obviously considerable latitude on this matter of the "daily." But Arnold stoutly refuted the first-day Adventist contentions for progressively later dates for the 2300 years, contending for 457 B.C. and A.D. 1844.

VII. Holt—Saints in Heaven; Earth Desolate During Millennium

GEORGE W. HOLT (1812-1877),⁴⁶ of Connecticut, was an Adventist minister under the first and second messages, and one of the earliest to embrace the new sanctuary and Sabbath positions. In 1850 he associated with James White in publishing the *Advent Review*, his name appearing on the publishing committee card. He traveled much in northeastern Canada, New York, and Ohio, helping to build up the constituencies, later pioneering in Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin. He did not write much, and two points in interpretation must suffice.

1. REVELATION 13—APPLIED 666 TO TWO-HORNED BEAST.—In 1850 Holt seems still unsettled as to the identity of the two-horned beast and the relationship of the "666" to the two-horned beast. He simply expresses an opinion:

"The Papal beast, having seven heads and ten horns is the one referred to; and I think the image, is the beast having 'two horns like a lamb,' but 'spake as a dragon.' His number is 666."⁴⁷

2. REVELATION 20—EARTH DESOLATE DURING THOUSAND YEARS.—Strictly premillennialist, as were all the Sabbatarian

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴⁶ Obituary, *Review and Herald*, Feb. 21, 1878, p. 83.

⁴⁷ George W. Holt, Letter in *Present Truth*, March, 1850, p. 64.

Adventists, Holt believed the resurrected and translated saints, in their immortalized state, will be with Christ in the heavenly Jerusalem throughout the thousand years, during which time the earth is desolate:

"When Jesus comes in the clouds of heaven, at the commencement of the 1000 years, the saints do not then come with him, but all the holy angels. The saints are then caught away to live and reign with him 1000 years. When this is fulfilled, at the commencement of the day of eternity the Lord God and all the saints with him come down in the Holy City, New Jerusalem and it is located upon the land here referred to.

"Satan gathers the whole host of Gog and Magog [the resurrected wicked] around the Beloved City, and Camp of the saints; the same host that have been deceived by him, and are still deceived, and they come up on the breadth of the old earth, that has been desolate 1000 years, to battle. Here they think to overcome the saints, and take the City; but to their great consternation they hear their final sentence pronounced: 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' " ⁴⁸

VIII. Case—Protestant Union of Church and State

HIRAM S. CASE, of Michigan,⁴⁹ had also preached the advent message during the 1844 movement, and later was won to the Sabbatarian faith by Samuel W. Rhodes. But before long he developed a highly critical spirit, and later dropped out of the movement. He is doubtless to be credited with clearly expressing the conviction—perhaps the first to be placed in print by a Sabbatarian Adventist—that the two-horned beast is Protestantism, with its republican features. However, various men were studying the same symbol at the same time, and were simultaneously coming to similar conclusions. Here is Case's November, 1850, pioneering statement on the two-horned beast power of church and state, an image of the papal union of church and state under the preceding Beast symbol:

"The two horned beast is the power of Church and State. It is an 'image' of the Papal Beast, to whom the dragon gave 'his power, and his seat, and great authority.' The Papal Beast was church and state united. An image must be like the thing imitated; therefore, the image-beast is

⁴⁸ Holt, "The Day of the Lord," *Review and Herald*, March 23, 1852, p. 107. (Brackets in second paragraph in original.)

⁴⁹ Biographical data lacking.

composed of church and state united—Protestant churches and Republicanism. The word of the Lord is plain.”⁵⁰

IX. Cottrell—Writes on “Mark” and “Rappings”

ROSWELL F. COTTRELL (1814-1892),⁵¹ of western New York State, was a descendant of the French Albigenes. His ancestors were among the founders of the first Seventh Day Baptist colony in Rhode Island. He was, in fact, brought up a Seventh Day Baptist, keeping the Sabbath all of his life. He was converted to the advent faith by Bates and Rhodes in 1851, at Washington, New Hampshire. He was a poet, especially noted as a hymn writer. His earliest contribution, soon after his accession, was his ironic poem on the Sabbath, “It’s Jewish!” He is better known for such hymns as “The Wonders of Redeeming Love,” and was an effective force as a writer and counselor. In 1851 he too was stressing the mark of the Beast as the counterfeit sabbath of Rome.⁵² And in 1853 he asserted that the current spirit rappings were of demonic origin, predicted in Revelation 16.⁵³

Soon after the founding of the *Youth’s Instructor*, Cottrell wrote a series of Sabbath school lessons on the law of God (August, 1854-January, 1855), and then on the faith of Jesus. The latter includes the precursors of the second advent, such as the dark day of 1780 and the falling stars of 1833, along with national troubles, widespread perplexities, war talk, and mounting anger of the nations (June, 1855). In July the 2300 years are discussed, and the series ends with the three messages of Revelation 14. The first was Miller’s judgment-hour proclamation at the end of the 2300 years; and the second message, against the ascendancy of apostasy, and the form of godliness without the power, was given in 1844. And the third message is a “separating message” involving the commandments of the Beast *versus* the commandments of God. These three messages are to bring out the remnant people onto the apostolic platform—the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.

⁵⁰ H. S. Case, Letter of Sept. 15, 1850, in *Present Truth*, November, 1850, p. 83.

⁵¹ Obituary, *Review and Herald*, April 19, 1892, p. 253.

⁵² R. F. Cottrell, “Mark of the Beast,” *Review and Herald*, Oct. 7, 1851, p. 40.

⁵³ Cottrell, “Immortality—Spirit Rappings,” *Review and Herald*, Nov. 22, 1853, p. 157.

HISTORICAL EXPOSITORS OF THE 2 BEASTS OF REV. 13, AND THE 3 ANGELS OF REV. 14

FROM EARLIEST KNOWN REFERENCES TO MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

No.	Name	Date	Nation	Denom.	1st Beast	7th Head	REVELATION 13 2d Beast	Image	1st Angel	REVELATION 14 2d Angel	3d Angel
PRIOR TO THE REFORMATION											
1	Andreas of Casarea	632	Greek	—	Antichrist	—	False Prophet	—	—	—	—
2	Berengaud	9th cent.	—	—	Antichrist	—	His Preachers	—	—	—	—
3	Venerable Bede	725	Brit.	—	Man of Sin	—	—	Worshippers	—	—	—
4	Bernard of Clairvaux	1153	Fr.	—	Antichrist	—	—	—	—	—	—
5	Albertus Magnus	1206	Fr.	—	Antichrist	—	—	—	—	—	—
6	Waldenses	1120	Ital.	—	Roman Ch.	—	AC's Preachers	—	—	—	—
7	Joachim of Floris	1202	Ital.	—	Antichrist	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	Olive, Pierre Jean	1298	Fr.	—	Rome (Sec.)	—	Antichrist	—	Future	—	—
9	Ubertino of Casale	1259	Fr.	—	Antichrist	—	False Christians	—	—	—	—
10	Eberhard II, of Salzburg	1240	Aust.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	Matthias of Janow	1394	Bohem.	—	Papal AC	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	Wyclif, John	1384	Brit.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	Brute, Walter	14th cent.	Brit.	—	Pagan R.	—	Pontificate	—	—	—	—
14	Purvey, John	1428	Brit.	—	Papal AC	—	Hierarchy	—	Exposes AC	Evang. Preachers	Preachers vs. AC
15	Huss, John	1415	Bohem.	—	Papal AC	—	—	—	—	—	—
SIXTEENTH CENTURY											
16	Luther, Martin	1546	Ger.	—	Imper. R.	—	Papal Rome	—	—	—	—
17	Oslander, Andreas	1552	Ger.	—	Papacy	—	False Prophet	—	—	—	—
18	von Amsdorf, Nicolaus	1565	Ger.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	Anon. Com. on Rev.	—	Ger.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
20	Solis, Virgil	1567	Ger.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
21	Conradus, Alfontus	16th cent.	Ital.	—	Papal AC	—	—	—	—	—	—
22	Oecolampadius, Johann	1531	Swiss	—	—	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
23	Bullinger, Heinrich	1575	Swiss	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
24	Tyndale, William	1536	Brit.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
25	Joye, George	1553	Brit.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	Bale, John	1563	Brit.	—	Papal AC	—	Prelates	—	—	—	—
27	Iowell, Bp. John	1571	Brit.	—	Bp. of R.	—	—	—	—	—	—
28	Foxe, John	1587	Brit.	—	Pagan R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY											
29	Napier, John (Lord)	1617	Brit.	—	Roman Emp.	—	Papal AC	—	—	—	—
30	Brightman, Thomas	1607	Brit.	—	Imper. R.	—	Civil R.	—	Wyclif	—	—
31	Pareus, David	1622	Ger.	—	Imper. R.	—	Spiritual R.	—	Huss	—	—
32	Grotius, Hugo	1645	Dutch	—	Pagan R.	—	Cult of Magic	—	Wyclif-Huss	—	—
33	King James I	1625	Brit.	—	Papacy	—	Pope & Clergy	—	—	—	—
34	Mede, Joseph	1638	Brit.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
35	Tillinghast, John	1655	Brit.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
36	Goodwin, Dr. Thomas	1680	Brit.	—	Papal AC	—	—	—	—	—	—
37	Sherwin, William	1687	Brit.	—	Civil R.	—	—	—	—	—	—
38	Gerhard, Johannaes	1637	Ger.	—	Civil R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
39	Helwig, Andreas	1643	Ger.	—	Papal AC	—	—	—	—	—	—
40	Gramer, Daniel	1637	Ger.	—	Pagan R.	—	—	—	—	—	—
41	Alstead, Johann H.	1638	Ger.	—	Imper. R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
42	Hoe, Matthias	1645	Ger.	—	Pagan R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
43	Cocceus, Johannes	1669	Ger.	—	Papacy	—	Hierarchy	—	—	—	—
44	Lucius, Johann	1686	Ger.	—	Roman AC	—	—	—	—	—	—
45	Cotton, John	1652	Amer.	—	Puritan	—	Popes	—	—	—	—
46	Williams, Roger	1683	Amer.	—	Bapt.	—	Papal AC	—	—	—	—
47	Johnson, Edward	1650	Amer.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
48	Holyoke, Edward	1658	Amer.	—	Civil R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
49	Harris, Benjamin	1690	Amer.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
50	Philpot, Jacques	1685	Fr.	—	Huguenot	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
51	Mather, Cotton	1696	Fr.	—	Cong.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
52	Pacard, George	1610	Fr.	—	Huguenot	—	Civil R.	—	—	—	—
53	Cappel, Jacques	1624	Fr.	—	Huguenot	—	Pagan R.	—	—	—	—
54	Launay, Pierre de	1661	Fr.	—	Huguenot	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY											
55	Mather, Increase (Pres.)	1702	Amer.	—	Cong.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
56	Spener, Philipp	1705	Ger.	—	Pietist	—	Imper. R.	—	—	—	—
57	Cressener, Druce (D.D.)	1718	Brit.	—	Angl.	—	Papacy	—	Ref. Preaching	Preaching vs. Papal Error	—
58	Jurieu, Pierre	1713	Fr.	—	Huguenot	—	Civil R.	—	—	—	—
59	Fleming, Robert, Jr.	1716	Brit.	—	Presby.	—	Rome	—	—	—	—
60	Droubaux, Charles	1717	Brit.	—	Angl.	—	Civil R.	—	—	—	—
61	(Anon.) Exp. of Rev.	1719	Brit.	—	—	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
62	Newton, Sir Isaac	1727	Brit.	—	—	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
63	Burnet, William	1724	Amer.	—	—	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
64	Edwards, Jonathan	1747	Amer.	—	Cong.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
65	Burr, Aaron (Pres.)	1757	Amer.	—	Presby.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
66	Langdon, Samuel (STD. Pres.)	1774	Amer.	—	Cong.	—	Civil R.	—	—	—	—
67	de Bionens, Theod. C.	1750	Swiss	—	Ref.	—	Western R.	—	—	—	—
68	Pyle, Thomas	1756	Brit.	—	Angl.	—	Civil R.	—	—	—	—
69	Gill, John (D.D.)	1771	Brit.	—	Bapt.	—	Roman AC	—	—	—	—
70	Newton, Bp. Thomas	1782	Brit.	—	Angl.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
71	Wesley, John	1791	Brit.	—	Method.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
72	Horch, Heinrich	1729	Ger.	—	Ref.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
73	Bengel, Johann	1752	Ger.	—	Luth.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
74	Petrus, Johann P.	1768	Ger.	—	Luth.	—	Civil R.	—	—	—	—
75	Wood, Hans	1787	Brit.	—	—	—	Civil R.	—	—	—	—
76	Willison, John	1745	Brit.	—	Presby.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
77	Bicheno, James	1793	Brit.	—	Dis.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
78	King, Edward	1798	Brit.	—	—	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
79	Valpy, Richard (D.D.)	1798	Brit.	—	Angl.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
80	Daubeny, Charles (D.C.L.)	1798	Brit.	—	Angl.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
81	Simpson, David	1798	Brit.	—	Angl.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
82	Thube, Christ. C.	1799	Ger.	—	Luth.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
83	PROPHETIC CONJECTURES	1794	(Phila.)	—	Bapt.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
84	Backus, Isaac	1767	Amer.	—	—	—	Popes	—	—	—	—
85	Gatchel, Samuel	1778	Amer.	—	Cong.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
86	Gale, Benjamin (M.D.)	1788	Amer.	—	Civil Pap.	—	—	—	—	—	—
87	Hopkins, Samuel	1793	Amer.	—	Cong.	—	—	—	—	—	—
88	Osgood, Samuel	1794	Amer.	—	Cong.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
89	Winchester, Ekanon	1789	Amer.	—	Univ.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—

(Continued on next page)

HISTORICAL EXPOSITORS OF THE 2 BEASTS OF REV. 13, AND THE 3 ANGELS OF REV. 14

(Continued)

No.	Name	Date	Nation.	Denom.	REVELATION 13			Image	REVELATION 14		
					1st Beast	7th Head	2d Beast		1st Angel	2d Angel	3d Angel
90	Linn, Pres. William (D.D.)	1794	Amer.	Presby.	Papacy	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
91	Winthrop, James	1795	Amer.	—	Papacy	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
92	Spalding, Joshua	1796	Amer.	—	Papacy	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
93	Lathrop, Joseph	1789	Amer.	Cong.	Papacy	—	Papacy	—	Proclamations Preceding Millennium		
94	Austin, David	1794	Amer.	Cong.	Papacy	—	Papacy	—	Now Flying (Miss. & Bib. Socy.)		
95	Dwight, Pres. Timothy (D.D.)	1796	Amer.	Cong.	Papal AC	Popes	—	—	Messages Precede Millennium		
96	Dudley, Paul (Judge)	1745	Amer.	Puritan	Papacy	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
97	Ogdon, Uzal (D.D.)	1795	Amer.	Epis.	Papacy	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
98	McCorkle, Samuel	1798	Amer.	Presby.	Papacy	Papal	—	—	—	—	—
99	Belknap, Jeremy	1798	Amer.	Cong.	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
100	Bacon, John (Judge)	1799	Amer.	Cong.	Papacy	—	Protestantism	{ Horns (Civ.-Rel. Lib.)	—	—	—
NINETEENTH CENTURY											
101	Farnham, Benjamin	1800	Amer.	—	Papacy	Papal	Hierarchy	—	—	—	—
102	BAPTIST ASSN.	1805	(Conn.)	Bapt.	—	—	—	—	Miss. Angel Under Flight		
103	Nott, Pres. Eliphalet (D.D.)	1806	Amer.	Presby.	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
104	McFarland, Asa (D.D.)	1808	Amer.	Presby.	Papacy	—	—	—	Miss. Angel Now Flying (Preaching)		
105	King, John (D.D.)	1808	Amer.	Presby.	Papacy	Papal	Bonaparte	Horns Liber. & Equal.	—	—	—
106	Romeys, John B. (D.D.)	1808	Amer.	Presby.	Civil R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
107	Seecher, Lynn (D.D.)	1812	Amer.	Presby.	Civil R.	—	Papal R.	—	Preaching Angel—Flight Begun		
108	Griffin, Edward D. (D.D.)	1813	Amer.	Cong.	Papacy	—	—	—	(Entered New Era)		
109	Galloway, Joseph (Atty.)	1800	Amer.	—	Papal R.	—	Infidel Fr. (Pagan R.)	—	—	—	—
110	Henry, Matthew (Revelation)	(Reprint)	Am. Ed.	Non-Conf.	(Pagan R.) (Secular R.)	—	{ Pagan R. { Eccl. R.	—	—	—	—
111	Scott, Thomas (Comment.)	(Reprint)	Am. Ed.	Angl.	Secular R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
112	Clark, Adam (Comm.)	(Reprint)	Am. Ed.	Westleyan	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
113	Brown, John (Bible)	(Reprint)	Am. Ed.	Presby.	Papacy	—	Pope & Clergy	—	—	—	—
114	Horn, Thomas H. (Introduc.)	1818	Am. Ed.	Westleyan	Papal R.	—	—	—	Now Giving Messages		
115	EVANGELICAL MAG.	1803	(Conn.)	—	Pagan R.	—	Papal R.	—	Fulfilling in Bib. & Miss. Socy.		
116	Prudden, Neh.	1813	Amer.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
117	HERALD OF GOS. LIB.	1813	(N.H.)	Chr.	Papacy	Popes	—	Im. of Pagan.	—	—	—
118	Emerson, Joseph	1817	Amer.	Cong.	Civil R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
119	Smith, Elias	1805	Amer.	Chr.	Papal R.	—	—	—	—	—	—
120	Miller, William F.	1808	Amer.	Presby.	Papacy	Papal	Jesuits	—	—	—	—
121	Klaine, Aaron	1813	Amer.	Cong.	Papal R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
122	Smith, Ethan	1811	Amer.	Cong.	Secular R.	—	Papal R.	—	Miss. Move.	Vs. Papacy	Final Warning
123	Armstrong, Amzi	1815	Amer.	Presby.	Secular R.	—	Papal R.	{ 2 Horns { Reg. & Sec. Priest	Beginning to Be Given		
124	Davis, William C.	1811	Amer.	Presby.	Papacy	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
125	"Robertson, Th. R."	1826	Amer.	Presby.	Papacy	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
126	Schmucker, John G. (D.D.)	1817	Amer.	Luth.	Papacy	—	Jesuits	—	Flying Angels Include Bengal		
127	Wilson, Joshua L. (D.D., Ph.D.)	1828	Amer.	Presby.	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
128	McCorkle, Samuel M.	1820	Amer.	Discip.	Papacy	—	Protestantism	—	Angels' Preaching Yet Future		
129	Raid, Robert	1824	Amer.	Ref. Presby.	Papacy	—	Pap. Clergy	Popes	—	—	—
130	Campbell, Alexander	1837	Amer.	Discip.	Papacy	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—
131	MILLEN, HARBINGER	1830	Amer.	Discip.	Papacy	—	Reformed Chs.	—	—	—	—
132	WATCHMAN OF THE NIGHT	1833	Amer.	Cong.	Papal R.	—	Accomplice	—	—	—	—
133	Livermore, Harriet	1832	Amer.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	Warning vs. Babylon		
134	Smith, Samuel B.	1834	Amer.	Evang.	Papacy	—	Protestant	—	—	—	—
135	Brownlee, William C.	1834	Amer.	Dutch Ref.	Pagan R.	—	Protestantism	—	—	—	—
136	PROT. VINDICATOR	1835	Amer.	Dutch Ref.	Pagan R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
137	Thomas, John (M.D.)	1834	Amer.	Bapt.	Papacy	—	Eccl. Tyranny	—	—	—	—
138	Scott, Robert (M.D.)	1834	Amer.	—	Papal R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
139	Crandall, A. L.	1841	Amer.	—	Papacy	—	Inquisition	—	Waldenses	Lollards-Huss	Luther
140	Henshaw, Bp. John P. (D.D.)	1842	Amer.	Prot. Epis.	Papacy	—	—	—	Prepare Way for Second Advent		
141	Winthrop, Edward	1842	Amer.	Prot. Epis.	Civil R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
142	Hinton, Isaac T.	1843	Amer.	Bapt.	Secular R.	—	Eccl. R.	—	—	—	—
143	Burdick, Elias A.	1843	Amer.	S.D. Bap.	Papacy	—	Roman Ch.	—	Angels Now Giving Warning		
144	Junkin, Pres. George (D.D.)	1844	Amer.	Presby.	Civil R.	—	—	—	Waldenses	Prot. Ref.	Future
145	Ramsay, William (D.D.)	1841	Amer.	Presby.	Papacy	—	—	—	Message Preparatory to Advent		
146	Shimeall, Richard C.	1842	Amer.	Epis.	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
147	Robinson, John (D.D.)	1843	Amer.	Presby.	Papacy	—	Secular Power	—	—	—	—
148	Lacunza, Manuel de	1826	(Eng. Tr.)	R.C.	Antichrist	—	Roman Priesthood	—	—	—	—
149	Faber, George S.	1807	Brit.	Angl.	Pagan R.	—	R. Hierarchy	—	—	—	—
150	Fuller, Andrew	1815	Brit.	Bapt.	Imper. R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
151	Scott, Thomas	1808	Brit.	Angl.	Pagan R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
152	Toovey, Samuel	1813	Brit.	—	Papacy	—	France (1798)	—	—	—	—
153	Cunningham, William	1813	Brit.	—	Secular R.	—	Eccl. R.	—	—	—	—
154	Fraser, James H.	1815	Brit.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	Flying Angels Giving Message		
155	Mason, Archibald	1820	Brit.	Ref. Presby.	Secular R.	—	Eccl. R.	—	—	—	—
156	Bayford, John	1820	Brit.	Angl.	Civil R.	—	Papal R.	—	Being Given	Yet Future	—
157	Way, Lewis	1822	Brit.	Angl.	Papacy	—	—	—	Judgment Cry Being Given		
158	Drummond, Henry	1830	Brit.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	Messages Being Proclaimed		
159	CONTINENTAL SOCY.	1826	Brit.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	Judgment Hour Being Heralded		
160	Agier, Pierre J. (Judge)	1823	Brit.	Fr.	Papal R.	—	—	—	—	—	—
161	Fry, John	1822	Brit.	Angl.	Papacy	—	—	—	In Process of Fulfillment		
162	Jones, William	1830	Brit.	Bapt.	Secular R.	—	Eccl. R.	—	Angel Flying With Judgment Message		
163	Irving, Edward	1826	Brit.	Presby.	Imper. R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
164	Stewart, James H.	1825	Brit.	Angl.	Papacy	—	—	—	Everlasting Gospel Angel Flying		
165	Park, John R. (M.D.)	1826	Brit.	Angl.	Secular R.	—	Eccl. R.	—	—	—	—
166	Cooper, Edward	1826	Brit.	Angl.	Secular R.	—	Eccl. R.	—	Messages Follow 1792		
167	Croly, George	1827	Brit.	Angl.	Papacy	—	Inquisition	—	Messages Portray Triumph		
168	Keyworth, Thomas	1828	Brit.	Cong.	Papacy	—	Pap. Clergy	—	—	—	—
169	Hooper, John	1829	Brit.	Angl.	Papacy	—	—	—	Angel Flying in Fulfillment		
170	Allwood, Philip	1829	Brit.	Angl.	Imper. R.	—	Papal R.	{ 2 Horns { Priestly orders	—	—	—
171	Leslie, James	1832	Brit.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	Judgment Cry Has Begun		
172	Prophetic INVESTIGATOR	1834	Brit.	Angl.	Civil R.	—	Eccl. R.	—	Judgment Message Sounding		
173	Thorp, William	1831	Brit.	Discip.	—	—	—	—	Symb. Angel on Wing		
174	Wilson, Bp. David	1836	India.	Angl.	Papacy AC	—	—	—	Message of Rev. 14 Sounding		
175	Keith, Alexander (D.D.)	1828	Brit.	Free Ch.	Imper. R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
176	Cox, John	1832	Brit.	Bapt.	Civil R.	—	Papal R.	—	—	—	—
177	Gausson, Louis	1839	Fr. Sw.	Evang.	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
178	Elliott, Edward B.	1844	Brit.	Angl.	Civil R.	—	Eccl. R.	—	—	—	—

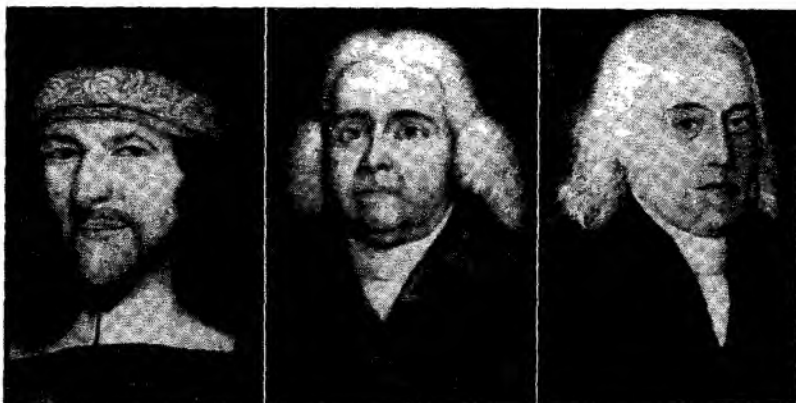
The Two-Horned "Beast"

of Revelation 13

The interpretation developed by the Sabbatarian Adventists concerning the symbolic two-horned "beast" from the earth, of Revelation 13:11-18, merits special attention. On this the Adventists differed from many others. But here, too, lies a long background of antecedents developing over a course of centuries before Seventh-day Adventists entered the picture. Application to the New World instead of the Old World and to a Protestant instead of a papal power, had been suggested by a succession of thoughtful expositors, both in Britain and America, long before the Millerite movement arose. John N. Andrews, Adventist historian of the Sabbath, was one of the first, at this time, to develop this exposition in well-rounded form. We pause to consider Andrews first, and then turn to this intriguing symbol.

I. Andrews—Author of Able "History of the Sabbath"

JOHN NEVINS ANDREWS (1829-1883), first foreign missionary of the Seventh-day Adventists, was born in Poland, Maine. With his parents he passed through the Disappointment of 1844, and was one of the first in that region to get his bearings. He was but a lad of seventeen when a copy of the Preble Sabbath tract was placed in his hands by Marian Stowell, a fifteen-year-old girl acquaintance. And he accepted its teachings almost immediately—almost as soon as did the veteran Joseph Bates in Massachusetts. There were few Sabbathkeepers at the time, and Andrews became its leading advocate. His uncle was in politics



**DISTINGUISHED PIONEERS IN NEW EXPOSITION
OF REVELATION 13**

These Noted Clergymen of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries All Held the Second Beast of Revelation 13:11-18 to Symbolize Protestantism, and Thus Involving the United States. (Left) Dr. Thomas Goodwin (1680) of Britain, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Vice Chancellor of Oxford University; (Center) Isaac Backus (1786) of Massachusetts, Baptist Historian and Champion of Religious Liberty; and (Right) Judge John Bacon (1799), Chief Justice of Massachusetts, Who Added the Thought That the Two Horns Symbolize Civil and Religious Liberty

and had become a member of Congress. Under his encouragement John had planned on studying law and entering politics. But instead, in 1850 he began to preach and to write. In 1851 he was on the publishing committee of the *Review and Herald*, and for a time (in 1869 and 1870) was editor.

Quiet and unassuming, but studious and a clear-cut reasoner, he soon grew in mental stature. One of his early expressions was, "I would exchange a thousand errors for one truth." With him this was a deep conviction. His first article in the *Review and Herald* was entitled "Thoughts on the Sabbath," and was published in December, 1850. His first major article on prophecy, likewise in the *Review*, was dated May 19, 1851, and was on the three messages, the two-horned beast of Revelation 13, and the United States in prophecy. Ever in the forefront of activity he was author of a number of works, his most notable contribution being the scholarly *History of the*

OFF FOR EUROPE

John Nevins Andrews Carried the Expanding Message Overseas, Sailing for Europe in 1874 With His Two Children



© RSH

HARRY ANDERSON, ARTIST

Sabbath and of the First Day of the Week, which is still standard in its field.

In 1867 and 1868 Andrews became third president of the but recently organized General Conference—elected when only 38. And, as the first Seventh-day Adventist foreign missionary, he sailed for Europe with his two children on September 15, 1874. There he laid the foundation for a substantial evangelistic and publishing work in Europe.¹

¹ Obituary, *Review and Herald*, Oct. 30, 1883; Dick, *Founders*, chap. 7; Spalding, *Captains*, pp. 190, 191, 507-522; M. E. Olsen, *Origin and Progress*, p. 749. See also Loughborough, *Rise and Progress*; Gordon Balharrie, "A Study of the Contribution Made to the Seventh-day Adventist Movement by John Nevins Andrews" (unpublished Master's thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1949).

II. Thumbnail Sketch of Andrews' Interpretation

1. DIGEST OF INTERPRETATION OF DANIEL.—According to Andrews, the prophetic outline of Daniel 7 ends with the coronation of Christ, our present High Priest who is then made king.² It was the Papacy of verse 25 which thought to change God's times and laws. The "exceeding great" horn of Daniel 8 includes both pagan and papal Rome. The investigative judgment is Christ's last work before He returns to earth at His second advent. And Satan is the scapegoat in the antitypical sanctuary service of Daniel 8.

Andrews holds the usual dating for the 70 weeks, with their interlocking relationship to the 2300 years—457 B.C., A.D. 27, 31, and 34, and 1844 for the close of the longer period. When Michael stands up, Christ's work in heaven is finished, and the time of trouble ends with the deliverance of the saints—the time of trouble beginning after the 1260 years are past. And the increase of knowledge he holds to be the revived interest in the study of prophecy.

2. RÉSUMÉ OF ANDREWS ON THE APOCALYPSE.—When the "mystery of God" is finished, the gospel work is finished and probation is closed. The seventh trumpet extends over the period of the investigative judgment, the open sanctuary indicating that Christ's work is being finished. Then comes the coronation of Christ, with the last plagues including Armageddon, followed by the first resurrection. And at the end of the thousand years the second resurrection occurs, and the final destruction of the wicked.

In Revelation 12 the "woman" is the church, the "child" is Christ, and the "dragon" imperial Rome, the ruling power in the time of Christ. The "remnant" is the followers of Jesus who keep all the commandments. In Revelation 13 the first beast

² Andrews did not write a systematic commentary, as did Uriah Smith. But an accurate composite picture can be assembled from his various articles, editorials, and pamphlets that is quite comprehensive. Instead of groups of reference for each point, the leading sources are grouped in this note for convenience. These are *The Three Angels of Revelation XIV*, 6-12 (1855); articles in the *Review and Herald* from 1852 onward, and especially an extended series of editorials in that journal in 1869 and 1870. His *History of the Sabbath* also yields some points.

is papal Rome—the ten horns being the same as the ten horn-kingdoms of Daniel 7. The wounding is the taking away of the earlier papal power, accomplished in 1798, at the end of the 1260 years. The healing is under way.

The second beast is the Protestant United States, coming into prominence just as the 1260 years end, the two horns denoting civil and religious liberty. The image to the Beast is not yet revealed, and is impossible to identify until it becomes a reality. But it will eventually be some act requiring men to acknowledge its authority and obey its mandates. The mark is an institution of the Papacy enforced by Protestantism. And 666 may be derived from *Vicarius Filii Dei*.

The first flying angel of Revelation 14 parallels the angel of chapter 10, and the reckoning of prophetic time ends with the 2300 years in 1844. The second angel's message ties in with that of chapters 18:1-10 and 16:17-21. And the message of the third angel will be followed by the outpouring of the seven last plagues. The "mark" is the change made in the law of God by the predominant ecclesiastical power of the medieval centuries. And the wrath of God is the seven last plagues, which are embraced in the third woe.

The three unclean spirits of Revelation 16:13 are Roman Catholicism, apostate Protestantism, and Spiritualism leagued together. The symbol of the wicked woman of Revelation 17 is the church unlawfully united with the nations of the world. The beast on which she is seated represents the supporting governments, and Babylon is the professed church, ruling over the nations of the earth. The mother and daughters are all religious systems employing civil power, and the judgment upon Babylon comes just before the end, under the seventh plague. The final overthrow of the Beast and false prophet are at Armageddon.

The thousand years of Revelation 20 are a kind of Sabbath, at the end of the six thousand years. The bottomless pit is the desolated earth, which becomes the prison house of Satan during the thousand years. (This imprisonment follows the overthrow

of the Beast, and begins at the second advent.) The resurrection of the righteous marks the beginning of the millennium, and the two resurrections are separated by this thousand years. And at the second resurrection the wicked are raised and cast into the lake of fire.

III. America Seen in Symbol of Revelation 13:12-18

There is little need of amplifying further the individual expositions of these pioneer Sabbatarian expositors. On the basic outline prophecies and their related time periods they were in substantial unity, as well as being in agreement with the cumulative exposition of the centuries. Andrews' expositions, just noted, may therefore be regarded as typical and representative, because of his editorial connection with the *Review and Herald*. On one point, however, Andrews became the spokesman for an important further development in Adventist exposition—the already emerging view that the location of the two-horned beast of Revelation 13:11-18 is to be found in North America, with its Protestantism and republicanism represented by the two horns of this lamblike symbol.

This concept, it should be noted, was the result of a long and gradual development. Reference has already been made to the expanding application in both Britain and America of some of the symbols of the Roman apostasy—not only “Babylon” but likewise the term “beast”—to include certain phases of Protestantism as well.³ The early Sabbatarian Adventists were familiar, of course, with Miller's and the rather common interpretation of this second beast as the papal Rome of the Old World. But they were probably more impressed with Litch's later view that it was a non-Roman Catholic power coming into prominence after the wounding and revival of the first beast at the French Revolution, and therefore yet to be made manifest.⁴

They were also probably familiar with some of the earlier

³ See pp. 240, 278, 1094.

⁴ William Miller, *Evidence From Scripture and History* (1836), p. 56; also Josiah Litch, *Restitution*, pp. 131, 133.

American writers who saw in this two-horned beast a power representing a union of church and state, and involving Protestantism—even in this country. For example, there was eighteenth-century Baptist historian Isaac Backus' "*Protestant beast*" allusion in 1788, primarily British but in part American.⁵ Then, after the turn of the century, there was Judge John Bacon's identification of it with the clergy who were sympathetic with the papal Beast, including some Protestants.⁶ Next came Elias Smith's definition of this power as the ecclesiastical government, not only of the pope, but of "all who enforce creeds by law," which he applied to American established churches.⁷ And mention must also be made of Samuel M. M'Corkle's antisectarian application of this symbol of Protestantism, with the image as creeds, standards, disciplines, and the marks of sects and parties.⁸ These, be it remembered, were pre- or non-Millerite. There were others, but these will suffice to illustrate the application of the second symbol to Protestantism.

It might also be observed that there was no special interest or emphasis on this symbol among the Millerites. And among the Sabbatarian Adventists (in 1850) the earliest references to the two-horned symbol are not particularly clear. Hiram S. Case was evidently the first to identify it as Protestantism with its republican features.⁹ George W. Holt also spoke of this beast as the "image," assuming a lamblike character (Protestant and republican) and having the number 666. But he did not expressly identify it.¹⁰ Hiram Edson called it "Protestant Rome," with the two horns of civil and ecclesiastical power.¹¹ H. S. Case identified this beast as "church and state" united—that is, "Protestant churches and Republicanism," an image of the older papal church-state union.¹²

Then in 1851 Andrews wrote an article on Revelation 13

⁵ See Vol. II, p. 213.

⁶ See p. 72.

⁷ See p. 180.

⁸ See p. 240.

⁹ Case, Letter in *Present Truth*, November, 1850, p. 85.

¹⁰ Holt, Letter in *Present Truth*, March, 1850, p. 64. This seems to be the earliest reference to this subject in this periodical.

¹¹ Edson, "An Appeal to the Laodicean Church," *Advent Review*, Extra, 1850, p. 9.

¹² Case, Letter in *Present Truth*, November, 1850, p. 85.

and 14 in which he discussed the subject more fully. Here is his presentation:

1. **BABYLON—BELIEVED TO BE APOSTATE CHURCHES.**—On the delicate matter of "Babylon," Andrews wrote:

"We regard Babylon as the professed church united with the kingdoms of the world. In other words, 'Babylon is the apostate churches.'—We cannot restrict the term to the Papal church, for it evidently includes all those religious bodies which have become corrupt like the 'mother of harlots.'"¹³

2. **TWO-HORNED BEAST IS WEST OF OLD WORLD.**—After stating that the Beast of Revelation 13:1-10 is papal Rome, Andrews says that the second beast (of verses 11-18) rises in a peaceful and lamblike manner from the *earth*, not from the sea of nations, like the first beast. And it must rise about the end of the 1260 years, and in new territory. The timing and the location were fundamental.

"The seat of the Babylonian and Persian empires was in Asia. The seat of the Grecian and Roman empires was in Europe. The Roman empire, in its divided state as represented by the ten horns, occupies all the remaining territory west to the Atlantic ocean. Hence we still look westward [of the Old World] for the rise of the power described in this prophecy.

"This power is evidently the last one with which the people of God are connected, for the message of the third angel which immediately precedes the view of Jesus on the white cloud, pertains almost entirely to the action of the two-horned beast."¹⁴

Further on he plainly identifies this mild and youthful power as America, with its two horns of civil and ecclesiastical power—republicanism and Protestantism, based on the lamblike principles of freedom and the Bible. Nevertheless, it is also the power that ultimately enforces the mark of the first or papal Beast.¹⁵

3. **THE IMAGE A UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.**—An image to the first, or papal, Beast, says Andrews, would be some other than the Roman church, clothed with civil power and authority

¹³ John N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV," *Review and Herald*, May 19, 1851, p. 81.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 83.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 84.

to persecute—a non-Catholic church-state combination, distinct from the papal Beast.¹⁶

Andrews agrees with Bates on the imposition of the mark as an "institution of the Papacy enforced by Protestantism." The number 666 he does not define, but mentions the possibility of its representing the large number of Protestant sects.¹⁷ Later he follows William Miller, Josiah Litch, and Apollos Hale on the view of the "two desolations," "two opposing sanctuaries," and "two hosts" of Daniel 8:9-13.¹⁸

IV. Gives Systematic Exposition on Three Messages

Andrews' main contribution on prophetic exposition was his 144-page book, *The Three Angels of Revelation XIV, 6-12* (republished later as *The Three Messages of Revelation XIV, 6-12. Particularly the Third Angel's Message, and Two-Horned Beast*). This was reprinted from his *Review* articles of January 23 to May 1, 1855.

I. PAGAN ROME, PAPAL ROME, AND UNITED STATES.—Andrews' views on the Apocalypse are sketchy until he reaches Revelation 12. We have already noted his sequence—the pure woman of this chapter is the true church; the child, Christ; and the dragon, imperial Rome, with the seven heads as the seven forms of government. The first beast of Revelation 13 represents papal Rome, and its ten horns are the same ten divisions of Rome as appear in Daniel 7. The deadly wound is the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84; see also his "The Three Angels of Rev. xiv," *Review and Herald*, Sept. 2, 1851, p. 21.

Others soon adopted this interpretation, though it is difficult to trace the origin of ideas in a group so closely associated. (R. F. Cottrell said in 1854 that he had been of this opinion for "some years.") Within four months after Andrews' article, Joseph Bates, James White, and Otis Nichols all apply this symbol to the United States, with its mild characteristics of Protestantism and republicanism. (Joseph Bates, "The Beast With Seven Heads," and James White, "The Angels of Revelation XIV," part 1, in *Review and Herald*, Aug. 19, 1851, pp. 3, 4, and 12, respectively; Otis Nichols, Letter in *Review and Herald*, Sept. 2, 1851, pp. 22, 23.)

Thus also with Stephen Newell Mead (1820-1888), a firm believer in the advent in 1844, who accepted the third message in the fall of 1850 at Washington, New Hampshire, and was a charter member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church as it was formally organized on January 12, 1862. He too early held the two-horned beast of Revelation to be the United States, and pointed out that the making of the image is yet future. (S. N. Mead, "The Two-Horned Beast," *Review and Herald*, Nov. 15, 1853, pp. 149, 150.)

¹⁷ Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV," *Review and Herald*, May 19, 1851, p. 85.

¹⁸ Andrews, "The Sanctuary" [part 2], *Review and Herald*, Jan. 6, 1853, p. 129.

crippling of the Papacy's ruling power at the close of the 1260 years, which extended from 538 to 1798. The healing is obviously the regaining of its power.

Thus the second beast of Revelation 13, he held, coming into prominence just after the 1260 years end, is not Napoleon, Britain, or the Holy Alliance, but the United States of America, the two lamblike horns denoting civil and religious liberty. The "image to the beast" is not yet revealed, Andrews stated, and is therefore impossible to identify until it comes into existence. The "mark" is an institution of the Papacy enforced by Protestantism—Sunday enforcement—and the "666" is the numerical equivalent of *Vicarius Filii Dei* (Vicar of the Son of God), according to Andrews.

2. THE THREEFOLD WARNING AGAINST APOSTASY.—Like all his fellow Adventists, he held the three flying angels to symbolize the heralding of the judgment hour, the announcement of the apostasy of the churches, and the warning against the change made in the law of God—with the seven last plagues containing the wrath of God.

The "three unclean spirits," he wrote, emerging from Roman Catholicism, apostate Protestantism, and Spiritualism, join hands for their final exploits. The corrupted woman, or church, of Revelation 17, is the church unlawfully united to the nations of the world—Babylon being the corrupted church ruling over the nations of the world. The mother and daughters represent all religious systems having recourse to civil power. The judgment upon Babylon takes place under the last vial, just before the end. And the final overthrow of the Beast and false prophet comes at Armageddon.

The millennial thousand years follow the advent and the first resurrection—the desolated earth becoming the prison house of Satan while the saints above judge the wicked. And the second resurrection (of the wicked), at the close of the thousand years, looses Satan. Then he and his evil warriors and the wicked are cast into the lake of fire. Thus the universe will be cleansed

from the catastrophe of sin. So said Andrews. And now follow briefly four other early Sabbatarian expositors—Cornell, Waggoner, Loughborough, and Haskell.

V. Cornell—Assembles Witness of Eminent Expositors

MERRITT E. CORNELL (1827-1893) was born in New York State, moving to Michigan with his parents in 1837. He became a Bates's convert to the Sabbatarian faith in 1852. At first opposed to the seventh-day-Sabbath teaching, he became an earnest advocate and soon raised up a company of Sabbatarian believers. Bold, enthusiastic, and dynamic, he was a hard-hitting evangelist and an ardent debater¹⁹—sometimes called the "Stormy Petrel." He fitted into the tempo of the times, preached all the way from Maine to California, conducting the first full-fledged tent meeting held by the Sabbatarian Adventists, in 1854. At first he shared the early Bates view that the "number" of the Beast possibly indicated the "666" sects.²⁰ But this notion quickly passed from circulation. It was soon considered the number, in symbol, of the Beast's name.

Cornell wrote no exposition of prophecy in book form, but was a contributor to the *Reviews* of 1854-1858. His were the standard positions of the various outline and time prophecies of Daniel.²¹ In the book of Revelation he held that both the seven churches and the seven seals were historic periods of the pure and corrupted churches, with the Laodicean phase as the advent people.²² The woman of Revelation 12 stands for the pure church and the two beasts of Revelation 13 for the Roman Catholic Church united with civil government, and the United States—with the two horns of the second beast as "Protestantism and Republicanism."²³ The "image" is a likeness, therefore a

¹⁹ Obituary, *Review and Herald*, Jan. 23, 1894, p. 63.

²⁰ M. E. Cornell, "They Will Make an Image to the Beast," *Review and Herald*, Sept. 19, 1854, p. 43.

²¹ Cornell, "Interesting Extracts, No. 15," *Review and Herald*, April 4, 1865, p. 140.
²² Cornell, in *Review and Herald*, "How Shall We Rise," Jan. 1, 1857, p. 69; "Confession," Feb. 5, 1857, p. 109; "The Laodicean Message," March 5, 1867, p. 151; "Dr. Rice on the Seven Seals," Feb. 2, 1864, p. 77.

²³ Cornell, in *Review and Herald*, "They Will Make an Image to the Beast," Sept. 19, 1854, p. 43; "Sheshachi," Sept. 18, 1866, p. 125; "A Sign of the Times," Feb. 4, 1862, p. 78.

union, or marriage, of Protestantism and the state which will yet be formed.²⁴ But at first he thought that the 666 referred to the numerous "Protestant sectarian bodies."²⁵

The dread seven vials are yet future, embodying the wrath of God without an admixture of mercy. And the sixth vial involved Spiritualism.²⁶ Cornell challenged the contention of a temporal millennium during which the world will be converted—citing leading clerics from Luther on to Whitefield in support of premillennialism.²⁷

His unique contribution appeared in a 137-page compilation of "Extracts From the Writings of Eminent Authors," attesting the fulfillment of the key features of prophecy. Cornell's *Facts for the Times* was specifically designed to show that the positions maintained by the Sabbatarian Adventists were supported by many of the most "noted and pious" writers, both of the past and of contemporary times. This ran through several editions, and was considered a standard work.

The expanded second edition (1875), in showing that these views are not new, but in harmony with the considered opinions of many of the wisest and best authorities extant, quotes, with exact references, from such well-known past and present writers as Isaac Newton, Lloyd, Gill, Daubuz, Clarke, Scott, Henry, Faber, Wesley, Whitefield, Croly, Cumming, Duffield, Campbell, and many others—with factual features gleaned from recognized secular sources, such as Gibbon.

These citations, the result of wide investigation, were presented as giving the stamp of historicity and orthodoxy to the fundamental Sabbatarian positions on prophecy. They were submitted as evidence that Seventh-day Adventists stood in excellent company, and were simply carrying on from where others had abandoned the basic Protestant platform on proph-

²⁴ Cornell, in *Review and Herald*, "They Will Make an Image to the Beast," Sept. 19, 1854, p. 43; "Image of the Beast," May 12, 1868, p. 340.

²⁵ Cornell, "They Will Make an Image to the Beast," *Review and Herald*, Sept. 19, 1854, p. 43.

²⁶ Cornell, "The Last Plagues," *Review and Herald*, June 23, 1859, p. 37; "Peepings and Mutterings," *Review and Herald*, March 17, 1859, p. 133; M. E. Cornell, *Spiritualism, a Satanic Delusion*, pp. 5, 8.

²⁷ M. E. Cornell, *Facts for the Times* (1858), pp. 8, 9.

ecy. These excerpts embraced the main features of the outline prophecies of Daniel 2 and 7, Revelation 12 and 13, and the year-day for all prophetic time periods, the signs of the approaching advent, the presumptuous change of the law of God by act of the Papacy, the false millennium, et cetera. In addition, quotations are given to support the three angels' messages, with the fall of Babylon as the modern departure from the historic faith of Protestantism, the relation of the United States in the second symbol of Revelation 13, with the two horns of republicanism and Protestantism.

VI. Waggoner—Editor of Western "Signs of the Times"

We shall not trace further exposition, but simply note three other pioneer writers. Nothing essentially different was introduced by them. First, JOSEPH HARVEY WAGGONER (1820-1889) was a product of the West, and a Baptist. He was editor and publisher of a political paper in Wisconsin, first hearing of the advent faith in 1851 from H. S. Case—previously noted—who in an hour's time sketched over with him the entire range of the major prophetic periods, as well as the third angel's message, the United States in prophecy, and the Sabbath in outline!

Waggoner's interest was aroused, and he began an intensive personal study of the Adventist teachings. In 1852 he joined the church, giving himself immediately to evangelism and later to writing and editing. He became a tower of strength to the young cause. After James White, he was the first editor of the western *Signs of the Times*, as well as editor of the first health paper on the Pacific coast, the *Pacific Health Journal*. He wrote an effective *Refutation of the Age-to-Come*, as well as one on the *Nature and Tendency of Modern Spiritualism*. His *Atonement in the Light of Reason and Revelation* was an early standard work, and his last work on prophecy was *From Eden to Eden*. His last years were spent in ministry in Europe, where he died.⁸⁸ His was likewise the standard prophetic interpretation.

⁸⁸ Obituary, *Review and Herald*, Sept. 3, 1889; Loughborough, "Elder J. H. Waggoner" (editorial), *Signs of the Times*, May 20, 1889, p. 294; Spalding, *Captains*; Loughborough, *Great Second Advent Movement*.

VII. Loughborough—Chronicler of Pioneer Days

JOHN NORTON LOUGHBOROUGH²⁹ (1832-1924), chronicler of pioneer days, was born in Victor, New York, of Methodist parentage. John became a Christian at an early age, and learned the blacksmithing and carriage-making trades. He was reared by a godly grandfather, whose prayers were a living reality. Passing through the 1843 and 1844 experiences, he began preaching for the first-day Adventists in 1849. He was only seventeen, and was known as "the boy preacher." In 1852 he first listened to a series of lectures on the teachings of Seventh-day Adventists, given by J. N. Andrews. They were so clear and convincing that he forthwith accepted the positions of the Sabbatarians, and immediately began to proclaim them to others. He was ordained in 1854 and was one of the three young stalwarts—Andrews, Smith, and Loughborough—who upheld the hands of the older Joseph Bates, and James and Ellen White, in the days of pioneer building.

Genial and sprightly, he was an indefatigable worker. His writings were unusually interesting, being filled with anecdote and incident. Author of a half dozen books, he became the first chronicler of the rise of the denomination, producing *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists* in 1891, which was superseded by *The Great Second Advent Movement* (1905). He bore numerous responsibilities as evangelist, administrator, and pioneer, helping to open up the work of the church on the Pacific Coast in 1868. He was likewise the first representative sent to develop the work in England, in 1878. And he served as president of several conferences as well as superintendent of General Conference districts. He likewise pioneered in the use of tent meetings for public evangelism, beginning in 1854 in Battle Creek, Michigan, and was closely associated with the work of Mrs. White for many years. He was a lover of the Word, having read the Bible through more than "three score" times.

²⁹ Obituary, *Review and Herald*, June 19, 1924, p. 77; Dick, *Founders*, chap. 6; Spalding, *Footprints*, chap. 17, also *Captains*.

Loughborough's views on prophecy can be compassed in a paragraph: His views on the great outline prophecies and time periods of Daniel were standard, and harmonize with those of the other Adventist expositors of the day. For example, in the Revelation "the seven churches apply to seven states, or seven different periods of the church,"³⁰ covering the Christian Era. The Two Witnesses are the two Testaments.³¹ He follows Andrews on the two-horned lamblike beast as the United States of America, with its youthfulness and gentleness, and its Protestant and Republican horns. The "image" of the Beast is an ultimate union of church and state to enforce its religious mandates under civil duress, just as the Papacy before it had done; and the "mark" involves the change of the Sabbath.³²

VIII. Haskell—Father of Tract Societies and the Bible Work

The last to be named in this chapter is Stephen N. Haskell (1833-1922).³³ He was born in Massachusetts and joined the Congregational Church in 1848. Only nineteen when he heard his first Adventist sermon in 1852, he was soon preaching the Adventist faith, supporting himself by manufacturing soap. And before long he had a company of believers ready for baptism. He was the father of the Tract and Missionary Societies, started in 1869, which later developed into multiplied thousands of local church literature bands. He was similarly responsible for systematic Bible studies and the launching of the Bible instructor work. He was ordained in 1870, and was a strong promoter of educational, health, and publishing institutions. He was president of the New England, Maine, and California conferences, and was a wise counselor. He was also the pioneer in the work of the church in Australia and New Zealand, England, and South Africa, and materially strengthened its missions by a tour

³⁰ Loughborough, "A Letter to a Friend, on the Seven Churches," *Review and Herald*, March 19, 1857, p. 153.

³¹ Loughborough, "The Two Witnesses" [part 1], *Review and Herald*, Jan. 14, 1862, p. 53.

³² Loughborough, "The Two-Horned Beast," *Review and Herald*, March 21, 1854, p. 66; March 28, 1854, pp. 74, 75; *The Two-Horned Beast of Rev. XIII, A Symbol of the United States* (1857).

³³ Eugene W. Farnsworth, "Elder Stephen N. Haskell," *Review and Herald*, Dec. 14, 1922, pp. 17, 18; Spalding, *Footprints*, chap. 1.

of India, China, and other non-Christian lands in 1888-1889.

He was the author of several works, particularly *The Story of Daniel the Prophet* and *The Story of the Seer of Patmos*, both in the field of prophecy, and *The Cross and Its Shadow*, on the sanctuary service. He also taught Bible at the Avondale College, in Australia. His interpretation of prophecy was conspicuously clear and simple. He was pre-eminently the teacher and preacher of the common man. His strength lay in presenting in elemental or popular form what others had dug out by scholarly research. So with his two books on prophecy. There was nothing new in his exposition, which accorded with the best interpretation in the Adventist ranks.

Thus it was that the men surveyed in these last three chapters pondered the vastness of the plan of God revealed through Bible prophecy—its breadth and depth and height; its beauty, completeness, and winsome appeal. It filled their minds with awe and reverence, fortifying the soul, nerving the spirit, and putting unalterable purpose into their lives, which they dedicated without reserve to God and truth. It gave them a sense of insight into the lofty purpose of the Eternal, and the part they were destined to play in the final scenes of the divine drama of the ages. God was counting on them, they felt, to faithfully do their part. It was this consciousness of a mission for God that made them crusaders for a cause.

A Systematic Harmony of the Prophecies

A digest of the *Review and Herald's* expositions of prophecy during the fifties and sixties reveals a growing list of writers and an increasingly clear and united platform on prophetic exposition. New voices were heard and new pens wielded in behalf of the symmetrical system that was developing. Other literature is not to be overlooked, but the *Review* remained the chief medium of early discussion, instruction, and record. Minor points of divergence steadily disappeared, and the sturdy outlines of a harmonized system of interpretation emerged. Then, in the late sixties and early seventies, these were put into permanent book form. Uriah Smith, more than any other individual, was responsible for this accomplishment. After considering him, we shall note educator Goodloe Bell and his systematic lessons. Let us first turn to Smith and his exegesis.

I. Uriah Smith—Systematic Expositor of Prophecy

URIAH SMITH (1832-1903),¹ editor, author, and Bible teacher, was born in West Wilton, New Hampshire, and possessed the characteristic grit of the Granite State. When but a lad of twelve, with his parents he passed through the tense days of the Disappointment of 1844, which made an impression on his mind that was never effaced. He had had high teaching aspirations, graduating from Phillips Academy at Exeter when

¹ Arthur G. Daniells, Funeral Sketch, *Review and Herald*, March 10, 1903; *American Biographical History*, Michigan Volume (1878), 3d Congressional District, pp. 91, 92; Richard J. Hammond, "The Life and Work of Uriah Smith" (M.A. Thesis, 1944); Spalding, *Captains* (1949).



**URIAH SMITH MAKES MAJOR CONTRIBUTION
TO SYSTEMATIC EXPOSITION**

(Left) Birthplace of This Gifted Exegete at West Wilton, New Hampshire;
(Right) Uriah Smith, Able Editor and Prophetic Interpreter

he was twenty. He then began to teach public school. But a childhood illness and infection led to the loss of his left leg, and this misfortune turned his thoughts toward sedentary occupations. He began drafting and sketching, and was skilled as a wood engraver. He was also adept in the mechanical arts, and was somewhat of an inventor.

Upon becoming an Adventist, after attending a Sabbatarian conference at Washington, New Hampshire, in 1852, he turned away from a lucrative teaching offer to join the meager editorial staff of the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*. This was in May, 1853, at Rochester, New York. He transferred with it to Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1855. His first contribution was a lengthy poem, *The Warning Voice of Time and Prophecy*.² He also improved his gifts as a preacher, and was ordained in 1874. However, Smith became the most conspicuous writer and editor of the growing movement, and was editor in chief of the *Review* most of the time for nearly half a century. But he also had a pleasing address, and was a clear and logical speaker, though somewhat on the argumentative order with those who differed with him.

But Smith's strength obviously lay in his pen. He was an incisive writer, and was author of the verse-by-verse *Thoughts on the Revelation* (1867) and *Thoughts on Daniel* (1872),

² *Review and Herald*, March 17 to Aug. 11, 1853. Also published as a pamphlet.

which were soon combined—so as to be sold by subscription³—also *Man's Nature and Destiny* (later replaced by *Here and Hereafter*), *The Sanctuary and Its Cleansing*, *The United States in Prophecy* (later becoming *The Marvel of Nations*), and *Modern Spiritualism*. He was likewise an able and popular instructor in Biblical exposition in Battle Creek College, beginning in 1876, as well as serving as secretary of the General Conference for some twenty years. So he was versatile. He visited Europe and the Holy Land in 1894.

In the formative days of the Sabbatarian church, Smith stood by the side of James White, J. N. Andrews, and J. H. Waggoner in the critical study of Bible doctrine and prophecy as they unitedly sought to place their views fairly, intelligently, and convincingly before the world. He and his gifted sister, Annie R.,⁴ evidently received their literary bent from their mother, Rebecca Spalding Smith, strong-minded and vigorous, who exercised her poetic gift even into her eighties. Annie, who was four years older than Uriah, wrote early advent hymns.

Smith was a man of strong convictions and robust expression—his pen being a potent instrument. He had a trenchant style, and polemics were the recognized order of the day in those early times. He engaged in many a discussion, one particularly earnest exchange being with the Spiritualists. Another duel of pens was with Joshua V. Himes, and some of his rebuttals to critics were a bit stinging in tone.⁵

Although Smith was tolerant toward the views of others, he was very tenacious as to his own. He was a stalwart champion

³ GEORGE ALBERT KING (1847-1906), pioneer colporteur of the Seventh-day Adventists, began to preach but felt called to scatter the printed page, urging the issuance of the combined *Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation*, so as to be sold by subscription. He continued to sell and to train others to sell such religious literature until his death. This colporteur feature later developed into a vast enterprise. See note on p. 999.

⁴ ANNIE R. SMITH (1828-1852), early Adventist poet, completed the teachers' training course at a young women's seminary in Massachusetts, and became a schoolteacher. But upon hearing Joseph Bates to please her mother, she was persuaded of the advent faith, declaring, "This is the truth." She became connected with the slender force of the *Review and Herald* shortly before her brother Uriah, serving as first proofreader and copy editor. Though self-effacing, she had marked talent, particularly the poetic gift. Her first poem expressing her new-found faith was, "Fear Not, Little Flock." (*Review and Herald*, Sept. 16, 1851, p. 25.) Her talented pen wrote many treasured hymns, such as "How Far From Home," and the historic "Blessed Hope." But her consecrated life was cut short by tuberculosis. She lived but three years after joining the *Review* staff. (*Review and Herald*, Aug. 21, 1855, p. 21.)

⁵ Cf. *Review and Herald*, Nov. 8, 1864, p. 188; Jan. 17, 1882, pp. 40, 41.

of religious liberty. But he built solidly, and had an easy, logical, and convincing way, as well as a smooth-flowing, graceful style of presentation, well suited to the time. His major contribution in the field of prophetic exposition was his *Daniel and the Revelation*, which soon became the denominational classic in this field. And it remained such for decades.

II. Early Expositions in Smith's Formative Period

Uriah Smith, doubtless the greatest writer and editor of the Adventists in their formative years—and he grew up with the movement—made his first contribution in the interpretative field in 1853. This, as mentioned, took the form of an imposing poem portraying successive instances of prophetic fulfillment. His early expositions will be briefly noted here. Then a digest of his mature, full-rounded expositions will follow, as appeared in his comprehensive verse-by-verse commentary.

1. LESSONS ON THE SANCTUARY AND ITS CLEANSING.—In an early issue of the *Youth's Instructor*, Smith contributed a series of nine Sabbath school lessons. He describes the tabernacle and its appurtenances, which included the Ten Commandments within the ark, covered by the mercy seat. Next the sanctuary service is surveyed, and its two great divisions studied. These embrace its daily sacrificial ministrations throughout the year and the climactic yearly service on the Day of Atonement, involving the cleansing of the sanctuary—and finally the banishing of the scapegoat. This entire solemn ritual is explained by Smith as the type or symbol of the heavenly sanctuary, where Christ is now our ministering Mediator, after having become our all-sufficient Sacrifice on Calvary. Then He began the first phase of His heavenly priesthood, which lasts until the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary, typified by the Day of Atonement service at the end of the 2300 years, reckoned from the joint starting point of the 70 weeks in the autumn of 457 B.C., that is, the autumn of A.D. 1844.

The treading down of the sanctuary he explains as the pope "turning away the worship of men from the temple of God in heaven to his own sanctuary at Rome." Since Christ has been ministering before the ark of God's law, the third angel, says Smith, has been flying with the last message of mercy, calling men to obey God's law and avail themselves of Christ's atonement for them. Then *after* the atonement, typified by the cleansing of the sanctuary, is finished, the sins that have already been atoned for will be placed on the head of their author, Satan, who will be bound and imprisoned in the bottomless pit for the thousand years. Soon Christ's mediation will be ended, and the vials will be poured out. The third angel, with the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus, points out the way of escape.⁶

2. DANIEL 2, 7, 8—STANDARD EXPOSITION OF FOUR EMPIRES. —A series of expositions of Daniel 2, 7, and 8, appeared as articles beginning October 31. They were put into pamphlet form in 1855. These followed the Historical School pattern, now standard throughout the Adventist ranks. Originality is frankly disclaimed with these words:

"In hastily preparing the articles on Daniel ii and vii, we have followed the excellent arrangement of Geo. Storrs, in his work published in 1843, and in regard to the four kingdoms, we have more or less copied his language."⁷

While Smith was a creative writer, he was a discriminating reader and collator of the widely accepted expositors of the past, and of contemporaries such as Storrs, Litch, Croly, and Keith, who are cited liberally in his own expositions. These were obviously his guiding sources and his first authorities, as their lists of the ten horns, the three that were plucked up, the outline of Daniel 11, et cetera, reappear in part in Smith's own "Thoughts on the Book of Revelation" and "Thoughts on the Book of Daniel," when first printed in abbreviated serial form

⁶ Sabbath School Lessons, *Youth's Instructor*, August, 1853, pp. 87-93. (Author named on p. 96.)

⁷ *Review and Herald*, Nov. 14, 1854, p. 108.

in the *Review*, and later issued in book form.⁸ So he built sturdily upon prior strong foundations.

3. ENUMERATION OF TEN DIVISIONS OF ROME.—From the very first the Huns were included as one of the ten kingdoms, and Smith never changed his list:

"The Western empire of Rome, between the years A.D. 356 and 483, was divided into ten divisions, or kingdoms. 1. The Huns, in Hungary, A.D. 356. 2. The Ostrogoths, in Mysia, 377. 3. The Visigoths, in Pannonia, 378. 4. The Franks, in France, 407. 5. The Vandals, in Africa, 407. 6. The Sueves and Alans, in Gascoigne and Spain, 407. 7. The Burgundians, in Burgundy, 407. 8. The Heruli and Rugii, in Italy, 476. 9. The Saxons and Angles, in Britain, 476. 10. The Lombards, in Germany, 483. Thus the kingdom was divided as designated by the ten toes."⁹

4. IRON AND CLAY ARE PAPACY AND DIVISIONS.—The Papacy was seen as intermingled with the clay of civil power during the medieval and modern centuries. This was a significant point, for the Papacy was thus included in Daniel 2:

"The Roman or iron power, through the influence and authority of Papacy, or Papal Rome, stretched itself among the clay so as to be mixed with it, and thereby kept up the strength of iron."¹⁰

5. THREE UPROOTED HORNS—HERULI, VANDALS, AND OSTROGOTH.—Here is a segment of Storrs's discussion in the next article on the three horns uprooted:

"In the year of our Lord 493, the Heruli in Rome and Italy were conquered by the Ostrogoths. In 534, the Vandals, who were under Arian influence, were conquered by the Greeks, for the purpose of establishing the supremacy of the Catholics. The Ostrogoths, who held possession of Rome, were under an Arian Monarch, who was an enemy to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome; hence, before the decree of Justinian, (a Greek emperor at Constantinople,) could be carried into effect, by which he had constituted the Bishop of Rome *head of all the churches*, the Ostrogoths must be plucked up. This conquest was effected by Justinian's army in the month of March, 538; at which time, the

⁸ Commenting on the title, when Smith's "Thoughts" on the Revelation appeared, James White said, "These thoughts are not the fruit of one brain. In the time of the end the Revelation was to be unsealed and opened. And from the open book, light has been shining. Mr. Miller saw much. Others have since seen more. And this book contains more." And White adds, "This is a book of thoughts, clothed in the author's happy style, plain, yet critical and practical," and he calls it the "standard work." (James White, "Report From Bro. White," *Review and Herald*, July 16, 1867, p. 72.)

⁹ James White, "Exposition of Daniel II, 31-44," *Review and Herald*, Oct. 31, 1854, p. 93 (also reprinted April 9, 1857, p. 177; March 9, 1869, pp. 84, 85).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1854, p. 93.

Ostrogoths, who had retired without the city, and besieged it in their turn, raised the siege and retired, leaving the Greeks in possession of the city; thus the third horn was plucked before Papacy, and for the express purpose too of establishing that power."¹¹

6. 1260 YEARS—FROM A.D. 538 TO 1798.—The Little Horn was first reckoned to be from Justinian's imperial letter of A.D. 533, establishing the primacy of the bishop of Rome. On this the imperial rescript is quoted from Croly. Then Rome's deliverance from the Goths in 538 opened the way for the pope to exercise the power bestowed. So the placement of the 1260 years was given as from 538 to 1798.¹²

7. STANDARD INTERPRETATION OF 70 WEEKS AND 2300 YEARS.—The continuation on Daniel 8 and 9 follows the well-worn path of now standard interpretation. The Persian ram and Grecian he-goat are followed by the conspicuous horn, Rome, not Antiochus Epiphanes. And on the interrelationship and dating of the 2300 years and 70 weeks of years, the established interpretation of the Millerite seventh-month movement—like European writers before them—is meticulously followed.¹³ The "daily" is not brought under particular discussion.¹⁴

8. SIGNIFICANT QUESTION ASKED ON DANIEL 11:45.—Holding, as late as 1862, to the view of the Papacy as the power of the latter part of Daniel 11, Smith quotes a news dispatch concerning the Holy Land, which ends: "It is said that such a scheme as this intelligence shows to be in course of development,

¹¹ James White, "Exposition of Daniel VII," *Review and Herald*, Nov. 14, 1854, p. 109.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ James White, "Daniel Chapters VIII and IX," *Review and Herald*, Nov. 21, 1854, p. 116.

¹⁴ In this series of notes on Daniel there is no identification of the "daily" of chapter 8 (*Ibid.*, p. 117). Daniel 8:11 is not even quoted. In 1858 the "Synopsis of Present Truth, No. 12" in presenting "The 1290 and 1355 Days" (Jan. 28, p. 92), virtually duplicates J. N. Andrews' position (Jan. 6, 1853, p. 129), citing the same extracts and adopting the positions of Josiah Litch, William Miller, and Apollos Hale, with their "two desolations," "two hosts," and "two sanctuaries," of Daniel 8:9-13. In the first verse-by-verse exposition in his *Review* series—"Thoughts on the Book of Daniel"—in 1870, Smith declares, "By him," the papal form, the daily, the pagan form, was taken away. Pagan Rome gave place to papal Rome. And the place of his sanctuary, or worship, the city of Rome, was cast down. The seat of government was removed to Constantinople." (Uriah Smith, "Thoughts on the Book of Daniel," *Review and Herald*, June 28, 1870, p. 12.)

The fact that James White personally regarded the sanctuary that was trodden underfoot as the heavenly sanctuary of Christ's ministry (see p. 1063), shows the tolerant and liberal attitude on what they considered details of lesser importance that were not vital issues. On fundamentals they were united and emphatic, but there was no particular stress of the "daily" in these early decades, and no disturbance over varying views among Adventist leaders.

points to the realizing of Pio Nono's favorite plan of *removing the seat of the Papacy to Jerusalem*." Smith then remarks in an editorial, "Will the Pope Remove the Papal Seat to Jerusalem?": "Is not the above then significant, taken in connection with Dan. xi. 45?"¹⁵

Such were some of Smith's earlier thoughts and expositions. On the three angels' messages the standard Sabbatarian exposition of the time is given,¹⁶ the first announcing the beginning of the judgment in the holy of holies. Smith retained his own personal belief concerning the Godhead, maintaining that God the Father alone is without beginning,¹⁷ and the complementary belief that the Holy Spirit is an influence rather than a person.¹⁸ On these points he differed from many of his brethren at the time, and from the general teaching of the denomination as it came to be clearly declared. Seventh-day Adventists believe in the Holy Spirit as the "Third Person of the Godhead," and in the "Eternal Son of God, as equal with God, infinite and omnipotent . . . the eternal self-existent Son."¹⁹

III. Mature Harmony of Prophecies Developed

A unique development came in 1862 when, in group study, a special Bible class of men and women in the Battle Creek Sabbath school, taught by Uriah Smith, studied the book of Revelation chapter by chapter, coming to united conclusions "on almost every point."²⁰ They then decided to go through the book again, a chapter a week—James White reporting the results each week through the *Review*, of which he was still editor. This discussion was started with the issue of June 3—a few verses of the prophecy, followed by comment and explanation.

¹⁵ Uriah Smith, *Review and Herald*, May 13, 1862, p. 192. For the first sixteen years of his editorial connection with the *Review*, Smith held this power to be the Papacy. (See "Waning of the Pope's Power," April 18, 1865, p. 157; "Italy and the Papacy," Jan. 9, 1866, p. 45; "The Papacy," Sept. 11, 1866, p. 116.) But in 1871, in his "Thoughts on Daniel" articles, he changed his view to that of Turkey. (*Ibid.*, March 28, 1871, p. 117.)

¹⁶ Uriah Smith, "The Cleansing of the Sanctuary," *Review and Herald*, Oct. 2, 1855, pp. 53, 54.

¹⁷ Uriah Smith, *Thoughts . . . on the Book of Revelation* (1875 ed.), pp. 15, 16; see also his *Looking Unto Jesus*, p. 10.

¹⁸ Uriah Smith, *Looking Unto Jesus*, p. 10.

¹⁹ See *Evangelism*, pp. 613-617; *Church Manual* (1951), p. 50; 1954 *Yearbook of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination*, p. 4.

²⁰ James White, "Thoughts on Revelation," *Review and Herald*, June 3, 1862, p. 4.

Five succeeding numbers continue with the plan. Then a field trip by White made a break inevitable. In September the series was resumed. But on the trumpets of Revelation 8 and 9 the published Josiah Litch exposition was offered, in lieu of the usual report, as "the best light at present."²¹

Still another field tour made another break. Then White announced, "Bro[ther] Smith has consented to conclude the book [of Revelation], commencing with chapter x."²² Thus it was that Smith carried on from chapter 10 to 22, with an article each week under the former James White title, "Thoughts on the Revelation." (The series closed February 3, 1863, pp. 76, 77.) Such was really the beginning of Smith's widely known exposition of the Apocalypse, first issued in book form in 1867. A similar article series on Daniel in 1870-1871 was followed by the companion volume, *Thoughts on Daniel*, in 1872. And about 1886-1888 the author made improvements and revisions to the number of thirty.²³

IV. Systematic Exposition of Daniel Emerges

An epitome of Smith's systematic interpretation of prophecy, first of Daniel and then of the Revelation, must suffice. This is drawn from the early editions of his verse-by-verse commentaries, *Thoughts on Daniel* and *Thoughts on the Revelation*—hence specific page reference will not be given. (For the over-all view of his entire exposition, and for comparison with the other pioneer Adventist expositions, see comprehensive tabular chart on pp. 1118, 1119.)

1. FOLLOWS CLASSIC PROTESTANT PATTERN ON DANIEL 2.—Drafting upon the imposing strength of centuries of tested exposition, Smith follows the standard Historical School interpretation for Daniel 2—the four successive world kingdoms, from Babylon's symbolic head of gold on down to the iron legs of Rome, with the feet and toes standing for the ten kingdoms,

²¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1862, p. 124.

²² James White, Editorial Note, *Review and Herald*, Oct. 21, 1862, p. 164.

²³ Letter, W. C. White to F. Harrison, June 26, 1910.

DANIEL: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL

No.	Name	Former Denom.	1 Jno. 2:18 Antichrist	DANIEL 2				DANIEL 7					
				4 Metals	Feet & Toes	Stone	Mountain	4 Beasts	10 Horns	3 Horns	Little Horn	3 1/2 Times	Final Scenes
1	Bates, Joseph	Chr.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Divis.	2d Adv.	Eter. Kgdms.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	H-V-O.	Papacy	538-1798	Judgment
2	White, James	Chr.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Listed	2d Adv.	Eternal Kgdms.	B-P-G-R	10 Listed	H-V-O.	Papacy	538-1798	Judgment
3	Edson, Hiram	Meth.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	2d Adv.	Eternal Kgdms.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	H-V-O.	Papacy	538-1798	Judgment
4	SABBATH CONFERENCES	—	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	—	Eternal Kgdms.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	H-V-O.	Papacy	538-1798	Judgment
5	Crosier, Owen R. L.	—	Papacy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6	Andrews, John N.	Meth.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Divis.	2d Adv.	Eter. Kgdms.	B-P-G-R	10 Divis.	H-V-O.	Papacy	538-1798	(Coronation) of Chr.
7	Rhodes, Samuel W.	—	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	2d Adv.	Eter. Kgdms.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	H-V-O.	Papacy	538-1798/9	Judgment
8	Nichols, Otis	—	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	2d Adv.	Eter. Kgdms.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	H-V-O.	Papacy	538-1798/9	Judgment
9	Arnold, David	—	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Divis.	—	Eternal Kgdms.	B-P-G-R	10 Divis.	—	Papacy	538-1798	—
10	Gage, William C.	—	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	Cornell, Merritt E.	—	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Divis.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	Waggoner, Joseph H.	Bapt.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Divis.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	Loughborough, John N.	Meth.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	2d Adv.	Eter. Kgdms.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	H-V-O.	Papacy	538-1798	Judgment
14	Haskell, Stephen N.	Meth.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Listed	2d Adv.	Eter. Kgdms.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	H-V-O.	Papacy	538-1798	Judgment
15	Bell, Goodloe H.	Discp.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Divis.	—	Eternal Kgdms.	B-P-G-R	10 Listed	H-V-O.	Papacy	538-1798	Judgment
16	White, Ellen G.	Meth.	Papacy	B-P-G-R	Rome's Divis Church & State Craft	Chr's Coming	God's Eter. Kgdms	B-P-G-R	10 Divis.	—	Papacy	538-1798	(Receiving) Kgdms.
17	Smith, Uriah	—	Papacy	B-P-G-R	10 Listed	At 2d Adv.	Eter. Kgdms.	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	H-V-O.	Papacy	538-1798	Judgment

REVELATION: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL

No.	Name	Former Denom.	REVELATION 2 & 3			REVELATION 6 & 7		REVELATION 8 & 9			6th Trumpet
			7 Churches	10 Days	Specifications	4 Horses	7th Seal	4 Trumpets	5th Trumpet	5 Months	
1	Bates, Joseph	Chr.	Cover Chr. Era	—	Laodicean = Nom. Adv.	Standard Views	—	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Ott. Turks
2	White, James	Chr.	Cover Chr. Era	—	—	Standard Views	—	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Ott. Turks
3	Edson, Hiram	Meth.	Cover Chr. Era	—	—	Standard Views	—	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Ott. Turks
4	SABBATH CONFERENCES	—	Cover Chr. Era	—	—	Progressive Apoc.	Signs of End	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Turks
5	Andrews, John N.	—	Cover Chr. Era	—	—	Corruption of Ch.	Last-day Signs	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Ott. Turks
6	Rhodes, Samuel W.	—	Standard View	—	—	Standard Views	—	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Ott. Turks
7	Nichols, Otis	—	Standard View	—	—	Standard Views	—	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Ott. Turks
8	Holt, George W.	—	Standard View	—	—	Standard Views	—	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Ott. Turks
9	Care, Hiram S.	—	Standard View	—	—	Standard Views	—	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Ott. Turks
10	Cornell, Russell	S.D.B.	Standard View	—	—	Standard Views	—	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Turks
11	Cornell, Merritt E.	—	True Ch. Thru Era	—	Laod. = Remnant Ch.	History of Corrupt Ch.	—	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Turks
12	Waggoner, Joseph H.	Bapt.	True Ch.	—	Laod. = Remnant Ch.	History of Corrupt Ch.	—	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Turks
13	Loughborough, John N.	Meth.	7 Periods of True Ch.	—	—	Apoc. in Ch.	—	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Ott. Turks
14	Haskell, Stephen N.	Cong.	7 Periods of True Ch.	—	—	Corruption of Ch.	Last-day Signs	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Ott. Turks
15	Bell, Goodloe H.	Discp.	Standard Position	—	—	Developing Apoc.	Signs of End	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Ott. Turks
16	White, Ellen G.	Meth.	7 Periods of True Ch.	—	—	Cover Chr. Era	Signs of End	Barbarians	Mohamm.	1299-1449	Ott. Turks
17	Smith, Uriah	—	Major Periods of True Ch.	—	—	Corrupt Ch.	Last-day Signs	Rome's Break-up!	Turks	1299-1449	Ott. Turks

No.	Name	1st Beast	7 Heads	Wooding	10 Horns	42 Months	REVELATION 13		Image	Mark of Beast	666	REVELATION 14		
							2d Beast	Two Horns				1st Angel	2d Angel	3d Angel
1	Bates, Joseph	Papacy	Forms Govt	1815-Healed	10 Divis.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	Prot. Sects	1831-'44	1843-'44	Now Proclaimed
2	White, James	Papal R.	7 Forest Govt	1809-Healed	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Consecutive	—	Now Proclaimed
3	Edson, Hiram	Papacy	Forms Govt	—	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Advent Movement	—	Now Proclaimed
4	SABBATH CONFERENCES	Papacy	Forms Govt	Fr. Sword	10 Divis.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning
5	Andrews, John N.	Papal R.	Forms Govt	Power Curtaild	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning
6	Rhodes, Samuel W.	Papal R.	Forms Govt	—	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning
7	Nichols, Otis	Papal R.	Forms Govt	—	10 Divis.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning
8	Holt, George W.	Papacy	Forms Govt	—	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning
9	Care, Hiram S.	Papacy	Forms Govt	—	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning
10	Cornell, Russell	Papacy	Forms Govt	—	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning
11	Cornell, Merritt E.	Papacy	Forms Govt	—	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning
12	Waggoner, Joseph H.	Papacy	Forms Govt	Fr. Sword	10 Divis.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning
13	Loughborough, John N.	Papacy	Forms Govt	—	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning
14	Haskell, Stephen N.	Papacy	Forms Govt	—	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning
15	Bell, Goodloe H.	Papacy	Forms Govt	—	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning
16	White, Ellen G.	Papacy	Forms Govt	—	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning
17	Smith, Uriah	Papal R.	Forms Govt	Fr. Sword	10 Kgdms.	538-1798	Prot. U.S.	Prot. U.S.	Future	—	—	Standard Views	—	Now Beginning

Unlike the composite positions of any previous period or group of expositors, there was virtually no variance of belief on the fundamental points of all major aspects of Daniel, as is evident from a scrutiny of this tabular listing of the positions of the Sabbatarian Adventists. Upon careful review, the interpretation of Daniel was taken over almost intact from the final positions of the scholarly Millerite writers in the seventh-month phase of the movement. That involved the culmination of Daniel's grand line of time in the autumn of 1844, instead of within the Jewish sacred year "1843." And all related or consequent changes were made accordingly.

A few explanations will clarify: The general abbreviations are essentially the same, but "H-V-O." under the "3 Horns" of Daniel 7, stands for "Heruli, Vandals, Ostrogoths." No page in the text is cited, as these positions are often gathered from various pages, and details on the chart are frequently from supplemental writings—books, pamphlets, periodicals, and occasionally a manuscript.

Differences were minor—whether the "daily" be paganism, or the high priestly ministry of Christ; and whether the king of the north, of Daniel 11:45, be the Papacy or Turkey. On essentials there was unity.

SABBATARIAN ADVENTISTS—1844-1875

DANIEL 8					DANIEL 9				DANIEL 11 Vc 36			DANIEL 12		
Ram-Coat	Exceed. Grt. Horn	Daily	2300 Days	Relat. of 70 Wks.	70 Weeks	One Week	Cross	Scope	Willful	Kg. Kg. of North	3½ Times	1290 Days	1335 Days	
P-G	Rome	Min. of Chr	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	1st Part	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	Papacy	_____	538-1798	Standard Views	_____	
P-G	Rome	_____	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	Cut off	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	Papacy	_____	538-1798	508-1798/9	508/9-1843/4	
P-G	Rome	Min. of Chr	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	1st Part	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	Papacy	Russia (?)	538-1798/9	508/9-1798/9	508/9-1843/4	
P-G	Rome	_____	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	1st Part	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	_____	_____	538-1798	Re-affirm Millerite positions	_____	
P-G	Rome	_____	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	1st Part	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	_____	_____	538-1798	Standard Views	_____	
P-G	Rome	_____	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	Interlocked	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	_____	_____	538-1798	Standard Views	_____	
P-G	Rome	_____	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	1st Part	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	Papacy	_____	538-1798/9	508/9-1798/9	508/9-1843/4	
P-G	Rome	_____	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	1st Part	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	Papacy	Europe	_____	538-1798/9	508/9-1798/9	
P-G	Civil Rome	Jewish Sac.	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	1st Part	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	_____	England	538-1798	508/9-1798/9	508/9-1843/4	
P-G	_____	_____	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	1st Part	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	_____	_____	538-1798	Standard Views	_____	
P-G	_____	Standard Views	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	1st Part	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	Papacy	_____	538-1798	Standard Views	508-1843	
P-G	Rome	_____	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	1st Part	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	Papacy	_____	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	
P-G	Rome	_____	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	1st Part	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	Papacy	_____	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	1st Part	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	Papacy	France	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	Cut off	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	Papacy	Turkey	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	
P-G	Rome	_____	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	1st Part	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	Almost all fulfilled	_____	538-1798	_____	_____	
P-G	Rome	Paganism	457 B.C.-A.D. 1844	Cut off	457 B.C.-A.D. 34	27-34	31, Midst	P-G-R	France	Turkey	538-1798	508-1798	508-1843	

SABBATARIAN ADVENTISTS-1844-1875

REVELATION 8 & 9			REVELATION 11				REVELATION 12				1260 Days	Remnant
Mo.-Day-We.-Th.	7th Trumpet	2 Witnesses	1260 Days	3 1/2 Days	Earthquake	10th of City	Woman	Child	Dragon	3 1/2 Times		
1449-1840	After 1844	O-N Testaments	538-1798	_____	Fr. Rev.	France	True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	Com. Keepers	
1449-1840	After 1844	O-N Testaments	538-1798	_____	Fr. Rev.	France	Pure Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	Com. Keepers	
1449-1840			Standard Views Retained	_____			True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	Com. Keepers	
1449-1840	After 1844	O-N Testaments	538-1798	_____	Fr. Rev.	France	True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	Com. Keepers	
1449-1840	Last Events	O-N Testaments	538-1798	_____	Fr. Rev.	France	True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	Com. Keepers	
1449-1840	Brings End	Standard	538-1798	_____	Fr. Rev.	France	True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	Com. Keepers	
1449-1840	Brings End	_____	Standard Views	_____			True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	Com. Keepers	
	Standard Views	_____	Standard Views	_____					Standard Views			
	Standard Views	_____	Standard Views	_____			Pure Ch.		Standard Views			
1449-1840		O-N Testaments	538-1798	_____			True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	Com. Keepers	Standard
1449-1840	Last Events	2 Testaments	538-1798	1793-1795		Standard Views	True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	Com. Keepers	
1449-1840	Last Events	O-N Testaments	538-1798	1793-1796	Fr. Rev.	France	True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	Com. Keepers	
1449-1840	Last Events		Standard Position	_____		Standard Views	True Ch.		Pagan R.	538-1798		
(1449)-1840		2 Testaments	538-1798	_____	Fr. Rev.	France	True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R. & Satan	538-1798	Com. Keepers	
1449-1840	Began 1844	O-N Testaments	538-1798	1793-1797	Fr. Rev.	France	True Ch.	Christ	Pagan R.	538-1798	Com. Keepers	

REVELATION 16				REVELATION 17						REVELATION 20			REVELATION 21 & 22	
7 Vials	5th Vial	6th Vial	7th Vial	Woman	Babylon	Beast	10 Horns	8th Head	Babylon's Fall	Pre- or Post-Mill.	1st Res.	Closing Events	New Jerusalem	
Future	Vs. Rome	Vs. Turkey	Final Events	Papacy	Papacy	Pap. Kgdms.	10 Kgdms.	2-Horned B.	Corrupt. Christendom	Pre-Mill.	Literat.	2d Resurrection	Paradise Restored	
Future	Vs. Rome	Vs. Turkey	Final Events	Papacy	Papacy	Civil Powers	10 Kgdms.	_____	_____	Pre-Mill.	Literat.	2d Resurrection	Capital-New Earth	
Future	Vs. Papacy	Vs. Turkey	Final Events	Papacy	Papacy	Civil States	10 Kgdms.	Papacy	_____	Pre-Mill.	Literat.	_____	New Earth	
Future	_____	_____	_____	Papacy	Papacy	Civil Powers	10 Kgdms.	_____	Imminent	Pre-Mill.	Literat.	2d Resurrection	_____	
Future	_____	_____	_____	Papacy	Apostate Chs.	Eur. Kgdms.	10 Kgdms.	_____	Before Plagues	Pre-Mill.	Literat.	2d Res. Destr. of Sin	_____	
Future	_____	_____	_____	Papacy	Apostate Chs.	10 Kgdms.	_____	_____	_____	Pre-Mill.	_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Prot. Daughters	_____	_____	_____	_____	Pre-Mill.	Literat.	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Standard Views	_____	_____	_____	_____	Pre-Mill.	Literat.	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Pre-Mill.	_____	_____	_____	
Future	_____	Involves Spiritism	_____	Papacy	Papacy	_____	10 Divis.	_____	_____	Pre-Mill.	Literat.	_____	_____	
Future	_____	_____	_____	Papacy	Papacy	Papal. Kgdms.	10 Kgdms.	_____	_____	Pre-Mill.	Literat.	_____	Earth Renewed	
Future	Vs. Papacy	Vs. Turkey	Final Events	Papacy	Papacy	Civil Powers	10 Kgdms.	_____	_____	Pre-Mill.	Literat.	_____	Capital of New Earth	
Future	Vs. Beast	Vs. Turkey	Final Destr.	Papacy	Papacy	Kingdoms	10 Divis.	Papal	_____	Pre-Mill.	_____	_____	_____	
Future	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Pre-Mill.	_____	_____	_____	
Future	_____	Vs. Turkey	_____	Papacy	Papacy	Pap. Kgdms.	_____	Papal	_____	Pre-Mill.	Literat.	_____	Eter. Home of Saved	
Future	_____	_____	_____	Ecc. R.	Rel. World	_____	_____	_____	_____	Pre-Mill.	Literat.	_____	Metropolis—New Earth	
After Probation	Vs. Rome	Vs. Turkey	_____	R. C. Church	Papacy	Civil Powers	Eur. Nations	Papal R.	_____	Pre-Mill.	_____	_____	Earth to Come	

More study was given by the Sabbatarian Adventists to the book of Revelation *than had been the case with the Millerites*. Pains-taking consideration was given to all its component prophecies—the seven churches, seals, trumpets, witnesses, and the earthquake, the symbolic women, beasts, angelic messengers, and vials, Babylon and its fall, the millennium and the new earth. But this was more for the perfecting and revision of detail, as the rugged outlines had been built up through the centuries.

The area of special study and development was Revelation 13 to 17, and more particularly the specifications embraced in the third angel's message. These involved the identity of the second as well as the first beast, the image, mark, number, and name, the time of the plagues, and the duration of the torment. In the matter of the millennium the location of the saints during the thousand years had special consideration, and aspects of the new heaven and new earth. Theirs was basically a reaffirmation of the clearly established positions of the centuries, and now the related end events of the several prophecies all climaxing in the last days. They strove for a consistent and harmonious understanding of the whole.

first medieval and then modern, into which Rome was divided after the breakup.²⁴ The stone, he held, is Christ's kingdom, soon to be set up by divine interposition, apart from human agency, at His glorious second coming.²⁵ It then becomes the great eternal "mountain"—the everlasting kingdom of God that fills the earth and has no end. This sequence of kingdoms, and their climax, was foundational to all succeeding outline prophecies.

2. DANIEL 7—FROM BABYLON TO LAST JUDGMENT.—The four living beasts of Daniel 7, for generations past likewise believed by Protestant scholars to symbolize the same four world powers, are so interpreted by Smith, with the ten horns standing for the same ten kingdoms emerging from Rome's breakup, and with the Little Horn as the cunning and powerful Papacy,²⁶ as most early Protestants had most vigorously held, both in the Old World and in the New. The three opposing horns that were plucked up are listed as the Ostrogoths, Vandals, and Heruli. The three and one-half "times," also as commonly recognized, constitute the special period allotted in prophecy for the Papacy's spiritual supremacy, extending, according to Smith, from A.D. 538 to 1798, thus ending with the French proclamation of Rome as a republic, the brief imprisonment of the pope, and the abolishing of the power of the Papacy for a short time. Transcendent judgment scenes close this vital chapter, the great assize taking place just before the end. Such was the climax of this second great outline prophecy.

3. DANIEL 8—FROM PERSIA THROUGH TO THE ADVENT.—The ram and swift-moving he-goat of Daniel 8, identified by Daniel himself as symbols of Medo-Persia and Grecia, with the goat's "notable horn" as Alexander the Great, fade into the background before the exploits of the "exceedingly great" horn, conceded both logically and historically to be Rome, pagan and

²⁴ These he still lists as the Huns, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Franks, Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians, Heruli, Anglo-Saxons, and Lombards.

²⁵ For a time Smith first restricted the stone to Jesus Christ (see 1873 edition), but his maturer and permanent view was that it symbolizes the kingdom of Christ.

²⁶ The same as Paul's prophesied Man of Sin, or Mystery of Iniquity, the occupant of the papal throne, attempting to sit in control of the temple or church of God—likewise the common belief of Protestant interpreters.

papal. The "daily" Smith personally believed to be the paganism of Rome. And the vast 2300 year-day period extended, he believed, from the autumn of 457 B.C. to the autumn of A.D. 1844. The events at the close of that grand line of time embrace the cleansing of the sanctuary, or investigative judgment, the close of human probation, the second advent of Christ, the resurrection of the righteous dead, and the translation of the righteous living. This was the culminating and key prophecy for the Adventists, and upon this all were agreed.

4. 70 WEEKS CLIMAX WITH CHRIST'S MINISTRY.—The 70 weeks of years clearly reach to the Messiah, as hundreds of illustrious scholars, both Catholic and Protestant, had insisted. Even the Jews held them to be years. These, Smith taught, extend from 457 B.C. to A.D. 34, and constitute the first segment of the 2300 year-days—"cut off" for the Jews—and leading to the first phase of Christ's high priestly ministry, which began in the heavenly sanctuary, just after His atoning death and ascension in the "midst" of the seventieth week of years. This, Smith held, occurred in the spring of A.D. 31—the seventieth week extending from the autumn of A.D. 27 to the autumn of A.D. 34. This too had previously been taught by many and various scholars.

5. DANIEL 11—FIXES UPON TURKEY AS KING OF NORTH.—On Daniel 11, Smith took the "willful" king to be France at the time of the French Revolution—an ascendant atheistical power operative near the beginning of the "time of the end." And the later king of the north, he came to believe, is now Turkey, which occupies the territory once held by the original king of the north, and includes Syria, Thrace, and Asia Minor. In this he differed from White and certain other Adventist writers.

6. DANIEL 12—PORTRAYAL OF CONVERGING LAST EVENTS.—According to Smith, in Daniel 12 the closing events include the king of the north as coming "to his end," Christ ceasing His high priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, with the attendant close of probation. Then follow the time of trouble,

the falling of the seven last plagues, the breaking up of the nations, the special resurrection, the return of Christ in power and glory, the general resurrection of the righteous, and entry upon the millennial thousand years as set forth in the Apocalypse. And then, at their close, comes the resurrection of the wicked. The 1260 days are the allotted years of special papal supremacy, previously assigned by many as from A.D. 538 to 1798. And Smith believed the related 1290 days to be years from A.D. 508—when he understood that paganism gave way to the Papacy—likewise ending in 1798, at which time the medieval supremacy of the Papacy terminated.

The 1335 years were similarly believed to begin with A.D. 508 and to end in 1843—Miller's original, unrevised position.²⁷ And the "time of the end" Smith reckoned as beginning in 1798. This too had been held by many. His was therefore a balanced synthesis of the views of the ablest scholars of the centuries, buttressed by the best investigation of the recent decades.²⁸ Such was Smith's systematic exposition of Daniel—and Smith was the outstanding expositor of the early Seventh-day Adventists.

V. The Apocalypse Completes the Prophetic Picture

1. CHURCHES AND SEALS COMPRISE HISTORY OF CHURCH.—

On the book of Revelation, the recognized complement and consummation of Daniel's prophecy, Smith reckoned the seven churches to be the seven major periods of the Christian church, covering the Christian Era. The "ten days" of dreadful persecution, under Smyrna, were from A.D. 303-313, suffered under Diocletian. The seven seals, as commonly expounded, cover the same period, but set forth the growing corruption in the apostatizing dominant church. The period of the four horsemen, riding down the corridor of time, marks the transition from the

²⁷ This had been generally changed in dating from A.D. 509 to 1844 during the seventh-month movement of the Millerites, thus to synchronize with the close of the 2300 years. See Part II of this volume.

²⁸ In his personal library Smith had about one hundred commentaries on the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse.

apostolic purity of the first century, on to Constantine; and from thence to the establishment of the Catholic Church, and ultimately to the Reformers. The sixth seal dates from the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 and the celestial signs following, on to the end. Then the apostle John repeats, as was characteristic of Daniel the prophet, with another paralleling line of prophecy.

2. TRUMPETS—FROM ROME'S BREAKUP TO THE FINALE.—

The first four trumpets, said Smith, clearly parallel the breakup of the old Roman Empire into its ten divisions. This too had been the standard exegesis for several centuries,²⁹ though Smith largely followed Litch's particular exposition on the trumpets.³⁰ The fifth trumpet portrays the Saracens, with their "five months" (150 years) extending from July 29, 1299, to 1449. And the sixth trumpet represents the Ottoman Turks, with their "hour, day, month, and year" (391 years and 15 days), reaching from 1449 to Aug. 11, 1840. The seventh trumpet, Smith believed, began to sound in 1844.

3. BIBLE SUPPRESSION AND FRENCH REVOLUTION.—

The Two Witnesses, Smith continued, were widely recognized to be the Old and New Testaments, and their 1260 years of witnessing in sackcloth during the well-known period of papal triumph. The three and one-half "days" of Revelation 11 are the three and one-half years of the suppression of the Bible, from 1793 to 1796, during the violent portion of the French Revolution. The "earthquake" was itself the symbol of the French Revolution, as scores of able interpreters had contended for more than a century. And the "tenth part of the city," had been widely reckoned as France. His was therefore a revival and restoration of what multiplied scores of scholars had taught for years.

²⁹ See tabular chart on pp. 1124, 1125.

³⁰ The Sabbatarian Adventists were perhaps more indebted to Dr. Josiah Litch than to any other single Millerite expositor. The concept of a trial judgment before the second advent, thus to separate the righteous from the wicked in preparation for the first resurrection, came from him. The exposition of the seven trumpets, which they reaffirmed, was taken over almost intact. And the thought that the second beast of Revelation 13 was a non-Roman Catholic power, coming into prominence after the French Revolution, is yet another example. And the plagues as yet future was his view.

EXPOSITORS OF THE TRUMPETS AND THEIR TIME PERIODS

Time Key: 391 Years = 360+30+1; 396 Years = 365+30+1

No	Name	Date	Nation.	Denom.	4 Trumpets	5th Trumpet	5 Months	6th Trumpet	Hr.-day- mo.-yr.	PERIOD Years	Days
PRIOR TO REFORMATION											
1	Victorinus (Bp.)	304	Aust.	Cath.							
2	Venerable Bede	675	Brit.	Cath.							
3	Walafrid Strabo	849	Ger.	Cath.							
7 Trumpets Cover Christian Era (Paralleling Seals) Last Two Trumpets Yet Future First Four in Past, Last Three Yet Future											
4	Beatus, the Monk	8-9 Cent.	Span.	Cath.		Saracens					
5	Joachim of Floris	1191	Ital.	Cath.		Schismatics	150 Yrs.	(Mohamm.)			
6	Brute, Walter	1391	Brit.				150 Yrs.				
SIXTEENTH CENTURY											
7	Luther, Martin	1545	Ger.	Prot.				Mohamm.			
8	Chytraeus, David	1572	Ger.	Prot.				Mohamm.			
9	Bullinger, Heinrich	1577	Swiss	Prot.		Mohamm.		Turks			
10	Foxe, John	1586	Brit.	Prot.		(Saracens)	606-756	Turks	1051-1573		
11	Napier, Sir John	1593	Brit.	Prot.		Saracens	1051-1201	Turks	1300-(1696)	396	
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY											
12	Downham, George	1603	Brit.			(Saracens)	630-780	(Turks)	1169-(1552)	391	
13	Brightman, Thomas	1609	Brit.	Presby.		Saracens	630-780		1300-1696	396	
14	Pareus, David	1618	Ger.	Luth.		Mohamm.	606-756	Mohamm.	1300-1696	396	
15	Mede, Joseph	1631	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens	830-980	Turks	1057-1453	396	
16	Goodwin, Dr. Thomas	1654	Brit.	Angl.		Saracens	955-1055	Turks	1453-1849	396	
17	Cotton, John	1639	Amer.	Par.			830-980	Turks			
18	Huit, Ephraim	1644	Amer.	Bapt.			606-756	Turks	1300-1695	395	
19	Parker, Thomas	1646	Amer.	Non-C.			150 Yrs.	Turks	1258-1649 (1370-1859)	391	
20	Cramer, Daniel	1618						Turks			
21	Hoe, Matthias	1618	Ger.			Antichrist		Turks			
22	Launay, Pierre de	1651	Fr.			Saracens		Turks			
23	Poole, Matthew	1666	Brit.								
24	Sherwin, William	1670	Brit.		Barbarians	Saracens	839-980	Turks	1057-1453	396	
25	Holyoke, Edward	1658	Amer.	Cong.		Papal Clergy	600-	Turks	1300-1696	396	
26	Hooke, William	1669	Amer.	Angl.	Judgments	Papacy		Ottomans	1300-		
27	Mather, Increase	1669	Amer.	Cong.		Saracens		Turks	1301-1697	396	
28	Beverley, Thomas	1684	Brit.			Saracens		Turks	1055-1453	391	+ 15 days
29	Cressener, Drue	1689	Brit.			Saracens	637-787	Turks	-1800		
30	Jurieu, Pierre	1687	Fr.			Saracens	622-772	Turks	1300-1696	396	
31	Knollys, Hanserd	1689	Brit.	Huguenot			150 Yrs.	Turks	(391)	391	
32	Lloyd, William	1690	Brit.				150 Yrs.		1302-1698	396	
33	Newton, Sir Isaac	1691	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens	637-936 (300)		1063-1453	391	
34	Horch, Heinrich	1697	Ger.	Ref.	Barbarians	Saracens	622-772	Turks	1057-1453	396	
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY											
35	Fleming, Robert, Jr.	1701	Brit.		Barbarians	Saracens		Turks	1300-1697	Years	
36	Mather, Cotton	1702	Amer.	Cong.	Barbarians	Saracens	Yrs.	Turks		396	
37	Noyes, Nicholas	1698	Amer.			Saracens		Turks			
38	Baxter, Richard	1701	Brit.				150 Yrs.		1300-1696	396	
39	Daubuz, Charles	1720	Fr.		Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	Years		
40	Whiston, William	1706	Brit.					Turks	1301-1697	396	
41	de Biensens, Th. (Crinzos)	1729	Fr.		Barbarians	Saracens	150 Yrs.	Turks	c. 400 yrs.		
42	Pyle, Thomas	1735	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens		Turks			
43	Edwards, Jonathan	1739	Amer.	Cong.	Barbarians	Saracens		Turks	1296-1453		
44	Burr, Aaron	1757	Amer.	Presby.		Saracens		Turks			
45	Gill, John (D.D.)	1758	Brit.	Bapt.	Barbarians	Saracens	Years	Turks	Years		
46	Newton, Thomas	1754	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	
47	Langdon, Samuel	1774	Amer.	Cong.	Barbarians	Saracens		Turks			
48	Whitaker, E. W.	1795	Brit.	Angl.				Turks	1453-1844	391	
49	Wood, Hans	1787	Irish		Barbarians	Saracens	630-780	Turks	1030-		
50	Gale, Benjamin	1788	Amer.			Saracens		Turks			
51	Bicheno, James	1793	Brit.	Diss.	Barbarians	Saracens	150 Yrs.	Turks	1300-1697	396	
52	Osgood, Samuel	1794	Amer.			Saracens	622-772	Turks	1299-	391	
53	Winchester, Elhanan	1793	Amer.	Bapt.		Saracens	150 Yrs.	Turks	1281-1672	391	+ 15 days
54	Winthrop, James	1794	Amer.			Saracens	150 Yrs.		-1775	391	
55	Brusken, Konrad	1703	Ger.	Luth.		Saracens	606-756	Turks	1055-1453	396	
56	Vitrings, Camp.	1705	Dutch		Barbarians	Saracens	673-823	Turks	1301-1697	396	
57	Anonymous	1719	Brit.					Turks	-1471	396	
58	Henry, Matthew	1712	Brit.	Non-C.	Barbarians	Papacy		Turks	1057-1453	396	
59	Anonymous	1719	Brit.				150 Yrs.		1057-1453	396	
60	Kershaw	1780	Brit.				629-779		1301-1697	396	
61	Scott, Thomas	1791	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762		1281-1672	391	(+ 15 days)
62	Woodhouse, J. G.	1794	Brit.						1055-1697	391	(+ 16)
63	Kett, Henry	1799	Brit.				612-762				
64	King, Edward	1798	Brit.			Saracens	Yrs.	Turks	Years		
65	Galloway, Joseph	1798	Brit.		Barbarians	Saracens	Yrs.	Turks	Years		

The value of the historical approach, in weighing the evidence for and against a given interpretation, may be seen through a chronological, or tabular, listing. It is both interesting and important to know just who began a certain application, as with the year-day principle to the "five months" of the fifth trumpet—Joachim of Floris back in 1191; or the Turk as the power of the sixth trumpet—Heinrich Bullinger in 1577; or the northern barbarians as the scourge of Western Rome—by Joseph Mede in 1631; or the "hour, day, month, and year" to the 391 years—Bishop George Downham, in 1603; or the "hour" as a literal 15 days—by Thomas Beverley in 1681.

EXPOSITORS OF THE TRUMPETS AND THEIR TIME PERIODS

(Continued)

No.	Name	Date	Nation.	Denom.	4 Trumpets	5th Trumpet	5 Months	6th Trumpet	Hr.-day- mo.-yr.	PERIOD Years	Days
NINETEENTH CENTURY											
66	Mitchel	1800	Brit.	—	—	Saracens	622-772	Turks	1300-1696	396	—
67	Evanson, Edward	1802	Brit.	—	—	Saracens	632-782	Turks	1057-1453	396	—
68	Chamberlin, Richard	1805	Amer.	—	—	—	150 Yrs.	Turks	1292-1683	391	—
69	Johnstone, Bryce	1807	Brit.	—	—	Saracens	606-756	Turks	699-1090	391	—
70	French, Lawrence	1810	Brit.	—	—	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1299-1685	391	—
71	M'Leod, Alexander	1815	Amer.	—	—	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	+ 15
72	Holmes, James I.	1815	Brit.	—	—	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	+ 15
73	Priestly, Joseph	1804	Brit.	—	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
74	Barnes, Albert	1805	Brit.	—	—	Saracens	622-772	—	1057-1453	396	—
75	Farnham, Benjamin	1800	Amer.	—	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Ott. Turks	1281-1672	391	—
76	CHRISTIAN OBSERVER	1804	Brit.	—	—	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
77	HERALD OF GOS. LIB.	1808	Amer.	—	—	—	—	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
78	Faber, George S.	1804	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	+ 15
79	Fuller, Andrew	1810	Brit.	—	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
80	Buck, Charles	1811	Brit.	Ind.	—	—	—	Mohamm.	1453-1844	391	—
81	Cuninghame, William	1813	Brit.	Cong.	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1302-1697	395	—
82	Columbian Fam. Bible	—	Amer.	—	—	Saracens	606-	—	391 yrs.	391	—
83	Bible (D'Oyley & Mant)	1818	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
84	Self-Interp. Bible	—	Brit.	Presby.	Barbarians	Saracens	Yrs. to 760	Turks	1281-1762	391	—
85	Brown, John A.	1823	Brit.	—	—	Mohamm.	610-760	Turks	1302-1698	391	—
86	Bayford, John	1820	Brit.	Angl.	—	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
87	Cornwallis, Mrs.	1820	Brit.	—	—	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	+ 15
88	"Laius"	1827	Brit.	—	—	Saracens	630-930 (300)	Turks	1299-1690	391	—
89	Bogle, B. D.	1836	Brit.	—	—	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	+ 15
90	Fuller, Andrew	1815	Brit.	—	—	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
91	Miller, William	1832	Amer.	Bapt.	—	Mohamm.	1298-1448	Ott. Turks	1448-1839	391	+ 15
92	Haywood, John	1819	Amer.	Chr.	Judgments	Mohamm.	150 Yrs.	Turks	1376-1777	391	—
93	Kinne, Aaron	1813	Amer.	Cong.	Barbarians	Gothic Kgs.	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
94	Smith, Ethan	1811	Amer.	Cong.	Invasions	Mohamm.	—	Turks	1453-1844	391	—
95	Armstrong, Amzi	1814	Amer.	Presby.	Barbarians	Mohamm.	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
96	Davis, William C.	1811	Amer.	Presby.	—	Mohamm.	622-734	Turks	1453-1844	391	—
97	"Robertson, Th. R."	1826	Amer.	Presby.	—	Mohamm.	622-734	Turks	1453-1844	391	—
98	Reid, Robert	1824	Amer.	Presby.	Barbarians	Mohamm.	—	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
99	Gauntlett, Henry	1821	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
100	Drummond, Henry	1830	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens	—	Turks	—	—	—
101	Fry, John	1822	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1453-1844	391	—
102	White, Thomas	1828	Brit.	Angl.	—	—	—	Turks	1453-1844	391	—
103	Homan, Ph.	1829	Brit.	—	—	Saracens	—	Turks	1453-1844	391	—
104	Irving, Edward	1826	Brit.	Presby.	Barbarians	Saracens	—	Turks	—	—	—
105	Park, John R. (M.D.)	1825	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1453-1844	391	—
106	Cooper, Edward	1825	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens	533-762	Turks	1327-1718	391	—
107	Keyworth, Thomas	1828	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
108	Keith, Alexander	1828	Brit.	—	Barbarians	Saracens	622-772	Turks	1057-1453	396	—
109	Jen's Compr. Comm.	1834	Amer.	—	Invasions	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
110	Cottage Bible	1841	Brit.	—	Overthrow of R.	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1302-1698	396	—
111	Habershon, Matthew	1834	Brit.	Angl.	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1453-1844	391	—
112	Ashe, Isaac	1835	Irish	Prot.	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1057-1483	396	—
113	Bickersteth, Edward	1836	Irish	Evangel.	—	Saracens	636-786	Turks	1053-1483	—	—
114	Gaussen, Louis	1837	Fr.-Sw.	Evan.	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1057-1453	396	—
115	PROT. VINDICATOR	1836	Amer.	Dutch R.	—	Mohamm.	612-762	Turks	1453-1844	391	—
116	Walmsley, Charles	—	Brit.	R.C.	Barbarians	Reformation	1525-1675	Mohamm.	Point of Time	—	—
117	Scott, Robert (M.D.)	1834	Amer.	Bapt.	Barbarians	Saracens	606-756	Turks	1299-1690	391	—
118	Crandall, A. L.	1842	Amer.	—	—	Inquisition	—	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
119	Henshaw, J. P. K.	1842	Amer.	Epis.	—	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1261-1672	391	—
120	Hinton, Isaac T.	1842	Amer.	Bapt.	—	Mohamm.	612-762	Turks	-1672	396	—
121	Junkin, George	1844	Amer.	Presby.	Barbarians	Mohamm.	612-762	Turks	-1453	391	—
122	Skimeal, R. C.	—	Amer.	Epis.	—	—	—	Turks	1453-1844	391	—
123	Cumming, John	1843	Brit.	Presby.	—	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1057-1453	396	—
124	Elliott, E. B.	1844	Brit.	—	Barbarians	Saracens	Yrs.	Turks	1057-1453	396	—
125	Scott, James	—	Brit.	—	—	—	—	Turks	1453-1844	391	—
126	Frete, James H.	1815	Brit.	Ind.	Barbarians	Saracens	612-762	Turks	1281-1692	391	—
127	Cox, John	—	Brit.	—	—	—	—	Turks	1453-1844	391	—
128	Tudor, John	1829	—	—	—	Saracens	612-762	Turks	391 Yrs.	+ fraction	—
129	Anonymous	1829	Brit.	—	—	Saracens	632-782	Turks	1062-1453	391	—
130	Hales, William	1830	Brit.	Angl.	—	Saracens	620-770	Turks	1281-1672	391	—
131	"J.C.Q." (JEW. EXP.)	1832	Brit.	Angl.	—	—	—	Turks	1453-1844	391	—
132	Jones, William	1830	Brit.	Bapt.	Barbarians	Antichrist	—	Moh. Turks	1299-1690	391	—
133	"C.E.S." (CHR. OBSER.)	1826	Brit.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
134	Litch, Josiah	1838	Amer.	M. E.	Barbarians	Turks	1299-1449	Ott. Turks	1449-1840	391	+ 15

In 1795 E. W. Whitaker first placed the 391 years from 1453 to 1844, with about sixteen following his lead in subsequent decades. But not until Josiah Litch, in 1838, was the principle employed of linking the 150 years and the 391 years in sequence. There is thus portrayed the development, built up over fifteen centuries, of the exposition of the trumpets.

Moreover, such a tabulation removes the stigma of irrationality from such time calculations, when the high caliber of the expositors involved is noted. The geographical spread of the interpreters also has a material bearing, and their dispersion over various leading denominations.

4. **PERSECUTING DRAGON, WOMAN, AND WILDERNESS.**—The pure woman in white, of Revelation 12, had likewise for centuries been generally held to be the true church, and the Child, Christ Jesus. The dragon was, as hundreds had contended, pagan Rome, persecuting the church as she fled into the "wilderness"—this persecution continuing during 1260 years of papal spiritual supremacy. The "remnant" is held by Smith to be the commandment-keeping Christian group constituting the final segment of the true church.

5. **THE PAPAL AND PROTESTANT BEASTS.**—The first beast of Revelation 13 was, as had also been generally conceded, papal Rome; the seven heads being the seven forms of Roman government.³¹ The ten horn-kingdoms are, naturally, the same as those that spring out of the Roman Empire in Daniel 7. And the 42 months are the same three and one-half times or 1260 years—always from A.D. 538 to 1798. The "wound" by the sword is obviously the captivity of Pope Pius VI, in 1798, effected by the French general Berthier, as many in Europe and America declared at the time. The second beast, Smith held, is now clearly seen to be the Protestant United States, the horns denoting youthfulness and innocence. The "image" is to be a likeness of the papal union of church and state, yet to be developed, with enforcement of religious dogma by civil enactment. The "mark" he believed to be the counterfeit sabbath, with "666" as the mystical number of the Papacy, based on the title *Vicarius Filii Dei*.

6. **THREE WARNING MESSAGES AND LAST PLAGUES.**—The first angel's message, of Revelation 14, is the heralding in many lands, between 1831 and 1844, of the impending judgment hour. The second is the call to separate from apostasy. And the final, or third, message in the inseparable series is the warning against receiving the mark of papal apostasy. The seven last plagues follow swiftly upon the close of probation and are poured out upon the willful rejectors of God's final overtures of

³¹ Kingly, consular, decimvirate, dictatorial, triumvirate, imperial, and papal.

mercy and messages of warning. This, more than any other chapter in the Revelation, was the subject of special study and emphasis by the Adventists.

7. CORRUPTED CHURCH SUPPORTED BY CIVIL POWER.—The gay, corrupted “woman” and “Babylon” of Revelation 17 are primarily the papal church, and the seven-headed beast she rides are the civil powers supporting her. The ten horns are declared to be the same ten nations of Europe, and the seven heads the same seven forms of Roman government enunciated under Revelation 13, with the papal head as the last form. The Protestant “daughters” are those communions that follow her wayward steps.

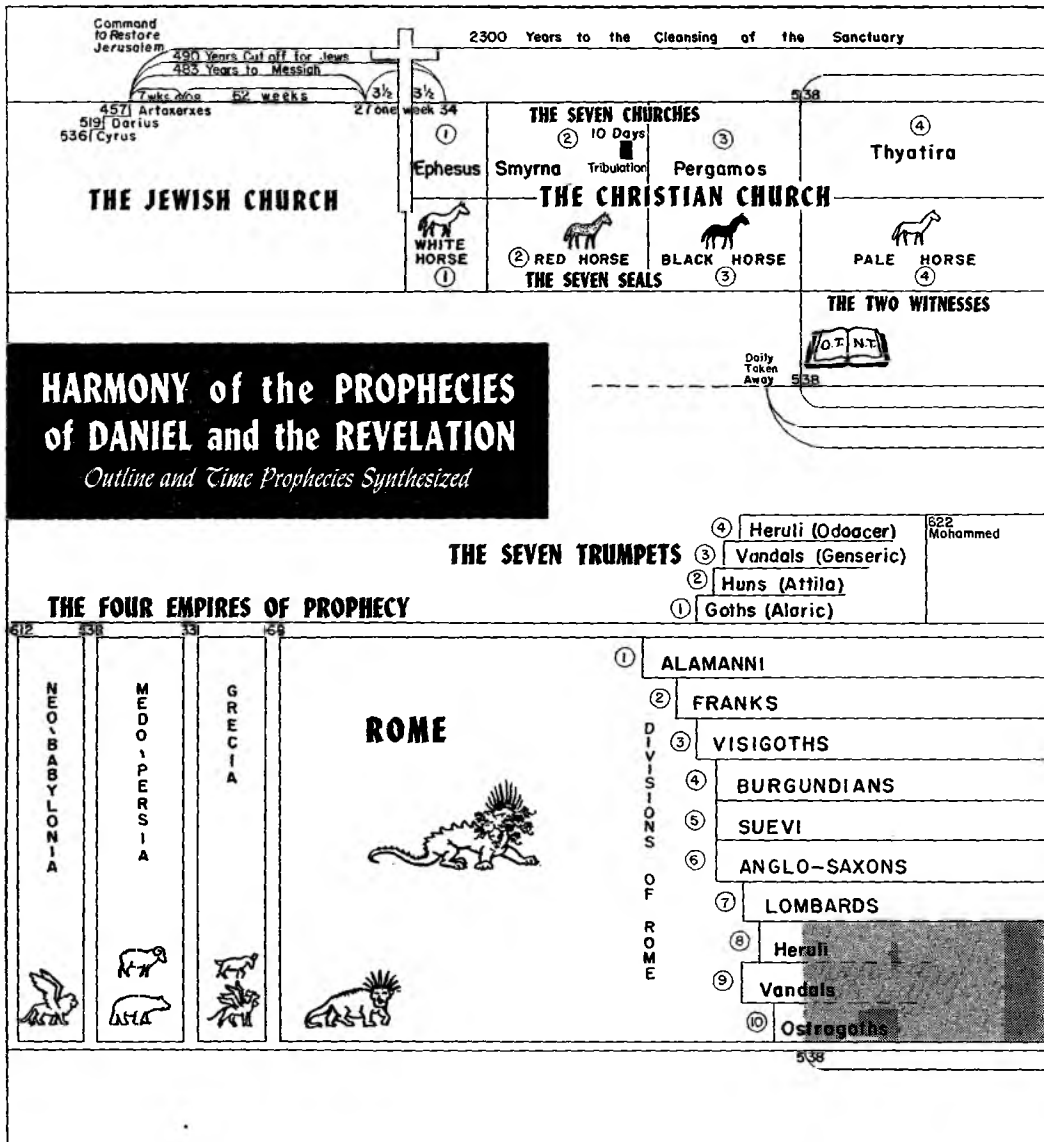
8. MILLENNIUM—FROM SECOND ADVENT TO EARTH RENEWED.—The millennial thousand years *follow* the second coming of Christ. They open with the literal first resurrection (of the righteous), and close with the literal second resurrection (that of the wicked). The new heavens and the new earth supersede the present heaven and earth, springing out of its ashes, after the destruction of the old. And the New Jerusalem is the Father’s house and Holy City—the abode of the redeemed saints forever.

Uriah Smith was the leading editor of the growing movement, and such, in condensed form, was his systematic coverage of the prophecy of the Revelation of John, as matching that of Daniel. His interpretations were recognized as the standard exposition of Seventh-day Adventists generally, except on certain minor matters. (Its main features appear in chart form on pp. 1128, 1129.)

VI. Gage—Papacy the Last Power of Daniel 11

In passing we must also note WILLIAM C. GAGE (1842 1907),³² master printer, who was born in Massachusetts, early moving to New Hampshire, where he learned the printer’s

³² Wm. C. Gage, “My Experience,” *Review and Herald*, March 1, 1864, p. 109; death notice, *Review and Herald*, Sept. 19, 1907, p. 24; *The Beginnings of Adventism in Battle Creek*, reprinted from *The Enquirer and News* (Battle Creek, 1932).

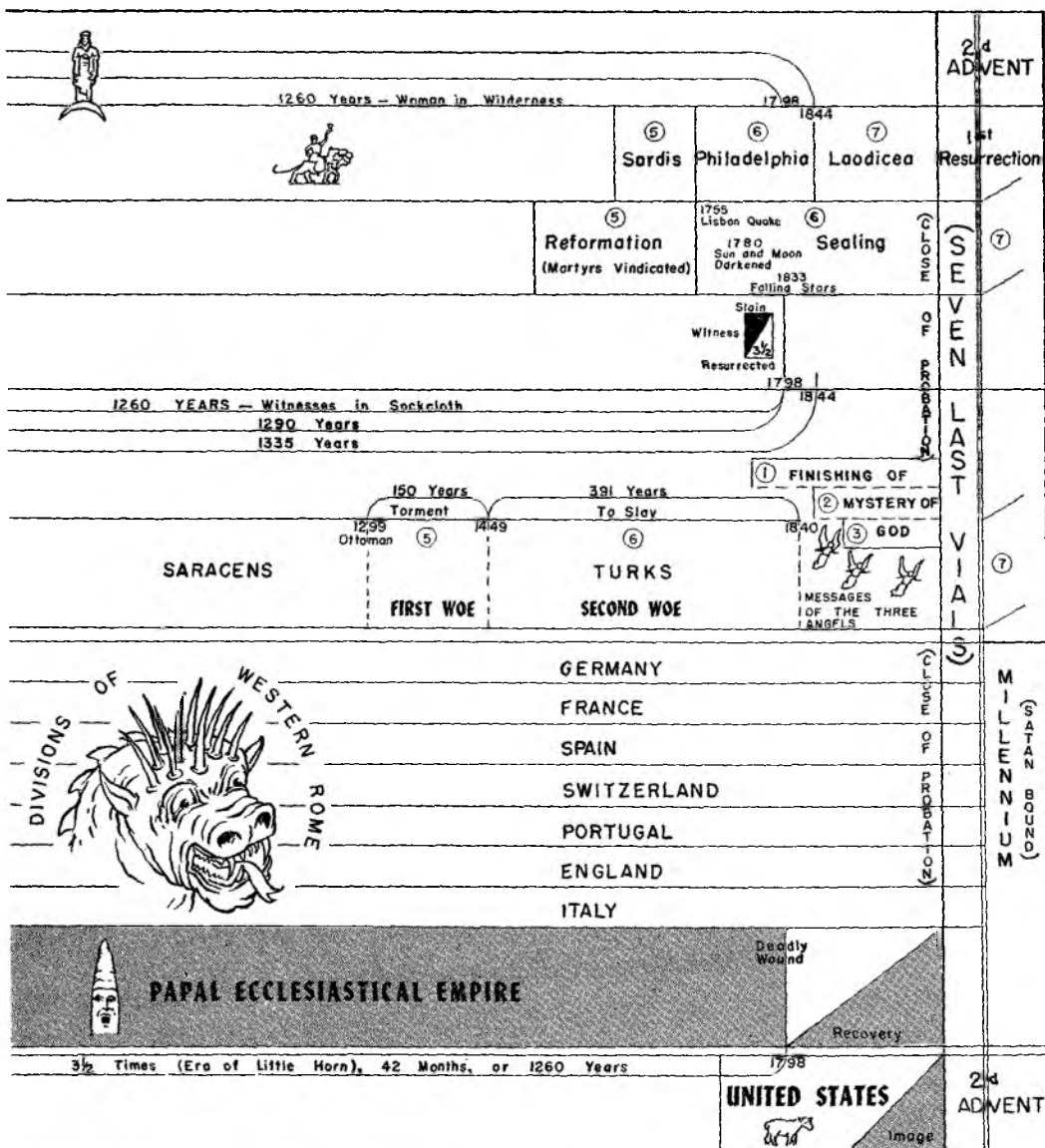


COMPOSITE PICTURE OF INTERRELATED

Here is a Panoramic View of the Major Outline and Time Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, the Unfolding Exposition of Which Has Been the Object of Our Quest Throughout the Four Volumes of the PROPHETIC FAITH. The Component Prophecies of These Two Books are Here Brought Together in Integrated Form, Showing Part Related to Part, and Together Making Up a Single Over-all Portrayal. It May Thus Be Likened, in Its Field, to a Complete Harmony of the Gospels.

The Outlines in the Revelation, Pictured in the Upper Half, Are the Complement and Expansion of Daniel's Basic Group of Prophecies, Which Provide the Secular Setting for the Sequence of Nations, Their Divisions, Continuity, and Final Developments. The Relationship and Timing of the Papal Empire, and Its Deadly Wound and Healing, are Amplified and Brought to the Finale in the Apocalypse.

In the Upper Half the Paralleling True and Apostate Churches of the Revelation appear, Showing Their Special Time Periods and Characteristic Features. The Scourgings and Woes Upon Western and Then Eastern Rome are Shown Chronologically, and the Related



PROPHECIES OF SACRED SCRIPTURE

Messages of the Three Angels and the Finishing of the Mystery of God in the Time of His Appointment.

Then the Vital Interrelated Time Periods of Both Books, Which Form an Integral Part of the Master Outline Prophecies, Are Shown. With Their Tie-ins—including the Two Witnesses, the Signs of the Advent, and the Climactic Eschatological Scenes of the End of the Age. These Include the Close of Probation, the Seven Last Plagues, the Second Advent and the Resurrection, and the Beginning of the Millennium. These May Be Seen in Relationship, Part Bearing Upon Part.

This Pictorial Chart Therefore Portrays the Fundamental Positions Adopted by the Sabbatarian Adventists, Which Were in Reality but the Progressively Developed Exposition of the Centuries, Gathering Up and Carrying Forward to Their Consummation the Pre-Christian Era Jewish Exegesis, Blended Into the Early Christian, Reformation, and Post-Reformation Church Periods, Along With Early Nineteenth-Century Old and New World Advances, Which Together Formed the Prophetic Faith of the Sabbatarian Adventists.

trade. Drawn through curiosity to hear what the Adventists had to say in their tent meetings, he remained to consider and finally to accept. A discussion between Merritt Cornell and Miles Grant tipped the balance, and he made his decision for the Sabbatarian faith. He developed into a gifted minister and became a power in the pulpit. For a time he also served as acting editor of the *Review and Herald*, during Uriah Smith's visit to Europe.

In 1882 he was elected mayor of Battle Creek, Michigan, on a strict temperance platform. He accepted the post because of the issues, and upon the urgings of others, and waged a determined crusade against the saloon evils of the day. Suffering from ill health, he went into secular work, founding the Gage Printing Company in 1883. Gage shared the view of James White on the Papacy as the power of the latter part of Daniel 11, evidently the majority view in those earlier years. Here is his editorial in the *Review* of 1867.

"More than two thousand years ago, an inspired prophet of the Lord uttered against a power which should 'magnify himself above every god,' the following prediction: 'Yet he shall come to his end and none shall help him.' Dan. xi, 45. As the seal was removed from the book of Daniel, and knowledge on the prophecies increased, it became evident that the power here referred to could be no other than the Papacy, and the careful student of prophecy has been watching with eager interest the events which mark the fulfillment of this prediction.

"The close observer cannot fail to see that the temporal power of the Papacy is steadily but surely crumbling away. The troubled state of things which exists in Europe is causing those which have lent it their support to withdraw their countenance from it, to attend wholly to their own affairs, as self preservation is the first law of Governments.³³

Gage closes his discussion with the end of the Papacy, which he states is to immediately follow "the entire desertation of the Papal power by the governments of earth." This he states will occur at the time of "the deliverance of God's people when Michael shall stand up."

Thus on the great primaries of prophecy all were united. On some of the secondaries there was variation of view—and the power of the latter part of Daniel 11 was usually placed in this category.

³³ "W.C.G.," editorial, "'None Shall Help Him,'" *Review and Herald*, Sept. 24, 1867, p. 236.

VII. Educator Bell—Produces Systematic Lessons on Prophecies

The last comprehensive early exposition we shall note is by GOODLOE HARPER BELL (1832-1899),³⁴ educational pioneer and founder of the first Seventh-day Adventist college. He was of New England ancestry, both parents descending from Revolutionary stock. He was born in Watertown, New York, his parents later moving to Oberlin, Ohio, in the stream of westward migration. Here he studied at the well-known Oberlin College, noted for its early educational reforms. And here Bell evidently imbibed some of its wholesome principles. Moving with his parents to Michigan, he was soon filling important educational posts in the public school system of the State.

In 1866, at the age of thirty-four, Bell came to Battle Creek to seek medical help at the Western Health Institute (forerunner of the Battle Creek Sanitarium), conducted by the Adventists. In church affiliation he had first been a member of the Baptist denomination, later joining the Disciples when he came to believe them to be in possession of certain advanced truths. And now, in Battle Creek, he was led to investigate the various points of the Seventh-day Adventist faith, checking them carefully with the Bible, and soon cast in his lot wholeheartedly with them.

As a teacher Bell was regarded as somewhat of a genius. He had a concept of Christian education far in advance of his time. He was no mere pedagogue of the conventional classical pattern of the day, but was avowedly an educational reformer. He was, in turn, much impressed by the principles of education advocated by Mrs. E. G. White. And as he had already demonstrated his teaching ability, he was asked to aid in starting a school for the church. So the Seventh-day Adventist Educational Society was founded, and in 1873 the new institution was opened. It was a success from the beginning, growing rapidly and soon blossoming into a college. Professor Bell remained as head of the

³⁴ Obituary, *Review and Herald*, Jan. 24, 1899; J. C. Barthold, *Youth's Instructor*, Feb. 9, 1889, pp. 101-106; M. E. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists*, pp. 331-337; Spalding, *Captains*, pp. 389-449.

English department, and his influence had much to do in fulfilling the dream of church leaders for an institution of adequate proportions for the training of their Christian workers.³⁵

Bell was a strong, sound, and progressive thinker, simplicity and precision characterizing his writing style. He was author of a series in English language and literature textbooks, as well as of Sabbath school lessons. Through the latter medium he put a definite mold on the Sabbath schools of the church, as did his textbooks for the day school and college. In 1869 he furnished the *Youth's Instructor*, of which he became editor, a series of lessons for youth on the book of Daniel—thus entering the field of prophetic exposition. Later these lessons were expanded into a complete series of graduated Bible lessons, in small book form, for the Sabbath school.

For fifteen years he was superintendent of the Battle Creek Sabbath school. By 1878, some six hundred Sabbath schools formed a General Sabbath School Association, with Bell serving first as recording secretary. In 1880 he became its president. He was also the first head of the South Lancaster Academy (1882-1885), which in turn became the Atlantic Union College. And for three years he was editor of *Fireside Monthly*, an educational journal. Here is a summary of his lessons on the prophecies, which likewise exemplify the now well-established pattern.

VIII. Comprehensive Coverage of the Major Prophecies

Professor Bell's coverage of Daniel and the Apocalypse, briefly presented herewith, is succinct but comprehensive. It is phrased clearly and presents one of the remarkably able interpretations of that early time, meriting more attention than is usually accorded it. It had a molding influence upon the youth, who followed it through the Sabbath schools and other Bible classes. Here is an epitome, again showing the essential unity of all these pioneer writers on prophecy.

³⁵ George I. Butler, "Our School at Battle Creek," *Review and Herald*, June 4, 1872, pp. 196, 197; see also General Conference Proceedings, *Review and Herald*, March 18, 1873.

1. **FOUR WORLD POWERS AND THEIR AFTERMATH.**—In dealing with “The Four Great Kingdoms,” Bell’s *Progressive Bible Lessons for Youth* (1875) traces Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Grecia, and Rome, then Rome’s divisions from its breakup to the present time, and on to the establishment of the everlasting kingdom of God. The same four kingdoms are then considered under the beast symbols of Daniel 7. The ten horns represent the ten kingdoms—the Huns, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Franks, Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians, Heruli, Anglo-Saxons, and Lombards. In his notes Bell cites Rollin, Josephus, Scott, Clarke, Machiavelli, Lloyd, Hales, and others.

The Little Horn is identified as the Papacy, persecuting the saints, changing the Sabbath, and making presumptive claims of power. The three uprooted horns are the Heruli, Vandals, and Ostrogoths. And the driving away of the latter from Rome in A.D. 538—when Justinian’s decree became effective—dates the beginning of the special allotment of 1260 years of papal power, which ended in 1798 at the captivity of the pope by Berthier.³⁶

2. **2300 YEARS, AND 70 WEEKS TO CHRIST.**—Then follow the Persian ram and Grecian goat, with Alexander as its notable horn. The exceeding great horn development is again the Roman power, finally putting the Prince of the Host, Jesus Christ, to death, and under its papal form casting down the truth to the ground. Next comes the 2300 years, from Persia, with the 70 weeks of years, “cut off” for the Jews, according to Gesenius. This leads from 457 B.C. to the crucifixion of the Messiah, with the reconciliation for iniquity made by His atoning blood, and ending with the anointing of the true sanctuary in heaven. The key dates of the seventieth week are the autumn of A.D. 27, the spring of A.D. 31, and the autumn of A.D. 34, citing William Hales.³⁷

3. **THE SANCTUARY SERVICE AND THE JUDGMENT.**—To Bell,

³⁶ Goodloe H. Bell, *Progressive Bible Lessons for Youth*, pp. 110-135.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-164.

as with Smith, the "daily" was simply paganism, and the taking away was its suppression—thus differing from White and others, but without controversy, as this was considered a minor point. The sanctuary trodden underfoot was the new covenant sanctuary in heaven, and the treading underfoot is by the setting up of rival sanctuaries. It has been trodden underfoot the same as the Son of man has, and that was by blasphemous presumptions.³⁸ Then follows a discussion of the sanctuary, its vessels, the two phases of its service, and Christ's ministry in the heavens. And next comes the nature of the judgment, the Judge, the Witnesses, the books and their examination, our Advocate, and the cleansing of the sanctuary.³⁹ Bell was methodical and thorough.

4. SEALS, TRUMPETS, AND FIRST TWO MESSAGES.—The seven seals are understood to portray the development of apostasy in the church, including the period of papal persecution. The trumpets reach their climax with the sixth, or Turkish, trumpet, ending in August, 1840. And the "time of the dead that they should be judged" refers to the "investigative judgment." The "sealed" book, which was the book of Daniel, was opened in the "time of the end," and then comes the finishing of the mystery of God. Then follows the first angel's message, which proclaims the hour of God's judgment. The message of the approaching advent was sounded in Britain by some seven hundred members of the English clergy, according to Brock,⁴⁰ along with doubtless a far greater number of Nonconformists, and heralded all over the Old World, as well as by Miller and hundreds of his associates in the New World.

Next comes the second message, and the relation of the true and false churches thereto. The dragon was pagan Rome, the woman in white the true church, and the ten-horned leopardlike beast was the Papacy, the same as is the Little Horn of Daniel. The 1260 days are the years of persecution of the woman

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-176.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-192.

⁴⁰ See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, p. 706.

in the wilderness. The second beast is the United States, and its two horns civil and religious liberty. The image of the Beast is "another ecclesiastical establishment, clothed with similar power."⁴¹ The pattern is now clear, distinct, and commonly accepted by all Seventh-day Adventists.

5. PAPAL CHURCH AND STATE IN REVELATION 17.—The beast of Revelation 17, with its ten horns, had already been defined as the Roman Empire—the horns being the kingdoms into which it was divided, and the seven heads the forms of government—kingly, consular, decemvirate, dictatorial, triumvirate, imperial, and papal.⁴² Dire persecution came under the religious phase, when the church became corrupt. And this last power is the eighth head. The distinction or relationship between the church and the state is indicated by the corrupted woman upborne by the *beast*, which she guides and controls.

6. PERVERSIONS POLLUTE THE DAUGHTER CHURCHES.—Corruption in the Christian church was introduced early in the Christian Era, according to Paul in 2 Thessalonians 2. The transition from purity to error and corruption was indicated by the seven seals of Revelation 6—changing from white to red to black and then to pale, as pagan doctrines and modes of worship were introduced, until it reached the flood tide in the Middle Ages. Constantine's earlier part is noted, and finally the apostasy becomes the Papacy. But the corruption of the Protestant churches, through unlawful connection with worldly policies and powers, has similarly polluted the daughter churches. And various admissions from both Old World and New World expositors are cited in justification of the message of "Babylon's fall," heralded by the Millerites in 1843 and 1844.⁴³

7. UNITED STATES—SECOND POWER OF REVELATION 13.—The third message concerns the two beasts of Revelation 13—the Papacy being commonly acknowledged to be the first, with

⁴¹ G. H. Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-263.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 219, 220.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-239.

its presumptive claims and persecuting power, and its identification with the Little Horn of Daniel 7:25. Next, the rise of the second power was at the very time the pope went into captivity in 1798. This captivity was the same as the wounding, but which wound was healed by the installation of another pope in 1800. Wesley, in his day, looked for the appearance of the two-horned beast as not far off. Bell locates the peaceful rise of this power in the New World, and identifies it as the United States of America. Its growth, resources, mechanical advances, and its peaceful character are portrayed, and its lamblike horns indicate its "youth and mildness." But later it is to speak through its laws in legislative enactment, and will finally persecute dissenters. Thus it at last becomes the false prophet.⁴⁴

8. SPIRITUALISM, IMAGE OF THE BEAST, AND THE MARK.—The rise of Spiritualism, in 1848, is next noted—pretended communication with the dead, with millions of devotees claimed as early as 1875. These spirits are lying spirits, but have wonder-working power. The "image of the beast" is a likeness to the papal ecclesiastical establishment—power to define and punish heresy, and its dogmas enforced by civil law. And finally the mark of the Beast is given as the change the Papacy has made in the law of God, with the resultant test of loyalty. The papal claim for the change is cited from various standard Catholic catechisms. And the early steps toward the ultimate formation of the predicted "image," already taken in Bell's day, are noted.⁴⁵

9. FINAL EVENTS, INCLUDING THE MILLENNIUM.—The seven last plagues fall following the close of probation. The dragon, Beast, and false prophet, Bell adds, represent paganism, Catholicism, and apostate Protestantism. The "River Euphrates" is a symbol of Turkey, watered by the Euphrates. The final outpouring of the plagues, the time of trouble, and the battle of the great day, appear in swift succession, and are all intertwined.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 240-259.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 263-283, 292-310.

And the millennium follows, with the saints in heaven and the earth barren and desolate, ending with the loosing of Satan for a little season at its close, the destruction of the wicked following, and then the new earth eternal.⁴⁶ Such was Bell's over-all portrayal. The pattern is clear. There is now essential unity of exposition among all Sabbatarian Adventists. And this was a textbook for Bible classes.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 311-320.

The Larger Aspects of Prophecy

Ellen White did not write a connected commentary or exposition as such, on either Daniel or the Revelation. But scattered through her writings there are illuminating comments on major aspects of the great outline prophecies and their related time periods. It is to be particularly noted, however, that in basic prophetic interpretation, as with fundamental Bible doctrine, Seventh-day Adventists did not receive a single major exposition of prophecy originally through the writings of Mrs. E. G. White.

The counsel given through this channel was never intended to take the place of personal investigation or group study of the prophetic Scriptures. They never wrested from men the privilege of initiative. And never did Mrs. White run ahead of such Biblical research. Rather, she followed after, either to sustain an interpretation already discerned or to point out a fallacy in some reasoning pursued or conclusions reached—to foster unity and establish a right understanding. That was exemplified in the 1848 Sabbath conferences, and thenceforward throughout her lifetime. Certain of Mrs. White's utterances did, however, serve as clues to initiate a study of new aspects of prophecy, such as her 1845 statement on the overlooked "time of Jacob's trouble" as a still future event, to take place shortly at the second advent.¹ It is well to keep this relationship in mind, for Adventists are fundamentally Protestant.

¹ James White, *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* p. 22.

Although she never received a formal education, Mrs. White became well acquainted with the broad fields of human knowledge. She traveled extensively and was unusually well informed through wide observation and reading. But she was not dependent upon such sources for her views on prophecy. Nevertheless, her statements expounding prophecy accord with the best-established expositions of the centuries, as well as harmonizing with the leading positions of the Adventist interpreters. Her statements can therefore be taken as truly representative of Adventist exposition.

Ellen White's views on Bible prophecy were never petty or constricted. There was a conspicuous breadth and balance to them, a scope and a largeness of concept, that took in the sweep of the ages and brought out the larger meanings of prophecy—the mighty principles that undergird and form the framework of all lesser features along the way.² Her large book, *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan*, is her classic contribution in this field. Minor matters and items of little moment, upon which there were sometimes differences of opinion, were usually passed by unnoticed—unless they had been magnified out of their relatively subordinate place. Then counsel or caution was given lest Christian unity be imperiled.

Ellen White dealt with great rugged principles, not with inconsequentials. Her concern was with primaries, foundational features, pillars, and landmarks of the advent faith. These she enumerated and stressed.³ And it might also be observed that the silences of Mrs. White were often as significant as her utterances. On certain themes, such as the mystery of the Godhead, she said, "Here silence is eloquence."⁴ So also with obscure aspects of prophecy. She maintained, furthermore, that some things will not be understood this side of the kingdom to come.⁵ Such matters, she counseled, we had best hold in abeyance.

² E. G. White, Ms. 56, 1896.

³ E. G. White, Ms. 13, 1889; *Counsels to Writers and Editors*, pp. 30, 31.

⁴ E. G. White, *Testimonies*, vol. 8, p. 279.

⁵ E. G. White, "The Work of the Minister," *Review and Herald*, Sept. 11, 1888, pp. 577, 578; "Notes of Travel—No. 4," Aug. 15, 1907, p. 8; E. G. White, Letter 16, 1903.

I. High Lights on the Prophecies of Daniel

1. DANIEL 2—NOW IN CRUMBLING “TOES” KINGDOMS.—Ellen White expounds the symbolic image of Daniel 2 as the inspired portrayal of the course of empire from Nebuchadnezzar's day on “to the close of time,” with the “establishment of God's everlasting kingdom” as the climax of the grand outline.⁶ She declares that the respective periods of dominance, in the successive rise and fall of empires, have been governed by the law of “obedience or disobedience,” each nation having its “period of trial as to whether it will exalt the one Ruler, the only true God.” And she adds, “The centuries have their mission. Every moment has its work.”⁷

“Each actor in history stands in his lot and place,” she writes. They have “prepared themselves to fill positions for good or evil,” though none are forced to take any given course of action. They nevertheless “act their part in the fulfillment of history.” They will “fall into line as witnesses to confirm truth that they themselves do not comprehend.”⁸ Such is the deeper meaning of history. These four world powers, Mrs. White declares, “have come upon the stage of action” to “demonstrate that God is ruling in the affairs of this world.” Thus the “voice of God, heard in past ages, is sounding down along the line, from century to century.”⁹ And Mrs. White indicates our place in that line: “Our position in the image of Nebuchadnezzar is represented by the toes, in a divided state, and of a crumbling material, that will not hold together.”¹⁰

2. UNION OF CHURCH-CRAFT AND STATE-CRAFT PORTRAYED.—While the decline from the strength of iron to the weakness of iron mingled with potter's clay, in the feet and toes of the image, represents the “deterioration of the earthly kingdoms in power and glory,” she states that it also “fitly represents the

⁶ E. G. White, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 503.

⁷ E. G. White, “Lessons From the Life of Daniel—XIII,” *Youth's Instructor*, Sept. 29, 1903, pp. 6, 7. As all citations in this section are from Mrs. White, the source only will be named in the remaining documentation of this chapter.

⁸ “Caiaphas,” *Review and Herald*, June 12, 1900, p. 369.

⁹ “Lessons From the Life of Daniel—XIII,” *Youth's Instructor*, Sept. 29, 1903, pp. 6, 7.

¹⁰ *Testimonies*, vol. 1, p. 361.

deterioration of religion.”¹¹ This degeneration came through the disintegration of the purer faith of the early Christian church, as it had been under the “iron” Roman Empire. And Mrs. White adds the significant point that the feet and toes, or the divided kingdoms that followed, include the Papacy.¹² Perhaps the most striking statement of all is this:

“The mingling of church craft and state craft is represented by the iron and the clay. This union is weakening all the power of the churches. This investing of the church with the power of the state will bring evil results.”¹³

So it was that the strength of the early evangelical faith was vitiated through intermingling with the great papal departures.

3. **STONE IS CHRIST'S COMING KINGDOM.**—The symbolic stone that smites the image on the feet clearly represents Christ's kingdom, soon to “succeed all earthly kingdoms,” thenceforth to stand forever.¹⁴ Thus “we are waiting for our Lord from Heaven to come to earth to put down all authority and power, and set up His everlasting kingdom.”¹⁵

4. **“LITTLE HORN” OF DANIEL 7 IS PAPACY.**—In Daniel 7 the paralleling outline, though employing different symbols, covers the same fateful centuries. The blowing winds, whipping up the sea, are a “symbol of strife,” Mrs. White explains. “The four winds of heaven striving upon the great sea, represent the terrible scenes of conquest and revolution by which kingdoms have attained to power.”¹⁶ And the same four world powers, and the same division of the Roman fourth, are followed by the emergence of the predominant Little Horn, which is expressly identified as “the Papacy,”¹⁷ elsewhere called the “Man of Sin.”¹⁸

5. **LITTLE HORN'S 1260 YEARS FROM 538 TO 1798.**—The

¹¹ “Lessons From the Life of Daniel—XII,” *Youth's Instructor*, Sept. 22, 1903, p. 6.

¹² “Loyalty or Disloyalty,” *Review and Herald*, Feb. 6, 1900, p. 81.

¹³ E. G. White, Ms. 63, 1899.

¹⁴ *The Desire of Ages*, p. 34.

¹⁵ *Testimonies*, vol. 1, pp. 360, 361.

¹⁶ *The Great Controversy* (1911), pp. 439, 440.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 439, 446.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 446.

three and one-half "times," predicted for the special dominance of the Little Horn, are identical with the 42 "months," or 1260 year-days given elsewhere, "during which the papal power was to oppress God's people." These Ellen White places as extending from A.D. 538, when the pre-eminence of the Papacy was recognized, on to 1798, when "the pope was made captive by the French army."¹⁹ And she adds that the scene portraying the Son of man coming to the Ancient of days (of Dan. 7:13, 14), was not a description of the second advent, but rather of Christ coming to the Ancient of days to receive dominion, glory, and a kingdom, which He would obtain "at the close of His work as Mediator" after the 2300 years had ended.²⁰

6. 2300 YEARS FROM 457 B.C. TO A.D. 1844.—Mrs. White confirms the established interpretation of the 2300 years, with its integrated 70 weeks of years, based on the principle that "a day in prophecy stands for a year. The seventy weeks, or 490 days, represents 490 years."²¹ And the sanctuary of Daniel 8:11-14 "unquestionably points to the sanctuary in heaven,"²² or "the New Jerusalem temple of which Christ is Mediator."²³ The beginning of the 2300 years she places "in the autumn of B.C. 457," when the decree of Artaxerxes Longimanus to restore and build Jerusalem "went into effect."²⁴ And she is likewise explicit on the "close of the 2300 days, in 1844," identifying it as the "time appointed for the judgment,"²⁵ when "the work of investigation and blotting out of sins" began.

7. 70 WEEKS FROM 457 B.C. TO A.D. 34.—As to the 70 weeks of years, beginning in the "autumn of B.C. 457," with the cross in the "midst" of the seventieth week, Mrs. White makes these explicit statements:

"From this time [457 B.C.] four hundred and eighty-three years extended to the autumn of A.D. 27. According to prophecy, this period

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 439.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

²¹ *Prophets and Kings*, p. 698.

²² *The Great Controversy*, p. 417.

²³ E. G. White, Ms. 63, April 22, 1899.

²⁴ *The Great Controversy*, p. 410; *Early Writings*, p. 243

²⁵ *The Great Controversy*, p. 486.

was to reach to the Messiah, the Anointed One. In A.D. 27, Jesus at His baptism received the anointing of the Holy Spirit, and soon afterward began His ministry. . . .

"'In the midst of the week He shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease.' In the spring of A.D. 31, Christ, the true Sacrifice, was offered on Calvary. . . .

"The one week—seven years—ended in A.D. 34." ²⁶

8. PROPHECY OF DANIEL 11 ALMOST COMPLETED.—On Daniel 11 and 12, Ellen White has little to say, except that "the prophecies of the eleventh of Daniel have almost reached their final fulfillment." ²⁷

9. ONLY "LAST DAYS" PORTION OF DANIEL SEALED.—On the sealing and unsealing of the book of Daniel, in commenting on Daniel 12:4 ("But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased"), her observation is explicit, though restrictive. "The book that was sealed is not the Revelation, but *that portion* of the prophecy of Daniel relating to the last days." ²⁸

10. REVIVAL OF PROPHETIC STUDY FOLLOWING 1798.—The "time of the end," of Daniel 12:4, was commonly believed to have begun in 1798, as the 1260 years terminated. Mrs. White notes the unsealing of the "book" (of Daniel), and the running to and fro, as pertaining to the increased knowledge of the prophecies, since 1798: "But since 1798 the book of Daniel has been unsealed, knowledge of the prophecies has increased, and many have proclaimed the solemn message of the judgment near." ²⁹ Such an increase of knowledge, she adds, will prepare a people "to stand in the latter days." ³⁰ Her teachings were in clear accord with standard Adventist exposition.

This much for Daniel's major prophecies. The unsealing

²⁶ *Prophets and Kings*, p. 699.

²⁷ "The Day of the Lord Is Near, and Hasteth Greatly," *Review and Herald*, Nov. 24, 1904, p. 16.

²⁸ *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 585 (italics supplied). The major portion was understood as it was fulfilled down through the centuries, as Christ admonished in Matthew 24:15.

²⁹ *The Great Controversy*, p. 356 (see also p. 360, and E. G. White, Letter 12, 1907).

³⁰ E. G. White, Ms. 32, 1896. Ms. 176, 1899, contains the expression, "Knowledge of Christ and the prophecies relating to Him will be greatly increased as they near the close of this earth's history."

of the book of Daniel was accomplished by the judgment-hour and related messages of Revelation 14, in relation to time.³¹

II. High Lights on the Apocalypse

1. SEVEN CHURCHES SPAN CHRISTIAN ERA.—In interpreting the book of Revelation, which Mrs. White called the “complement of the book of Daniel,”³² she states that it carries us through to the completion of the plan of redemption. She taught, as have hundreds of students of prophecy down through the centuries, that the seven churches of Revelation 2 and 3 represent the condition of the church during the various periods comprising the Christian Era—as Ephesus, for the apostolic age; Sardis, in the eighteenth century; and Laodicea, the “remnant” church at the end of the age. Here is her covering statement:

“The names of the seven churches are symbolic of the church in different periods of the Christian Era. The number seven indicates completeness, and is symbolic of the fact that the messages extend to the end of time, while the symbols used reveal the condition of the church at different periods in the history of the world.

“Christ is spoken of as walking in the midst of the golden candlesticks. Thus is symbolized His relation to the churches. He is in constant communication with His people.”³³

2. SIXTH SEAL PRECEDES SECOND ADVENT.—Similarly in the series of the seven seals, the Lisbon earthquake (1755), the Dark Day (1780), and the falling stars (1833) are mentioned as taking place under the sixth seal in the latter days preceding the second advent.³⁴

3. TURKEY INVOLVED IN SIXTH TRUMPET.—As to the sixth trumpet in that paralleling series of judgments, the situation of Turkey in August, 1840, is noted as a widely recognized fulfillment of Revelation 9:15 as the period of the 391 years and 15 days of the second woe trumpet.³⁵

³¹ E. G. White, Ms. 59, 1900.

³² E. G. White, Ms. 69, 1897; also Ms. 32, 1896.

³³ *The Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 585, 586 (see also p. 578; E. G. White, Ms. 81, 1900; Ms. 155, 1902; *The Great Controversy*, pp. 309, 310; *Testimonies*, vol. 1, p. 186).

³⁴ *The Great Controversy*, pp. 304, 306, 308, 333.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 334, 335.

4. TWO WITNESSES IDENTIFIED AS THE TWO TESTAMENTS.—The “open” book of Revelation 10 involves the “sealed” portion of the book of Daniel, to be opened in the “time of the end.”³⁶ The Two Witnesses of Revelation 11 are plainly declared to be the Old and New Testaments,³⁷ and the oft-recurring period of the 1260 years (or 42 prophetic months) is specifically dated from A.D. 538 to 1798.³⁸ They began when the bishop of Rome was recognized as the head of the church.³⁹

5. FRENCH REVOLUTION PREDICTED IN REVELATION 11.—The tenth part of the great city of Revelation 11 is France. And the atheistic power that ruled France during the Revolution and Reign of Terror produced the fruits portrayed.⁴⁰ Then follows the anger of the nations, the wrath of God, and the time to judge the dead, which Mrs. White holds are successive events.⁴¹

6. WOMAN, CHILD, AND DRAGON IDENTIFIED.—Ellen White says the “woman” of Revelation 12 symbolizes the true church, the “child” is Christ, and the dragon, though primarily Satan (who in his rebellion drew after him a third part of the angels), is in a secondary sense a “symbol of pagan Rome,”⁴² with verse 17 portraying the soon-coming assault against the “remnant.”⁴³

7. TWO BEASTS INDICATE PAPACY AND PROTESTANTISM.—The two “beasts” of Revelation 13 are “symbols of earthly governments.” The first, or ten-horned, beast symbol, Mrs. White explains—and as most Protestants have believed—“unquestionably points” to the Papacy, after paganism had given way to the Papacy. With this is a reiteration of the 1260-year period of its dominance.⁴⁴ Of the second, or two-horned, “beast” from the earth, Mrs. White clearly says, “One nation, and only one, meets the specification of this prophecy; it points unmistakably to the United States of America.”⁴⁵

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 356, 360.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 266, 267, 439.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-268.

³⁹ *The Great Controversy*, pp. 55, 438; *Testimonies*, vol. 3, p. 115.

⁴⁰ *Prophets and Kings*, pp. 605, 606.

⁴¹ *The Great Controversy*, p. 439; see also pp. 54, 445.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 440.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁴⁵ *Early Writings*, p. 36.

Elsewhere she states that "Prophecy presents Protestantism as having lamblike horns,"⁴⁶ though that aspect would change. The two lamblike horns "indicate youth, innocence, and gentleness"—characteristic of the United States when seen coming into prominence in 1798. And the "image" is that development that will come when Protestant churches shall seek the aid of the civil power for the enforcement of religious dogma.⁴⁷

8. THREE ANGELS' MESSAGES OF REVELATION 14.—Mrs. White wrote much on the three angels' messages as constituting the nineteenth-century heralding of the judgment hour, the message to the churches when they rejected that announcement, and the warning against the mark of papal apostasy.⁴⁸ And she adds: "The messages of Revelation 14 are those by which the world is to be tested, they are the everlasting gospel, and are to be sounded everywhere."⁴⁹

9. SEVEN LAST PLAGUES STILL FUTURE.—The seven last plagues are still future but are imminent, according to Mrs. White, with Armageddon soon to be fought.⁵⁰

10. CORRUPTED WOMAN IS ECCLESIASTICAL ROME.—The corrupted "woman," or church, of Revelation 17, that for centuries "maintained despotic sway over the monarchs of Christendom is [ecclesiastical] Rome," while the intoxicating "wine" in her golden goblet is her false doctrine. The Babylon of Revelation 18 is the religious world.⁵¹ The "fall" there set forth results from the final rejection of the truth proclaimed, and the "wrath" mentioned is produced by her false doctrines.⁵²

11. MILLENNIUM INTRODUCED BY ADVENT AND RESURRECTION.—On Revelation 20, Ellen White's teachings are strictly premillennialist, the two resurrections marking the beginning

⁴⁶ "The Present Crisis," *Review and Herald*, Jan. 1, 1889, p. 1.

⁴⁷ *The Great Controversy*, pp. 440, 441, 445.

⁴⁸ *Early Writings*, pp. 233, 237, 257; *Testimonies*, vol. 5, pp. 455, 456.

⁴⁹ E. G. White, Ms. 32, 1896.

⁵⁰ *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers*, p. 432; *The Great Controversy*, pp. 627-629; *Testimonies*, vol. 6, p. 406.

⁵¹ *The Great Controversy*, pp. 382, 536; *Patriarchs and Prophets*, p. 167.

⁵² *Testimonies to Ministers*, pp. 61, 62.

and the close of the thousand years.⁵³ The millennial reign of the saints is in heaven, she adds, not on this earth. The bottomless pit "represents the earth in a state of confusion and darkness."⁵⁴ And the New Jerusalem of Revelation 21 and 22 is the "metropolis of the glorified new earth" to stand forever.⁵⁵ Those are the high lights of her exposition of the book of Revelation.

III. Unique Emphasis Given by Ellen White

There were, however, certain larger emphases in which Mrs. White stood out sharply in the forefront among her fellow Adventists on the question of Bible prophecy. One was her constant urge that they continue the intensive study of prophecy. There were repeated admonitions to "dig deeper," as for "hidden treasure." And there were urgings that they not be "diverted by minutiae" and unimportant questions.⁵⁶ Again and again she counseled them to persevere in studying the prophecies of Daniel and John in particular, for, she said, they "interpret each other," the one being the "complement" of the other. Moreover, their meaning becomes increasingly clear as they are fulfilled historically. And she solemnly asserted that the Christian world will soon become the theater of great and decisive developments, hence the need of the light of prophecy for the guidance of the church.

I. INCREASED LIGHT TO SHINE UPON PROPHECY.—Ellen White insisted that this search go forward, for "increasing light is to shine" upon the prophecies. We are not to become static and rigid in our concepts. We are to think for ourselves, she said pointedly, not taking traditional positions for granted, and not relying upon others to think for us. We are to exercise the ability God has given us to learn individually what is truth.⁵⁷ And she solemnly warned against rejecting advancing light,⁵⁸

⁵³ *Early Writings*, pp. 285-295; *The Great Controversy*, p. 661.

⁵⁴ *The Great Controversy*, p. 658.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 676.

⁵⁶ E. G. White, Ms. 31, 1896; Letter 16, 1903.

⁵⁷ "The Necessity of Dying to Self," *Review and Herald*, June 18, 1889, p. 385.

⁵⁸ "Living Channels of Light," *Review and Herald*, May 27, 1890, p. 321.

expressly declaring the Bible to be the testing "standard for every doctrine"—the "divine authority which is supreme in matters of faith."⁵⁰ But such advanced light will not contravene the fundamental interpretations already established. And she states:

"Those who will devote their powers to the study of God's word, and especially to prophecies referring to these last days, will be rewarded by the discovery of important truths."⁵⁰

"When the mind is kept open and is constantly searching the field of revelation, we shall find rich deposits of truth. Old truths will be revealed in new aspects, and truths will appear which have been overlooked in the search."⁵¹

Especially does the book of Revelation demand this "close study," for its solemn truths are to be proclaimed with increasing effectiveness to the world.⁵² The pertinent reason for their importance is that they "concern all who are living in these last days."⁵³ If Adventists were awake, she counseled, if they realized the nearness of the closing events portrayed by John, a great revival would be seen, and a decided reformation would result,⁵⁴ and many would have "an entirely different religious experience." The right understanding of the prophecies is therefore vital.

2. PRESENT INDEBTEDNESS TO PAST EXPOSITORS DECLARED.—

Attention should be called to Mrs. White's forthright acknowledgment of present-day indebtedness to the godly expositors of "generations past." Many of these she named. Her perception on this point is impressive:

"We have increased light, and this has come through the work of those faithful sentinels who made God their dependence, and received power from him to let light shine in clear, bright rays to the world."⁵⁵

Then she warned against being too critical of those earlier

⁵⁰ Week of Prayer Reading, Dec. 15, 1888.

⁵⁰ E. G. White, Ms. 75, 1899.

⁵¹ E. G. White, Ms. 75, 1897.

⁵² "Our Greatest Treasure-House," *Signs of the Times*, July 4, 1906, p. 403.

⁵³ "Lessons From the First Chapter of Revelation," *Signs of the Times*, Jan. 28, 1903, p. 50.

⁵⁴ "The Study of Revelation," *Pacific Union Recorder*, Jan. 14, 1904, p. 1; *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers*, pp. 113, 114.

⁵⁵ "The Workers Needed," *Review and Herald*, March 10, 1903, p. 8.

witnesses "whom God raised up in former times to do a certain work and to penetrate the moral darkness of the world." And now follows this impressive statement:

"These men were God's noblemen, his living agencies, through whom he wrought in a wonderful manner. They were depositaries of divine truth to the extent that the Lord saw fit to reveal the truth that the world could bear to hear. They proclaimed the truth at a time when false, corrupt religion was magnifying itself in the world."⁶⁶

And here is her expressed wish:

"I could wish that the curtain could be rolled back, and that those who have not spiritual eyesight might see these men as they appear in the sight of God; for now they see them as trees walking. They would not then put their human construction upon the experience and works of the men who parted the darkness from the track, and prepared the way for future generations. Living down in our own generation, we may pronounce judgment upon the men whom God raised up to do a special work, according to the light given to them in their day."⁶⁷

3. FIDELITY TO TRUTH AND FACT.—Moreover, her fearless attitude as to unswerving fidelity to truth and the candid facing of the facts, is attested by the following, and many similar admonitions:

"There is no excuse for any one in taking the position that there is no more truth to be revealed, and that all our expositions of Scriptures are without an error. The fact that certain doctrines have been held as truth for many years by our people, is not a proof that our ideas are infallible. Age will not make error into truth, and truth can afford to be fair. No true doctrine will lose anything by close investigation."⁶⁸

She went even further:

"And in closely investigating every jot and tittle which we think is established truth, in comparing scripture with scripture, we may discover errors in our interpretation of Scripture. Christ would have the searcher of His work sink the shaft deeper into the mines of truth."⁶⁹

That was the unvarying counsel of Mrs. White.

⁶⁶ "Exposing of the Brethren's Mistakes Reproved," *Review and Herald*, Nov. 30, 1897, p. 753. Various typical men were identified. Here are a few: "Through the labors of Wyckliffe, Huss, and kindred workers, thousands of noble witnesses had borne testimony to the truth." (*Signs of the Times*, May 31, 1883, p. 241.) And foremost among those to "lead the church into the light of a purer faith, stood Martin Luther. . . . Luther was the man for his time." (*Ibid.*) All were expositors.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ "Christ Our Hope," *Review and Herald*, Dec. 20, 1892, p. 785.

⁶⁹ "Treasure Hidden," *Review and Herald*, July 12, 1898, p. 438.

4. EMPHASIS ON CHRIST AND HIS RIGHTEOUSNESS.—It is only proper to emphasize the fact that Mrs. White was pre-eminent among all her associates in calling for a Christ-centered, redemptive emphasis on the prophecies. Here are but two out of many recorded statements:

"Let Daniel speak, let Revelation speak, and tell what is truth. But whatever phase of the subject is presented, uplift Jesus as the center of all hope."⁷⁰

"The prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation should be carefully studied, and in connection with them the words, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.'"⁷¹

These were her constant counsels to others, and were exemplified in her own writings. She declared that the last gospel proclamation, in a prophetic setting, is to close in a blaze of glory, suffused with the bright "rays of the Sun of Righteousness."⁷² Here are her arresting words:

"Increased light will shine upon all the grand truths of prophecy, and they will be seen in freshness and brilliancy, because the bright beams of the Sun of Righteousness will illuminate the whole."⁷³

Christ our complete righteousness was probably the supreme emphasis of her writings.⁷⁴ And this, she declared, is to be the crowning contribution of prophecy.

5. THE MAGNETIC PULL OF PROPHECY.—The pre-eminence of prophecy, when rightly understood, emphasized, and presented, is boldly proclaimed. Gems of light and jewels of imperishable truth, we are told, are to be recovered from the past. They are to be rescued from the rubbish of error and discard, and are to find their rightful place as they are reset in the framework of the everlasting gospel for these last days. "The results of many minds," Mrs. White urged, "are to be brought together from many sources as God's hereditary trust." Then she continued:

⁷⁰ *Testimonies*, vol. 6, p. 62.

⁷¹ *Gospel Workers*, (1915), p. 148.

⁷² E. G. White, Ms. 15, 1888.

⁷³ E. G. White, Ms. 18, 1888.

⁷⁴ See Arthur G. Daniells, *Christ Our Righteousness* (1926), where many of her statements on this theme are assembled.

"Truths of divine origin, are to be carefully searched out and placed in their proper setting, to shine with heavenly brilliancy amid the moral darkness of the world." "Each gem is to become the property of God's people and find its true position in the framework of truth. Precious jewels of light are to be collected, and by the aid of the Holy Spirit they are to be fitted into the gospel system."⁷⁵

They will thus "give attractiveness to the gospel plan," and shine "amid the moral darkness of the world." So these truths that have been "disconnected from the Lord of Glory, are to be reset, opened and explained, and made to appear in their heavenly beauty, to be seen as truths that shall stand fast forever." They are now to be given to the world in their "original splendor, freshness, and force."⁷⁶ And when these gems have been accorded their proper place and relationship, their magnetic pull will draw many who would not otherwise respond to the gospel overtures:

"Truth that has found its proper setting flashes brilliant rays of divine light into darkened minds, and meets the wants and necessities of the minds and hearts of fallen men who could not be reached by any other agency."⁷⁷

So with Mrs. White, prophecy in its larger, truer setting had a pre-eminent place.

⁷⁵ "Truth to Be Rescued From Error," *Review and Herald*, Oct. 23, 1894, p. 657.

⁷⁶ "Our Duty and Responsibility," *General Conference Bulletin*, 1896 (vol. 1, no. 8), p. 766.

⁷⁷ "Truth to Be Rescued From Error," *Review and Herald*, Oct. 23, 1894, p. 658 (see also "Our Duty and Responsibility," *General Conference Bulletin*, 1896 [vol. 1, no. 8], p. 766).

Prophecy's Place in the Master Plan of God

I. Prophecy's Fundamental Place in the Adventist Faith

Prophetic interpretation has occupied a central place in the thinking and teaching of Seventh-day Adventists from their very inception. This was but natural as well as logical. First of all, they sprang out of a prophetic movement, and in many ways considered that they were descendants in the direct line of the Historical School premillennialists of the centuries. They therefore felt themselves called upon to continue, in prophetic exposition and related teachings, in the hallowed path marked out by their Reformation and post-Reformation forefathers. And that had, in turn, really been but a noble attempt to return to and to re-establish the prophetic highway of the early church positions on prophecy.

But believing that the Christian's course concerning prophecy is designed to be like the following of a "light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day" (Prov. 4:18), the Sabbatarian Adventists felt called upon to advance beyond the constrictions, and contradictions, and partial views of the past. They were convinced that more light was yet to shine on Bible prophecy, beyond that perceived in the Old World Advent Awakening and by the Millerite movement leaders. They therefore believed that God desired them earnestly to study the prophetic Scriptures for a still greater understanding of truth. This they conscientiously sought to do.

They did not, however, devote attention to prophecy to the neglect or disparagement of the foundational principles and provisions of the gospel—salvation solely by grace through faith in Christ, including regeneration, justification, sanctification, and final glorification upon our Lord's return. They sought to follow fully in the footsteps of the Master, but always through His enabling grace and power. They were convinced, however, that an understanding of prophecy and a knowledge of their own part and place in the fast-fulfilling last events of prophecy were imperative. More than that, they found that prophecy gave an even deeper meaning to many of the doctrinal fundamentals of the evangelical faith than had been anticipated. This will be noted later.

1. TWO PRINCIPAL AREAS OF EMPHASIS.—These early Seventh-day Adventists considered that their prophetic emphasis should center on two principal areas of prophetic interpretation—(1) the three messages of Revelation 14:6-12 (the "everlasting gospel," embracing "the commandments of God" and the "faith of Jesus"), and (2) the cleansing of the sanctuary, including the final judgment phase of Christ's ministry as our heavenly High Priest, to be climaxed by His glorious second advent as King of kings.

Moreover, they believed that the participation of some of their leaders in the heralding of the first (or judgment hour) and second (or Babylon's fall) messages—the heart of the Millerite emphasis—placed them in a logical position for leading on in the proclamation of the inseparable third message of Revelation 14. This they considered as now due, and really as the consummation of the first and second messages of the former movement. This involved intensive study of the deeper implications of the sanctuary and its cleansing beyond the point at which the Millerites had ceased their study.

The fundamental features of Seventh-day Adventist belief have already been sketched in the preceding chapters of this Part III. It has been apparent that their views developed grad-

ually, and were not fully matured at the outset. They were consciously rooted in the background of centuries of progressive exposition, but they constantly sought to develop and perfect them. However, the threefold message of Revelation 14 was recognized by all as raising the banner of last-day loyalty to God, as well as of separation from all aspects of the ecclesiastical apostasy of the centuries.

2. A CLEANSED PEOPLE AND A CLEANSED SANCTUARY.—Similarly, the implications of the cleansing of the sanctuary began to be broadened and deepened. In this clearly established period of preparation, prior to the second advent, they felt that the special ministry of Christ in heaven was to be paralleled by a special preparation of the church on earth. They saw this typified in the annual round of the ancient Days of Atonement, when the Israelitish sanctuary was cleansed, or justified. Then the closing priestly service, which typified the final blotting out of the record of sins, was accompanied by a searching of heart by the people, to be sure that their sins had all been put away. A cleansed people was called for, to comport with a cleansed sanctuary.

Thus also in the cleansing of the antitypical sanctuary, the need for a paralleling preparation on the part of the church came to be increasingly sensed and emphasized. The cleansing of the individual heart from sin, and consecration to a life of complete righteousness by faith—as well as the restoration of truth long trodden down by the apostate power of the centuries—was seen to be inseparably connected with this period of the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary and its activities. Now note some of the broader applications developed in the enlarging Seventh-day Adventist prophetic interpretation.

II. Truth Trodden Down Under Apostasy to Be Restored

In inspired vision the prophet Daniel had seen apostasy entrenched in the church, magnifying itself against Christ, the “Prince of the host.” In historical fulfillment this perverting

power took away man's sole dependence upon Christ's all-sufficient, *vicarious, atoning sacrifice*, made "once for all" for all mankind (Heb. 9:25-28). And it has also taken away the understanding of, and reliance upon, Christ's *unceasing priestly mediation* thereafter for man, in the heavenly sanctuary. In this way this obstructing power robbed man of the supreme redemptive provisions of God—Christ's death as atoning *Sacrifice on earth*, eighteen centuries prior, followed by His mediatorial ministry as *Priest in heaven* ever since. And it has practiced and prospered long in its perversion and obscuring of the truth of these saving provisions (Dan. 8:11, 12).

"How long," was the anxious inquiry heard by the prophet, shall this lawless power be permitted to tread underfoot the cardinal truths and provisions of redemption concerning "the sanctuary and the host" (verse 13)? Until the 2300 year-days shall expire, was the explicit response, and then shall the sanctuary be cleansed—at the close of that long, fateful period (verse 14). Then these downtrodden truths that have such vital relationship to the judgment hour and its immutable standard, the law of God, will again be lifted up under the banner of last-day reformation and restoration. Then, according to the prophetic promise, at the time of the cleansing of the sanctuary its provisions will be vindicated and restored to their rightful place.

Thus O. R. L. Crosier and James White had reasoned and clearly declared, as we have seen, in 1846 and in 1851 respectively.¹ And this principle began likewise to be clearly grasped and declared by some back in the Millerite movement.²

¹ Crosier, in his extended exposition, clearly establishes the fact that the "sanctuary," here described by Daniel, is the great sanctuary "in heaven," which was "polluted" and "cast down" when the pope in his earthly "counterfeit 'temple of God' professes to do what Jesus actually does in his sanctuary." (Crosier, "The Law of Moses," *Day-Star Extra*, Feb. 7, 1846, p. 38.)

And James White likewise maintained that Christ's true "sanctuary in heaven" had been trodden underfoot by the pope's assumption of power that "belongs alone to Christ." And, sitting in his substitute temple, the pope turns men unto himself and "away from Jesus, who alone could forgive sins, and give eternal life." It is thus, James White says, that the Papacy has "trodden down" the "heavenly Sanctuary." (James White, *Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, January, 1851, pp. 28, 29.)

² One Millerite writer, in 1843, openly differing from Miller, clearly declared in the *Midnight Cry*: "The very heart of the gospel was removed when the little horn took away the daily—or continual mediation of Jesus Christ, and cast down the place of his gospel

Eventually the Sabbatarian Adventists came to see that this basic prophetic portrayal, given not only through Daniel the prophet but supported and amplified by John the revelator, included the vital fact that, as the hour of God's judgment comes in heaven, a distinctive movement develops among men on earth, reviving and restoring these downtrodden truths. And this results in a people described as keeping "the commandments of God" and having "the faith of Jesus" (Rev. 14:6-12). They would thus lift up again, in this stipulated combination, the very truths that error, tradition, and gross departure had long trampled underfoot. And they would restore the larger understanding of the matchless ministry of Christ, first as all-sufficient Sacrifice, then as all-prevailing High Priest in the sanctuary above (Hebrews 8 and 9), with its "ark of His testament," and its mercy seat overshadowing the tables of the eternal law of God (Rev. 11:19).

James White, their recognized early leader, had reminded them that Daniel thrice described the great apostasy that was to arise following early church times.² These occur: (1) in chapter 7, where it is portrayed as a presumptuous, persecuting Little Horn power that prevailed for a specified 1260-year period, thinking to change the appointed times and law of God (Dan. 7:25); (2) in chapter 8, where it is presented as obscuring, by a faulty human substitution, the matchless mediatorial work of Christ, casting down the truth of the redemptive provisions of the sanctuary to the ground (Dan. 8:12), and was to continue "to practice and prosper" through those long, weary centuries predicted; and (3) in chapter 11, where it is portrayed as the "willful" one, daringly magnifying itself against God and truth (Dan. 11:36). But in these latter times all these obscured and trampled truths were destined once more to be restored to their rightful place and pre-eminence. And that, they firmly believed, was beginning to take place before their very eyes, under the

sanctuary. . . . They cast down the true doctrine of the cross of Christ. . . . that 'sacrifice' was 'taken away'—and that 'truth' was 'cast down to the ground.' ² (*Midnight Cry*, Oct. 4, 1843, p. 52.)

² See pp. 1067, 1068.

heralding of the final phase of the advent message to men, and would increase in effectiveness until its designated work was done.

III. Significance of Keeping the "Faith of Jesus"

The intent of the "commandments of God," of Revelation 14:12, was, the Adventists believed, crystal clear and unmistakable. It was the moral law, the eternal Ten, "written with the finger of God" on imperishable tables of stone (Ex. 31:18; Deut. 9:10), as recognized in the creedal beliefs of most major Protestant bodies. But, tied inseparably to observance of these commandments of God, was the parallel keeping of the enabling "faith of Jesus." Paul "kept the faith" in apostolic times (2 Tim. 4:7). So, they reasoned, must they too now keep the faith—the all-encompassing "faith of Jesus"—in the days of the "remnant" church.

This would involve the close following of Christ's own declared teachings, given through precept and example, as recorded in the New Testament. They were thus to be *Christian* commandment keepers, in these last days of lawlessness, following Christ's teachings and practices on the fundamentals of the Christian faith. They were thus to keep the "faith of Jesus" concerning the all-sufficiency of the Scriptures, the oneness and power of the Godhead, and Christ's own declared pre-existence. They were to keep the faith of Jesus concerning the beneficent work of the Holy Spirit, who, they came to see, was the third Person of the Godhead, and Christ's representative on earth, operatively present during Christ's absence in heaven.

The same was true relative to Christ's creatorship of all things (John 1:1-3); His teaching concerning sin and salvation, conversion and the new birth; His declarations concerning His own substitutionary, atoning death and His priestly mediation for man, in heaven above; the Bible teaching on death and the judgment, the first and second advents, the nature and destiny of man, the resurrection of the just and the unjust, the bestowal of immortality at the second advent, and the final punishment



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THE FAITH OF JESUS AND THE COMMANDMENTS OF GOD

These Basic Provisions Constituted the Two-fold Platform of the Sabbatarian Adventists. Held in Perfect Balance and Heaven-designed Relationship, They Are the Natural Bulwark Against Either Legalism or Antinomianism

of evil. The list could, of course, be extended. For instance, it was upon Christ's teaching and example, as well as on the Decalogue, that the Sabbatarian Adventists based their observance of the seventh-day Sabbath. And they likewise sought to follow His example in baptism, the Lord's supper and its preparatory service, and the other gospel precepts and practices.

And, as a definite part of the "faith of Jesus," they accepted His own great prophecy of the last days, with its inescapable signs of the times (Matt. 24, Luke 21, and Mark 12).⁴ And the great outline prophecies, ending with the establishment of the eternal kingdom of God, were likewise included in the faith of Jesus. For not only did He enunciate His own clear outline prophecy, given while on earth and leading through to the

⁴ See Appendix H.

second advent, but He later gave the inspired prophetic outline of the entire Apocalypse, expressly declared to be the "Revelation of Jesus Christ," which "he sent . . . unto his servant" the apostle John (Rev. 1:1), portraying the same great conflict of the ages and ending with the same approaching reign of righteousness.

In thus keeping the faith of Jesus, which had been delivered unto the saints in apostolic times (Jude 3), they came in time to see that the beliefs and teachings of the Sabbatarians were therefore all to be Christ-centered, with Jesus as the declared Author, Foundation, and Finisher of their faith (Heb. 12:2; Eph. 2:30). And the "faith of Jesus" was to be kept by faith in His enabling power, and by reliance upon *His* obedience and *His* victory, by which they were thenceforth to live triumphantly for and in Him. That is righteousness by faith in verity. (1 Cor. 15:57; Gal. 2:20.) Such was to be the source and authority—than which there could be none greater—on which they were to rely for their faith and practice. And this was all based on the Word.

IV. Larger Intent of Cleansing of Sanctuary Dawns

As already emphasized, the Sabbatarian Adventists were fully convinced that the prophesied cleansing of the sanctuary was destined to take place upon the close of the long 2300-year period of Daniel 8:14. They noted how, on the ancient Days of Atonement, not only were the people of God to search their hearts and make everything right before Him during the cleansing of the typical sanctuary (symbolizing the disposal of the sins of the year), but at its close the entire congregation stood justified before God—except the impenitent, who were then finally "cut off."

Just so, the Sabbatarians came to understand, the final cleansing of the antitypical sanctuary, accompanied by a heart cleansing among the people of God, not only is to end in the judgment of all men, and in the redemption of the saints, but is finally to *eventuate in a clean universe*, through the ultimate

banishment of all sin and perversion and the total eradication of all of its effects forever. (Rev. 20:9-11.)

They believed that, during the prophesied cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary, the Christian on earth is called to a cleansing of the heart and a dedication of the entire being, soul and body, and that the final disposition of sin, which follows, will involve the destruction of all finally impenitent sinners, soul and body, root and branch (Mal. 4:1-3)—including Satan, the author and instigator of evil, with all his fallen angels. And this will be an eternal death, the specified “wages of sin,” as opposed to the “gift of God,” of eternal life bestowed on the redeemed through Jesus Christ,² received by faith now, and literally and forevermore at the second advent. (Rom. 6:23; 1 John 5:11, 12; 1 Cor. 15:16-25, 51-57; 1 Thess. 4:13-17.)

The Seventh-day Adventists had already rejected the prevalent concept of the nature of man—the dichotomy of the human being into a mortal body and an innately and absolutely immortal soul, with its corollary of the “ceaseless torment of the sinner in an endless hell by a deathless devil.” This belief, they held, was part of the teachings brought over into Christianity long ago from non-Biblical sources and had been sedulously propagated by an apostatizing, paganizing church, thus forming the basis for saint worship, purgatory, and indulgences, and laying the foundation for Spiritualism in modern times.

Thus, the Adventists believed that, with death and hell cast into the lake of fire (Rev. 20:11), there will come out of the final conflagration “new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness” forevermore. (2 Peter 3:12, 13; Rev. 21:1-8, 22-27; 22:1-12.) There evil shall not rise up to afflict the second time. (Nahum 1:9.) And in this cleansed universe the heartbreaking tragedy of sin will be over, and ended for all time. All this, the Adventists came to believe, was involved in the ultimate outcome of the prophesied “cleansing of the sanctuary”—and of the interrelated Bible positions on the atone-

² See *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. I. pp. 184, 185, 189, 190, 234, 321.

ment and mediatorial work of Christ, the nature and destiny of man, the end of sin and death, and the great restoration.

To the Seventh-day Adventist, then, the "cleansing of the sanctuary" was a broad term, with far-reaching connotations, having its roots deep in Scripture prophecy. The Adventists consequently considered themselves to be reformers, charged before God with carrying forward the torch of truth relighted in the glorious times of the Reformation, and working for the restoration of the apostolic faith of the early church and the completion of the Reformation, under the last-day banner of "the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus."

V. The Consciousness of a Great Commission

To recapitulate: So it was that earnest study led the Sabbatarian Adventists to believe that the closing scenes of the prophecy of Daniel 8:11-14, now in process of fulfillment, called for a definite gospel movement to appear on earth. They believed that, beginning around the allotted close of the 2300 years, it would again lift up those vital truths of redemption that papal apostasy and perversion had so long cast down. They knew that the all-sufficient, vicarious, atoning sacrifice of Christ on earth, eighteen centuries before, and His all-prevailing priestly mediation for man following thereafter, performed in the sanctuary in heaven above, had been obscured and distorted. And for centuries certain features had been well-nigh blotted out from the understanding of the church.

They reviewed how the prophet Daniel, in vision, had foreseen and foretold the rise of that great papal apostasy, to appear after apostolic times and following the breakup of the Roman Empire, treading truth underfoot and persecuting and thinking to change the very times and law of God. (Dan. 7:25.) They had seen how its long spiritual dominance, for 1260 years, constitutes a lesser time epoch falling within the greater period of the 2300 years. And they saw how this apostasy had succeeded in its policy of perversion to a tragic degree, and had actually "cast

down the truth to the ground," and had "practised and prospered" for centuries. (Dan. 8:12.)

And they recalled the solicitous inquiry, heard by the prophet Daniel, "How long shall be the vision?"—or, How long will the truth continue to be trampled underfoot by the practicing and prospering of this usurping system of error? And this question received the explicit answer: "Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." (Dan. 8:14.) That meant until 1844, the Adventists were fully persuaded, when the 2300 years reached their close and the great judgment hour had truly come in heaven above. And with it appeared the synchronizing, "everlasting gospel" restoration of truth movement on earth, stressing again the downtrodden "commandments of God" in inseparable connection with the enabling "faith of Jesus" and His priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary.

They came slowly to see that this called for a world-wide gospel movement, a threefold reformatory message, which had begun meticulously on time, according to the master clock of prophecy, appearing simultaneously in the various countries of Christendom and simply reaching its climax in North America. And the proclamation, "Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come," had rung out in varying volume in different lands of earth. And this had been followed, they believed, or rather had been joined, by a second message to men, concerning Babylon's fall and rejection of truth.

The real significance of it all dawned upon their consciousness. As soon as the year 1844 had passed, with its inevitable Disappointment, because of a misconception of the events scheduled to transpire, a threefold activity had begun among men. One group had begun to lift up the Sabbath; another to give voice to the final phase and present work of Christ's priestly ministry in the most holy place of the heavenly sanctuary, with God's solemn judgment hour under way shortly before Christ's second coming. And a third group had recognized the appearance of the promised guiding gift of the Spirit of prophecy.

And now that these groups had merged their separate emphases into a single threefold message and movement, they saw the great prophetic outline steadily unfolding toward its next and final phase. They began to sense, though at first but dimly, the vast extent of the work yet to be done and the epochal character of the judgment hour that brings on the world's climax and summons men to prepare for Christ's imminent second appearing. The master 2300-year time prophecy, they held, had involved this very time and emphasis. And on earth, they were convinced, the pioneering heralds had appeared on time, and had begun their destined work.

The impact of this concept upon their minds was electrifying. Out of the initial darkness of disappointment had come great light and hope—together with the consciousness of the tremendous task that faced them. Its magnitude was utterly beyond their slender resources. But such, they firmly believed, were the providential interweavings of the beams of light by which the full advent message was now being made plain.

They felt that they now had their commission, just as the centuries had each had its mission. The great spiritual and missionary awakenings at the dawn of the nineteenth century were all preparatory factors. The great revival of study and emphasis on the last-day prophecies, appearing simultaneously throughout Christendom, had all helped to lay the groundwork for the last great revival and reformatory emphasis then due, and beginning to be given to the world. The consciousness of their part in it all was both sobering and challenging. They had a work to do; they must be up and doing. They were not to sit idly by while awaiting the return of their Lord, but were to alleviate human suffering and woe. They were to bring hope and courage and comfort to the distraught, and to do good to all men—not in an attempt to bring about the kingdom of God through sociopolitical channels, but as part of applied Christianity in time's closing hours, pending Christ's direct interposition at His advent. Their humanitarian activities were to go hand in hand with their evangelism.

They firmly held that, as verily as the hour of God's judgment had come in heaven above, so the people with the sanctuary message had appeared historically here on earth, keeping "the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus."

Moreover, in an earthly court, when the judge takes his seat on the bench, an officer of the court announces that the venerable court is in session. With his familiar "Hear ye! Hear ye!" he admonishes all persons having business before the honorable court to draw near and give heed. Even so, they held, was the heavenly assize now being clearly announced to mankind. And this, they soberly came to feel, was their primary mission on earth—to warn the world concerning the great judgment hour of God, where every soul on earth has a case pending before the Eternal. Such were their convictions. Such was the motivating concept behind the task they envisioned.

We close this section by noting how the Adventists felt that prophecy puts depth and meaning into all fundamental Christian teachings.

VI. Prophecy Adds Depth and Meaning to Doctrine

The old-fashioned stereoscope of bygone days was a fascinating instrument to youthful eyes. It enabled the viewer to see objects not merely on one plane but in three dimensions. It gave a realistic sense of depth, distance, and perspective. It made the figures and features in the foreground stand out in bold and impressive relief, while those in the background were relegated to their subordinate place in the distance. And this was accomplished by means of the factor of the third dimension.

In a similar way Bible prophecy might well be likened, as it were, to a divine stereoscope, through which the reverent student is enabled to see great Bible truths in new and luminous perspective. Basic doctrines, as well as the foundational provisions of redemption, are invested with new meaning, as inspired prediction and historical fulfillment bring them into new and vivid relationship. It was obviously this perspective, provided by

Bible prophecy, that came to distinguish the emphasis of the Sabbatarian Adventists from that of the many other religious groups with whom they shared most of the great evangelical truths of the Word in common, but who had largely lost their interest in prophecy. Possibly more than with any other religious body, Bible prophecy may be said to be the foundational platform of the Seventh-day Adventist faith.⁶

It is this prophetic angle and perspective, the Sabbatarian Adventists hold, that gives added depth and meaning to all great teachings of the Word. To them, prophecy draws back the curtain from the panorama of the ages, showing that the distant corners and obscure backgrounds of the stage of human action, as well as its luminous center, are touched by the divine rays of God's foreknowledge and beneficent revelation. Let us note specific examples.

1. GIVES RADIANCE TO SALVATION THROUGH CHRIST.—The central heart of all Christianity—salvation and righteousness solely through Jesus Christ—becomes radiant with new meaning and attraction, they saw, when the prophetic aspect of every phase of Christ's matchless provision is understood. This includes the time and circumstances and the developments and fulfillments of His first advent and earthly sojourn, climaxing in His vicarious atoning death, literal resurrection, and triumphant ascension. Similarly with His subsequent ministry as heavenly High Priest for man, spanning the great interval between the first and second advents. And entry upon the final phase of that priestly ministry, in the antitypical Day of Atonement, then leads on inexorably to the closing events of that ministry, and Christ's personal return in power and glory to redeem His own, to terminate the tragic reign of sin and destroy its evil author.

All this is an integral part of Bible prophecy. So prophecy, the Adventists earnestly assured us, is the key that unlocks the

⁶ Their standard book of counsels to ministers declares: "Ministers should present the sure word of prophecy as the foundation of the faith of Seventh-day Adventists." (E. G. White, *Gospel Workers*, p. 148.)

mysteries both of time and eternity. It is God's chosen means of revealing His master plan of the ages, and its grand finale. It affords the only satisfying philosophy of history to be found, for those wishing to think things through. And it indicates God's way out of the tragic morass of sin, crime, pollution, war, hatred, intrigue, and ruin, otherwise destined to destroy the human race. It is the one ray of hope.

2. ADDS SIGNIFICANCE TO LIFE OF CHRIST.—The sinless life and atoning death of Christ are vastly more significant, said the Adventists, when seen in the light of prophetic fulfillment. And this embraces not only the Old Testament predictions of the great events of that life, fulfilling the prophetic portrayals of the Messiah, the Redeemer, the Suffering Servant, and the prophecy of the 70 weeks, which point out the time of His death, but also the prophetic types of the sanctuary services—Christ our Passover (1 Cor. 5:7) dying for our sins on the very day of the slaying of the Passover lamb, and rising on the stipulated day of the wave sheaf, as “the firstfruits of them that slept.” And beyond that, after His ascension and the acceptance of His all-sufficient sacrifice by the Father, then His entry upon His high priestly ministry, which was signaled by the outpouring of the Spirit when the day of Pentecost was “fully come” (Acts 2:1), precisely on the fiftieth day. Thus understood, they held Christ's life to be invested with a significance and a grandeur not otherwise seen.

3. HIGH LIGHTS THE GREAT JUDGMENT HOUR.—To the Seventh-day Adventist the same prophetic types of the sanctuary service also threw light on the judgment—as they regarded the cleansing of the sanctuary to involve the climactic phase of Christ's ministry in the heavenly sanctuary above, foreshadowed by the great prophetic period of the 2300 years, beginning synchronously with the 70 weeks allotted to the Jews and culminating historically in the great sacrifice on Calvary. Most Christians believe in and teach a coming judgment hour for all mankind. In the sixteenth century Luther and Melancthon looked

forward to that great day as some three or four hundred years beyond their time. And thousands of religious leaders of all faiths in the early nineteenth century believed it to be drawing near. Yet the churches generally, and mankind at large, then had but a hazy concept concerning it.

Thus the judgment took on a deeper meaning in the light of God's master plan of the ages, first revealed through the predictive types of the Old Testament and then wrought out through the tremendous redemptive realities of the New, in connection with Christ's sacrifice and priesthood. Thus in the light of prophecy every redemptive truth assumed a fuller significance and took on new beauty and depth of meaning.

4. MAKES THE SABBATH A PRINCIPLE OF LIFE.—The Sabbath, as already noted, had been observed for two centuries or more by the Seventh Day Baptists, by whom it was brought to the attention of those who became the Seventh-day Adventists. The prophesied change, effected by the apostate Little Horn power of Daniel 7, had been recognized and declared. But the other prophetic angles were lacking, the emphasis being principally on the immutability of the law of God. The Sabbathkeeping Adventists, however, seeing it in the broader perspective of the several Bible prophecies involved, rallied to it as a banner of loyalty to God in the last-day climax of prophetic fulfillment.

Moreover, its place, not only in the midst of the "commandments of God" but just as verily in "the faith of Jesus," made it an energizing principle of life. It became an integral part of the provision of "righteousness by faith."⁷ imparted to the Christian through the enabling power of Christ. Thus the increased prophetic emphasis invested the Adventist presentation of the Sabbath with far more power and appeal than the earlier form of exposition. The previous concept had been more of a doctrine for mental assent, while the latter became a living, determining principle of life.

⁷ This was shown in the statement regarding the message of justification by faith that "it is the third angel's message in verity." (E. G. White, "Repentance the Gift of God," *Review and Herald*, April 1, 1890, p. 193.)

5. CONSTITUTES HEART OF CREATIONISM ISSUE.—Fundamentalists generally accept at face value the statement that “in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth” (Gen. 1:1), as do many other evangelicals. And many, even of those who espouse the evolutionary hypothesis, attempt to reconcile their theory, in one way or another, with the postulate of the creatorship of God. While to Seventh-day Adventists the question of creationism included belief in the fidelity and literality of the Biblical record, and its sound and ample scientific support, these were but part of the weight of evidence.

Here also the prophetic angle gave added significance to their emphasis. It is the active worship of God as the Creator, the Adventists said, that constitutes a vital factor in their preaching mandate for these days. This, they believed, is written into the very heart of the prophetic commission of Revelation 14:6, 7—the call to “worship him that made heaven, and earth.” To them the prophetic aspect of this message added significance to the truth of God as Creator and heightened the contrast between the Sabbath as the divinely designated memorial of His creative power (Ex. 20:8-11) and any man-made substitute therefor.

Furthermore, they saw in the very words of those who belittle belief in God’s direct creatorship, as well as in the second advent of Christ, a fulfillment of those prophecies of latter-day unbelief, for many of those who question “the promise of his coming” doubt it on the grounds of uniformitarianism—“all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation,” because they disbelieve the declaration of the Scripture that the antediluvian world perished by a deluge. (2 Peter 3:3-7.)

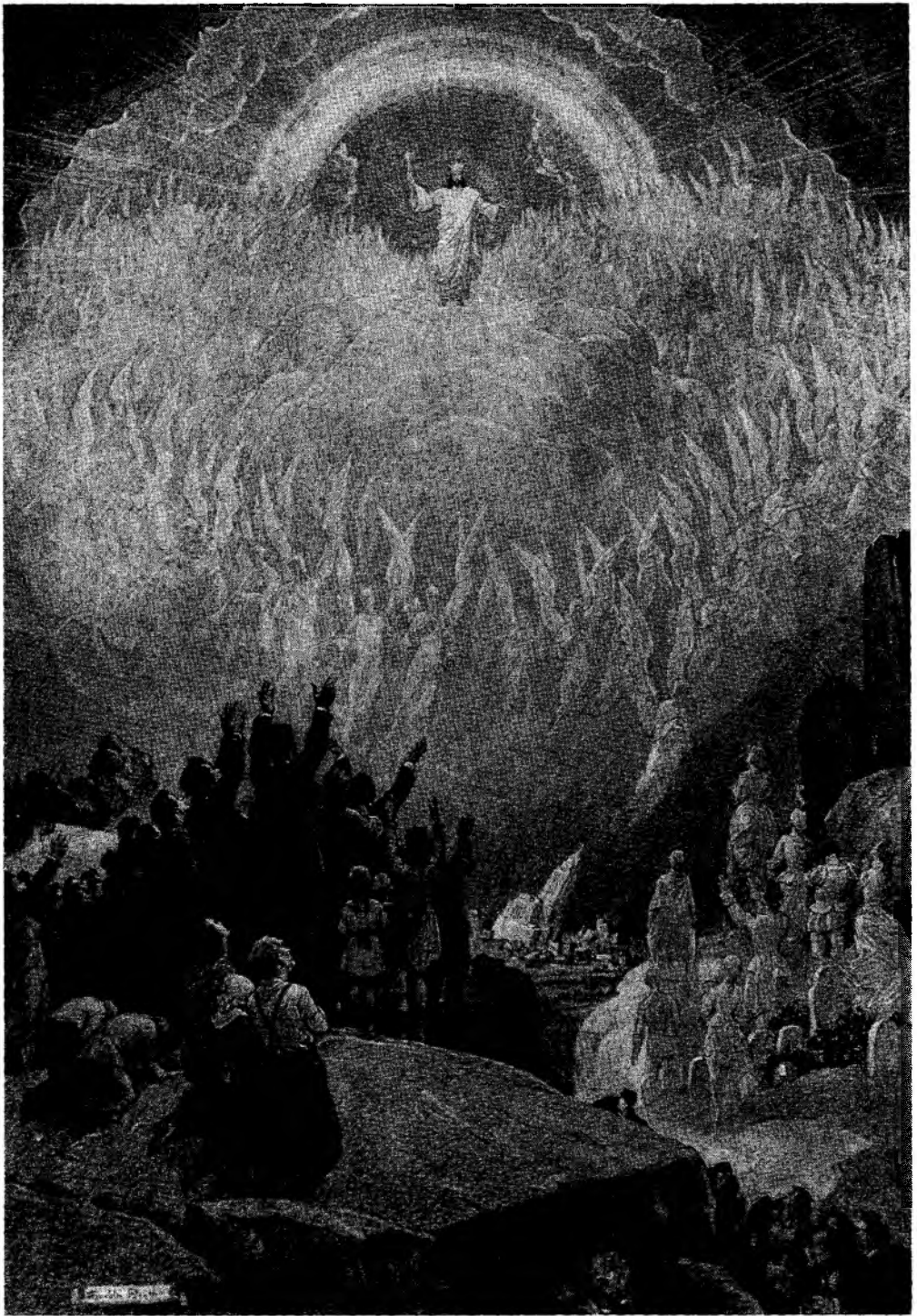
But that was not all. While the Adventists insisted that the earth of today bears undeniable geological witness to the ancient Flood catastrophe asserted in Scripture, they likewise held that all mankind must have brought before them the clear prophetic corollary that the present earth is kept in store, reserved unto the fires of the approaching “day of God,” at which time this sin-scarred earth will be burned with fire. Then all sin and sinners will be destroyed. And following these cleansing flames,

the same prophecy declares there will come forth the new earth forevermore, the work of the same creative power. That was the prophetic message of hope they claimed to have for the world on this point.

6. PROPHECY PROTECTS AGAINST SPIRITUALISM.—The Sabatarian Adventists held to conditional immortality and the unconscious sleep of the dead, understanding immortality to be a gift, bestowed through Christ, by means of the appointed resurrection of the sleeping saints and the translation of the living righteous; this to take place at the approaching second advent. This concept, shared in common with certain smaller Christian groups, and with many individuals in various religious bodies, was commonly looked upon as an oddity, if not indeed a heresy. But to the Adventist the postulate of *innate* immortality was considered an integral part of the great “falling away” from the primitive faith, predicted in prophecy (2 Thess. 2:3, 4), which has seriously affected nearly all Christian doctrine—including the Sabbath, sanctuary, atonement, priesthood of Christ, the nature of man, and punishment of the wicked, as well as baptism, the Lord’s supper, and many kindred beliefs.

So, in heralding what they held to be the true nature of man, with life only in Christ, the Adventists did so from the prophetic as well as the doctrinal angle. And that again is the “third dimension.” The great perversion concerning the true nature of man—brought into Christendom through Catholicism, along with other beliefs derived from heathendom—they contended, has furnished the basis for saint worship, purgatory, and limbo, some of which have been retained in varying degrees by Protestants. But the Adventists held that the recovery and restoration of apostolic truth correct all these perversions, as well as prove a safeguard against those recent, modern simulations of the “spirits of the dead,” foreseen by Paul and John as deceiving the world in connection with the last great crisis.

7. PROPHECY CALLS FOR SEPARATION FROM APOSTASY.—The Seventh-day Adventists maintained that Christians should



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FRANKLIN BOOTH, ARTIST

THE DOMINANT NOTE OF THE LAST DAYS OF TIME

Saints and Sinners Await the Descent of Their Lord From Heaven. The Righteous Dead Emerge From Their Tombs and Cities Topple in Ruins at the Cataclysmic End of the Age

earnestly cherish and study Bible prophecy, that they should use it as intended of God, fostering its understanding and ever walking in the light of its counsels. They felt that it had been a beacon light calling men and women from apostasy through the ages. Thus, it was prophecy that sustained the early Christian martyrs as they recognized God's controlling hand over the nations, despite Rome's cruel role in the affairs of men. It was prophecy that nerved the Waldenses to withstand Rome and lit the flaming torch of Wyclif in Britain and the Hussites in Bohemia. It was prophecy that was invoked by Luther when he defied Rome, as he declared the identity of Antichrist in irreconcilable conflict and contrast to the Christ of Scripture. And the Adventists believed it would enlighten the multitude of God's children still entangled in the subtleties of modern apostasy.

And the most marked guidance of prophecy, they believed, would yet be experienced just before the world's final crisis. Prophecy, they held, shows where mankind has come from, just where he is in the inexorable stream of time, and where under God he is going. It is the luminous torch in the hands of faithful heralds of the everlasting gospel that will enlighten man in his final march toward the kingdom of God.

VII. Provides Sound Platform for Intelligent Faith

The glorious second advent, the Adventists taught, is the focal point of all prophecy. It ushers in the last act in the divine drama of the ages, as the epochal events foretold by the prophets, to be fulfilled by the march of time, eventuate in this climactic point of all prophecy. That is why, they felt, the second advent has infinitely more meaning, purpose, and moving power to the Adventist than to one who looks upon it merely as a doctrine of vague comfort and assurance.

Man's honest attempts at prophetic interpretation, they believed, have been but the record of his quest for a sound understanding of prophetic truth and principle. And percep-

tion of prophecy's fulfillment has been recognized as progressive over the centuries. It has unfolded slowly to the minds of men, in proportion as history has fulfilled each succeeding epoch or major event of prophecy. The established features have thus become the steadily enlarging platform of demonstrated prophetic principle and accomplished historical fulfillment. And no true principle, once perceived, has ever been permanently lost. Standing upon this firm platform, men are in position to recognize those remaining portions that are rapidly taking shape before their eyes. And this is all in conformity with the basic principle of prophetic interpretation enunciated by Christ—"Now I have told you before it come to pass, that, when it is come to pass, ye might believe."

Just that, they asserted, has been the actual record of the centuries. As fast and as far as history has fulfilled the succeeding segments in the master outline of prophecy, men have been able to recognize with certainty the actual fulfillments as they have taken place, while they watch for further phases and coming fulfillments. This very process has given surety and confidence, along with balance and breadth, in grasping the vast prophetic panorama of the ages. Fulfillment is God's certification of prophecy. Hence, man's attempt to expound prophecy represents his outreach after those certainties of accomplishment that have become clear and established through time's onward march of events. And it is simply the extension of this same perception and confidence that they are to hold today toward the final phases of prophecy now about to take place before the eyes of the world.

Prophecy therefore adds meaning and depth to all doctrine and life. It brings the baffling events of history into sharp perspective, and clarifies the blur of uncertainty. It pushes back the horizons. It draws aside the curtain, so man can see the hand of God behind many otherwise baffling events of history, enabling him to glimpse the larger meaning of it all. It transforms the puzzle picture of the ages into a master portrait of God's redemptive love and Christ's redemptive acts for a lost race.

Prophecy gives inspiring significance to the otherwise meaningless sweep of the centuries, and in and through it all discloses the principle of God's dealings with nations, as well as with individuals. It changes the darksome path of history into the lighted way. It provides present light for the darkness of time's last hour. It puts the day-star of hope into the bleak sky of despair. And it heralds the glorious sunrise that will end man's night of bewildering separation and estrangement from God.

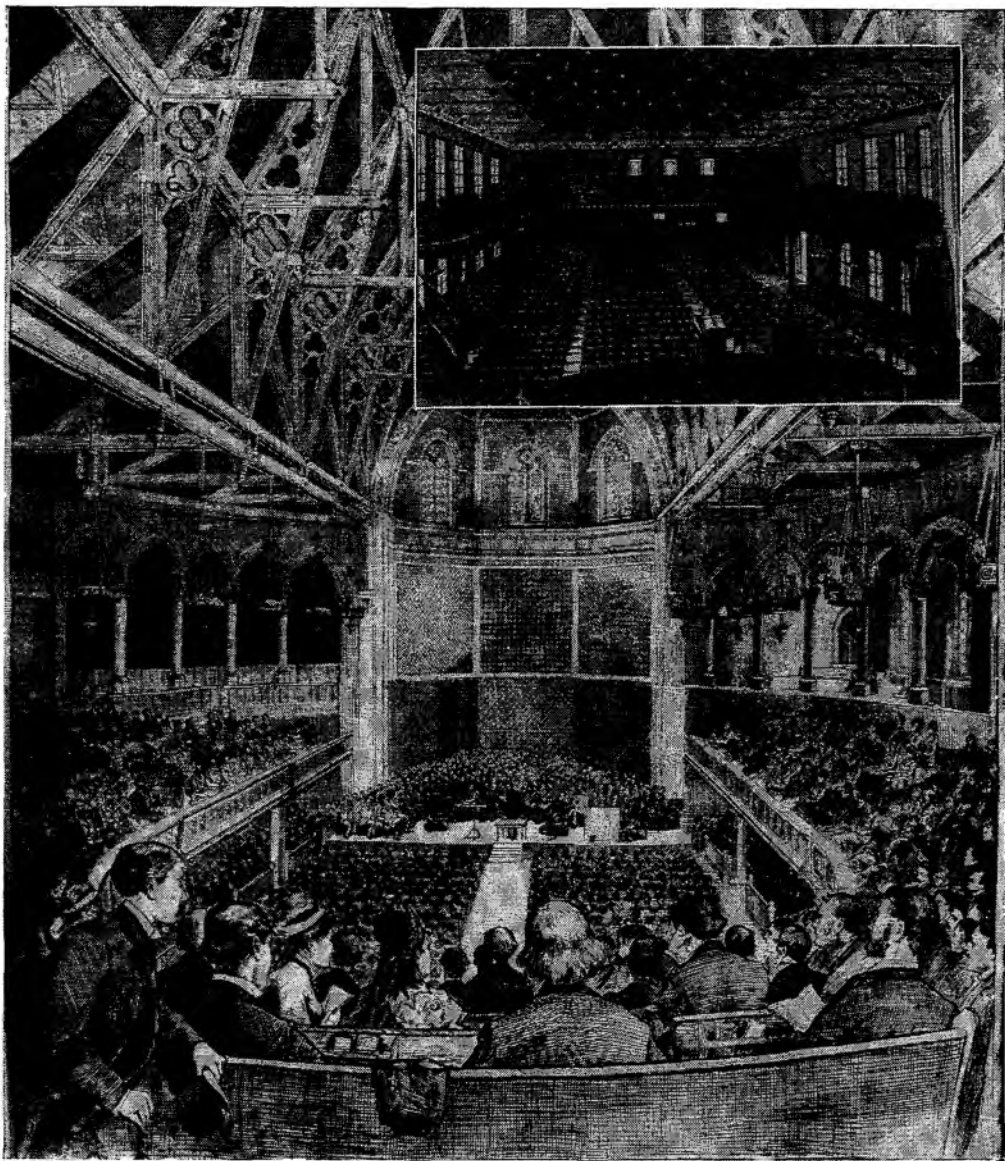
Prophecy is therefore the rainbow of promise, painted by the fingers of God. It is a herald of hope in the dying storm of sin and catastrophe. It gives assurance of coming deliverance from the final cataclysm of the ages now bearing down upon the world. Prophecy brings the promise of God that the storm will soon end, and that there is hope for man, with eternal safety, peace, and salvation held out before the righteous. Rightly understood, prophecy results in an ever-radiant optimism. It assures mankind that the Paradise of Eden is soon to be restored, and that sin will not rise up the second time.

Such was believed to be the larger meaning and message of Bible prophecy in the master plan of God. It was such a concept, grasped in varying degrees, that gave point, power, and purpose to the prophetic faith of our spiritual fathers throughout the centuries, making them His messengers in every age. And nothing short of this can prepare the church of God for deliverance when our Lord returns for His people. That was the recognized challenge of prophecy for time's last hour. That was the prophetic faith of the Sabbatarian Adventists.

EPILOGUE

PERSISTENCE OF PREMILLENNIAL
SECOND ADVENT EMPHASIS IN
AMERICA AND BRITAIN

1878-1952



ASSEMBLY HALLS OF LATER PROPHETIC CONGRESSES

Actual Artist's Sketch Appearing in the *New York Tribune*, Picturing the 1878 International Prophetic Congress, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, New York City. The Authorizing Call Was Issued by 125 Clerics and Educators. (Inset) Interior of Farwell Hall, Chicago, Illinois (See Chapter LV), Scene of the Second American Conference, in 1886

The Premillennial Emphasis Persists

It has not been our purpose to carry forward a complete, detailed history of the increasingly complex and variant expositions of prophecy centering in the second advent and the last things, which mark the remaining decades of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. To do so with the comprehensive coverage uniformly followed throughout the four volumes of *Prophetic Faith*, to this point, would necessitate a fifth volume. That is wholly beyond the space limits set for this survey, and beyond the terminal point of our quest. Moreover, these recent and contemporary sources are accessible to all.

But a sketch of certain outstanding developments, beginning in the 1870's and appearing simultaneously in North America and Great Britain, is highly desirable ere we close this volume. And we should similarly note certain further developments in the early part of the present century, continuing the same premillennial and Historical School exposition. They perpetuate not only the essential positions of the church of the early centuries, but the Reformation and post-Reformation revival of these same early positions, as well as the early nineteenth-century Old World and New World renewal of emphasis that has just been presented. This definitely stresses for the third time, during the Christian Era, this changeless truth of the premillennial second advent. And this is quite apart from the strong Millerite movement emphasis, and its aftermath, which we have but recently surveyed.

The beginning of this third general awakening on the

prophecies concerning the second advent is carefully covered for North America in Part I of the present volume, and for the Old World in Part II of Volume III. The further developments that we shall now note, which highlight the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as well as related activities under way in the opening decades of the twentieth, disclose a singular continuity and persistence of premillennialism. And this despite increasing deflections, fade-outs, and countermoves to the contrary. And all this, be it observed, is quite apart from the distinctive Sabbatarian Adventist movement and teachings that we have just traced in Part III, but with which there is considerable accord.

This brief excursion beyond the confines of Parts I to III is therefore for the sole purpose of showing the persistence and continuity of the main stream of premillennialism, despite multiplying cross currents, swirling eddies, and countering tides, as well as to disclose the essential unity on most fundamentals by the majority of premillennialists through the years. Let us turn our eyes first to New York City, and the year 1878.

I. Interdenominational Prophetic Congress Called by Representative Group

Following the year 1844 there was a rather general collapse of interest in the second advent and in Bible prophecy in general. This characterized practically all Protestant churches. And it came, quite understandably, as a natural reaction to the widespread expectation and subsequent disappointment of the Millerite Adventists, with inevitable effect upon all Protestant groups. In fact, some three decades passed before there was any concerted revival of interest in, or demand for, further widespread discussion of this age-old theme that had gripped afresh the minds of hundreds of thousands in the Old World and New during the third, fourth, and fifth decades of the century.

There were, of course, various individuals and small groups who had never ceased their study of prophecy or their belief in the nearness of the advent. This increased. And when the

year 1878 was reached, a unique interdenominational call was issued by a committee of eight prominent clergymen of various faiths. And this invitation was sponsored by an additional 116 "Bishops, Professors, Ministers, and Brethren," or approximately 125 in all. The call was for a three-day "Prophetic Conference" to be held in the Church of the Holy Trinity (Protestant Episcopal) in New York City, of which Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, Jr., was rector.¹ (Picture of conference in action, from contemporary New York *Tribune*, on p. 1176.) Those interested were asked to meet from October 30 to November 1, to study "the pre-Millennial advent of our Lord Jesus Christ and connected truths, and to participate in such discussions as the topics may suggest."²

The interdenominational character—or more accurately the *intrad denominational* aspect—of this call to special study is significant. And the breakdown of the religious affiliation of this large list of signatories to the summons is highly illuminating. There were 33 Presbyterian, 24 Baptist, 10 United Presbyterian, 9 Methodist, 8 Protestant Episcopal, 8 Congregational, 4 Adventist, 2 Dutch Reformed, 2 Reformed, 2 Evangelical, 1 Lutheran, and 1 Independent signatories, just on the roster of the call.

And by categories they divide themselves as follows: 76 pastors, rectors, and ministers, 21 laymen (including John Wanamaker), 7 evangelists (including George F. Pentecost), 4 theological professors (including Dr. John Duffield of Princeton), 2 other educators (including a college president), 2 editors, and 2 bishops—or a total of 114 from 12 denominations. It was a highly creditable group. And of these, only two had been prominent participants in the former Millerite Adventist movement—Dr. Henry Dana Ward and Dr. Josiah Litch, both now of Philadelphia, but having no part in the discussions.

On the authorizing committee were such well-known

¹ Tyng's father, the Senior, had long been an expositor, as noted in Part I, chapter 15, and gave the welcoming address to the conference upon its assembly. For his biographical sketch, see Part I, p. 342.

² "Call for the Conference," in *Premillennial Essays of the Prophetic Conference, Held in the Church of the Holy Trinity (1878)*, p. 12.

names as Dr. James H. Brooks, Presbyterian of St. Louis; Dr. A. J. Gordon, Baptist of Boston; Dr. S. H. Tyng, Jr., Episcopalian of New York City; and Bishop W. R. Nicholson, Reformed Episcopalian of Philadelphia. Thirteen papers were presented and three addresses given, with at least one speaker from England. And the addresses were by Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Reformed Episcopal, United Presbyterian, and Dutch Reformed clergymen. Such was the scope of the active leadership of the conference.

II. Amazing Report of the 1878 Conference

The conference sessions were first reported in a New York *Tribune* Extra, No. 46, with a circulation of about fifty thousand copies. Then it was published in a 528-page volume entitled *Second Coming of Christ. Pre-Millennial Essays of the Prophetic Conference, Held in the Church of the Holy Trinity, New York City*. This was compiled and edited by Dr. Nathaniel West, prominent Presbyterian clergyman of Cincinnati. The Introduction first directs attention to certain works, recently issued in Britain, undermining faith in the historic second, personal, premillennial advent of Christ as the blessed hope. It declares this was the view firmly held in the apostolic age, with the Preterist counterview on prophecy substituted many centuries later, which view asserts the second advent to have been a past occurrence, accomplished through the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Other treatises had strongly backed the still later popular Whitbyan theory of gradual world betterment and the ultimate world conversion of the postmillennial postulate.

1. CITES STRONG REAFFIRMATION IN BRITAIN.—Dr. West then cites nine points in the Introduction to Canon (later Bishop) JOHN CHARLES RYLE's *Coming Events and Present Duties* (1867). These set forth the time-honored premillennial view—no world conversion, the wheat and tares coexistent till the harvest, widespread unbelief, formalism, wickedness, troublous times, grave departures from the faith, and evil men

waxing worse and worse—as determining signs of the times, along with the gospel going to the world as a witness. Ryle (1816-1910)—later becoming Bishop of Liverpool—then declares succinctly: “I believe that the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ will be a real, literal, personal, bodily coming.”³

Next, West cites Ryle as holding that, upon Christ’s return, the devil will be bound, the godly rewarded, the wicked punished, and the earth renewed. And this Anglican scholar insists that the prophecies had been “far too much neglected by the churches,” at that time, and that “under the mistaken system of *spiritualizing* and *accommodating* Bible language, Christians have too often completely missed its meaning.”⁴ And Ryle’s concluding contention (Point 9) was:

“I believe that the Roman Catholic Church is the Great Predicted Apostacy from the faith and is Babylon and the Pope Antichrist—although I think it highly probable that a more complete development of Antichrist will yet be exhibited to the world.”⁵

That, of course, is essentially the standard Historical School interpretation that we have been tracing throughout these volumes. Thus West first of all links the American premillennialists with their fellow premillennialists overseas, in the struggle against their common perils and tendencies. He next cites the Resolutions passed by the “large body of ministers” present at the New York Conference, in its closing session, reaffirming belief in the “Pre-Millennial coming of the Lord” as the historic faith of the church, and based on Bible prophecy.

“I. We affirm our belief in the supreme and absolute authority of the written Word of God on all questions of doctrine and duty.

“II. The prophetic words of the Old Testament Scriptures, concerning the first coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, were literally fulfilled in His birth, life, death, resurrection and ascension; and so the prophetic words of both the Old and the New Testaments concerning His second coming will be literally fulfilled in His visible bodily return to this earth in like manner as He went up into Heaven; and this glorious Epiphany of the

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7. See J. C. Ryle, *Coming Events and Present Duties*, Preface, p. viii. Ryle was named bishop of Liverpool in 1800.

⁴ Point 8, *Ibid.*, p. 7. West’s reprint varies slightly from the original English edition.

⁵ Point 9, *Ibid.*, p. 7. (Original, p. X.)

great God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, is the blessed hope of the believer and of the Church during this entire dispensation.

"III. This second coming of the Lord Jesus is everywhere in the Scriptures represented as imminent, and may occur at any moment; yet the precise day and hour thereof is unknown to man, and known only to God.

"IV. The Scriptures nowhere teach that the whole world will be converted to God, and that there will be a reign of universal righteousness and peace before the return of our blessed Lord, but that only at and by His coming in power and glory will the prophecies concerning the progress of evil and the development of Antichrist, the times of the Gentiles, and the ingathering of Israel, the resurrection of the dead in Christ, and the transfiguration of His living saints, receive their fulfillment, and the period of millennial blessedness in its inauguration.

"V. The duty of the Church during the absence of the Bridegroom is to watch and pray, to work and wait, to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature, and thus hasten the coming of the day of God; and to His last promise, 'Surely I come quickly,' to respond, in joyous hope, 'Even so; come Lord Jesus.'"⁶

2. "PERSONAL AND VISIBLE" IS KEYNOTE EMPHASIS.—The recorded addresses were by highly trained and well-known ministers and theologians. They analyzed the Bible evidence on Christ's coming, declaring it to be personal and literal, and not only held by the primitive church, but restated in the declarations of faith of practically all Protestant bodies in their formative periods. The second advent was declared not to have occurred at Pentecost or at the destruction of Jerusalem. Neither was it a spiritual coming, nor the spread of the gospel; nor does it occur at the death of the believer. On the contrary, it is to be conspicuously "personal and visible."

Such was the ringing keynote sounded by Dr. STEPHEN H. TYNG, Jr.,⁷ rector of the large Episcopal church in which

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁷ STEPHEN HIGGINSON TYNG, JR., D.D. (1839-1898), after graduating from Williams College and the Episcopal Theological Seminary of Virginia, was ordained in 1863. He was rector of several churches, then organized the Church of the Holy Trinity in New York City. Possessed of a fascinating personality, he was widely loved. He was decidedly evangelical in conviction and emphasis, ever exalting the cause of Christ above ecclesiastical connections. He trained clerical and lay workers, laboring for the poor and outcast, and even inaugurating evangelistic services in a "gospel tent" on a vacant lot.

All this subjected him to considerable criticism, and in 1868 he was brought to ecclesiastical trial because he had preached in a Methodist church. This resulted in episcopal admonition, though he was as stoutly defended. He was prominent in the New York City Moody-Sankey revival of 1875. And his ardent hope of the speedy second coming of Christ—the constant theme of his preaching—caused him, in 1878, to inaugurate and carry out the famous Premillennial Conference at his Holy Trinity Church. He wrote *He Will Come* (1877), *The Church at Work*, and edited *The People's Pulpit*, 1874-79. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him in 1872 by Williams College.

this notable session was held." (Pictured on p. 1176.) It is premillennial, maintained Dr. S. H. Kellogg, professor of theology of the Presbyterian Seminary at Allegheny, Pennsylvania, presenting a series of arguments against the world's conversion and dealing thoroughly with predicted world conditions dominant before the second advent.⁸

3. PAPACY RECOGNIZED AS HISTORICAL ANTICHRIST.—The "First Resurrection" was the theme of Dr. A. J. Gordon (1836-95), noted later, of the prominent Clarendon Baptist Church of Boston, holding to the two literal resurrections of the righteous and the wicked, with the thousand years of the millennium between.¹⁰ Dr. Charles Kisselman Imbrie (1814-91), Presbyterian of Jersey City, spoke on the "Restitution of All Things," in which he included the purification of the earth by fire, the removal of the curse, and the restoration of Eden.¹¹ Then Methodist Prof. Henry Lummis, of Monson, Massachusetts, presented the contrast between the future kingdom of glory and the present church.¹²

Next, Henry M. Parsons, Presbyterian pastor of Buffalo, dealt with the development of Antichrist. This was presented under the titles, or symbols, of Beast, Little Horn, King of Fierce Countenance, Man of Sin, and Son of Perdition. Recognizing the Papacy as the historical Antichrist of prophecy, Parsons nevertheless looked for a still further fulfillment.¹³ Bishop William Rufus Nicholson¹⁴ spoke on "The Gathering of Israel" (pp. 222-240). Then Dr. J. T. Cooper, of the United Presbyterian Seminary of Allegheny, Pennsylvania, discussed the question of "Judgment or Judgments" (pp. 241-269). And Dr. James H. Brooks, Presbyterian pastor of St. Louis—whose name comes first on the authorizing call—next presented one

⁸ S. H. Tyng, Jr., "Christ's Coming: Personal and Visible," *Premillennial Essays*, pp. 22-46.

⁹ S. H. Kellogg, "Christ's Coming—Is It Pre-Millennial?" *Premillennial Essays*, pp. 44-77.

¹⁰ A. J. Gordon, "The First Resurrection," *Premillennial Essays*, pp. 78-107.

¹¹ Charles K. Imbrie, "The Regeneration," *Premillennial Essays*, pp. 108-173.

¹² Henry Lummis, "The Kingdom and the Church," *Premillennial Essays*, pp. 174-203.

¹³ *Premillennial Essays*, pp. 204-221.

¹⁴ WILLIAM RUFUS NICHOLSON (1822-1901) was first a Methodist Episcopal clergyman, from 1843-46. He then joined the Episcopal ranks in 1874, in 1876 being made bishop.

hundred points on the relation of the second advent to doctrine (pp. 270-312).

4. VIVID HISTORY OF PREMILLENNIALISM PRESENTED.—The outstanding contribution to the conference was, however, the remarkable "History of the Pre-Millennial Doctrine," presented by Dr. NATHANIEL WEST,¹⁵ then of Cincinnati, showing the continuity and persistence—along with the vicissitudes of this belief through the centuries—and indicating their own place in the long line of testimony. Logically and progressively, and with really remarkable accuracy, he carried his hearers through the centuries of the Christian Era somewhat as we have traced them in greater completeness and detail in these four volumes of *Prophetic Faith*.

West cited hundreds of witnesses, and showed remarkable familiarity with, and comprehensive grasp of, the historical evidence of the centuries. In this survey he proceeds from apostolic times on past the great Latin apostasy, then compasses the pre-Reformation and Reformation periods, the counter-Reformation and its counterinterpretations, the post-Reformation exposition and subsequent departures, the divisive Whitbyan postmillennial theory, and finally comes to the nineteenth-century revival of premillennialism.¹⁶ West's knowledge of the "galaxy of illustrious names," as he terms them, of Old and New World premillennialists of the nineteenth century, is phenomenal—right down to the time of the 1878 conference.

¹⁵ NATHANIEL WEST, D.D. (1824-1907), distinguished Presbyterian scholar, was born in England. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Michigan in 1846 and 1850, and was graduated from the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Allegheny in 1852. He filled important pulpits in Cincinnati, Denver, and St. Paul, and in 1868-1869 studied in France and Germany. He was a linguist, adept in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Sanscrit, as well as in French and German. He was professor of ecclesiastical history and theology in the Danville (Kentucky) Seminary from 1869-1874. He was in demand as a speaker at large Bible conferences and was effective as an author and platform lecturer. In addition to *Premillennial Essays* (1879), he was author of *The Corruption of Established Truth* (1856), and *Daniel's Great Prophecy* (1898), and such other works as *The Supremacy of God's Word Established* (1851), and *The Revelation of St. John*. He was an implacable foe of higher criticism.

¹⁶ The subheads give the outline: The Doctrine in the Apocalypses of Daniel and John; No Contradiction in the Different Representations; The Testimony of the Apostolic Fathers; The Testimony of the Apologists; Testimony of the Nicene Age; The Doctrine Crushed by an Apostatizing Church; New (Augustinian) Theory of the Millennium; The Protestant Interpretation of the "Antichrist"; Door Opened for the Return of Chiliasm; Preterist Effort to Turn the Protestant Position; Attitude of the Reformers; Doctrinal Symbols of the Reformation; Seventeenth Century—the Westminster Divines and Standards; Eighteenth Century—The Whitbyan Theory; Bengel and His School; Nineteenth Century—the Promised Triumph of the Pre-Millennial Doctrine; Marvelous Survival of the Doctrine.

The religious affiliations of the recent expositors that he names are: Presbyterian (84), Church of England (44), Episcopalian (22), Congregationalist (17), Baptist (19), Methodist (10), Dutch Reformed (8), Lutheran (several), and laymen (14).³⁷ The interest transcended all churchly lines. With sweeping strokes, yet with precision, West traces the continuity, along with certain setbacks, of premillennialism across the centuries. It was a notable array, and afforded a faithful picture.

5. TAKE STAND AS CONTINUATORS OF PREMILLENNIALISM.—

The Report then continues with a "Summary of the Argument in Defense of Pre-Millennialism," by Dr. JOHN THOMAS DUFFIELD (1823-1901), first a graduate and then long a professor at Princeton (pp. 405-428). Next, Dr. Rufus W. Clark, of the Reformed Church of Albany, spoke on the "Hope of Christ's Coming as a Motive to Holy Living and Active Labor" (pp. 429-455). And finally Dr. W. P. Mackey, Presbyterian of Hull, England, gave the closing address on "The Return of Christ and Foreign Missions" (pp. 456-469). They were to be ardently active, he held, not apathetic and indifferent to the needs of men.

Dr. West adds a "Critical Appendix" of nearly fifty pages of pertinent extracts on the premillennial advent and literal first resurrection. These were selected from noted authors, chiefly European, from Reformation times onward, which buttress the thesis of the Report. So it was that this large group—the full number attending the conference is not given—took its stand by the side of the great stalwarts of the past, and went clearly on record as continuators of the truth of the premillennial second advent, and upholders of the Historicist position on Bible prophecy.³⁸

³⁷ Nathaniel West, "History of the Pre-Millennial Doctrine," *Premillennial Essays*, pp. 313-404. There was no comparable list except Joshua Brooks' *Dictionary of Writers on the Prophecies* (London, 1835). On the latter see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III. p. 607.

³⁸ The conflicting reaction is reflected in the warmly sympathetic editorial report in *The Christian Intelligencer* of November 7, 1878. And this is countered by the critical and antagonistic editorial comment of *The Christian Advocate*, likewise of November 7, 1878, on the selfsame premillennial conference, in contradistinction to its own postmillennial position, and denial of a literal, personal second advent. These reflect the unchanged antagonism between these two irreconcilable concepts.

British Exposition Parallels American Interpretation

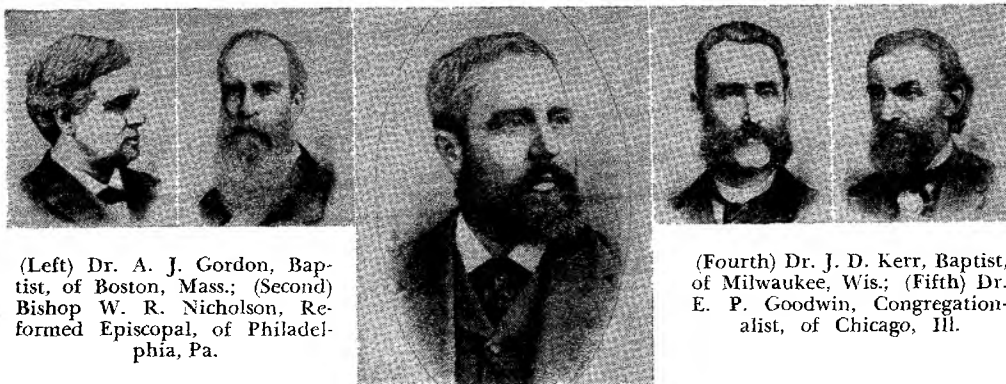
I. Second American Conference Aggressively Premillennial

The sessions of the second American Bible and Prophetic Conference, held in Farwell Hall, Chicago, November 16-21, 1886, were first reported daily in full in the *Chicago Inter Ocean*.¹ (Interior of Farwell Hall pictured on p. 1176.) The names of twenty-one religious leaders appeared on the authorizing call, and thirty-five addresses were given. Here "students of prophecy" presented the "weighty matters found in the Written Word concerning the 'last times' and the 'last things.' " GEORGE C. NEEDHAM,² of Manchester, Massachusetts, was the dynamic secretary and organizer, with a 216-page report, *Pro-*

¹ The editorial commendation by this newspaper of the objectives of the conference, its emphasis on the high caliber of the speakers, the space devoted to complete reports—three or four full pages daily—and then free advertising at the head of the editorial column of the report in book form running for seven days in succession, are all highly impressive.

² GEORGE C. NEEDHAM (1840-1902), born in Ireland, was soundly converted at eighteen, and soon entered upon an evangelistic ministry. He was influenced by Spurgeon and attended his college. But it was Dr. H. Grattan Guinness who kindled the flame of the second advent hope in his heart and awakened his interest in prophecy. In 1856 he and Guinness (noted in Section IV) made an evangelistic tour of Ireland with pronounced success. Then in 1867, Needham and Henry Moorehouse came to America with letters of introduction from Spurgeon. Landing in Boston, Needham gave an address the next noon at the Y.M.C.A., of which D. L. Moody was then president. Needham introduced the giving of Bible readings, or studies, which proved highly successful. His motto was, "The best commentary is the Bible. The Scriptures explain themselves."

He followed Moody to Chicago, and was one of a group of key men trained for important service, being pastor of the Moody Church from 1879 to 1881. Indefatigable, Needham commonly preached every night, gave a Bible study every afternoon, and often had a prayer meeting in the morning. Though pre-eminently an evangelist, one of his pronounced gifts was the organizing and promoting of Christian conventions. The most noted was this Chicago Prophetic Conference of 1886. He constantly promoted Bible study through Bible schools, and was author of a dozen books, including exposition of prophecy and the second advent. Titles include *Preach the Word* (1892), *Plan of the Ages* (1883), on prophecy, and *Shadow and Substance* (1896), on the tabernacle types.



(Left) Dr. A. J. Gordon, Baptist, of Boston, Mass.; (Second) Bishop W. R. Nicholson, Reformed Episcopal, of Philadelphia, Pa.

(Fourth) Dr. J. D. Kerr, Baptist, of Milwaukee, Wis.; (Fifth) Dr. E. P. Goodwin, Congregationalist, of Chicago, Ill.

NOTED LEADERS IN THE 1886 PROPHETIC CONFERENCE

(Center) George C. Needham, Dynamic Organizer of the 1886 Conference, and Similar Gatherings. All Participants Were Highly Trained and Were Ardent Premillennialists

phetic Studies made up from the stereotype plates of the *Inter Ocean* reports.³

Several speakers—including A. J. Gordon, Nathaniel West, and John T. Duffield, already noted—had been participants in the first conference. But the majority comprised vibrant new voices. Premillennialism was the dominant note of most of the addresses. Here are some of the leading topics and speakers:

“Return of the Lord Personal and Literal,” Dr. E. P. Goodwin (Congregationalist), Chicago; “Christ’s Second Coming Premillennial,” Prof. E. T. Stroeter (Methodist), Wesleyan University; “Premillennial Motives to World-wide Evangelism,” Dr. A. T. Pierson (Presbyterian); “Christ’s Predictions and Their Interpretation,” Prof. Henry Lummis, Lawrence University; “Times of the Gentiles,” Dr. George S. Bishop (Dutch Reformed), Orange, New Jersey; “Fullness of the Gentiles,” Rev. W. J. Erdman (Congregationalist), Boston; “Modern Delusions,” Dr. A. J. Gordon (Baptist), Boston; “Eschatology as Taught by Christ,” Prof. D. C. Marquis, McCormick Seminary.

Continuing, other topics were: “Antichrist,” Prof. W. G. Moorehead (United Presbyterian), Xenia Theological Seminary; “Importance of Prophetic Study,” Dr. J. D. Herr (Bap-

³ Thirty-seven books on premillennialism and prophecy were advertised, along with two periodicals on similar themes—*The Faithful Witness* and *The Christian Herald and Signs of Our Times*.

tist), Milwaukee; "Messiah's Kingly Glory," Bishop W. R. Nicholson (Reformed Episcopal), Philadelphia; and "Condition of Church and World at Christ's Coming," Dr. A. J. Frost (Baptist), Sacramento, California. Letters of approval and support were read from Dwight L. Moody, Andrew Bonar of Scotland, and Canon Faucett of England, as well as from Continental scholars like Godet, Koch, Volck, and Delitzsch.

1. SECOND ADVENT AND PROPHECIES STRESSED AS LITERAL.—In the initial address Dr. E. P. GOODWIN⁴ charged that—

"in this day of so-called advanced thought and new departures men set to be teachers of the Lord's people in pulpits and editorial chairs, and some who are charged with training those who are to expound this word of God, have abandoned the faith of the fathers."⁵

He held that the literality of the "first set of prophecies," concerning the *first* advent of Christ—His birth, mother, name, character, life and sufferings, death and resurrection—must likewise apply to the *second* advent, which will be just as "literal, personal, visible."

2. HISTORICAL SCHOOL OF PROPHETIC INTERPRETATION MAINTAINED.—Editor of *Messiah's Herald*, J. M. ORROCK, of Boston, answering objections to premillennialism, declared:

"We still stand, as we have stood for more than thirteen hundred years, in Rome divided, awaiting the action of the mystic stone [of Daniel 2] by which all world-powers will be overthrown and destroyed and the kingdom of our God established."⁶

Prof. HENRY LUMMIS,⁷ of Lawrence University, Wisconsin, declaring that prophecy is "to be taken in its literal meaning," held—

⁴ EDWARD PAYSON GOODWIN, D.D. (1832-1901), Congregationalist, was a graduate of Amherst. After ministering in Columbus he served as pastor of the First Congregationalist Church of Chicago for thirty-five years.

⁵ E. P. Goodwin, "The Return of the Lord," *Prophetic Studies of the International Prophetic Conference*, p. 7.

⁶ J. M. Orrock, "Objections . . . Considered," *Prophetic Studies*, p. 43.

⁷ HENRY LUMMIS, M.A., D.D. (1825-1905), graduated from Wesleyan University, engaging in educational work till 1870, pastoral work until 1886, was thenceforth with Lawrence University. He was an outstanding teacher, with a rugged personality, and was a specialist in Greek.

"The figurative word is no bar to the actual sense, if the reader or the interpreter understands the figure. . . . When a metaphor, a metonymy, or a simile is recognized, and its meaning is clearly brought out in exegesis, the interpretation gives the thought just as well as if no figurative word had been used."⁸

DR. GEORGE SAYLES BISHOP,⁹ for a time president of the Dutch Reformed General Assembly, speaking on the "Times of the Gentiles," declared the successive parts of the great metallic colossus of Daniel 2 and the paralleling symbolic beasts of Daniel 7 were the four world powers of Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome, with the divisions of the Roman fourth constituting the "ten kingdoms of our modern Europe." The social fabric and laws of the present world are Roman, with its characteristic hardness and severity, but its iron is more perishable and more easily rusted and corroded than the antecedent brass, silver, and gold.

The image presents man's view of history, while the beasts of Daniel portray God's view. There is progressive deterioration in metallic values, and the world is hastening on to judgment. Antichrist, as the Little Horn, includes the Papacy, but Bishop maintains it is to have a final development and climax. And the smiting of the mystic stone—Christ at His second coming—will effect the destruction of Antichrist and the close of the times of the Gentiles.

3. PROPHETIC PICTURE OF PAPAL ANTICHRIST INESCAPABLE.

—DR. ADONIRAM J. GORDON,¹⁰ Baptist of Boston, speaking on

⁸ Henry Lummis, "Christ's Predictions," *Prophetic Studies*, p. 48.

⁹ GEORGE SAYLES BISHOP, D.D. (1836-1914), graduate of Amherst (1858) and Princeton (1864), and for thirty years pastor of the First Dutch Reformed Church of Orange, New Jersey, was a delegate to five recognized church councils in Europe, and was president of the General Synod in 1899-1900. He authored a dozen books, including *The Atonement* (1881), *The Sweep of Time* (1909), and *The Doctrine of Grace* (1910).

¹⁰ ADONIRAM JUDSON GORDON, D.D. (1836-95), began at sixteen to plan on the ministry. He graduated from Brown University in 1860 and Newton Theological Seminary in 1863. For six years he served as pastor of the Jamaica Plain Baptist Church, and in 1869 began a remarkable pastorate at Clarendon Street Church in Boston. Many revivals marked his ministry. He was associated with Moody in the famous revival of 1877, when inquirers' meetings were started, and with the Northfield Conferences. He established the Boston Missionary Training School for home and foreign missionaries, and edited the *Watchword*, a journal of Biblical exposition. He was author of numerous works, including *In Christ* (1872), *Grace to Glory* (1880), *Ministry of Healing* (1882), opposing the claims of Christian Science, *The Two-fold Life* (1884), *Eccle Venit* (1892), on the second advent, and *Ministry of the Spirit* (1894).

Gordon held to the utter inability of the race to attain social redemption, and believed the present evil age would be brought to an end through the second advent. Despair was thus

modern delusions, dealt with Spiritualism as proceeding from the pit, ritualism as proceeding from the Papacy, and theosophy as proceeding from paganism—and with the latter-day repetition of the days of Noah. After discussing Antichrist—as the papal system not an individual, but enthroned in the church—Gordon cites the diverting attempts of Cardinals Newman and Manning,¹¹ and comments:

"I need not remind you that one of the first tasks which the ritualistic leaders fifty years ago felt called upon to undertake was that of getting rid of the Protestant interpretation of Antichrist as the Pope of Rome. How desperately they wrought at this task will be apparent to those who read Newman's essay on 'The Man of Sin,' and observed especially his earnest wrestling with the ominous saying of Gregory the Great, that 'Whosoever adopts or desires the title of universal bishop is the forerunner of Antichrist.' "¹²

Unreservedly commending the published expositions of Dr. H. Grattan Guinness, of Great Britain,¹³ as the "profoundest discussion of this question that has appeared in fifty years," Gordon closed with this remarkable affirmation:

"History is shown to answer to prophecy like deep calling unto deep; there the mysterious chronology written ages ago by God is verified point by point by the terminal periods which are running out under our own eyes. Such correspondencies can not be accidental; such clear pointings to the man of sin as a story of his predicted age as 1,260 years gives can not be fortuitous. One of the ablest prophetic scholars of the Futurist school in this country declares that he knows not how the conclusions of these [Guinness'] volumes can be gainsaid.

"I humbly concur in that opinion. Nay, I speak rather of The Book than of any human books and avow my conviction that the papal 'Man of Sin' was accurately photographed on the camera of prophecy thousands of years ago; that no detective searching for him to-day would need any other description of him than that which is found on the pages of the Bible. Taking these photographs of Daniel and John and Paul, and searching the world upside down for their originals, I am confident that this same detective would stop at the Vatican, and after gazing for a few mo-

transmuted into hope, and pessimism into optimism. The escape is from above, he held. The Christian is to be redeemed at the second advent, which provides the urgency of missions. Gordon identified the Papacy as the Antichrist, to be destroyed by the brightness of Christ's coming.

¹¹ On Newman and Manning, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 667, 736, 737.

¹² A. J. Gordon, "Spiritualism, Ritualism, Theosophy," *Prophetic Studies*, pp. 70, 71. He holds to the year-day principle for the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, as with the 70 weeks, thus the "accompanying time," for the 1260 years, "should also be in miniature."—that is, days for years (page 76).

¹³ Noted on p. 1194.

ments at the Pontiff, who sits there gnawing the bone of infallibility, which he acquired in 1870, and clutching for that other bone of temporal sovereignty which he lost the very same year, he would lay his hand on him and say: 'You are wanted in the court of the Most High to answer to the indictment of certain souls beneath the altar "who were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they bore," and who are crying, "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell upon the earth?"'

"My brethren, let us search the Scriptures anew and let us be sure that they do not require it of us before we silence our testimony against the Man of Rome as Antichrist."¹⁴

4. MOOREHEAD—SATAN FINAL FORM OF ANTICHRIST.—
 PROF. WILLIAM G. MOOREHEAD,¹⁵ discussing the identity of the three depictions of Antichrist, by Daniel, Paul, and John, stated that the name indicates a vice-Christ, a rival Christ, and a false christ, as well as an antagonistic, persecuting power. And, after presenting the moral features and the "time-notes" as identical, he concluded:

"The prevailing Protestant interpretation is that the beast, the lawless one, is popery, gathered up into the person of the Pope; or that papal hierarchy, the head of which is the papal chair. This was the opinion of the reformers almost without exception. It was held by some even in prereformation times. And there is no little verisimilitude in the view. The marks of correspondence between the prophecies and the papacy are extraordinary, almost conclusive. In its marvelous origin and history; in its near relation to the old Roman Empire as its heir and successor; in its wide departure from the truth; in its idolatry, persecuting spirit, daring assumptions, and blasphemous pretensions, Romanism, it must be confessed, strikingly resembles the antichrist."¹⁶

But he held that there is a final fuller development in store, observing that "all evangelical interpreters hold that Babylon the Great is Romanism, the apostate church; and yet hateful as Babylon is, she contains to the close some genuine believers." But Babylon, he held, and the beast that upbears her, are two

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

¹⁵ WILLIAM G. MOOREHEAD, D.D., LL.D., (1836-1914), graduate of Muskingum College and Allegheny Seminary, in 1875 became professor of New Testament exegesis, and then president of the United Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Xenia, Ohio. He was author of numerous expositions, including his highly significant *Studies in the Mosaic Institutions* (1896). These were a vigorous response to the persistent current attacks on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and were designed to show the "prophetic element" of these types of gospel realities, constituting predictions and fulfillments. Believing that God "knows the future no less certainly than the past," the Christian can "remain steadfast and immovable in the presence of skeptical assault on the books of Moses" (p. iv).

¹⁶ W. G. Moorehead, "The Antichrist," *Prophetic Studies*, p. 101.

different things, and added, "If the harlot be Romanism, then the beast is not."¹⁷ He then indicated that, in his final ultimate form, this supernatural Antichrist may be none other than Satan.¹⁸

And Dr. ADONIRAM J. FROST,¹⁹ California Baptist, discussing whether the world and the church would grow better or worse as we approach the advent, declared, "Premillennialists maintain that the church and the world are destined to grow morally worse until the end of the age," adding, "this dispensation will end in diabolical wickedness and well-nigh universal apostasy amid the crash of Apocalyptic thunder and the unparalleled judgments of God."²⁰

In support he summoned the eschatological parables and eschatological prophecies, and specified the seven churches of the Apocalypse. In these expositions he said these seven churches "represent seven successive pages of church history, and that the Laodicean Church accurately portrays the condition of nominal Christendom at the end of this dispensation."²¹

Secretary Needham summed up the conference as designed "to give prominence to neglected truth," to "emphasize the true principles of Scripture interpretation," "the awaking of Christians from slumber," to present "the most majestic of all motives for world-wide evangelism," "as a bulwark against the skepticism of modern theology," and to be "brought into nearer fellowship one with another."²²

Needham's own exposition appears in his *Plan of the Ages*, with the four-part colossus of Daniel 2 and the beasts of Daniel 7 symbolizing Babylonian supremacy, Medo-Persian power, Grecian ascendancy, and then Roman dominance. The smiting of the image by the mystic stone could not have taken place at the first advent, he held, because Rome's division had

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105.

¹⁹ Pastor of First Baptist Church, Sacramento, from 1880-87.

²⁰ A. J. Frost, "Condition of the Church and World at Christ's Second Advent," *Prophetic Studies*, p. 166.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

²² "Reasons for Holding the Bible and Prophetic Confidence," *Prophetic Studies*, pp. 215, 216.

not yet occurred. Then he added, "When every form of government symbolized in the Colossus shall have been tested and proved unstable, then Christ descends with power and great glory to uproot the kingdoms of men and to overthrow the governments of earth."²³ The mystic stone will then fill the whole earth. Needham's fivefold conclusion was:

"1. The Stone has not yet fallen. 2. The Stone falls in judgment for destruction, not in grace for conversion. 3. The Stone does not absorb the Image into itself, but drives it away. 4. The kingdoms of men, and the Kingdom of God in its complete form, cannot co-exist. 5. The Stone may even now be ready for its crushing descent upon governments autocratic, despotic, monarchic, democratic and satanic."²⁴

The present age, or Christian dispensation, he held, is the age of the church and of evangelism. It is a mixed age—the wheat and tares side by side. It began with the rejection of Christ, and will end with the final reception of Antichrist. It began when Christ ascended; it will end when He descends again to earth. It began with the coming of the Holy Spirit; it will close with the outpouring of judgments on the wicked. And after the millennial age, will close with the execution of the final judgments. Then will follow a renewed earth, and a holy sinless race with no more defilement, Paradise restored, Satan conquered—"a sinless Kingdom, without rebels or apostates."²⁵

II. 1873 London "Prophetical Conference" on Second Advent

Meantime in the Old World, just prior to the New York Conference of 1878, a Prophetical Conference was held in London, beginning May 7, 1873. Brief mention must suffice. The chairman was the Right Honorable, the Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., and the speakers included the Earl of Cavan, Canon Freemantle, G. W. Weldon, C. Skrine, F. Whitfield, D. Dalton, the commentator, Lord Radstock, and others. The dominant theme was likewise the second advent of Christ. Regrettably,

²³ George C. Needham, *Plan of the Ages*, p. 19.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

there is no full report of the addresses. But the chairman, after declaring that the personal return of the Lord Jesus will take place speedily and suddenly, at a time when the world at large is least looking for it, charged both churchmen and nonconformists: "Go forth and preach, day by day and night by night, the great and glorious truth of the approaching Advent of our blessed Lord."²⁶

While there was diversity of view upon some matters, Lord Cavan declared: "*The grand leading fact of the speedy Personal and Pre-Millennial Advent of Christ* is one upon which we are all agreed."²⁷

With this brief introduction, we now turn to the leading British expositor of the time.

III. Guinness—Outstanding Modern Expositor of Prophecy

DR. HENRY GRATTAN GUINNESS,²⁸ of London, was one of the most outstanding among all modern expositors, exerting a telling influence in America and other lands as well as in Britain. He was conspicuous as a preacher and trainer of missionaries. His greatest contribution was doubtless the writing of nine major works on prophecy, issued between 1878 and 1905. Note the titles, size, and circulation: *The Approaching End of*

²⁶ Lord Shaftesbury, "Remarks on Christ's Second Advent," in *Forty Coming Wonders*, p. 487.

²⁷ Earl of Cavan, "Address on the Second Advent," in *Forty Coming Wonders*, p. 490.

²⁸ HENRY GRATTAN GUINNESS, D.D., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S. (1835-1910), was born near Dublin, his early education being received at Cheltenham and Exeter. During several years of carelessness he plied the sea and became a world traveler. Returning home, he was soundly converted, studied for the ministry at New College, London, and was ordained as an interdenominational evangelist in 1857. He became a powerful preacher, traveling constantly for twelve years, speaking to large crowds in outdoor meetings, and sometimes needing police protection from Catholic mobs. Later, at Whitfield's Tabernacle (London's largest), he drew immense congregations, also in the Town Hall of Cheltenham, at Birmingham in crowded chapels, and in Wednesbury preaching to the miners in the pits six hundred feet below ground.

He was active in the Ulster revival of 1859, speaking at Belfast to 20,000. He was often compared with Wesley and Whitfield in pulpit power. Tall and well proportioned, with full voice and rapid utterance, and intensely earnest, he was markedly pictorial in preaching style, and rivaled Spurgeon in popularity. Preaching for the millions was his goal. His preaching tours included the Continent (thrice), the Near East and North America (thrice), where he inspired training institutes in Boston and Minneapolis, Africa (twice), India, Japan, China, Australia, and New Zealand. He received his D.D. degree from Brown University, Providence, in 1889.

In 1873 he concentrated on foreign missions and founded the interdenominational Regions Beyond Missionary Union, and East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions, with two training colleges, and sustaining one hundred missionary families. Over thirteen hundred missionaries of thirty denominations were sent out to Africa, India, and South America. He also edited *The Regions Beyond*. But his greatest contribution was unquestionably the production of his nine books on prophecy, based on the premillennial premise.

the Age (776 pp.), passed through eleven British and three American editions; *Light for the Last Days* (434 pp.), four British and one American; *Romanism and the Reformation From*



DR. HENRY GRATTAN GUINNESS

Without a Peer in Britain in Modern Exposition
of Prophecy, and Powerful Exponent of the
Historical School Interpretation

the Standpoint of Prophecy (244 pp.), also had three American editions; *The Divine Programme of the World's History* (450 pp.), three British and one American; *The City of the Seven Hills* (302 pp.), two editions; the two-volume *Creation Centered in Christ* (536 plus 627 pp.), two British and two American; *History Unveiling Prophecy* (476 pp.), with two American editions; *Key to the Apocalypse*; and *The Fallacies of Futurism*.

1. OCCASION AND SCOPE OF WRITINGS.—His volumes on prophecy were launched only after twenty years of intensive, independent study of Scripture prophecy and the second advent, during which he gathered an entire library of expositions of prophecy, including 150 on the Revelation alone.²⁹ The twin incentives for all this were, first, the alarming inroads of the Futurist School of counterinterpretation, stemming originally from the Spanish Jesuit Ribera and his Catholic counterinterpretation,³⁰ but now sweeping over one segment of Protestant-

²⁹ H. G. Guinness, *History Unveiling Prophecy*, p. v.

³⁰ See also *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, chap. 22; Appendix "A."

ism, after its espousal by the Plymouth Brethren. And second, the popular Protestant acceptance of the relatively recent Whitbyan postmillennial innovation.³¹ He found that all early Christian teachers and expositors, except Origen, were premillennialists—Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Victorinus, Methodius, Lactantius, et cetera—holding that the first resurrection of Revelation 20 was literal, and prior to the thousand years.

But now, he discovered, there were currently three schools of interpretation, each differing from the other. First, there was the fanciful Preterist scheme springing from the seventeenth-century Jesuit Alcazar, holding to a Neronian date for the Apocalypse, with the prophetic element considered as fulfilled in the downfall of the Jewish nation and the overthrow of the old Roman Empire. This was held in modified form by Grotius, Hammond, Bossuet, Eichhorn, Moses Stuart, and Davidson,³² and by current rationalists generally. Second, the reveries of the Futurist view, maintaining that the prophetic visions of Revelation 4 to 19 prefigure "events still wholly future," and destined to take place just at the close of this dispensation.

This, he found, originated with the astute Ribera, at the close of the sixteenth century, to relieve the Papacy of the terrible stigma cast upon it by Protestant Reformation interpreters. This was accomplished by getting Antichrist wholly into the future, just as the Preterists had attempted to thrust him entirely into the past. This Futurist view was at first confined to the Romanists, but was taken over in the early nineteenth century by the two Maitlands, Burgh, Tyso, Todd, then the Plymouth Brethren, and some Puseyite expositors. They were thus espoused by opposite groups who, though Protestant, held the Reformation to have been an unwarranted schism, and sought to verge as closely as possible on Rome.³³

Guinness championed the Historical School of Protestant

³¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 649-655; Appendix "C."

³² H. G. Guinness, *Approaching End of the Age*, pp. 92, 93; see also *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. II, pp. 507-510; Appendix "B."

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 96.

view, which holds to the progressive fulfillment of prophecy from John's time to the second advent. Then, following the early church, it came into prominence among the Waldenses, Wyclifites, and Hussites, and was embraced by all the Reformers of the sixteenth century. It next became a powerful, formidable weapon motivating the Reformers of Germany, Switzerland, Britain, France, Denmark, and Sweden, and nerving the martyrs of Spain and Italy. It was also held by the earlier Joachim and Brute, as well as by Luther, Zwingli, Melancthon, Knox, and scores of associates. It was the view of such post-Reformation leaders as Bullinger, Bale, Foxe, Brightman, Mede, the Pilgrim fathers and Puritan theologians, Sir Isaac and Bishop Newton, Daubuz, Whiston, Faber, Cuninghame, Frere, Birks, Bickersteth, and Elliott ³⁴—who all agreed on the grand outline.³⁵

It was this progressive fulfillment of prophecy, Guinness maintained, epoch by epoch, and its accomplishment event by event, for which the Confessors stood and the martyrs suffered. But both Futurists and Preterists deny the fulfillments recognized by the great mass of solid prophetic interpreters. They have forsaken the main well-trodden highway of interpretation, he held, for questionable historical evidence and empty speculations about a short-lived infidel antichrist to be seated in a literal temple in Palestine. And this character, in the brief compass of 3½ years, is to fulfill all the wonders of the Apocalyptic drama, they say, and to exhaust the majestic sweep of prophecy—which the church of God had been blindly misinterpreting and misapplying through the centuries, according to such special methods of interpretation. So said Guinness.

But it was the lofty decree of papal infallibility, issued by the Vatican Council of 1870, together with the fall of papal temporal power after a duration of over a thousand years, that was the immediate occasion of Guinness' writing his series of books spread over a quarter of a century. He maintained that God had given "infallible explanations" in the determinative

³⁴ On all these characters, see also *Prophetic Faith*, Vols. I and II.

³⁵ H. G. Guinness, *Approaching End of the Age*, p. 94.

portions of Daniel and the Apocalypse, which were "keys to unlock the meaning of the prophecies as a whole," as in Daniel 2, 7, 8, and in the Revelation concerning "Babylon" and the "Beast." The prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse are thus linked together by an inescapable series of events—the course of the five kingdoms of "Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, and the eternal kingdom of God."³⁶ Time, or history, is thus the "chief interpreter of prophecy," for history is prophecy written in advance. "As the ages roll by history practically takes the place of prophecy, the foretold becoming the fulfillment."³⁷

2. THE HISTORICIST CONCEPTION OF PROPHECY.—Guinness cites the fourfold prophecy of Daniel 7:7-27, Revelation 13:1-9, Revelation 17, and 2 Thessalonians 2 as the composite depiction of the prophesied Antichrist. It springs up in the designated territory of the fourth, or Roman, beast, the three hindering horns being the Heruli, Ostrogoths, and Lombards. The name "Antichrist" does not signify an avowed antagonist of Christ, he says, but "one professing to be a *vice-Christ*, a *rival-Christ*, one who would assume the character, occupy the place, and fulfil the functions of Christ."³⁸ Its claims, its character, its devices, its persecutions, its domination, and finally its doom at the second advent are presented in detail. Every specification, he avers, is met. What was foretold has been fulfilled.³⁹

But prophecy has a system, and times and seasons, as verily as nature. Empires flourish for a specified period. And time, he adds, is measured by revolutions and cycles of the heavenly bodies, the sun and moon. This was seen in the prophetic types of the sanctuary service—the week of *days* of the unleavened bread, of the Tabernacle, and the Sabbath; the week of *weeks* between Passover and Pentecost; the week of *months*, the first seven months for the feasts of the Lord; the week of *years*, for the rest for the land; and the week of *weeks of years* for the Jubilee. Then there were the 70 weeks of years, or 490 years,

³⁶ H. G. Guinness, *History Unveiling Prophecy*, p. viii-xi.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xii.

³⁸ H. G. Guinness, *Approaching End of the Age*, p. 178.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-229.

the seven times of the Gentiles, and 7,000 years—all indicating a “septiform periodicity.”

Coming next to symbolic prophecies, he maintains that they are miniature representations of future events—every feature on a reduced scale, each symbol standing for another and larger period. Thus a “day” in time prophecy stands for a natural year in fulfillment, according to Ezekiel 4:4. All prophetic time periods, whether the 1260, 1290, 1335, or 2300, are on this scale or system. Seeking the possible placement of these great time periods, he suggests either 533-1793 or 606-1866, for the 1260 years.⁴⁰ And similarly with the 2300 years, to the cleansing of the sanctuary, he gives the alternates of 457 B.C. to A.D. 1844, or possibly 312 B.C. to A.D. 1919-20.⁴¹ The 70 weeks are clearly from 457 B.C. to A.D. 34.⁴² And Guinness likewise places the 391 years of Revelation 9:15, as from 1453 to 1844.⁴³

3. PROGRESSIVE ADVANCES IN INTERPRETATION.—In *History Unveiling Prophecy*, Guinness divides the progressions and setbacks in the history of prophetic interpretation into ten periods or stages—Pre-Constantine or Martyr Church, Post-Constantine or Imperial Church, Medieval, Dawn of the Reformation, Reformation, Puritan, English Revolution, Eighteenth Century, French Revolution, and Present. The early church regarded the Apocalypse as a continuation of the prophecies of Daniel, particularly of the Roman fourth kingdom, and with the divine eternal kingdom destined to destroy and replace the kingdoms of this world.⁴⁴ To them the crowned rider upon the white horse, riding forth conquering and to conquer, was a representative of Christ and the early church going forth on its victorious mission. And Babylon represented Romanism, with Rome the fourth empire as the hindering power, and the first resurrection literal. But the view of the early church was necessarily circumscribed and foreshortened in concept.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 426, 606, 616, 618, 619, 660.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 433-440, 473, 540, 541, 588, 663.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 588, 596.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 540, 646, 663.

⁴⁴ H. G. Guinness, *History Unveiling Prophecy*, pp. 25, 26.

The fall of paganism and the establishment of Christianity was followed by a revolution in interpretation—the kingdom of God being construed as the church, with the millennium already commenced. The medieval stage was characterized by the gradual supremacy of the bishop of Rome, the subjection of the temporal to the spiritual dominion, and possession of temporal power, and finally the assumption of divine honors. Then the Papacy came to be regarded as the Apocalyptic harlot, Babylon, and Antichrist, with application of the year-day principle to her 1260-year dominance. Everywhere accusing voices were raised, both within and outside the church, protesting the assumptions of Antichrist—with resultant war against the Protestant witnesses. The Reformation was built upon this identification of the Papacy as Antichrist. And this not only in Germany, but in Switzerland, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, Great Britain, and France.

The Reformation stage was followed by the great papal reaction, with the founding of the Jesuits, the Council of Trent, dread persecutions, and Rome's counterinterpretations. But this was matched by Mede's restoration of premillennialism, with the first resurrection literal, and emphasis upon the year-day principle for the 1260 days and its approaching terminus. With the rise of America the field broadened, and the eighteenth century witnessed revivals of spiritual life in England and America, and advances in prophetic interpretation, with emphasis on France's coming part in the overthrow of papal dominance. His was a sweeping bird's-eye view.

4. ASTRONOMICAL ANGLE OF TIME PROPHECY.—His two-volume *Creation Centered in Christ*, is of related but vastly different content. It is a closely reasoned argument, or Christian philosophy, on nature and revelation, its need, evidence, and existence, and the internal evidences. Then comes the connection between the natural and revealed, or creation centered in Christ. Discussing the analogy in nature—form, number, time—he comes to the analogy in revelation, how the Bible sets forth divine truth by means of visions, symbols, types, parables,

first of the person, office, work and prophecies of Christ, and of Christ the center of history, the two advents, and the central work of redemption as "the end to which all the great Events of History Are Adjusted." The four great empires precede the kingdom of God. The overthrow of the Roman Empire, the paralleling history of the papal and Mohammedan powers, the Reformation, and French Revolution, are all antecedent.

Guinness then takes up the astronomical angle—numbers in the Bible, and the analogy of revealed times, the scientific basis of the chronology of the four empires, the chronology of the 70 weeks and the 1260 years, the cyclical character of prophetic time according to De Cheseaux,⁴⁵ and the relation of the 1260 and 2300 years as the most central and fundamental cycles. And he closes with the harmonization of revelation and nature and the application of the Christocentric principle. He ends volume one with "Chronological and Other Signs of the Nearness of Christ's Kingdom."⁴⁶ His basic contention is that "the prophetic times of Daniel and the Apocalypse are extremely perfect astronomical cycles, harmonizing solar and lunar revolutions. The year-day theory, resting on Scripture analogy and historic fulfillment, is strongly confirmed by this discovery."⁴⁷

5. POWERFUL PORTRAYAL IN VERSE.—His *City of the Seven Hills* is unique in the series—a comprehensive prophetic exposition of 302 pages in verse, supported by documented notes. With incisive words and trenchant phrases this poem portrays the rise of papal Rome, the Reformation, the papal reaction, and the retribution. The inner heart of Catholicism is laid bare, and the secret of its power disclosed under the idolatrous worship of modern Rome, the confessional, Rome's convents, the Inquisition, the power behind the pope, and the Catholic revival. The concluding section consists of Rome irreformable,

⁴⁵ On De Cheseaux, see *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III, pp. 381-385.

⁴⁶ Volume II comprises the Tables of Vernal Equinoxes and New Moons From B.C. 1622 to A.D. 1934, attested as to accuracy by testimonials from four leading contemporary British astronomers.

⁴⁷ See also H. G. Guinness, *History Unveiling Prophecy*, p. xvi.

Rome judged, and the church triumphant. A sample excerpt from the "Vision of Revelation xvii" must suffice:

"Lo! in the Wilderness I saw advance,
 Arrayed in scarlet and with lawless glance,
 A Woman by a dreadful Beast upborne,
 With head surmounting head, and horn on horn;
 Her robe of royal red and purple blent
 Hung o'er the savage beast, who grimly lent
 His strength to the enchantress; at her will
 He strode, or rushed, or ravaged, or was still.
 Upon her brazen brow—a mystic Whore—
 The name of "BABYLON THE GREAT" she bore;
 And in her hand a golden chalice held,
 With wine of filthiness and fury filled.

"Kings were her paramours; from every state,
 They poured into her lap donations great:
 While nations, drugged and drunken with her wine,
 Extolled her painted beauty as divine.
 Arrayed in pearls, in purple, and in gold,
 She flared upon the crowd with aspect bold,
 And waved her proffered cup from side to side,
 DRUNKEN WITH BLOOD; for in her chalice wide
 With horrors mixed she held THE BLOOD OF SAINTS
 AND MARTYRS, and as swelled their dying plaints,
 With bloated lips the steaming draught she drank,
 And deep into her shameless dress it sank;
 'Twas this that flushed her face, and filled her frame,
 As seated on her Scarlet Beast she came."⁴⁸

The revival of ritualism in the Church of England, with the formation of societies in the Anglican communion fostering actual Catholicism, with its rites and ceremonies—auricular confession, prayers for the dead, the sacrifice of the mass, the eastward position, eucharistic vestments, altar lights, the mixed chalice, incense, et cetera, draw forth his solemn protest and burning, moving words, as men "Labour to build again what God has banned, and raise the BABYLON He overthrew."⁴⁹

6. THREEFOLD FOREVIEW OF ROMANISM.—His best-known work was *Romanism and the Reformation*, dealing with Dan-

⁴⁸ H. G. Guinness. *The City of the Seven Hills*, pp. 45, 46.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

iel's, Paul's, and John's threefold foreview of Romanism, just as we need the three synoptic lives of Christ to get the full picture. Here Guinness traces tersely the historical development of prophetic exposition through the centuries, based on these three sets of prophecies. He insists that the time has come when the battle of the Reformation must be fought all over again.

With telling strokes he paints an eightfold picture of Romanism—its place, period, nature, character, lawlessness, opposition to the saints, duration, and doom. He distinguishes between Daniel's political portrayal, Paul's ecclesiastical depiction, and John's combined presentation of the politico-ecclesiastical power.

It is a *multum in parvo*, covering every essential and unavoidably paralleling portions of his other volumes. Perhaps no more cogent and logical indictment has been produced. The characters troop before the reader. Documentary citations support Guinness' thesis, and his conclusions seem inescapable. It is a vivid portrayal of a great case.

IV. "Dispensationalism" and "Rapture" Are Later Developments

Space limitations, and the terminal point of this Epilogue, forbid tracing the persistence of the prophetic emphasis beyond this point. But sufficient evidence has been presented to show that ardent premillennialism, based on Bible prophecy, continued long past the time of the Millerite Disappointment of 1844, and quite independent of their emphasis. Moreover, these earnest heralds of the approaching advent embraced some of the finest scholars of the Old World and conspicuous religious leaders of the New. Thus the advent hope lived on.

But it should also be borne in mind that it was not until the first decade of the twentieth century that Dispensationalism, with its rapture theory, and the separation of the seventieth week from the previous sixty-nine weeks of years of Daniel 9, became general in the then newly forming Fundamentalist wing of Protestantism. This was largely brought about by the acceptance of Dr. C. I. Scofield's bold and revolutionary thesis,

and the aggressive support given this postulate by the Moody Bible Institute of Chicago.

This, be it remembered, was around the turn of the century. Thereafter the emphasis veered sharply away from the predominant note of the previous prophetic conferences. These later developments are discussed briefly in Appendix C, on "The Development of Modern Futurist Dispensationalism." The table of conferences, which follows, indicates the continuing interest in prophecy.

Periodic Conferences on Prophecy—1878-1952

Tabular List of Leading Conferences on Prophecy Between 1878 and 1952, With Date, Location, Name of Conference, and Title of Published Report. All Attest the Persistence of Premillennialism, and Concern Over Neglect of Bible Prophecy. But a Progressive Change Takes Place in Emphasis, With Abandonment of Certain Time-Honored Positions, and Introduction of the Dispensational and "Rapture" Concepts of Fundamentalism.

DATE	PLACE	NAME	PUBLISHED REPORT
1878 Oct. 30-Nov. 1	New York (Church of the Holy Trinity)	First American Bible and Prophetic Conference	<i>Premillennial Essays</i> —West
1886 Nov. 16-21	Chicago (Farwell Hall)	Second International Conference	<i>Prophetic Studies</i> —Needham
1890 Nov. 18-21	Brooklyn (Centennial Church)	Brooklyn Conference of the Baptist Society for Bible Study	<i>Primitive Paths in Prophecy</i>
1891	London (Conference Hall)	The Eighth Annual Conference for the Study of Prophetic Scripture	<i>Report of the Eighth Annual Conference for the Study of Prophetic Scripture</i>
1895 Dec. 3-6	Allegheny, Pa. (Fourth United Presbyterian Church)	Prophetic Conference	<i>Addresses on the Second Coming of the Lord</i>
1901 Dec. 10-15	Boston (Clarendon St. Baptist Church)	International Prophetic Conference	<i>Addresses of the International Prophetic Conference</i> —Erdman
(1910)—The	Fundamentalist	Movement Started— <i>The Fundamentals</i> , 12 volumes)	
1914 Feb. 24-27	Chicago (Moody Church)	Prophetic Bible Conference	<i>The Coming and Kingdom of Christ</i> —Gray
1918 May 28-30	Philadelphia (Academy of Music)	Philadelphia Prophetic Conference	<i>Light on Prophecy</i> —Pettingill
1918	New York		<i>Christ and Glory</i> —Gaebelein
1942 Nov. 1-8	New York (Calvary Baptist Church)	New York Congress on Prophecy	<i>The Sure Word of Prophecy</i> —Bradbury
1943 Dec. 5-12	New York (Calvary Baptist Church)	Second New York Congress on Prophecy	<i>Light for the World's Darkness</i> —Bradbury
1944	New York (Calvary Baptist Church)		<i>Prophetic Message for Modern Times</i> —Wells
1952	New York (Calvary Baptist Church)	International Congress on Prophecy	<i>Hasting the Day of God</i> —Bradbury

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

RUNNING TO AND FRO IN THE PROPHECIES

The clear intent of the Hebrew original of Daniel 12:4, the supporting evidence of the context, and its comparative rendering in the leading European translations,¹ all indicate that this running to and fro pertains primarily to the prophecies, a searching for the understanding of their intent, with resultant knowledge of light for the last days, shed by the book of Daniel. It obviously is a forecast of the great revival in prophetic exposition that came under the simultaneous awakening in the nineteenth century, in both the Old World and the New.

As to the text itself, the literal rendering of the Hebrew of the last part of Daniel 12:4 is really, "Many shall urgently run to and fro, and

¹ Modern European languages render the expression in Daniel 12:4 thus:

1. DANISH

(1871): "Mange skal søge ivrigt i den, og Kundskab skal blive mangfoldig." (Many shall seek anxiously in it and knowledge shall be increased.)

(1913): "da skal mange løbe (og ransage den) og Kundskab skal blive mangfoldig." (Then many shall run [and search it] and knowledge shall be widespread.)

2. FRENCH

(Version Synodale): "Beaucoup de gens l'étudieront, et leur science en sera augmentée." (Many will study it and their science [knowledge] will be augmented by it.)

(Version Second): "Plusieurs alors le liront, et la connaissance augmentera." (Then many will read it, and knowledge will increase.)

3. GERMAN

(Luther): "so werden viele darüberkommen und grossen Verstand finden." (Thus many will come in contact with it [go across it, as of a hurdle, come over it, or discover it], and they will find great understanding.)

4. PORTUGUESE

(D'Almeida, 1932): "muitos correrão de uma parte para outra, e a sciencia se multiplicara." (Many will run from one place to the other, and science will be multiplied.)

5. SPANISH

(de Valers, 1602): "hasta el tiempo del fin: pasaran muchos, e multiplicarase la ciencia." (Many will pass [or go through, as of a door], and science will be multiplied.)

6. SWEDISH

"många komma att rannsaka den, och insikten skall så växa till." (Many shall come and study it, and insight shall increase.)

(1878): "Många skola forska i den, och kunskapen skall blifva stor." (Many shall search therein, and knowledge shall become great.)

the knowledge shall be increased."² Taffel's Hebrew Interlinear critical note (p. 18) reads: "run up and to, to read through or over, peruse." The same verb used by Daniel occurs in identical form in Amos 8:12: "They shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north even to the east, *they shall run to and fro* to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it." But here the infinitive, "to seek," is introduced from another verb not in Daniel. And the verb "shut," in Daniel 12:4, is followed by the parallel of the clause, "that the knowledge may increase." The definite article is given in the Hebrew—"the knowledge"—and must mean "*the knowledge of the book*" which had been sealed, and later was to be understood. So the clause, concerning running to and fro, meets its fulfillment in arriving at an understanding of the book of Daniel.

² Translation and note by R. E. Loasby: See also Gesenius, *Hebrew Grammar*, Revised Mitchell ed., p. 132. Here the primary idea of *Piel* (future of *Polel*) is urgency, especially that which is self-impelled (a busy doing). Hence it denotes intensity and repetition. It indicates that the action has to do with *many*—the eager performance of an action makes the agent influence others also in the same direction.

APPENDIX B

THE "FALLING OF THE STARS"

I. Meteors and Meteor Showers

1. NATURE OF STAR SHOWERS.—On an average clear night one observer may see from five to eight or ten meteors an hour. But on certain nights, when our globe in its yearly path plows through any one of the various aggregations or streams of meteoric particles,¹ we get a meteoric "shower"—not necessarily a spectacular display, but a noticeably increased number of "shooting stars."² But *shower* meteors, coming from a regular stream, approach us approximately parallel; hence by perspective they appear to radiate like the spokes of an umbrella from one point or small area of the heavens. For example, the Leonid meteors, which furnished the November, 1833, shower, are so called because the track of each shooting star belonging to that "shower" would, if its path were traced back far enough, appear to come from within the "sickle" of the constellation Leo.³ That is, our globe is traveling in the direction of Leo at the time when it cuts through this meteor stream.

Astronomers describe star showers thus: The tiny meteoric particles—actually many miles apart—move in streams or swarms, at approximately twenty-six miles a second, in elliptical paths around the sun. Whenever

¹ Comparatively few of them are scattered at random through cosmic space. "Nearly all of the detectable meteors are permanent members of the solar system." (Fletcher G. Watson, "Meteors," *Scientific American*, June, 1951, p. 27.)

² Peter M. Millman, "The Falling of the Stars," *The Telescope*, May-June, 1940, p. 59.

³ Sir Robert Ball, *In Starry Realms*, p. 238. The Leonids, moving within our own solar system, have no connection with the distant stars we call Leo. The apparent radiation from one point is merely an optical illusion similar to the apparent converging of parallel railroad rails in a vanishing point. Shower meteors show their origin from a swarm or stream by their recurrent dates, by their characteristic color and speed (slow meteors are red; the fastest bluish white), and by the position of the center (called the radiant) peculiar to that particular shower. (Reginald L. Waterfield, *A Hundred Years of Astronomy*, p. 475; Charles P. Olivier, *Meteors*, p. 8.)

the earth, also moving around the sun at approximately eighteen miles a second, crosses one of these "celestial highways," hundreds of thousands of these "little lumps of stone or iron" enter our atmosphere. Slowed down and heated by friction of the air, they become visible, many miles above the earth, as they are vaporized into a streak of light that we call a "shooting star," or meteor—the larger the particle and the swifter the fall, of course, the brighter the trail.⁴

2. SHOWER OF 1833 STARTS INVESTIGATION.—Every mid-November, in its circuit around the sun, our globe crosses the vast invisible belt of the Leonids, intercepting each time a few of its billions of meteors. But no one dreamed that the more numerous "shooting stars" seen on certain autumn nights were the stragglers from an unbelievably vast throng of celestial runners that could meet our earth only about every thirty-three years. It was the famous Leonid shower of 1833 that led Olmsted of Yale and others to the conclusion that meteors come from outside the earth's atmosphere. For they noted that, first, the radiant remained in the sickle of Leo as that constellation moved hourly toward the west, and therefore this source was not rotating with the earth; second, the date, corresponding with those of earlier notable showers (1832, 1831, 1799, and 1766), pointed to (1) a place of origin located in space about where the earth would pass in its orbit every mid-November, and (2) a possible cycle of something like thirty-three years.⁵

3. LEONID CYCLE ESTABLISHED FROM HISTORICAL RECORDS.—H. A. Newton of Yale assembled a list of shooting-star falls from European and Asiatic history that fitted an astronomical cycle of about 33.25 years. In this series (from October 13, A.D. 902, to November 13, 1833)⁶ were several notable ones, as in 902—known as "the year of the stars"—also 1202, 1366, and 1533.⁷ The return of the shower in 1866 confirmed the $33\frac{1}{4}$ year period and established the identity of the Leonid showers.

⁴ P. M. Millman, *op. cit.*, p. 58. The word *meteor*—originally meaning any sort of atmospheric phenomenon, such as winds, clouds, rainbows, rain, hail, lightning, etc.—is now generally used only in its astronomical sense of a falling or shooting star. Strictly, a meteor is a glowing particle visible to us only as it is consumed by the heat of the friction generated as it plunges from space into our denser atmosphere; but the dark, solid bit of meteoric matter—perhaps not larger than a grain of sand—traveling in space before it enters our atmosphere is technically a *meteoroid*, though it is permissible to use the term meteor for both. If it is too large to be entirely consumed in the fall, and reaches the ground as a piece of stone or iron—ranging from an ounce or two to many tons—it is called a *meteorite*. (C. C. Wylie, *Astronomy, Maps and Weather*, pp. 363, 364.) A meteor as bright as Jupiter or Venus, or brighter, is called a *fireball*; if it explodes it is called a *bolide*. (C. P. Olivier, *op. cit.*, p. 7.)

⁵ Willard J. Fisher, "The Ancient Leonids," *The Telescope*, October, 1934, pp. 80-83. ⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-84. Later studies in the Far East have enlarged Newton's series. Fisher's combined list, therefore, shows only eleven unrecorded returns of the Leonids. Some of these gaps doubtless indicate times when the Leonids were deflected by perturbations due to the gravitational pull of other planets, as happened in 1899. (*Ibid.*, p. 86.)

⁷ Many were apparently only local or minor showers ("more than a hundred shooting stars," "many shooting stars," etc.). See the list, with quotations, in H. A. Newton, "The Original Accounts of the Displays in Former Times of the November Star-Showers," *The American Journal of Science*, May, 1864, pp. 377-389. Following are two of the seven sources quoted by Newton on the first known Leonid shower of 902.

A chronicle in Egypt says:
"On Wednesday, the seventh of Dhu-al-Qa'da . . . so-called flaming stars struck one against another violently, while being moved eastward and westward, northward and southward; and no one could look on the heavens on account of this phenomenon." (Translated from

4. METEORS THE DEBRIS OF COMETS.—Tempel's comet of 1866 was found to have a recurring period of 33.18 years and an orbit agreeing with that of the Leonids, just as the path of the August Perseid meteors (from a radiant in Perseus) had been found to agree with that of Tuttle's comet. Thence came the discovery that other meteor streams were connected with specific comets, and therefore the deduction that meteors are the scattered debris of comets.⁸

In 1872 and 1886, in place of the recently shattered Biela's comet, there appeared over Europe showers of faint but very numerous Bielids⁹ (also named Andromedes from the radiant in Andromeda), whose narrow stream, incidentally, seems to have shifted away from us since 1899.¹⁰ And the Giacobinid meteors—not known as such before 1926—put on lesser showers, again in Europe, in connection with the passage of the Giacobini-Zinner comet in 1933 and 1946.¹¹

These streams of traveling comets' dust vary greatly in distribution around their orbits. The Bielid meteors seem to have been in compact bunches, and therefore the earth did not encounter them at every annual crossing. The Perseids have become scattered nearly uniformly around their orbit; hence we see them regularly, about one meteor a minute, every mid-August. The Leonids are distributed widely enough to offer a dependable yearly shower, more brilliant than the Perseids, but their main body has remained in a denser swarm that gives also a "great shower" about every thirty-three years. A few Lyrids (from a radiant in Lyra) are seen every April, but their main swarm has a yet unknown period; hence it is uncertain when, if ever, there will be a return of its notable shower of April 20, 1803.¹²

Jirjis ibn al 'Amd, *Historia Saracenica*, chap. 17, p. 181; see also a translation of this in Newton's article.)

And a Latin chronicler in Salerno, Italy, sees it as a prophetic fulfillment.

⁸ "October 13, 902. . . . From first cockcrow to sunrise, stars, as it were, were seen to scatter through the air very thickly, like long spears, toward almost all points of the sky, so that they terrified the minds of all beholders. For the age remembered nothing, nor did any history set forth a wonderful portent of this kind. But because it was seen not only in Italy, but in the whole world, it is rather to be believed that the meaning of the evangelist is fulfilled, saying, 'There shall be signs in the sun and moon and stars.'" (Translated from *Chronicon Salernitanum*; Latin text quoted by Newton.)

⁹ W. J. Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-87. On comet-meteor relations, see also Fletcher G. Watson, *Between the Planets*, pp. 118, 122-137; James C. Hickey, *Introducing the Universe*, p. 82.

¹⁰ Watson, *Between the Planets*, pp. 126-128. For contemporary descriptions, see Camille Flammarion, *Astronomy for Amateurs*, pp. 197, 198; R. Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 243; H. A. Newton, "Observations Upon the Meteors of Nov. 24th-27th, 1872," *The American Journal of Science*, January, 1873, pp. 53-61; Padre Denza, "Meteoric Showers of November 27-28, 1872," also the unsigned item in "Scientific Intelligence: III. Astronomy," *The American Journal of Science*, February, 1873, pp. 126-128 and 150-154, respectively; "Scientific Intelligence: IV. Astronomy," *The American Journal of Science*, January, 1886, pp. 78, 79.

¹¹ Robert H. Baker, *Astronomy*, p. 246.

¹² For these two showers, see Watson, *Between the Planets*, pp. 128, 129, 132; and J. C. Hickey, *op. cit.*, p. 82, respectively. The Giacobinid shower of 1946 was the first ever observed by radio and radar. In New England four thousand unseen meteors were counted through a heavy overcast. These new methods have detected streams of meteors that we never knew existed, because they enter our atmosphere in the daytime. (Watson, "Meteors," *Scientific American*, June, 1951, pp. 25-28.)

¹³ R. H. Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 246; C. P. Olivier, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64. The 1803 Lyrid shower was reported as an "alarming" display, seen at Richmond, Virginia, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and referred to in the newspaper accounts of the great star fall of November, 1833. (For source dispatches, see the *Richmond Examiner*,

5. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LEONID STREAM.—From the accumulated data astronomers have arrived at a general picture of the Leonid stream of meteors. Sir Robert Ball gives us the breath-taking picture of this immense oval race course¹²—circling the sun and the earth's orbit at one end, and swinging beyond the seventh planet of our system at the other—a race track dotted unevenly with stragglers scattered all along its circuit, but with the main body of runners bunched in a denser swarm, in a long train that sweeps past the earth's orbit every $33\frac{1}{4}$ years, at each return giving us the chance of a "great" shower if its center is not swung slightly—a million miles or so—aside from the earth's course by the delicately balanced gravitational pull of other planets. Evidently at the 1833 crossing our globe plunged through the densest part of the swarm.

Olivier depicts the Leonid stream as an imaginary tube in space circling the sun in an ellipse with a longer axis of about 950 million miles. The tube, with an oblique section about $4\frac{1}{2}$ million miles in diameter, is sparsely filled with meteors moving in nearly the same path; but in one portion—long enough to take about three years to pass a given point—there is a dense central core only 120,000 miles in diameter. Every November 13-16 the earth cuts through the tube, and we have the annual Leonid "shower" as we intercept larger or smaller numbers of the stragglers; but there can be a "great shower" only when the short, dense, interior cylinder reaches the crossing, about every thirty-three years.¹⁴

Since the orbits of the earth and the Leonids are not in the same plane, and since both are responding, in three dimensions, to the varying pulls of passing planets, it is not surprising that "direct hits" cannot be expected at every thirty-three-year return of the dense swarm. But when our globe does cut squarely through the core, as in 1833, it must for a few hours "forge its way across the stream" and expose its forward side to "a perfect hurricane of meteors."¹⁵ Gorgeous then is the rain of fire, for the Leonids, approaching almost head-on,¹⁶ are among our swiftest and therefore hottest and most brilliant meteors.

The dense Leonid swarm, taking three years to pass the crossroads where it meets the earth, brings not only a peak shower (seen in varying intensity in different localities), but also larger numbers of November meteors annually for several years preceding and following (as in 1831-39).¹⁷

April 30, 1803, quoting the *Virginia Gazette*; the *New Hampshire Gazette*, May 31, 1803, p. 3; see also *The New York Journal of Commerce* (semiweekly ed.), Nov. 27, 1833, p. 4, citing earlier accounts.)

¹² See R. Ball, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 241; also J. C. Hickey, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹³ C. P. Olivier, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁴ R. Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

¹⁵ Watson, *Between the Planets*, p. 121.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 120; Denison Olmsted, *Letters on Astronomy*, pp. 349, 350.

The local variations of intensity in the same shower indicate that the swarm has sharp gradations in density. The shifting of successive showers over different parts of the globe is explained thus: The earth returns to the Leonid crossing point at the end of each complete year, which is 365 and one-fourth days. In that extra quarter day the globe makes an extra

6. BEGINNING OF MODERN LEONID SERIES.—The great Leonid showers have been reported from widely separated areas, but never in such magnitude and extent as in three successive returns over two thirds of a century, in 1799, 1832-1833, 1866-1868. A ship's captain, approaching a Massachusetts port during the shower of November 13, 1833, was reported as having also seen a lesser shower in the Red Sea, near Mocha, on the same date in 1832, and the newspaper editor remarks on the coincidence of another great meteoric shower in South America on the same date in 1779 (actually November 12, 1799).¹⁸ Accounts of these showers, as well as one seen in April, 1803, were reprinted in various newspapers.¹⁹

"The first grand phenomenon of a meteoric shower which attracted attention in modern times,"²⁰ November 12, 1799, was seen in varying degrees from Greenland to equatorial South America (except the United States), and even in Weimar, Germany.²¹ Alexander von Humboldt, a German savant traveling in Venezuela, reported seeing these meteors near the horizon, throughout 60° of the eastern sky, but Andrew Ellicott, an Englishman aboard ship off the coast of Florida, saw the whole heavens illuminated with meteors "as numerous as the stars."²² This display was "not so vast, nor so sublime and brilliant as that of 1833."²³

At the next return of the major Leonid swarm, the peak shower of 1833—"the most magnificent shower on record"²⁴—had immediate precursors. On November 13, 1831, a "great shower" of falling stars was seen on the coast of Spain, and a noticeable shower in Ohio; on November 12/13, 1832, quite a display was reported from England, Switzerland, the Tyrol, Russia, the Red Sea, India, and off Pernambuco, Brazil.²⁵

7. THE SUPREME LEONID SHOWER OF 1833.—Then, on November 12/13, 1833, appeared probably the most "extensive and magnificent" exhibition of "shooting stars" ever recorded. A historian of astronomy gives this terse and vivid description:

"On the night of November 12/13, 1833, a tempest of falling stars broke over the earth. North America bore the brunt of its pelting. From the Gulf

quarter turn, so that if Europe and Asia are on the forward side of the earth as it breasts the meteor stream in one year (as in 1832), exactly a year later (as in 1833) the Western Hemisphere will be in that leading position. (W. J. Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 85.)

¹⁸ *Essex Register* (Salem, Mass.), Nov. 18, 1833, p. [2].

¹⁹ *The New York Journal of Commerce* (semiweekly ed.), Nov. 27, 1833, p. 4, reprints a number of reports of the 1833 shower, with several items on "Similar Phenomena in Former Years."

²⁰ Thomas Milner, *The Gallery of Nature*, p. 138.

²¹ W. J. Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Alexander von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels*, vol. 1, pp. 351-360; Andrew Ellicott, *Journal*, p. 248; for reports from ship captains in the Atlantic, see the *Essex Register* (Salem, Mass.), Nov. 21, 1833, p. 1.

²² C. P. Olivier, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24.

²³ S. P. Hildreth, letter in *The American Journal of Science*, July, 1834, p. 86.

²⁴ W. J. Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, see also C. P. Olivier, *op. cit.*, p. 24. On the 1832 shower, see "Nachträgliche Beobachtung über die meteorische Erscheinung in der Nacht vom 12. auf 13. November 1832," *Annalen der Physik und Chemie*, 1833 (vol. 2, no. 3), pp. 447-450. The rate was not uniform—48 meteors in five minutes in England, 267 in three hours at Düsseldorf, a "real rain of fire" in Romania, "several at the same time," at intervals, at Sudsha, Russia. A Massachusetts paper reported a great display near Mocha in the Red Sea. (*Essex Register*, Salem, Mass., Nov. 18, 1833, p. 2.)

of Mexico to Halifax, until daylight with some difficulty put an end to the display, the sky was scored in every direction with shining tracks and illuminated with majestic fireballs."²⁶

For eyewitness descriptions we turn to contemporary scientific accounts. Said a Yale astronomer:

"Probably no celestial phenomenon has ever occurred in this country, since its first settlement, which was viewed with so much admiration and delight by one class of spectators, or with so much astonishment and fear by another class. . . .

"To form some idea of the phenomenon, the reader may imagine a constant succession of fire balls, resembling sky rockets, radiating in all directions from a point in the heavens, a few degrees south-east of the zenith, and following the arch of the sky towards the horizon. They commenced their progress at different distances from the radiating point, but their directions were uniformly such, that the lines they described, if produced upwards, would all have met in the same part of the heavens. Around this point, or imaginary radiant, was a circular space of several degrees, within which no meteors were observed. The balls, as they travelled down the vault, usually left after them a vivid streak of light, and just before they disappeared, exploded, or suddenly resolved themselves into smoke. . . . The spectator was presented with meteors of various sizes and degrees of splendor: some were mere points, but others were larger and brighter than Jupiter or Venus. . . . The flashes of light, although less intense than lightning, were so bright as to awaken people in their beds."²⁷

As to the extent, it was seen—

"in nearly equal splendor from the British possessions on the north to the West India islands and Mexico to the south, and from sixty-one degrees of longitude east of the American coast, quite to the Pacific Ocean on the west. Throughout this immense region the duration was nearly the same."²⁸

In another work the same astronomer said:

"Perhaps ages may roll away before the world will be again surprised and delighted with a display of celestial fire-works equal to that of the morning of November 13, 1833."²⁹

Reports from various places likened the display to a veritable shower of fire, or a fall of innumerable snowflakes.³⁰ In Missouri the brilliance of these countless meteors was so great that common-sized print could be read without much difficulty.³¹ The whole heavens seemed in motion. None of the meteors reached the ground as meteorites (that is, solid pieces of rock or iron). But there were a number of fireballs—from the brightness of Venus to twice the apparent size of the moon—and there were many bolides, which burst like rockets, discharging balls of fire. Some of the "luminous trains" of large fireballs remained in view for several minutes—

²⁶ Agnes M. Clerke, *A Popular History of Astronomy During the Nineteenth Century*, p. 328; cf. *Portland [Maine] Evening Advertiser*, Nov. 27, 1833.

²⁷ Denison Olmsted, "Observations on the Meteors of November 13th, 1833," *The American Journal of Science*, January, 1834, pp. 363-365.

²⁸ Denison Olmsted, *Letters on Astronomy*, p. 349.

²⁹ Denison Olmsted, *The Mechanism of the Heavens*, p. 341.

³⁰ See the *Portland Evening Advertiser*, Nov. 14, 25, 26, 1833, and *The New York Journal of Commerce*, Nov. 27, 1833, for numerous descriptions from the pages of the American press in all sections of the country; see also Denison Olmsted, "Observations on the Meteors of November 13th, 1833," *The American Journal of Science*, January, 1834, p. 372.

³¹ Olmsted, "Observations," *The American Journal of Science*, January, 1834, p. 382.

others longer. One train, seen from various cities, was described as remaining stationary for a considerable time, curling into a serpentine form, and finally drifting away as a small cloud. While the awe-struck populace gazed upon the spectacle with varying feelings, scientific observers noted and recorded the facts that were to date the birth of meteoric science from this memorable night.

8. SUBSEQUENT RETURNS OF LEONIDS ANTICIPATED.—In 1834 Leonid showers were seen in various localities in America³² on "a greatly diminished scale," and unusual numbers of November meteors were visible in various places until 1838 or 1839.³³ In 1866 the next return of the main swarm was eagerly anticipated. Three successive annual showers delighted astronomers. The first, in 1866, was seen from Ireland to Syria, and even in Cape Town.³⁴ In some places it was "a rain of fire," although "far inferior" in numbers and brilliance to that of 1833. The 1867 display—from mid-Atlantic and western South America to mid-Pacific—would have been brilliant but for the full moon; the estimated rate at the maximum was 3,000 per hour.³⁵ In 1868 a third, smaller shower was seen in America, but none of the three was at all comparable to that of 1833.³⁶

9. NUMEROUS BUT PALER BIELIDS.—Before the next anticipated return of the Leonids, two notable showers of another meteor family, the Andromedes, or Bielids, were seen in Europe and the Near East in 1872 and 1885. These meteors, the most numerous since the great 1833 shower, were so much paler, slower, and shorter in their paths that they could not be compared in splendor with the 1833 Leonids.³⁷

10. LATER MAJOR LEONID SHOWERS FAIL TO MATERIALIZE.—In November, 1899, general expectation was high, despite the warning of two English astronomers who had calculated that planetary perturbations might have shifted the main Leonid swarm enough to miss the earth.³⁸ Disappointment was intense when the meteors failed to appear in any numbers.³⁹ Not until 1901 was there a "really fine shower" (seen from the West

³² A. D. Bache, "Meteoric Observations Made on and About the 13th of November, 1834," *The American Journal of Science*, January, 1835, pp. 335-338; also his "Replies to a Circular," in the issue of July, 1835, pp. 305-309.

³³ W. J. Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

³⁴ *Ibid.*; for fuller accounts see R. Ball, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-234; *London Times*, Nov. 15, 1866; *The London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science*, February, 1867, pp. 82-87; *Quarterly Journal of Science* (London), January, 1867, pp. 87, 227; H. A. Newton, "Shooting Stars in November, 1866," *The American Journal of Science*, January, 1867, pp. 87, 88; H. H. Jessup, *Fifty-three Years in Syria*, vol. 1, pp. 316, 317. On Cape Town see G. W. H. Maclear, "Meteoric Shower of November 13 and 14," *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Jan. 11, 1867, pp. 65-74. For newspaper accounts, see the *London Times* and *Morning Post*, and the *Manchester Guardian*.

³⁵ C. P. Olivier, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35; H. A. Newton, "Shooting Stars on the Morning of November 14th, 1867," *The American Journal of Science*, January, 1868, pp. 78-92, and his "Shooting Stars of November 14th, 1867," in the issue of March, 1868, pp. 225-239.

³⁶ C. P. Olivier, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Charles A. Young, *Manual of Astronomy*, pp. 469-472.

³⁷ R. Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 245; also notices in *The American Journal of Science*, February, 1873, pp. 150-154, and January, 1886, pp. 78, 79.

³⁸ G. Johnstone Stoney and A. M. W. Downing, "Perturbation of the Leonids," abstract of a paper read before the Royal Society, March 2, 1899, cited in *Nature*, March 23, 1899, pp. 497, 498.

³⁹ C. P. Olivier, *op. cit.*, p. 38; R. L. Waterfield, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

Indies to California) with a count, in some places, of 225 to 800 per hour.⁴⁰ One astronomer remarked in 1902: "We can no longer count on the Leonids. Their glory, for scenic purposes, is departed."⁴¹

The absence of anything like a real shower in the years preceding and following 1833 confirmed this opinion of "the lost Leonids,"⁴² leaving only thin hopes for a "hit-or-miss" chance of better luck next time.⁴³ Sir Harold Spencer Jones, director of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, is "doubtful whether these spectacular displays will occur again."⁴⁴ Millman sees "no likelihood of predicting one [like that of 1833] for the future."⁴⁵ Whether the varying pull of the planets will someday bring the Leonid swarm back into contact with the earth, or swing into our view other great streams that we have never seen, says Baker, we cannot forecast.⁴⁶

II. Examples of Prophetic Application

One of the first expositors to incorporate the meteoric showers (and the "dark days") into a system of prophetic interpretation mentions a series of these events:

"Such a day of darkness [as that of May 19, 1780, in New England] has never been known, so far as I can learn from history, (and I have searched for it most diligently,) since the crucifixion of our Saviour. There have been several such events since, in different countries. . . .

"The sign in the stars is, that 'the stars shall fall from heaven as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs when shaken of a mighty wind.' Rev. vi. 13, and Matt. xxiv. 29. Has such a phenomenon taken place? The remembrance of the shower of meteors, on the night of Nov. 13, 1833, is fresh in the minds of the present generation. The scene could not be more truly described than it is by the Revelator. Such a scene I find described as having occurred in 1779 [i. e.

⁴⁰ C. P. Olivier, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 39. Olivier explains that the real maximum would have come in 1899, when the pull of other planets deflected the main stream.

⁴¹ A. Clerke, *op. cit.* (1902 ed.), p. 338.

⁴² J. C. Hickey, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 80; see also Edward A. Fath, *The Elements of Astronomy*, pp. 225, 226.

⁴³ R. L. Waterfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 474, 475.

⁴⁴ Sir Harold Spencer Jones, "Meteors," *Chambers' Encyclopedia* (1950 ed.), vol. 9, pp. 332, 333; see also Watson, *Between the Planets*, p. 121.

⁴⁵ P. M. Millman, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 59. He gives the following comparative tabulation (*ibid.*, p. 60):

Shower		Meteors per hour (one observer)	Average Distance Between Particles
Leonids	1833	60,000	20 miles
Leonids	1866	6,000	45 "
Leonids	1931	80	200 "
Andromedes, or			
Bielids	1872	4,000	35 "
Andromedes	1885	12,000	25 "
Giacobinids	1933	15,000	25 "
Persetsids [avge. yr.]		50	200 "
Avge. night [no shower]		10	400 "

Number is not, of course, the only criterion of the magnitude of a shower. The brightness, length, and extent of the display are to be considered also. The relatively slow and pale Bielids, for example, give us a much less spectacular display than a smaller number of the swift, greenish-white Leonids with their many bolides.

⁴⁶ R. H. Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

1799],⁴⁷ on the 12th of November, and as having been visible from South America to Germany and Greenland. . . . This was the earliest shower of meteors, of any considerable magnitude, I can find on record. . . . There are several instances of the kind on record since that. Indeed, the 12th and 13th of November seem to be their anniversary."⁴⁸

A later writer following the same sort of exposition deals with natural causes, repetition, timing, etc. He repeats a common quibble and then answers it:

"It [the "falling of the stars"] took place according to nature, and consequently there was nothing in it. . . . If the falling of the stars in 1833 was a fulfillment of Matt. xxiv, then it had been fulfilled a great many times since its prediction by the falling of meteors."

"REMARKS.—The attempt is made to dispose of the darkening of the sun in 1780 in a similar manner. That can constitute no sign of the end, it is said, because many such events have taken place, in different ages of the world. But the fact that that darkening was connected with particular events, takes it completely out of the hands of our opponents. 'Immediately after the tribulation of those days' (the 1260 years of Papal persecution), or as another Evangelist has it, 'In those days, after that tribulation,' the sun shall be darkened, &c. The tribulation was shortened by the rise of the Reformation, the time arrived for the accomplishment of that prediction and it was fulfilled. Now it matters not if the sun has been darkened a thousand times in past ages of the world, that darkening which was to constitute a sign of the end was to take place at that time, and there it did take place. . . . So with the falling of the stars. The phenomenon of Nov., 1833 was the most remarkable of any of that kind on record. It was foretold in connection with the darkening of the sun and moon. And so we find it following right on in that great series of events by which nature herself seems, as it were, to have been appointed to herald forth to mankind the approaching restitution of all things."⁴⁹

Another emphasizes the timing under the sixth seal:

"The events which follow the great earthquake under the sixth seal are the special signs, in the sun, moon, and stars. . . .

"The prophetic description of the falling of the stars met a literal fulfillment in the meteoric shower of Nov. 13, 1833, which was unlike any other on record in appearance, extent, and magnitude."⁵⁰

Still another expositor incorporates the return shower of 1866:

"When speaking of the darkening of the sun in 1780, and the falling stars of 1833, in America, we are often met with the inquiry, 'If these were signs of Christ's coming, why have they not been given in other parts of the world?' Our Saviour said, 'There shall be signs in the sun.' . . .

"Of the falling stars we learn . . . there is in our solar system a vast

⁴⁷ The reference is obviously to Humboldt's account. The erroneous date 1779 may have been derived from the notice in the *Essex Register* of Salem, Massachusetts, Nov. 18, 1833, which printed the mistake.

⁴⁸ Josiah Litch, *Prophetic Expositions*, vol. 1, pp. 151, 152, 154, 155. Elsewhere, among quotations he includes these sentences from Olmsted: "A similar phenomenon was witnessed on the 12th of Nov. 1799, and at the same season of the year in 1830, 1831, and 1832. The meteoric shower was repeated on the morning of Nov. 13th or 14th, for several years, but on a scale constantly diminishing until 1838." (*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 237.)

⁴⁹ Editorial in *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, Jan. 29, 1861, p. 84. The writer is evidently Uriah Smith, the "Resident Editor." The "Corresponding Editors" sign their initials, but this is signed "En."

⁵⁰ James White, "Signs of the Times.—No. 2," *Review and Herald*, Jan. 8, 1880, p. 19.

nebulous substance⁵¹ which throws off a stream of meteors. It has been ascertained that these nebulae have now a regular orbit around the sun, and that it requires about thirty-three and one-fourth years to traverse their orbit. Once in about thirty-three years, our earth passes near the nebulae, when there is visible what astronomers have called the 'star-shower.' It has been conjectured upon good grounds, that the meteoric storm [swarm?] was originally a vast mass of nebulous matter, drawn into the solar system by the distinct action of some of the larger planets, in the same manner as Lexell's comet had been thrown into a new orbit. . . .

"The approach of the nebulae to our system was first noted in 1766, and again in 1799; but the first brilliant and distinct display of the 'star-shower' was on Nov. 13, 1833. . . .

"Our Saviour predicted such an exhibition of falling stars which should follow after the darkening of the sun. He did not say *how* this would be accomplished, but only stated the fact. . . .

"The falling stars which were witnessed on so grand a scale in America Nov. 13, 1833, fell, to a less extent, in the Eastern Continent on Nov. 13, 1866. . . .

"It will readily appear to our readers [from the newspaper extracts cited] that there is a great contrast between the display of falling stars of Nov. 13, 1833, and that of Nov. 13, 1866; both as to the extent of territory covered, and the number of falling stars visible at any one time. . . .

"The recurrence of the . . . star-shower in 1866 gave the inhabitants of the Eastern Continent an opportunity to see, on a limited scale, falling stars."⁵²

A much later review of the subject refers to timing, repetition, and natural causes:

"The question is sometimes raised, Why were the signs in the sun, moon, and stars, as foretold by our Saviour, seen only by the dwellers in the United States?

"It is worthy of note that at the proper time to fulfil the specifications of prophecy these signs *were* seen in various parts of the world. . . .

[The article cites the "dark day" of May 19, 1780, a lesser but much more extensive darkening of the sun for many weeks in 1783 over Europe and beyond, two dark days in Canada in 1785, one in France in 1788.]

"On these dark days the predictions of Scripture regarding the darkening of the sun came to the minds of many. . . .

"So long as these dark days occurred at the time specified by the prophecy, need we contend that they were *supernatural*? . . .

"We can only conclude that be the cause what it may, supernatural or natural, these dark days were, like the great darkness which enshrouded Egypt, a manifestation divinely foreseen and divinely foretold. . . .

"The same conclusion may be reached regarding the falling of the stars, which was the next sign foretold by Christ after the darkening of the sun and moon. The first star shower of the magnitude that has been witnessed within these last days was on the night of Nov. 12, 1799. . . .

"A splendid meteoric shower was witnessed in Europe on Nov. 12, 1832. . . .

"But the most sublime phenomenon of shooting stars of which the world has furnished any record, was witnessed throughout the United States on the morning of Nov. 13, 1833. . . ."

⁵¹ The words *nebulous* and *nebulae* are not technically correct. The encyclopedia cited by this writer may have given Olmsted's original hypothesis of a "nebulous body," before the nature of the Leonid "ring" was understood. (See Olivier, *Meteors*, pp. 26, 27.)

⁵² J. N. Loughborough, "Signs of the Sun and Stars," *Review and Herald*, Dec. 4, 1883, pp. 756, 757.

"As was the case during the dark days, many who witnessed these brilliant spectacles thought of the words of the Scripture referring to the event."⁵³

⁵³ D. E. Robinson, "The Wide-Spread Occurrence of the Signs in the Heavens," *Review and Herald*, July 24, 1913, pp. 701, 702. For mention of a series of star showers, see also William A. Spicer, *Our Day in the Light of Prophecy*, pp. 94, 99-102.

APPENDIX C

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN FUTURIST PREMILLENNIALISM

I. The Position of the Early Literalists

1. EARLIER LITERALISTS WERE HISTORICISTS.—The Literalists of the British Advent Awakening of the early nineteenth century at first held the Historical view of prophecy, believing that the fulfillments cover the entire history of the church. This was, of course, the traditional Protestant view. Indeed, it was the view of the early church, as well as through the centuries, except for the substitution of the Augustinian view during medieval times, and the Preterism and Futurism introduced by the Jesuits in the counter-Reformation.

But in combating the extreme "spiritualizing" tendencies of the postmillennialists, the Literalists ultimately went to the extreme of a literal interpretation that led ultimately to Futurism and Dispensationalism. Even among the Historicist Literalists, insistence on a literal fulfillment of the Messianic prophecies in a restored Jewish nation led to a "Judaizing" form of chiliasm.

2. EMBRACED A "JUDAIZING" CHILIASM.—The emphasis on the restoration and conversion of the Jews, in connection with the second advent, was characteristic of the Literalists in general. Begg, for example, expected a restored Jewish nation pre-eminent during the millennium, the rebuilding of the sanctuary at Jerusalem according to Ezekiel's vision, the restoration of the Jewish sacrificial system in a "commemorative" fashion, with the surviving "nations" coming up yearly to participate in the Feast of Tabernacles.¹ Such an idea was not characteristic of the postmillennialists, for they expected the conversion of the Jews on the same basis as the Gentiles—by ordinary methods of evangelization.² At first, however, the Literalists seem to have hoped to help bring about the Jewish restoration by direct action. But this Jewish kingdom on earth during the millennium concept ere long developed into a full-fledged Futurist system.

This is a totally different sort of premillennialism that has gone far beyond the old Literalists in developing these new doctrines in the latter part of the nineteenth century and onward. The modern Literalists are

¹ James A. Begg, *A Connected View*, secs. VII, VIII, XIII, XIV. Similarly Bickersteth and others (see "Address to the Public," *The Midnight Cry*, Nov. 21, 1844, p. 165).

² Alexander Campbell, "The Coming of the Lord," no. IX, *The Millennial Harbinger*, September, 1841, pp. 424-427.

characterized by the teaching of Futurism, involving a "gap theory" concerning the 70 weeks, literal time periods, and a future nonpapal Antichrist; a Judaistic kingdom, with the restoration of the Jewish sanctuary and sacrifices in Palestine and a Jewish political domination; a coercive rule of Christ over inwardly rebellious "nations"; pretribulationism, with the "secret rapture," and a divided second coming; an elaborate dispensationalism, calling for a division of the Bible into dispensational compartments, and involving antinomian tendencies. This system of doctrine promulgated by the later "prophetic conferences" and Bible institutes, now has its adherents among the ranks of Fundamentalists in various denominations.

II. A New Departure in Premillennialism

Perhaps the outstanding feature of modern Futurist premillennialism is the so-called "gap" theory, by which all prophetic fulfillment skips over the entire Christian "dispensation," the whole period between the first and second advents constituting a parenthesis between the sixty-ninth and seventieth of these prophetic weeks.³ Thus, they say, the book of Revelation belongs almost entirely to the time after the "rapture," the "end-time" of seven or more years between the Christian dispensation and the millennium. Then the Messianic prophecies and large parts of the New Testament apply to the earthly Jewish millennial kingdom.

1. VIEWS OF NEW PREMILLENNIALISM SUMMARIZED.—These views, as popularized by modern premillennialists, are summarized by Hamilton, who remarks that "there is a vast difference" between these and historic premillennialism. Here are ten points placed in contrast: (1) The second advent is expected in two parts, the first, a coming *for* the church, at the beginning of the supposedly deferred seventieth week; the second, a coming *with* the church, at least seven years later—this second aspect concerning Israel and the world. (2) At the resurrection of the righteous dead of all ages, the living redeemed ones are to be "raptured," or caught up to Christ to the marriage feast of the Lamb during seven years. (Most hold this rapture to be secret, though some do not; and others apply it only to those who are looking for the advent.) (3) The church thus escapes the great tribulation under the coming Antichrist. (Some, however, are posttribulationists, believing that the church goes through this tribulation and is taken up afterward.)

(4) The Holy Spirit is removed from the world at the second advent; then the Jews, returning to Palestine, are mostly still unbelieving, but a remnant are true to God, and preach the gospel of the kingdom (not the gospel of the Christian Era) during the second half of the week. (5) After the seven years the martyrs of this tribulation period are resurrected (they

³ For example, H. A. Ironside, *The Great Parenthesis*, p. 23. Here are his exact words: "The moment Messiah died on the cross, the prophetic clock stopped. There has not been a tick upon that clock for nineteen centuries. It will not begin to go again until the entire present age has come to an end, and Israel will once more be taken up to God."

are not part of the church). (6) Armageddon is fought—Antichrist and his hosts against the Gentile believers; Christ, "appearing" with the church, holds the "sheep-and-goat" judgment (on the basis of how the nations have treated Christ's brethren—the Jews). The living remnant and the Gentile "nations" enter the millennium with unglorified bodies. (7) The Jews look on Christ and are saved; they similarly enter the millennium unglorified.

(8) During the millennial kingdom the Jews are in authority on earth. The Temple worship is established at Jerusalem. Sin is repressed as the nations submit under coercion to the "iron rod" rule. (9) Satan, bound since the end of the seven years, is loosed at the end of the millennium and gathers the nations in rebellion, only to be destroyed by fire. Then comes the Great White Throne judgment, and the setting up of the eternal kingdom. (10) The relation between the glorified church to the believers on earth. Some would say the church participates in the millennial reign on earth, but most would probably say that their home is in heaven, although they may visit the earth.⁴

In this scheme the Jews, even though reigning in the millennial kingdom, are not regenerated in the same way as the redeemed, and the unregenerate "nations" are ruled by coercion. The more radical features of extreme Literalism appear in connection with the Jewish kingdom, and the application of a large proportion of Scripture to the Jews, and not to the Christian church.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW PROTESTANT FUTURISM.—The Futurist aspect of the later premillennialism was a new departure. Doubtless Lacunza's Catholic Futurism influenced the readers of Irving's translation, and the Albury Conferences, in which Irving's influence was strong, recommended allowing for the Futurism of Lacunza and S. R. Maitland. Irvingism set forth a sort of Futurism, and a pretribulation "rapture." In *The Morning Watch* Irving explains that, although he has not abandoned his former "symbolical" Historicist interpretations of the trumpets, he now expects, on the basis of the revelations of "the Holy Ghost," "by other tongues," a future "literal" fulfillment of these prophecies in England.

Under the sixth trumpet, Irving says, amid revolution and bloodshed, the church baptized with the Holy Ghost—that is, the Irvingite, or Catholic Apostolic, Church—will, like the Two Witnesses, after three and one-half years of keeping down the (future) Antichrist, be slain and ascend into glory, leading with them the righteous dead and those who have not been called upon to seal their testimony with their blood. Thereupon Antichrist will develop (the "let" being then removed). Finally, this church of the first-born (the man-child of Revelation 12), being with Christ in the cloud of His glory, will come with Him to pour out the seven vials upon God's enemies.⁵

⁴ Floyd E. Hamilton, *The Basis of Millennial Faith*, pp. 23-26.

⁵ Edward Irving, "An Interpretation of the Fourteenth Chapter of the Apocalypse," *The Morning Watch*, vol. 5, pp. 308, 309, 323. Cf. the next installment in vol. 6, pp. 18, 27.

But the origin, or at least the formulation, of the more thoroughgoing Futurism, and Dispensationalism—a Protestant Futurist view completely different from the Historic Protestant interpretation—is to be found in the conferences at Powerscourt Castle, in Ireland.

3. POWERSCOURT CONFERENCES AND THE PLYMOUTH BRETHREN.—In the Powerscourt Conferences, some of which Irving also attended, among the leading voices were several of the founders of the Plymouth Brethren,⁶ particularly John Nelson Darby. Although opposed by the chairman (the rector of Powerscourt), Darby seemed, to some at least, to have a clearer concept than others, and Lady Powerscourt was of "one mind" with the Brethren.⁷ Here, says Ironside—

"the precious truth of the Rapture of the church was brought to light; that is, the coming of the Lord in the air to take away His church before the great tribulation should begin on earth. These views brought out at Powerscourt castle not only largely formed the views of the Brethren elsewhere, but as years went on obtained wide publication in [other] denominational circles, chiefly through the writings of such men as Darby, Bellett, Newton, S. P. Tregelles," and others.⁸

But Tregelles, who participated in some of the Powerscourt meetings (and for a time was a dissenter from the pretribulation-rapture doctrine), intimates that the Brethren adopted it from the Irvingites. This origin is to be noted:

"I am not aware that there was any definite teaching that there should be a Secret Rapture of the Church at a secret coming until this was given forth as an 'utterance' in Mr. Irving's church from what was then received as being the voice of the Spirit. But whether anyone ever asserted such a thing or not it was from that supposed revelation that the modern doctrine and the modern phraseology respecting it arose."⁹

The Plymouth Brethren later disclaimed any connection with the

⁶ The "Plymouth Brethren" originated in an attempt to escape from formalism, worldliness, and sectarianism. Theirs was a back-to-the-Bible movement, comparable to the American "Christian" groups. But it split repeatedly over problems of organization and other differences of opinion into fragments that still continue their separate ways. About 1825 Edward Cronin gathered the first congregation in Dublin, and was joined by other leading spirits, the most notable perhaps being John Nelson Darby and B. W. Newton. The name Plymouth Brethren is derived from the fact that Plymouth was long the chief center of the movement.

But not until the Powerscourt Conferences, beginning in 1830, did the Brethren begin to formulate their prophetic interpretation, a subject that caused the first split. Newton, along with the Biblical scholar Tregelles, refused to accept Darby's Dispensationalism, the secret rapture, et cetera. And the fact that he was later discredited for other views lessened the influence of his dissent. The Plymouth Brethren, in general, became the formulators and promulgators of the Dispensationalist-pretribulationist-Futurist premillennialism now widespread in Fundamentalist circles. Their influence, out of all proportion to their numbers, affected ministers of many denominations in Europe and America, and especially many leading evangelists, including D. L. Moody. (See H. A. Ironside, *A Historical Sketch of the Brethren Movement*, chaps. 1-4 and pp. 82, 199; also Albert Henry Newman, *A Manual of Church History*, vol. 2, pp. 711-713.)

⁷ W. B. Neatby, *A History of the Plymouth Brethren*, pp. 38, 39; Mrs. Hamilton Madden, *Memoir of . . . Robert Daly*, pp. 149-153; Mrs. Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, vol. 2, pp. 149, 150 (cf. p. vii).

⁸ Ironside, *Historical Sketch*, p. 23.

⁹ S. P. Tregelles, *The Hope of Christ's Second Coming*, p. 35; also quoted in George L. Murray, *Millennial Studies*, p. 138.

Irvingites. It is possible that they did not consciously derive this doctrine from them, although it is certain that Tregelles is correct in saying that Irving was himself teaching a form of the "rapture" which he derived from the "utterances" of the unknown tongues, some time between 1830 and 1832. Darby claimed that he derived the idea of the new dispensation from no other person, but obtained it from the Bible. His statement on the pretribulation rapture neither claims nor disclaims a derivation from "man's teaching," but speaks of the Scripture that gave him understanding of the subject. It was said that his doubts on this were removed by a Mr. Tweedy, who had no connection with Irvingism.¹⁰

However that may be, as Allis points out, about the time that Irving was teaching these things, the Brethren "speedily became ardent advocates of what is called the 'any moment' doctrine of the coming." Allis also points out that, equal in importance to their "gap" or "parenthesis" theory of the Christian Era, this "any moment" rapture is a great fundamental of Dispensationalism; for if Christ's coming to take up His saints is the next event to be expected, many events that are to precede the glorious second advent must come after this rapture, and the advent must be split into two parts.¹¹

4. PRETRIBULATION RAPTURE TRACED TO JEWISH TRADITION.—As mentioned, William Cuninghame in 1832 opposed Irving's Futurism, but stated that he had newly accepted the "rapture" (not secret, however) as before the great tribulation. For this he cites Joseph Mede.¹² But he does not name his immediate source—whether he derived it from Irving or someone else of the Albany group, or whether from the Powerscourt Conferences.

The claim that Mede taught the pretribulation rapture may not necessarily establish the claim that either the Irvingites or the Brethren actually derived it from him. Mede offered several alternative hypotheses in a hastily written reply to a query as to why the saints should be caught up into the air, instead of awaiting the Lord on the earth. One of these is the conjecture, "What if it be, that they may be preserved during the conflagration of the earth," like Noah in the ark, while the wicked are consumed? But the source of this idea must actually be pushed back one more step to its origin in a Jewish tradition that the just, resurrected by God, will be given wings like eagles during the thousand years when the world is renewed.¹³

5. LOCATION OF THE SEVENTIETH WEEK.—Irving's tribulation period, involving the reign of a Futurist Antichrist, following the 3½ years of the

¹⁰ Napoleon Noel, *History of the Brethren*, vol. 1, pp. 73, 74.

¹¹ Oswald T. Allis, *Prophecy and the Church*, pp. 168, 169.

¹² William Cuninghame, *A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets*, pp. 461n, 480-482, 496n.

¹³ Joseph Mede, *Works*, book 4, epistle 22, pp. 775, 776. (For this he cites "Gemara Abodah Zarah, c.1.")

Two Witnesses, would seem to imply a period of seven years. We find the idea of this seven-year period as a deferred seventieth week fully expressed in the Powerscourt Conferences.¹⁴

6. THE RISE OF ULTRA-DISPENSATIONALISM.—The new trend into Futurism and pretribulationism, combined with the already strong Judaistic chiliasm, and Darby's Dispensationalism,¹⁵ was later to give rise to an ultra-Dispensationalism. B. W. Newton, who insisted that all believers from Abraham on were included in the church, had drawn up an opposition statement in 1845 which, if accurate, would indicate that the rest of the Brethren taught the opposite of the following beliefs:

Newton insisted that the Synoptic Gospels were Christian Scripture the same as John's; that the church of Pentecost was not semi-Jewish and earthly, in contrast with the true church; that the epistles of Peter, Hebrews, and Galatians were equal to Ephesians or Colossians; that the introduction of Jewish circumstances, etc., does not make a Biblical passage Jewish in subject matter [i.e. inapplicable to Christians]; that the church is under the covenant promise the same as the Jews will be; that there is no distinction between Jew and Gentile; that the promises to Abraham were not merely earthly but heavenly also; and that the church is not divided into "compartments."¹⁶

Thus it may be seen how the trend of one school of premillennialists was away from the earlier standard positions, to a completely new compartmental system that splits up the plan of salvation, as well as the Word itself, into segments, only parts of which are applicable to present-day Christians.

¹⁴ Here "the idea of the cancelled seventieth week of Daniel, beginning after the rapture of the church, was suggested by Sir Edward Denny and Mr. Darby." (Ironside, *Historical Sketch*, p. 32.) This "gap" theory, immediately accepted by several, was rejected by Newton (*Ibid.*) and Tregelles, both posttribulationists. But Tregelles accepted this "reserved week"—at least he taught it in later years—as ending at the advent after both Jews and Christians have experienced three and one-half years of tribulation, following the breaking of the covenant in the midst of the week. (S. P. Tregelles, *Remarks on the Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel*, pp. 104-111.)

This latter interpretation probably goes back to that propounded by Hippolytus but not accepted by the church of his day. (Hippolytus, "Fragmenta in Daniele," in J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graecae*, vol. 10, cols. 651-655.) Bickersteth (1836) adds to the 70 (457 B.C.-A.D. 34) an additional 69 weeks (451 B.C.-A.D. 33) an indefinite period of trouble, and "one week" of years at the end of the age—the first half for the Jews to rebuild the Temple, and the second half for the Antichrist. (*Practical Guide*, pp. 134, 135 in *The Literalist*, vol. 4.)

¹⁵ All Christians recognize the difference between the Old Testament and New Testament dispensations, but generally regard them as two phases of the same plan of salvation through faith in the sacrifice of Christ—one in anticipation; the other in retrospect. But ultra-dispensationalism divides so sharply between numerous dispensations as to make God deal differently with man in each, and to "divide" the Word of Truth by assigning various portions to each dispensation. The idea of a series of dispensations did not originate with Darby. There is a hint of it at Albury. (*Dialogues on Prophecy*, vol. 2, p. 238.) Kromminga attributes it to the Irvingites, and originally to Cocceius in the seventeenth century (Kromminga, *op. cit.*, pp. 251, 195, 196, 204), but the connection is not apparent.

¹⁶ Ironside, *Historical Sketch*, p. 32. It is not clear which of the doctrines indicate Darby's Dispensationalism. Mauro says that the most spiritual leaders of that movement, including Darby, Mueller, and others, never held the "Jewish" character of the kingdom preached by John the Baptist and Christ, or of the Gospels, and other points that were likely developed later. (Philip Mauro, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, p. 20.) But evidently the early Dispensationalism of Darby gave rise to the later elaborations.

III. Later Developments in Premillennialism

The new prophetic views spread among various denominations. Even in the 1840's we find American non-Millerite premillennialists of the Literalist type teaching the pretribulation rapture. At first there was cooperation between the American Literalists and Millerites. But between those who had a millennial kingdom of glorified saints together with earthly Jews ruling over unregenerate nations, and those who saw in the millennium only the reign of the regenerate saints in the first phase of the eternal state, after the close of human probation, the differences came to be viewed as fundamental. Millerism, midway between the extremes of "spiritualizing" postmillennialism and "Judaizing" Literalism, protested against both extremes in defense of the unity of the church and the covenants.

After the breakup of the Millerite movement as such, the successors of Millerism channeled their Historicism, along with their premillennialism, into new Adventist denominations. But the Literalists, having never separated from the churches, continued within the various denominations to follow the new path into which the British Literalists had turned as they departed from the historic premillennialism. This new type of doctrine that followed the "utterances" of Irvingism and the teachings of J. N. Darby led into a whole new system of chiliasm that often stands apart from the standard beliefs of the orthodox Protestant bodies on major points such as the law and the covenants, the church, the Scriptures, salvation, et cetera. The Plymouth Brethren remained a small group, but their doctrines of Futurism, pretribulationism, and Dispensationalism, with distinct antinomian¹⁷ tendencies, spread out widely to other lands.

Through interdenominational prophetic conferences (beginning in America in 1878, and noted in the Epilogue, chapters LIV and LV);¹⁸ through evangelists¹⁹ and through Fundamentalist Bible institutes this nondenominational but distinctly sectarian system of doctrine has been diligently elaborated and propagated among the various churches.²⁰ Doubtless its most systematic presentation is embodied in the notes of the Scofield Bible.²¹

IV. Church's Heritage of Fulfilled Prophecy

American premillennialists are by no means all pretribulationists, Futurists, and Dispensationalists, or extreme Literalists, although some writers who attack premillennialism ignore this fact. The Adventist bodies

¹⁷ See Neatby, *op. cit.*, pp. 234, 235.

¹⁸ For some of these doctrines in the 1878 conference see Nathaniel West, *Second Coming of Christ, Premillennial Essays* (a collection of papers read), pp. 229n, 264-267.

¹⁹ On Moody, see Noel, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 105, 106; Ironside, *Historical Sketch*, preface p. [4], pp. 81, 82.

²⁰ Kromminga, *op. cit.*, pp. 231, 232.

²¹ Mauro (*The Gospel of the Kingdom*, pp. 20, 21) says that Scofield received his dispensational views from a Plymouth Brother, Malachi Taylor.

descended from the old Historicism, and many individual expositors of many faiths refuse to allow themselves to be bound by rules of Literalism that would ignore the historical and literary setting of the Bible prophecies, and their figurative and spiritual application, or to deny to the church the heritage of fulfilled prophecy.

The early Christians accepted their status as heirs according to the promises made to the true Israel. And just as they interpreted the Old Testament prophecies (including the book of Daniel) historically, so they expected the fulfillments of the Apocalypse to take place in the unfolding events of history during the new Christian Era, which they recognized as having already begun in their day. The difference between them and the later Historicists was chiefly that they expected the fulfillments to be completed in a much shorter time. They did not, like the modern Futurists, take the prophecies away from the church by leaving a gap from the time of Christ's first advent until after His second appearing.

A Jewish kingdom on earth was no part of the faith of the early church. Nor are certain developments in modern premillennialism the heir of the Historicist interpretation of the Reformation and post-Reformation. Strange as it may seem, Protestant Futurism is the direct descendant—doubtless unwittingly—of the Jesuit Futurist counterinterpretation, originally introduced to divert the finger of accusation away from the Papacy.

And the extreme Dispensationalism that puts law at variance with grace, rebuilds the wall of separation between Jew and Gentile, divorces the church from the kingdom, divides the covenant of grace, and takes the Lord's Prayer, the beatitudes, and many other Scriptures away from the church, is not a continuation of the faith of the past. It should be added that this is recorded as a mere matter of historical fact, regardless of agreement or disagreement, and not as an attack on the holders of such doctrines.

And it should be clearly borne in mind that most premillennialists of today are conspicuously believers in the complete inspiration of Scripture, the deity of Christ, His virgin birth, His miracles, His vicarious atoning death, His literal resurrection and ascension, and His glorious second advent, as well as the related fundamentals of the Christian faith.

Most premillennialists cooperate on the basic program for the church at this time, as Hamilton remarks with regard to the premillennialists and amillennialists.²⁸ For those of both Futurist and Historicist persuasion agree on the condition of the church and the world, with its wheat and tares continuing together until the advent, as well as on the introduction of the reign of Christ through direct divine intervention, and on the church's great task of proclaiming the good news of salvation by grace through faith in the all-sufficient atonement of Christ, not a program of politico-social regeneration of the world.

²⁸ Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 144.

APPENDIX D

Epitome of Crosier's "Day-Star" (Extra) Article on the Sanctuary¹

Note: The key position occupied by the "sanctuary" doctrine, in the beliefs of the group that soon developed into the Sabbatarian Adventists, calls for accurate acquaintance with the initial presentation that laid the foundation for all subsequent discussions in published form. This is particularly desirable because of frequent misunderstandings and misconceptions that were soon attributed to them, and which have since been perpetuated. An epitome of the entire Crosier article, with key statements quoted, follows.

I. Basic Propositions Underlying Sanctuary Positions

Malachi, closing the Old Testament Scriptures, gave the parting admonition, "Remember ye the law of Moses" (Mal. 4:4). And Christ, when He came, likewise taught from Moses and the prophets the "things concerning himself." But the law of Moses is first of all identified in the O. R. L. Crosier article, with the first covenant, not with the covenant of promise made with Abraham. And righteousness, he adds, comes through faith in the promises, not by the law, which was added because of transgressions. Moreover, the old covenant continued until "the Seed (Christ) should come." Such was the initial contrast, made by Crosier, between the two covenants. And the prophetic types of the sanctuary, in the Pentateuch, he adds, reach up to, and find their climax in, "the great and dreadful day of the Lord." Such were the foundational propositions upon which Crosier, closely supported by Hiram Edson and Dr. F. B. Hahn, built his important February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* (Extra) article, which constituted the first systematic exposition of the "new light" on the "sanctuary truth."

II. Types Are Simplified Model of System of Redemption

Launching into the heart of the question he declares:

"The Law should be studied and 'remembered' as a simplified model of the great system of redemption, containing symbolic representations of the work begun by our Savior at his first advent, when he 'came to fulfil the Law,' and to be completed in 'the redemption of the purchased possession unto the praise of his glory.'"²

1. BEGINS WITH CROSS; REACHES TO MILLENNIUM'S CLOSE.—This redemption cannot be completed, Crosier continues, "till man and the earth shall be delivered from the subjection and consequences of sin." The cross, therefore, is only the beginning of redemption. The end embraces much more. Thus "the last act of deliverance will be at the end of the 1000 years. To this the shadow of the law extended."³

¹ See p. 900.

² O. R. L. Crosier, "The Law of Moses," *The Day-Star* (Extra), Feb. 7, 1846, p. 37, col. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

Five reasons are adduced in support: (1) The cleansing of the sanctuary formed part of the typical service of the law of Moses (Leviticus 16), and the antitypical sanctuary was not to be cleansed until the end of the 2300 years; (2) the typical sabbaths stand for the great sabbath rest, the millennium; (3) the Jubilee typifies the release and return to their possessions of the captives, which cannot be until the "resurrection of the just"; (4) none of these types were fulfilled at the first advent; and (5), the tenth day of the seventh month atonement was not fulfilled at that time. In fact, the crucifixion of Christ was only the beginning of the series of fulfillments of types introducing the "system of redemption" set forth under these "shadows."

2. VERNAL TYPES WERE SCRUPULOUSLY FULFILLED.—Crosier then lists the types that have already met their antitypes. There are two classes, vernal and autumnal—the former having their fulfillment at the first advent; whereas the latter are "to be fulfilled in connection with and after the second advent." The vernal types included the Passover, First Fruits, and Feast of Weeks. These were "scrupulously precise" in their fulfillment as to time and event, and their application and effects have extended throughout the gospel dispensation. Christ, our great Passover Lamb (1 Cor. 5:7), was slain for us on the very day and month called for in the type (Leviticus 23), and the Lord's Supper became its memorial, continuing as such until the second advent. And Christ's resurrection, as the "first fruits of them that slept," was fulfilled exactly on the third day, and was the foundation of the "resurrection to life." The Feast of Weeks likewise met its fulfillment on the precise day of Pentecost.

3. AUTUMNAL TYPES PERTAIN TO END EVENTS.—Crosier then turns from the vernal types, beginning with the opening of the gospel dispensation (the provisions of which cover the gospel age), to the autumnal types, which pertain to the end events, and which occupy a period of "many years":

"From analogy we must conclude that the autumnal antitypes will occupy a period of time relative to that occupied by their types in somewhat the proportion of the vernal antitypes. In other words, the period of their fulfillment must constitute a dispensation of *many years*."⁴

III. Sanctuary Service Is Heart of Typical System

1. SANCTUARY OF NEW COVENANT IS IN HEAVEN.—Under the section "The Sanctuary," Crosier declares the sanctuary provision "the heart of the typical system." There God manifested His glory and communed with His people, as well as holding converse with the high priest "relative to the welfare" of His people. They had ordinances of divine service and a "worldly sanctuary" (Heb. 13:1). And the sanctuary had two apartments, a court, and vessels of ministry. But Christ, after His death, resurrection, and ascension, became the ministering priest of the true sanctuary of God

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 3, emphasis his.

in heaven, which is the sanctuary of the "better," or "new," covenant (Heb. 8:1, 2).⁵ Then Crosier states:

"The Sanctuary to be cleansed at the end of the 2300 days is also the Sanctuary of the new covenant, for the vision of the treading down and cleansing, is after the crucifixion. We see that the Sanctuary of the new covenant is not on earth, but in heaven."⁶

2. TWO SANCTUARIES CONNECTED WITH TWO JERUSALEMS.—A careful argument is built up by Crosier to prove this connection of the heavenly sanctuary with the new covenant and the New Jerusalem. Crosier consistently maintains that the new-covenant sanctuary is connected with the heavenly Jerusalem, like the sanctuary of old with the old Jerusalem. So the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 is emphatically *not* the earth or Palestine.

3. HEAVENLY SANCTUARY CAST DOWN BY ECCLESIASTICAL ROME.—And now follow the paragraphs constituting the heart of Crosier's entire *Day-Star* Extra presentation. The sanctuary that was "cast" or "trodden" down and "polluted" was identified, and the daring deeds of the desecration enumerated and declared. This is vital to his argument.

"And the place of his Sanctuary was cast down;' Dan. 8:11. This casting down was in the days and by the means of the Roman power; therefore, the Sanctuary of this text was not the Earth, nor Palestine, because the former was cast down at the fall, more than 4000 years, and the latter at the captivity, more than 700 years previous to the event of this passage, and neither by Roman agency.

"The Sanctuary cast down is his against whom Rome magnified himself, which was the Prince of the host, Jesus Christ; and Paul teaches that his Sanctuary is in heaven. Again, Dan. 11: 30, 31, 'For the ships of Chittim shall come against him; therefore shall he be grieved and return, and have indignation [the staff to chastise] against the holy covenant [Christianity,] so shall he do; he shall even return and have intelligence with them [priests and bishops] that forsake the holy covenant. And arms (civil and religious) shall stand on his part, and they [Rome and those that forsake the holy covenant] shall pollute the Sanctuary of strength.' What was this that Rome and the apostles of christianity should jointly pollute? This combination was formed against the 'holy covenant' and it was the Sanctuary of that covenant they polluted; which they could do as well as to pollute the name of God; Jer. 34:16; Ezek. 20: 1:7. This was the same as profaning or blaspheming his name.

"In this sense this 'politico religious' beast polluted the Sanctuary, (Rev. 13:6,) and cast it down from its place in heaven, (Ps. 102:19; Jer. 17:12; Heb. 8:1, 2) when they called Rome the holy city (Rev. 21:2) and enstalled the Pope there with the titles, 'Lord God the Pope,' 'Holy Father,' 'Head of the Church' &c., and there, in the counterfeit 'temple of God' he professes to do what Jesus actually does in his Sanctuary; 2 Thes. 2:1-8. The Sanctuary has been trodden underfoot (Dan. 8:13,) the same as the Son of God has; Heb. 10:29."⁷

Continuing, Crosier says: "It is manifest that both Moses and David had prophetic visions of the New Jerusalem with its Sanctuary and Christ, the officiating Priest." And each one of the fifty texts concerning

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38, col. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 2 (brackets and parentheses in the original); reprinted in *The Advent Review*, September, 1850, p. 43.

the sanctuary are then examined, and the conclusion is repeated that Christ's sanctuary is *not* in Palestine, but in heaven.

4. CHRIST'S PRIESTHOOD HAS TWO GRAND DIVISIONS.—Crosier's next subdivision is "The Priesthood of Christ," for the new covenant sanctuary likewise has its heavenly Priest, Christ Jesus, who is after the order of Melchizedek (Heb. 7:3). As the earthly sanctuary had its service, so must also the heavenly (Heb. 8:1, 2), just as the shadow of the old has its substance in the ministry of Christ. And as "the features of the substance always bear a resemblance to those of the shadow," so the writer of Hebrews divides the service into two grand divisions, or classes—the *daily* in the holy place, and the *yearly* in the holy of holies. Concerning these two services Crosier adds: "The daily service described was a sort of continual intercession; but the making of atonement was a special work for which special directions are given."⁸

IV. Larger Meaning of the Atonement

The different words used to express the one thought of atonement, and their related use in many texts, then follow—to cleanse, hallow, purify, sanctify, purge, reconcile, justify, as well as terms like redemption, forgiveness, and to blot out. But these all relate to the same supreme work—to bring into favor with God. So the atonement was the great heart and goal both of the typical Mosaic law and the gospel reality. Now Crosier presents these crucial distinctions and definitions:

"The atonement which the priests made for the people in connection with their daily ministration was different from that made on the tenth day of the 7th month. In making the former they went no further than in the Holy; but to make the latter they entered the Holy of Holies—The former was made for individual cases, the latter for the whole nation of Israel collectively—The former was made for the *forgiveness of sins*, the latter for *blotting them out*—The former could be made at any time, the latter only on the tenth day of the seventh month. Hence the former may be called the daily atonement and the latter the yearly, or the former the individual, and the latter the national atonement."⁹

1. DAILY SERVICE FOR FORGIVENESS OF SINS.—The procedure under the daily service, for the forgiveness of sins both for the individual and the congregation, is then described—with the burnt offering, meat, peace, sin, and trespass offerings—with confession and restitution. This resulted in the forgiveness of sin. Then Crosier deals with the matter of sequence. "It should be distinctly remembered that the priest did not begin his duties till he obtained the *blood* of the victim."¹⁰

These ceremonies were all performed in the court and in the holy place, and were for the forgiveness of sin.

2. FINAL ATONEMENT FOR BLOTTING OUT SIN.—But the annual atonement for all Israel, or the nation, was made in the most holy place, once

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39, col. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40, col. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

each year, on the tenth day of the seventh month. Then, through the ministry of the high priest, the sins that had been forgiven by his daily ministry in the holy place, were to be blotted out through the solemn service in the most holy on the Day of Atonement, the most important day of the year. Crosier continues:

"The entire work of cleansing the Sanctuary is performed within the tabernacle. These were holy things, yet cleansed yearly. The holy place within the vail contained the ark of the covenant, covered with the mercy-seat, overshadowed by the cherubims, between which the Lord dwelt in the cloud of divine glory. Who would think of calling such a place unclean? Yet the Lord provided at the time, yea, before it was built, that it should be annually cleansed. It was by blood, and not by fire, that this sanctuary, which was a type of the new covenant Sanctuary, was cleansed."¹¹

3. RELATION OF SCAPEGOAT TO THE ATONEMENT.—So, in the earthly sanctuary there was a transfer of iniquity from the people to the sanctuary, according to the instruction of God and the operation of the typical system. This went on throughout the year. Then, on the Day of Atonement, the sanctuary was cleansed. And on that day two goats, the Lord's goat and the scapegoat, were used. Now, *after the atonement was completed*, and the sanctuary cleansed by means of the blood of the Lord's goat, these sins were then put on the head of the scapegoat, which was sent away into the wilderness.

Crosier is most careful to add: "This was the only office of the scapegoat"—finally to receive and to bear their iniquities away from Israel. So it was in the type, or shadow, or figure. But the entire ministry of the priesthood is "fulfilled in Christ." And so there are two places, or apartments, in the sanctuary, not only in the figure but also in the reality, the second veil separating between the two. And the two phases of ministry lead respectively to the forgiveness of sins, and then to the blotting out of sins.¹²

V. Atonement Not Completed on Calvary

After noting that the 2300 years extend 1810 years beyond the close of the seventy weeks (or A.D. 34), so the antitype of the Day of Atonement is not the entire Christian dispensation, but that special period at the close of the 2300 years. And the "daily ministration" was similarly for the forgiveness of sins, not for their final blotting out. Next, six reasons are given against the position of the atonement being completed on Calvary:

"1. If the atonement was made on Calvary, by whom was it made? The making of the atonement is the work of a Priest; but who officiated on Calvary? Roman soldiers and wicked Jews.

"2. The *slaying* of the victim was not making the atonement; the sinner slew the victim. Lev. 4:1-4, 13-15, &c., after that the Pries[t] took the blood and made the atonement. Lev. 4:5-12, 16-21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40, cols. 2, 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 40, col. 3. and 41, col. 1.

"3. Christ was the appointed High Priest to make the atonement, and he certainly could not have acted in that capacity till after his resurrection, and we have no record of his doing anything on earth after his resurrection, which could be called the atonement.

"4. The atonement was made in the Sanctuary, but Calvary was not such a place.

"5. He could not, according to Heb. 8:4, make the atonement while on earth. 'If he were on earth, he should not be a Priest.' The Levitical was the earthly priesthood, the Divine, the heavenly.

"6. Therefore, he did not begin the work of making the atonement, whatever the nature of that work may be, till after his ascension, when by his own blood he entered his heavenly Sanctuary for us."¹³

1. DAILY SERVICE MAKES YEARLY A NECESSITY.—So the first phase of Christ's ministry began in the apostles' day for the forgiveness of sins. Christ had prayed for the coming of the Comforter, the Holy Spirit, to be present on earth during His absence in heaven. And Peter, following Pentecost, explicitly declares that blotting-out phase was yet future (Acts 3:19). Throughout the centuries of the Christian Era mankind has lived in the period of the individual atonement for the forgiveness of sins on the basis of Christ's supreme sacrifice "once for all," preparatory to the great Day of Atonement for their final blotting out. This daily service therefore makes the yearly transaction a necessity. And as the feasts of the vernal types comprise the first part, so the autumnal types of the Day of Atonement will embrace the final events clear to the close of the thousand years.¹⁴

2. CLEANSING NOT COMPLETE TILL SCAPEGOAT TRANSACTION.—Satan will then gather the hosts of the wicked in a final attempt to take the Holy City, but fire from God will descend and destroy them all. That will complete the cleansing. However, the cleansing of the sanctuary was not complete until the transaction with the scapegoat occurred. And the sanctuary of the new covenant was polluted by the transgressions of the people, just as verily as the sanctuary of the old covenant. We are consequently told that things in the heavens must be reconciled (Col. 1:19, 20). And the blood of Christ is the sole means.¹⁵ Thus through the blood of the Saviour the sanctuary is cleansed.

V. Scapegoat Type of Satan, Not of Christ

Coming next to the "Scape-Goat" division, Crosier explicitly states that the transaction with the scapegoat comes only *after* the cleansing of the sanctuary.

"The next event of that day after the Sanctuary was cleansed, was putting all the iniquities and transgressions of the children of Israel upon the head of the Scape-goat and sending him away into a land not inhabited, or of separation."¹⁶

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 41, cols. 2, 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42, col. 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43, col. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

1. EIGHT REASONS FOR REJECTING POPULAR VIEW.—Crosier next declares why he differs from the great majority, who look upon the scapegoat as likewise typifying "Christ in some of His offices, and that the type was fulfilled at the first Advent." In support of his differing view Crosier presents eight reasons:

(1) The goat was "not sent away till after the high priest had *made an end* of cleansing the sanctuary"—hence it occurs after the close of the 2300 days; (2) it was sent away alive into the uninhabited wilderness, instead of entering into heaven; (3) it receives and *retains* all the iniquities of Israel, but when Christ appears the second time He will be "without sin"; (4) the goat receives the iniquities from the hands of the priest, and is sent away by the priest; but as Christ is priest, the goat must be something else beside Himself, which He can send away; (5) it was but one of two goats—one the Lord's, offered for a sin offering, and the other was not the Lord's, neither was it offered as a sacrifice at that time. The scapegoat's function was "to receive the iniquities for the priest after he had cleansed the sanctuary"; (6) the Hebrew name of the scapegoat was Azazel, which authorities, such as Spencer and Rosenmire, say is the name of the devil—the Syriac giving it as the one who "revolted"; (7) at the appearing of Christ, Satan is to be bound and cast into the bottomless pit (Revelation 20), which is symbolized by the scapegoat's being sent into the wilderness; (8) so the oldest Christian view says that the scapegoat is a type of Satan. Thus, says Crosier, will the "author of sins have received them back again," but the "ungodly will bear their own sins."¹⁷

Thus, he adds, "the thousand years imprisonment of Satan will have begun & the saints will have entered upon their reign with Christ."

2. CHRIST'S "LAST ACT" IS PLACING SINS ON SATAN.—The sanctuary, Crosier holds, "must be cleansed before Christ appears" at His second advent, and before the resurrection. And the "last act" of Christ as ministering High Priest will be to "bear the sins from the Sanctuary after He had cleansed it." These are placed on Satan.¹⁸ Such is a digest, or outline, of the Crosier article.

3. ENDORSED BY BATES AND ELLEN WHITE.—That it was accepted by the Little Flock is attested by the endorsement of the veteran Joseph Bates:

"But allow me first to recommend to your particular notice, O. R. L. Crosier's article in the Day Star Extra, for the 7th of February, 1846. . . . Read it again. In my humble opinion it is superior to anything of the kind extant."¹⁹

Added to this was the word by Ellen G. White: "Brother Crosier had the true light, on the cleansing of the sanctuary, &c.," after which she added that she could "recommend that *Extra*, to every saint."²⁰ No more weighty endorsements could be asked for.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 43, cols. 1, 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Joseph Bates, *The Opening Heavens* (1846), p. 25.

²⁰ E. G. White, "Letter to Eli Curtis," *A Word to the "Little Flock"* (1847). p. 12.

APPENDIX E

PUBLISHED WORKS OF ELLEN G. WHITE*

In this complete list of all E. G. White works, there is more or less duplication of subject matter in certain volumes. For example, *Testimonies for the Church*, volume 1, published in 1885, is a republication of "Testimonies" Numbers 1-14, first issued between 1855 and 1868. These books are in addition to some one thousand periodical articles from Ellen White's pen appearing between 1849 and 1915.

Key to list: Titles in *italics* are out of print; titles in *italics*, but with (*), now available in other form; titles in *italics*, but with (+), have since been reissued in facsimile form.

Date	Title	Pages
1851	* <i>A Sketch of the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White</i>	64
1854	* <i>Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White</i>	48
1855	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 1</i>	16
1856	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 2</i>	16
1857	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 3</i>	16
1857	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 4</i>	48
1858	† <i>Spiritual Gifts, vol. 1</i>	219
1859	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 5</i>	32
1860	† <i>Spiritual Gifts, vol. 2</i>	295
1861	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 6</i>	64
1862	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 7</i>	64
1862	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 8</i>	64
1863	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 9</i>	48
1864	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 10</i>	80
1864	<i>Appeal to the Youth</i> (95 pages, 40 of which were written by Ellen G. White)	40
1864	<i>Appeal to Mothers</i>	64
1864	† <i>Spiritual Gifts, vol. 3 (Facts of Faith)</i>	304
1864	† <i>Spiritual Gifts, vol. 4 (Facts of Faith)</i>	156
1865	<i>How to Live</i> (a series of six pamphlets bound together, containing in all 296 pages, 86 of which were written by Ellen G. White)	86
1867	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 11</i>	53
1867	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 12</i>	96
1867	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 13</i>	172
1868	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 14</i>	102
1868	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 15</i>	96
1868	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 16</i>	104
1869	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 17</i>	204
1870	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 18</i>	208
1870	<i>Spirit of Prophecy, vol. 1</i>	414
1870	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 19</i>	96
1871	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 20</i>	200
1872	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 21</i>	200
1872	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 22</i>	102
1873	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 23</i>	116
1875	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 24</i>	192

* See pp. 986, 987.

Date	Title	Pages
1875	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 25</i>	192
1876	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 26</i>	208
1876	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 27</i>	190
1877	<i>Spirit of Prophecy, vol. 2</i>	396
1878	<i>Spirit of Prophecy, vol. 3</i>	442
1879	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 28</i>	192
1880	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 29</i>	192
1880	<i>Life Sketches of James White and Ellen G. White</i> (453 pages, 232 of which were written by Ellen G. White)	232
1881	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 30</i>	192
1882	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 31</i>	244
1882	Early Writings (reprint of "A Sketch of the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White," 1851; "A Supplement to Christian Experience and Views," 1854; and "Spiritual Gifts," vol. 1, 1858)	284
1883	<i>Sketches From the Life of Paul</i>	334
1884	<i>Spirit of Prophecy, vol. 4</i>	492
1885	Testimonies for the Church, vols. 1-4 (current edition, reprint of Testimonies, Nos. 1-30)	2,655
1885	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 32</i>	238
1886	<i>Historical Sketches of S.D.A. Foreign Missions</i> , (294 pages, 120 of which were written by Ellen G. White)	120
1888	The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan (enlargement of "Spirit of Prophecy," vol. 4)	678
1889	* <i>Testimony for the Church, No. 33</i>	288
1889	Testimony for the Church, vol. 5 (reprint of Nos. 31-33)	745
1890	Patriarchs and Prophets	755
1890	<i>Christian Temperance</i> (The second part of this book is entitled "Bible Hygiene," and was compiled from the writings of James White. The entire book contains 268 pages.)	162
1892	Steps to Christ	153
1892	<i>Gospel Workers</i> (first edition)	471
1894	<i>Christian Education</i>	248
1896	Thoughts From the Mount of Blessing	205
1896	Christ Our Saviour	183
1898	The Desire of Ages	835
1900	Christ's Object Lessons	421
1900	Testimonies on Sabbath School Work	122
1900	Testimony for the Church, vol. 6 (No. 34)	482
1902	Testimony for the Church, vol. 7 (No. 35)	298
1902	<i>Manual for Canvassers</i>	70
1903	<i>Education</i>	309
1904	Testimony for the Church, vol. 8 (No. 36)	335
1905	The Ministry of Healing	516
1909	Testimony for the Church, vol. 9 (No. 37)	288
1911	The Acts of the Apostles	602
1913	Counsels to Teachers, Parents, and Students Regarding Christian Education	556

Following the death of Ellen G. White in 1915, the following reprints, selections, and compilations have been published:

1915	<i>Gospel Workers</i> (new and revised edition)	520
1915	<i>Life Sketches of Ellen G. White</i> (480 pages, 254 pages written by Ellen G. White)	254
1916	<i>Prophets and Kings</i>	733
1920	<i>Colporteur Evangelist</i>	103

<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Pages</i>
1922	Christian Experience and Teachings of Ellen G. White	223
1923	Fundamentals of Christian Education	540
1923	Counsels on Health	634
1923	Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers	520
1925	Christian Service	275
1930	Messages to Young People	466
1932	Medical Ministry	335
1933	Life and Teachings of Ellen G. White	128
1936	Selections From the Testimonies (Books 1-3 selected from the nine volumes)	1,672
1937	Sanctified Life (reprint of "Bible Sanctification")	69
1938	Counsels on Diet and Foods	498
1938	Counsels on Sabbath School Work (a rearranged, enlarged edition of "Testimonies on Sabbath School Work")	186
1940	Counsels on Stewardship	350
1946	Evangelism	707
1946	Counsels to Writers and Editors	181
1947	Story of Redemption	438
1949	Temperance	300
1952	Welfare Ministry	349
1952	The Adventist Home	583

APPENDIX F

Spiritualism Claims Prophetic Status¹

The official *Centennial Book of Modern Spiritualism in America (1848-1948)*, issued by the National Spiritualist Association of the U.S.A., summarizes the history, beliefs, and achievements of Spiritualism during the century that had passed since its modern appearance at Hydesville, on March 31, 1848. It was then, according to Dr. B. F. Clark, that "a new dispensation was born," which now claims millions of adherents—many outside the actual members of the Spiritualist churches. These include eminent judges, physicians, scientists, editors, writers, poets, clergymen, educators, and statesmen of various countries.² Those "raps of Hydesville," they allege, again established communication with the spirits of the "departed." It progressed from raps to trances to materializations, though it had a stormy reception at first—mobs gathering and violence threatened, and the Fox family was castigated as a group of "sensational fakers seeking notoriety at the expense of every holy and beautiful impulse."³ But tremendous changes have since taken place.

A premature attempt at organization was made in 1864. Finally, the National Spiritualist Association was formed in 1893, with its avowed purpose stated as that of the promulgation of the philosophy and religion

¹ See pp. 1001-1003.

² For example, Sherwood Eddy, *You Will Survive After Death* (1950); Blair Fraser, "The Secret Life of Mackenzie King, Spiritualist," *Maclean's Magazine*, Dec. 15, 1951, pp. 7-9, 60, 61.

³ Victoria Barnes, "The Birth of Modern Spiritualism," *Centennial Book of Modern Spiritualism in America*, p. 9.

of Spiritualism. A definition adopted in 1914, confirmed in 1919, and again in 1930, affirms that "Spiritualism is the Science, Philosophy and Religion of a continuous life." In the association's Declaration of Principles (formulated in 1899, and reaffirmed in 1919 and 1945), belief in "Infinite Intelligence" is stressed, with the contention that "the existence and personal identity of the individual continue after the change called death," that "communication with the so-called dead is a fact, scientifically proved by the phenomena of Spiritualism," that "the doorway to reformation is never closed against any human soul, here or hereafter," and that the claim is to be particularly noted that "the Precepts of Prophecy contained in the Bible are scientifically proven through Mediumship."⁴ They hold that "Spiritualism has given a new Heaven and a new Earth in which to dwell."⁵

Two main planks in Spiritualism's platform are: First, that those who have "passed on" are conscious and can communicate with us; that there is no death, but a continuation of life; and second, that there is hope in the hereafter for the most sinful; that every spirit, however wicked, will progress eventually through the ages to the light and beyond.⁶ So, ultimate universal salvation is one of its tenets.

The religious turn came about inevitably when more and more church people accepted Spiritualism. The first Spiritualist church was established in 1858 at Sturgis, Michigan. Now Spiritualist churches are found everywhere, with "ordained" ministers, all "Reverends" (mostly women), a ministerial association—even a colored ministerial association—and manuals, a yearbook, bureaus, hymnals, and even camp meetings. And their periodicals have included the *Spiritual Telegraph* (1852), *Banner of Light* (1857), *Progressive Age* (1864), *The Spiritual Scientist* (1874), *The Light of Truth* (1877), *The National Spiritualist* (1919), with a corresponding battery of British publications.

Within the past hundred years literally thousands of books, pamphlets, and tractates have appeared for and against Spiritualism. Periodicals by the score have been issued containing hundreds of articles by the clergy, some defending and some condemning.⁷

⁴ In *Centennial Book*, pp. 22, 23.

⁵ Dr. R. F. Austin, in *Centennial Book*, p. 44. They equate prophecy with mediumship (The General Assembly of Spiritualists, *Manual of Spiritualism*, pp. 5, 11, 113-116).

⁶ *Centennial Book*, pp. 31, 34.

⁷ Two thirds of the famous Harry Houdini collection of 5,147 titles is concerned with psychic matters. It is one of the most complete collections in this field in the world, gathered over a period of thirty years, and now housed in a special collection at the Library of Congress. One volume consists of twelve Spiritualist hymnals and poetry pamphlets bound together within one cover. Two are editions of *Spiritual Songs for the Use of Circles, Camp-meetings and Other Spiritualistic Gatherings*, by Mattie E. Hull, wife of Moses Hull. Here are typical songs: "Death's Stream Bridged," "Beautiful Shore," "Spirit Greetings," "Sweetly Falls the Spirit's Message," "Light Ahead," "To Our Risen Friends," "Rap, Rap, Rap" (to the tune of "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp"), "In the Still Hours of Night," "Sweet Spirit Land," "There's a Good Time Coming," "I Cannot Trace the Way," "The Angels' Presence." A perverted Doxology reads:

In support of the religious emphasis the following "Bible quotations" are quoted in the yearbook: 1 John 4:1; 1 Thessalonians 5:19-21; 1 Corinthians 12:1, 7-10, 28; 14:1, 3, 31, 32, 39, and others; also many Bible incidents are identified with Spiritualism in the manual. But Spiritualism avowedly embodies "the foundation stones of all the ancient faiths,"⁸ as illustrated by quotations from Zoroaster, Homer, Plato, Moses, Buddha, and Jesus. However, the utter repudiation of the very foundation of the Christian faith appears in the assertions that a Spiritualist may "omit the tenets of the Christian church," and there is no vicarious atonement, for each must work out his own salvation.⁹

Dr. J. M. Peebles, one of their former leaders, defines Spiritualism in this prolix yet revealing paragraph:

"The root meaning of this great word Spiritualism is clearly traced to God, Pure, Imminent [*sic*] and Immutable Spirit. 'God is Spirit,' said Jesus the Christ; therefore, God is Spirit, Spiritualism, centering, in and originating from God, becomes a most inspiring, a most sacred and holy word, the moral scale running thus: Spirit, spiritual, spirituality, spiritual-mindedness, Spiritualism—the ISM referring and relating to its main doctrines, the Father-Mother-hood of God, the Brother-Sister-hood of all races, the innate Divinity of Man, the Immutability of Law, the present-day Ministry of Spirits, the Guardian care of Angels, the Necessity of Holiness, the Importance of Prayer, the Beauty of Faith, the Sweetness of Charity, the Grace of Religion, and the unbounded Trust in God—the absolute embodiment of Love, Wisdom and Will."¹⁰

Peebles then makes the astonishing claim that Spiritualism was the religion of the primitive Christians up to the time of Constantine, when Christianity became crystallized into a sect.¹¹

And to "communion with spirits" is attributed the annunciation of the birth of Jesus, that His miracles are spiritualist phenomena, and that He taught His disciples in seances.¹² Peebles also contends that Christ's second coming is with "holy angels and ministering spirits" and "this coming is perpetual."¹³

"O, blessed Ones from upper Spheres
Now as we separate, draw near.
Guide us while in earth's path we rove,
And bind our souls in perfect love."³

Another in this collection is "The Golden Echoes" with words and music by S. W. Tucker, in which appear the following hymn titles: "Angel Visitants," "Beyond the Weeping," "Heavenly Portals," "My Spirit Home," "The Homeward Voyage," "The Unseen City."

⁸ *Manual of Spiritualism*, p. 101 (cf. pp. 96-102).

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 127, 128.

¹⁰ J. M. Peebles, "The Word Spiritualism Misunderstood," *Centennial Book*, p. 34.

¹¹ James Martin Peebles, *Christ, the Corner-Stone of Spiritualism*, p. 26.

¹² *Manual of Spiritualism*, p. 40.

¹³ Peebles, *Christ, the Corner-Stone of Spiritualism*, p. 32.

APPENDIX G

THE MASTER CHART AND THE PILOT AT THE PORT¹

Uriah Smith's view of the relationship of the Spirit of prophecy to the Bible, the Master Chart for man and the church, appeared in a *Review and Herald* editorial, here given in digest form:

Envision an ocean vessel starting for a faraway foreign port. The owner provides the captain and crew with a master chart, giving full instruction and direction for the voyage—the course, mileage, speed, currents and cross currents, and a host of other details. The chart covers the long voyage from the port of sailing to the port of destination. It is the indispensable guide. It locates the islands and continents to be passed, and marks out the ports of call. It gives ocean soundings, and shows the general contour of the coast, indicates major rocks and reefs, as well as the clear channel into the harbor at last.²

But this same master chart, which reveals all this, indicates that when the ship nears the final harbor a pilot will be provided, who will give special help on riding in on the tide, steering the vessel around the shifting sand bars, avoiding hidden reefs, jutting rocks, sunken ships, or other local obstructions, or conditions—all in harmony with the general course outlined on the master chart. Thus the harbor will be safely entered.

When at last the land of destination is in sight and its general contour can be checked as corresponding to that outlined on the chart, there is gladness and certainty on the part of the ship's officers. The port of desire is clearly at hand. But there are many hazards attendant on entering the harbor—stormy weather, the run of the tide, tricky sand bars, sunken ships, shallows, and the like. But just at the time and place indicated, the pilot's craft appears, and soon he is received aboard. What, then, if some of the crew rise up and say, "We have the master chart, and our instructions that have brought us in safety all the way from the distant port of embarkation. We see the harbor before us, and do not need or want this pilot. We will simply follow the master chart. That is ample for us."

But are such protesters, who would now reject the special services of the pilot foretold and provided in accordance with that chart, actually heeding the master chart? The answer is obvious. Similarly, the Spirit of prophecy was given to help pilot the ship of Zion through the perilous tides and shoals, and the rocks and bars and storms of the last times, by indicating the clear, safe channel for the church, as well as by pointing out the lurking perils that are marked out in general on the Master Chart—the Bible—as existent near the harbor. And the guidance of the living pilot is based upon, and is simply the detailed application of, the over-all outline of basic Bible prophecy. Through acceptance of this provision, the ship will come safely to dock in the harbor of destination.

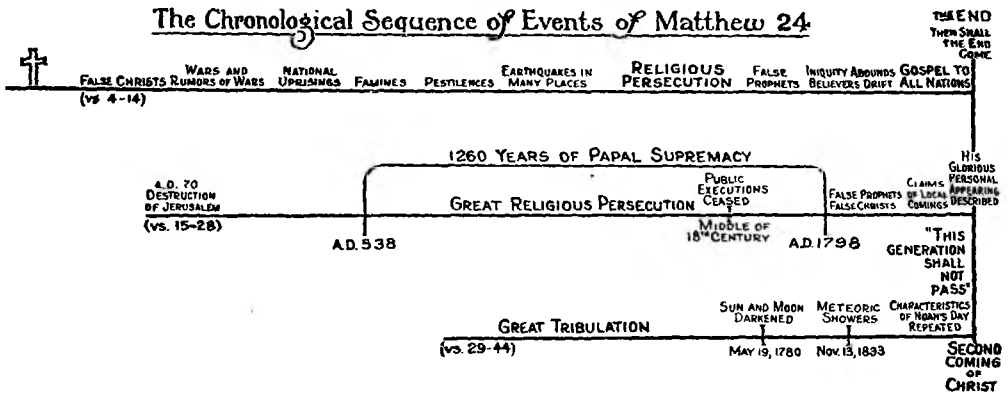
¹ See pp. 975, 976.

² Adapted from Uriah Smith, *The Review and Herald*, Jan. 13, 1863, p. 52.

APPENDIX H

CHRIST'S MASTER PROPHECY OF MATTHEW 24¹

In tracing the detailed specifications of Jesus' matchless outline of the centuries, recorded in Matthew 24, Mark 13, and Luke 21, we find the same general pattern that marks the structure of the outline prophecies of Daniel and of John the revelator—that of repetitive lines, covering the Christian Era again and again for emphasis and amplification. Daniel and John both begin the revelation of things to come with their own day, and carry the reader with rapid strides across the centuries, with the unfolding events reaching to the end of the Christian Era. And Christ's hearers are exhorted to read and understand Daniel's prophecies (Matt. 24: 15). The following diagram analyzes the obvious scheme of the prophecy by showing the repetitive lines for cumulative emphasis.



1. THE SPECIFICATIONS OF THE PREDICTION.—Christ's great prophecy, covering the Christian Era from the destruction of Jerusalem down to the end of the age, is recorded by all three synoptists—Matthew, Mark, and Luke.² Though the phrasing varies slightly, the intent and the outline is clearly identical. After discoursing on the terrible days of "tribulation," which hundreds of learned expositors in Europe and America have recognized as the great papal persecution of dissentient Christians, particularly from the thirteenth century onward to the eighteenth, Christ plainly states that unless the persecution of those days should be shortened, all His faithful witnesses would be blotted out. The period of the Papacy's spiritual dominance, according to the testimony of a large number of expositors—whose records have already been examined, particularly in Volumes III and IV—extended from Justinian in the sixth century

¹ See p. 1158.

² Matt. 24:29-31; Mark 13:24-26; Luke 21:25-27.

until the French Revolution at the close of the eighteenth,³ with many placing it specifically from 538 to 1798.

Then follows Christ's express declaration that, after this special period of persecution should largely be brought to an end, two separate celestial signs would appear as harbingers of the approaching advent—first, the sun and moon would be abnormally darkened; and second, "the stars shall fall"—obviously meteoric showers, as they are the only "stars" that "fall." And these signs were to be real, not imaginary. Then follows the description of Christ's glorious second advent, thus showing the sequence and relationship. They were to appear between the close of the tribulation and the advent. The apostle John likewise describes the same scene, with other details, under the sixth seal (Rev. 6:12-17).

The gospel records of Christ's great prophecy show it to be clearly literal, not symbolic, as a scanning of the respective chapters clearly indicates. And John's depiction of this feature, in the sixth seal, is likewise literal, though in the Revelation the literal is often interspersed with the symbolic. But here the entire description is manifestly literal. So the predictive expression is, "The stars shall fall." And John's later prophecy adds this further description—"even as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind." Stars, falling simultaneously, by the hundreds of thousands! These are the predictions, obviously referring to one and the same celestial phenomenon. The darkening of the sun and moon is discussed elsewhere. Thus the series is fixed in sequence. Their timing is clearly *after* the great "tribulation" and before the second advent.

2. EVENTS OF THE CENTURIES IN CONSECUTIVE OUTLINE.—Christ, the Fountainhead of prophecy, in this incomparable outline prophecy, portraying the vicissitudes of the Christian church in the midst of the conflicts of the centuries, led His hearers, in Matthew 24:4-14, onward from their own day. He took them past the coming of deceiving false christs, then the "wars and rumours of wars," obviously the breakup of the Roman Empire repeatedly predicted by Daniel, giving the caution that "all these things must come to pass, but *the end is not yet*" (verse 6). So the "end" was far away from those early days. Then Jesus tells of how nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, this being accompanied by "famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places" (verse 7), and He adds, "all these" are but the "beginning of sorrows" (verse 8).

Next, Christ comes to the period of the great affliction, when His true followers would be killed and "hated of all nations," among which they were scattered, and would be betrayed (verse 10). And false prophets would arise that would "deceive many" (verse 11). Then, because iniquity would abound, the love of many would "wax cold" (verse 12). Thus

³ See Part II of *Prophetic Faith*, Vol. III; also tabular summary on pp. 404, 405. of this volume.

Christ brought his hearers down to the proximity of the end, for He declares that "he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved" (verse 13). And now comes the first worldwide and supreme sign of the end of the time or age—"this *gospel of the kingdom* [a special emphasis upon the imminent establishment of the prophesied kingdom of God] shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come" (verse 14). Thus, in rapid strokes, the Master has given the grand outline of the centuries, with their chief characteristics, and closes with a worldwide sign that takes us up to the end, which climaxes in the second advent.

3. REPEATS OUTLINE WITH ADDED DETAIL.—Then, following the characteristic pattern of inspired prophecy, Christ goes back to His own day, and again outlines the passage of the years, becoming increasingly specific and adding other details (verses 15-27). Starting over again, this time with the destruction of Jerusalem, when the "abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet," stands in the holy place (verse 15), they were to understand that Jerusalem's destruction, and that of the Temple (A.D. 70), was upon them. And the Christians of Judea were to flee with all speed to the mountains (verses 16-20), and to pray that the catastrophic destruction of the holy city occur not in the winter or on the Sabbath (verse 20).

And again Christ stresses the great persecution previously mentioned, but presses on its terrible severity, adding that "there shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be" again (verse 21). Then He adds, "And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved: but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened" (verse 22). And now he repeats His stress of latter-day "false Christs and false prophets," who perform signs and wonders and would attempt to "deceive the very elect" (verse 24), claiming that Christ's return is to be in the "desert," or in the "secret chambers." But Jesus warns His followers to "believe it not." And now He gives the manner of this second coming—"as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be" (verse 27). So the second great tracing of the sequential events of the centuries has been covered again.

4. THIRD SURVEY STRESSES SIGNS OF LATTER DAYS.—And now for the third and final time, Christ goes back part way, to the period of great affliction, or persecution of the saints, twice stressed before, and originally outlined by Daniel the prophet (Dan. 7:21, 25), and declares, "Immediately after the tribulation of those days" (Matt. 24:29) a series of celestial signs of the times would appear to identify the time—the sun shall be "darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken" (verse 29). This parallels the same events described by John the revelator in Revelation 6:12-17, and hinted by Old Testament

prophets (as Joel 2:31, 32), and thus the reader is brought a third time amid increasing cumulation of detail past the waymarks, the appearance of the sign of "the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory," as He sends His angels with the "sound of a trumpet, to gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other" (Matt. 24:31).

Then there can be no legitimate doubt or misunderstanding, for when "all these things," marking the centuries, are fulfilled, then men are to "know that it is near, even at the doors" (verse 33) as verily as the putting forth of the leaves of the fig tree heralds the approach of summer. But to many, as in the days of Noah and the Flood, the coming of the Son of man the second time will be sudden and unexpected, and will bring disastrous consequences upon the unprepared (verses 38, 39). And Christ ends this matchless prophecy by declaring, "Therefore be ye also ready: for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh" (verse 44), warning those who preach "My Lord delayeth his coming," by declaring that they shall be cut off along with the hypocrites (verses 48-51).

So ends the incomparable outline prophecy of Matthew 24, except for those attached parables of Matthew 25, on the wise and foolish virgins, the talents, and the coming separation of the true and false at the second advent. Then we read, "When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats" (Matt. 25:31, 32).

5. DOUBLE QUESTIONS OF DISCIPLES RECEIVE DUAL ANSWER.—Thus the two questions that were asked by the disciples—When shall the destruction of Jerusalem be? and, What shall be the sign of the Master's return?—received a specific answer by Christ, showing their relationship to the end events in the time to come, beginning with the impending destruction of Jerusalem. And after sweeping in the intervening centuries, He ends with the tremendous scenes of His second advent in power and great glory. So the relationship established and the sequence of events are expressly portrayed with the distinguishing characteristic of inspired prophecy—that of repetition for the sake of emphasis and clarification, not only to add details along the way, but to pile up the cumulative evidence surrounding the end of the highway of prophecy. In this way all past fulfillments become the assurance of the completion of the further remaining events in the predicted outline.

APPENDIX I

CALCULATING THE DAY OF PENTECOST IN A.D. 31¹

Three annual feasts and seven *annual sabbaths* marked the first seven months of each sacred Jewish year, during the operation of the ancient typical sanctuary service. Each annual festival in the series fell on a given day of a given month, but not on a uniform day of the week.

1st Day	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
NISAN						
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1st month					Preparation Day PASSOVER	Unleavened Bread
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
WAVE SHEAF						
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	1	2	3	4	5	6
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
IYAR						
2nd month						
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
PENTECOST						

50 DAYS
FROM WAVE SHEAF TO PENTECOST IN A.D. 31

¹ See chapter 37.

ANNUAL CYCLE OF TYPICAL SET FEASTS IN A.D.31

3 ANNUAL FEASTS (Pilgrimage Festivals) DATE 7 ANNUAL TYPICAL SABBATHS

(Ex. 12:34; Lev. 23; Num. 28, 29; Deut. 16)

1. FEAST of PASSEOVER (Lev. 23:5; Num. 9:3, 10; 28:16)

(Barley Harvest)

FEAST of UNLEAVENED BREAD (Ex. 22:15; 34:18; Lev. 23:6; Num. 28:17, 18)

7 days { Ex. 12:17, 18 DAY of WAVE SHEAF (Lev. 23:10-12)

CLOSE of UNLEAVENED BREAD (Lev. 23:15-17; Num. 28:17, 24)

(Josephus - Feast of 8 days)
Edersheim's Temple

(Celebration of Wheat Harvest)

2. FEAST of WEEKS (Pentecost)

or Harvest, or First Fruit of (Labors Wheat Harvest
(Ex. 22:16; 34:22; Lev. 23:15, 16; Num. 28:17, 18, 25, 26
Num. 16:9, 10)

(2 Loaves with leaven, Lev. 23:17)
Bread of First Fruits

General Harvest Festival (Wine Oil
Deut. 16:17 Common Threshing Floor)

3. FEAST of INGATHERING

(Tabernacles) (Ex. 22:16) (Feast of Joy, Thanksgiving)

7 days { (At end of year Ex. 23:16)
(At year's end Ex. 34:22)

7th day of Tabernacles

8th day (Solemn Assembly)

(Beginning of Months, Ex. 12:2)

NISAN 14 (FRIDAY)

NISAN 15 (SABBATH)

NISAN 16 (SUNDAY)
(Morrow after the Sab., Lev. 23:15, 16)

NISAN 21 (Ex. 12:18)

50 Days (Lev. 23:16)

SIVAN 6 (Sunday)

TISRI 1

TISRI 10

TISRI 15

TISRI 21

TISRI 22

(Lev. 23)

1. Unleavened Bread (Convocation; no servile work, Lev. 23:7, Num. 28:17)

2. CLOSE OF FEAST (No servile work, Lev. 23:8; Num. 28:15)

3. Pentecost, or Weeks (No servile work, Lev. 23:21)

4. Blowing of Trumpets (Sabbath; solemn rest; holy convocation. No servile work, Lev. 23:41; Num. 29:1)

5. DAY of ATONEMENT (No work; not any work, Lev. 23:27, 28; Num. 29:7)

6. Feast of Tabernacles (Holy convocation; no servile work, Lev. 23:35; Num. 29:12; Deut. 16:13-15)

Seventh Day of Tabernacles

7. (8th) Octave of Tabernacles (Assembly) (No servile work, Lev. 23:35, 36; Num. 29:35)

The day on which it was celebrated therefore varied from year to year, never coming on the same day of the week two years in succession.

The table on the opposite page (constructed on the Biblical stipulations as to sequence and dating) is based on a year in which the Passover (Nisan 14) fell on a Friday, as in A.D. 31. The three feasts and their component parts appear in the left column, their dating in the narrow center column, and the seven annual sabbaths, with their stipulations, to the right. The references for authority appear throughout.

All computations of successive festivals, or solemnities, were based on the initial Passover feast, or Nisan 14. With the Passover, in A.D. 31, thus tied to Friday, the date of the Wave Sheaf (always on Nisan 16), with Pentecost following later, can quickly and accurately be computed.

The first day of Unleavened Bread, always falling on the 15th of Nisan (see Biblical references on the chart), was followed by the day of the Wave Sheaf, which in turn determined the day of the week for Pentecost—falling just fifty days thereafter—and therefore always on the same day of the week as that of Nisan 16. Thus in A.D. 31 Pentecost similarly fell on the first day of the week, as indicated by the diagram on page 1245—numbering the fifty days from Nisan 16, according to the Mosaic stipulation. On this chart, the last part of Nisan, the first month, the whole of Iyar, the second month, and a portion of Sivan, the third month, in which the Day of Pentecost came, is given. The fifty days are numbered for checking, with the chart likewise keyed to a Friday Passover for Nisan 14.

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Index

This Index includes the names of expositors and other individuals cited, all prophetic terms employed, and topics discussed. The main discussion of the different commentators is indicated by figures in *italics*, as pages 121-123 for Adam Clarke. Book, pamphlet, and periodical titles are not repeated here, as they appear in the Bibliography, which begins on page 1249, with page references to all citations given in connection with each work.

- Aaron and Hur Societies, 38
 "A.B.," 289
 Abomination of desolation, 159, 274, 581
 Abraham, 863
 Acknowledgments, 1205-1207
 Adams, John Quincy, 61, 62, 324
 "Address to Advent Believers," 875, 876
 "Address to Adventists," 865-868
 "Address to Opposers of Our Hope," 866-868
 "Address to the Public," 859-865
 Advent, first, 275, 313, 314, 383, 667, 708, 1188
 Advent, second, 12, 71, 90, 115, 125, 126, 135, 136, 145-149, 166, 167, 171, 184, 185, 191, 201, 209, 223, 239, 243, 266, 271, 273, 274, 286, 291, 303, 304, 314, 324, 336, 337, 346, 347, 351, 367-370, 373, 377, 383, 386, 388, 390, 417, 423, 463, 471, 479-481, 504, 505, 515, 564, 567, 580, 585, 586, 588, 604, 617, 640, 664, 665, 670, 700, 702, 729, 730, 752, 755, 756-777, 782, 785-789, 801, 802, 807, 808, 811, 814, 857, 861, 873, 1029, 1032, 1073, 1079, 1121, 1185, 1190
 and Sabbath, 941
 "any moment," doctrine of, 1224
 at beginning of millennium, 360
 belief in, 562
 description of, 321
 1844 date for, abandoned, 835
 events of, 586
 events preceding, 1066
 expected on Day of Atonement, 786, 787, 814
 expected by early church, 369
 expected in 1843, 1844, or 1847, 267, 268, 271, 273, 324, 360, 361, 481, 516, 617, 861
 hope of early church, 576
 imminent, 70, 92, 310, 366, 368, 369, 579, 609, 636, 640, 664, 665, 670, 702, 871, 874, 1182
 literal, 90, 243, 271, 320, 321, 335, 346, 347, 368, 370, 417, 463, 873, 1181, 1182, 1188
 new times set for after Disappointment, 857
 personal, 352, 463, 702, 1033, 1182, 1188, 1193, 1194
 postmillennial, 365, 387, 388
 premillennial, 200, 264, 335, 336, 351, 367-369, 373, 374, 376, 390, 415, 578, 588, 604, 672, 673, 866, 1030, 1177, 1179, 1180, 1183, 1025, 1187, 1193, 1194
 secret (*see also* Rapture, secret), 423, 1032
 signs of, 92, 103, 145-147, 184, 199, 236, 237, 289-291, 312, 336-339, 581, 865
 spiritual, 90, 417, 755, 756, 1032
 time of, 199, 347, 359-361
 Advent Awakening, in America, 21-23, 27, 817
 in Europe, 10, 140, 141, 402, 409, 412, 433, 817
 Advent Christians, 828, 835, 836, 839, 843
 Advent daily paper, first, 523
 Advent hope, 9
 Advent Movement, 444, 445, 837, 951, 955
 colored ministers in, 705
 women in, 706
 Advents, first and second, 367, 1053
 two, 12, 304, 513
 Airlines, 1008
 Alaric and Goths, 11, 195, 283, 319, 363
 Albany Conference, Recommendations of, 834-836
 Albury Park Conference, 421, 422, 827, 828, 833, 838, 843, 876, 1222
 Alcazar, 387, 1196
 Alexander the Great, 135
 Allegorism, 384
 Allen, Ethan, 27
 Allen, Stephen, 774
 Allis, Oswald T., 1224
 Amillennialism, 414
 Amarna Society, 54, 55
 America, 203
 changes in early 1800's, 431-438
 moral declension in, 158
 American Bible Society, 40, 164, 431
 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 533
 American colleges, irreligion in, 37
 American denominations, background of, 15-35
 American Educational Society, 41, 430
 American Home Missionary Society, 41
 American Jewish Society, 342
 American journalism, development of, 436-438
 American Temperance Society, 442
 American Tract Society, 41, 431
 American reprints from British Advent Awakening, 325-329
 American Revolution, 157
 American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews, The, 325
 American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, 441
 American Sunday School Union, 41, 432
 Anabaptists, 16, 17, 386
 Andover Theological Seminary, 102
 Andrews, Edward W., 604
 Andrews, John Nevins, 952, 961, 962, 1046, 1060, 1093-1103, 1111
 Andrews, Mrs. J. N., 961, 962
 Andrus, Elder, 479
 Angel, of Revelation 10, as Christ, 191
 which binds Satan, 365
 Angels, messages of, 1031, 1035, 1036, 1153, 1162

- first, 1035
 second, 773
 third, 1022, 1031, 1035, 1039, 1042, 1043.
 1079, 1085, 1090
 Angels, three, of Revelation 14, 130, 137, 197,
 225, 247, 348, 369, 728, 1062, 1065, 1066,
 1078, 1081, 1101, 1102, 1116, 1146
 first, 89, 91, 92, 139, 185, 192, 197, 201,
 209, 247, 259, 327, 341, 358, 364, 369, 390,
 939, 957, 1062, 1073, 1083, 1097, 1126,
 1134
 second, 162, 172, 192, 247, 341, 358, 359,
 364, 574, 957, 958, 1062, 1073, 1097, 1126,
 1134
 third, 192, 223, 247, 341, 364, 958, 959,
 1097, 1113, 1126
 Anglican Church, 1819, 21
 Annotated Bible, by d'Oyly, 124
 by Richard Mant, 124
 Antichrist, 71, 80, 96, 119, 122, 123, 135, 156-
 158, 181, 188, 191, 192, 196, 220, 233,
 236, 238, 239, 244, 245, 254, 260, 271,
 272, 274, 277, 279, 281-283, 305, 310, 344,
 380, 382, 387, 416, 420, 423, 489, 513, 580,
 939, 1037, 1121, 1124, 1181, 1183, 1187,
 1191, 1192, 1198
 destruction of, 112, 273, 351, 368, 415, 480,
 486, 939
 Eastern, 71, 86, 100, 101, 189
 early church writers on, 575
 future, 283, 422, 1196, 1222
 overthrow of, 402, 562
 rise of, 234
 Western, 71, 100, 101, 189
 Antichrist, equated with, all persecuting
 churches, 769
 Antiochus Epiphanes, 127
 apostate church, 197
 atheism, 202
 Bishops of Rome, 183, 184, 234
 French Empire, 190
 future Jew, 382, 387
 future Mohammedan, 284, 285
 hostile, persecuting power, 180
 Napoleon, 157
 papacy, 67, 79, 124, 126, 128, 137, 156, 235,
 324, 386, 530, 636, 665, 1181, 1189, 1190
 Antichrist, represented by both beasts of Rev-
 elation 13, 353
 Antiochus Epiphanes, 124, 127, 305, 318, 703,
 765, 867
 as exceeding great horn, 127
 as fourth kingdom, 867
 as little horn, 119, 123, 1051
 Antiochus Epiphanes theory, 137, 354, 521,
 750, 916
 Anti-Catholic literature, 275, 276
 Antislavery reform, 576, 577, 600, 602
 Apocalypse, authorship questioned, 420
 integrity of, 382
 Apollo Hall (New York City), 610
 Apollyon, 222
 Appendices
 A, 1209, 1210
 B, 1210-1220
 C, 1220-1227
 D, 1228-1234
 E, 1235-1237
 F, 1237-1239
 G, 1240
 H, 1241-1244
 I, 1245, 1246
 Archbishop Eberhard II, Miller compared to,
 485
 Arianism, 30, 283
 Arians, 195
 Armageddon, 73, 96, 160, 193, 199, 248, 274,
 281, 319, 321, 328, 1096, 1146, 1222
 Armstrong, Dr. Amzi, 194
 Arminian denominations in America, 29
 Arminian Methodists, 32, 33
 Arminianism, 27-29
 vs. Calvinism, 28
 Arminians, 48
 Arminius, 28
 Arnold, David, 1023, 1086-1088
 Arnulpus, Bishop of Orleans, 235
 Artaxerxes Longimanus, 127, 143, 167, 178,
 210, 246, 408
 Artaxerxes, decree of, 272, 314, 1142
 seventh of, 121, 128, 137, 263, 318, 322, 343,
 567, 640, 786
 Asbury, Bishop Francis, 33, 41, 44
 Assyria, 127
 Astronomy and salvation compared, 11
 Atheism, 188, 202, 259, 312
 Atkins, 775
 Atlantic Union College, 1132
 Atonement, 1229, 1231-1234
 Day of (*see also* Tenth day of seventh
 month and October 22, 1844), 446, 544,
 784, 786, 787, 802, 803, 811, 813, 814,
 816, 829, 879, 881, 883, 894, 901, 1112,
 1154, 1232
 Attila and Huns, 111, 194, 283, 363
 Augustinian theory, 327, 384, 385, 1220
 abandoned by Protestantism, 286
 "Au Revoir," 739-745
 Aurora community, 54, 55
 Austin, David, 64, 65
 Automobile, 1008
 Autumnal festivals, 821
 Axiomatic prophetic applications, 393
 Azazel (*see also* Scapegoat), 1234
 Babylon, 77, 98, 135, 137, 151, 172, 174, 184,
 200, 202, 239, 248, 254, 260, 266, 277, 281,
 342, 348, 358, 359, 544, 574, 575, 767-770,
 778, 837, 838, 1079, 1100, 1202
 destruction of, 73, 106, 580
 fall of, 60, 114, 185, 277, 359, 569, 788, 802
 mystical, 98
 as Pagan Rome, 160, 283, 285
 as Papal Rome, 114, 121, 122, 124, 148, 150,
 189, 248, 259, 280, 342, 353, 1075, 1191
 separation from, 783
 Bacon, Judge John, 72-75, 1099
 Bacon, L. W., 36
 Bampfield, Francis, 907
 Bampfield, Thomas, 907, 908, 919
 Baptism, by immersion, 184, 249, 250, 541,
 639, 700, 824, 892, 954, 978, 1044
 Baptists, 17, 27, 32, 33, 45, 46, 439
 Freewill, 30, 31, 33, 53, 54, 359-361
 German (or Dunkers), 918
 Seventh Day, 907, 916, 917, 941-944
 days of fasting and prayer, 942, 943
 skeptical of Millerites, 944
 Baptizo, 250
 Barry, Thomas F., 763
 Bates, Joseph, 526, 528, 538, 545-549, 811, 812,
 814, 815, 833, 840, 843, 903, 904, 947, 952,
 953-961, 962, 963, 973, 1022, 1038, 1046,
 1077, 1093, 1101, 1234
 accepts Sabbath, 947
 Sabbath tract, 947, 956, 957
 Bath Resolutions, 776-779, 781
 Bay Psalm Book, 47, 48
 Beast, 77, 96, 126, 132, 194, 190, 192, 199,
 201, 276, 283, 328, 387-389, 1191
 Beast and image, destruction of, 733
 Beast, scarlet-colored, of Rev. 17, 161, 283,
 1097, 1127, 1192, 1202
 Beast, ten-horned, 66, 322, 323, 870
 Beasts, 130, 277, 580

- Beasts of Daniel and Revelation compared, 161
- Beasts of Revelation 13. 119, 121, 255, 256, 353, 1061, 1103
- first, 59, 66, 79, 111, 116, 135, 136, 147, 148, 150, 151, 162, 174, 184, 187, 188, 192, 197, 202, 205, 209, 221, 225, 240, 247, 256, 262, 266, 273, 277, 278, 280, 281, 287, 318, 341, 352, 355, 364, 380, 728, 735, 736, 870, 1039, 1062, 1073, 1078, 1081, 1083, 1084, 1097, 1101, 1126, 1134, 1135, 1145
- heads of, 148, 150
- healing of wound of, 96, 1078
- image of, 121, 241, 247, 278, 283, 1031, 1042, 1062, 1065, 1078, 1079, 1082, 1097, 1099, 1103, 1104, 1107, 1126, 1135, 1136, 1146
- mark of, 95, 247, 276, 957, 1031, 1039, 1042, 1043, 1052, 1062, 1078, 1079, 1090, 1097, 1101, 1107, 1126, 1136
- number of (*see also* 666), 322, 1103
- title of, *see* He Latine Basileia, Maometis, Ludovice, or Ludovicus, Romiith, and Vicarius Filii Dei
- wounding of, 65, 74, 148, 187, 189, 388, 594, 1075, 1078, 1083, 1084, 1097, 1101, 1126, 1135
- second, 72, 75, 79, 95, 97, 111, 116, 121, 147, 174, 184, 187-189, 191, 192, 197, 202, 221, 240, 241, 247, 255, 260, 266, 280, 281, 322, 323, 341, 352, 355, 364, 380, 594, 728, 736, 1031, 1052, 1064, 1074, 1075, 1078, 1079, 1081-1084, 1088-1090, 1093, 1097-1100, 1102, 1107, 1123, 1126, 1135, 1136, 1145, 1146
- horns of, 95, 197, 278, 380, 1097, 1100
- Beebe, Samuel, 919
- Beecher, Lyman, 102, 103, 228, 275
- Begg, James A., 262, 264, 412, 937-940, 941, 942, 1220
- Beissel, Conrad, 918
- Belden, Albert, 1022, 1023, 1025
- Belden, F. E., 956
- Belknap, Dr. Jeremy, 65-67, 69
- Bell, Dr. Andrew, 928
- Bell, Goodloe Harper, 1131-1137
- Bellisarius, 93, 114
- Bennet, James Gordon, 738
- Berengarius, 235
- Berg, J. F., 281
- Bernard, David, 670, 671
- Bernard of Clairvaux, 235
- Bethany College, 249
- Bethel Community, 54, 55
- Berthier, French Marshal, 809
- Bible, 116, 123, 130
- and missionary societies, 196, 695
- as Master Chart, 1240
- Catholic Douay Version, 123
- given through prophets, 965, 966
- Bible classes, 695
- Bible commentaries, 116
- Bible dictionaries, 116
- Bicheno, James, 115
- Big Tent, The (Millerite), 522, 526, 539, 655-661, 740, 741, 743
- meetings in, 658-661
- Bill of Rights, 36
- Bishop, Dr. George Sayles, 1189, 1190
- Bishop of Constantinople, 180
- Bishop of Rome, 60, 180, 243, 347, 1200
- Blair, 22
- Bliss, Sylvester, 631, 632, 756, 796, 814, 833, 838
- letter from Stockman, 781
- Bohemians, 15
- Bomb, A, 1018
- Bomb, hydrogen, 1018
- Bonaparte, *see* Napoleon Bonaparte
- Bonar, Andrew, 1188
- Book, bitter-sweet, 881, 883, 900
- that was sealed, 1134, 1143
- Boston tabernacle, 671
- Bottomless pit, 1097, 1147
- Boudinot, Elias, 164-168
- Bowles, Charles, 705
- Breckinridge, Dr. Robert J., 868
- Brewer, 526
- Bridges, Abijah, 595
- Briggs, Senator George U., 270
- British and Foreign Bible Society, 122, 431, 929
- British and Foreign School Society (or Lancasterian Monitorial System), 432, 928, 929
- British conferences, 421-423
- British Literalists, teachings of, 376, 402
- British premillennialists, 414, 415
- British reprints in America, 108, 391, 426
- Broadside, "End of the World in 1843," 730-733
- Broadway (N.Y.) Tabernacle, 533, 602-606
- Brooks, Dr. James H., 1180, 1183
- Brown, A. R., 824
- Brown, Freeman G., 524, 526, 669, 670
- Brown, John, 124
- Brown, John Aquilla (*see also* J.A.B.), 143, 215, 267, 402
- Browne, Robert, 18
- "Brownists" (*see also* Independents, Separatists, or Congregationalists), 18
- Brownlee, Dr. William Craig, 278, 280, 744, 745
- Brute, 206
- Buck, Charles, 117, 126
- Burdick, Elder Elias A., 357-359
- Burgh, William, 408
- Burnet, Thomas, 290
- Burrill, Elijah H., 300
- Burwell, Adam Hood, 311-317
- Bush, Professor, 756, 864, 867, 870
- Bushnell, Dr. Horace, 755, 756
- Butler, 775
- Caldwell, Luther, 524
- Calvin, teachings of, 18
- Calvinism, 18, 27-29, 32, 43, 48, 52
- Campbell, Alexander, 34, 249, 250, 251-258, 286, 412, 704
- debates with Owen and Purcell, 35, 251-258
- Campbell, David, 752
- attacks Miller, 520
- Campbell, Thomas, 33, 34
- "Campbellites" (*see also* Disciples of Christ), 34
- Camp meetings, 43
- and Baptists, 44
- and Congregationalists, 43
- and Episcopalians, 43
- and Methodists, 33, 44
- and Primitive Methodists, 44
- and the Great Revival, 36-46
- censured by Wesleyan conference of 1807, 44
- emotionalism in, 42, 43, 45, 46
- in England, 44
- in Cane Ridge, 39, 42, 43
- in Chicopee Falls, 783
- in Logan County, Ky., 39, 42
- on frontier, 41-46, 439
- origin of, 41, 42
- repudiated by Presbyterians, 39, 44
- songs of, 49-51
- taken up by Methodists, 39
- wane of, 44, 45
- Western Presbyterians split by, 43, 44

- Camp meetings (Millerite), 444, 448, 450, 522, 526, 547-549, 618, 642, 703, 715, 803, 804
- activities of, 740-745
- arrangements of, 649, 650, 654
- attendance, 650, 651, 658
- decorum of, 649
- expense of, 651
- first (East Kingston, N.H.), 643-645, 648, 649
- J. G. Whittier's description of, 648, 649
- main features of, 646
- music of, 654
- newspaper reports of, 738-745
- objectives of, 654
- parting ceremony of, 646, 651, 652
- resolutions passed by, 646, 647
- results of, 655
- rules and regulations of, 742
- speakers, 653, 654
- Candler, W. A., 39
- Candlesticks, removal of, 60
- Canright, Dudley M., 988
- Cartwright, Peter, 33, 38, 43, 46
- Casco Street Christian Church, 978
- Case, Hiram S., 1089, 1090, 1099, 1105
- Castañeda, Friar Francisco de Paula, 929-931, 933, 934
- Cataclysmic end of age, 90, 237, 239, 240, 261, 264, 417, 740
- expected in 1847, 1848; 219, 220
- opposed, 451
- Catholic Church (*see also* Rome, Roman Church, Romanism), 69, 1063
- Catholic counterinterpretation of prophecy, 1200
- Catholic Counter Reformation, 387
- Catholic interpretation of prophecies, 282-286
- Causing sacrifices and oblations to cease, 217
- Celibacy, 60
- Chamberlain, 956, 1022
- Christian Connection, 954
- Christian dispensation, 1193, 1221
- Chamberlen, Dr. Peter, 908-913, 919
- Chandler, E. L. H., 526
- Chaneton, Dr. Abel, 926
- Channing, William Ellery, 29
- Chardon Street Christian Chapel, 559
- Charts, anonymous diagram of seals, trumpets, and vials, 723, 724
- early, 721-733
- "1843" chart, 538, 547, 557, 615, 617, 618, 649, 660, 669, 720, 733-737, 783, 1058
- corrected positions set forth, 735, 736
- omissions, 736, 737
- French's diagram of Daniel's visions, 729, 730
- Hime's chart of Daniel's visions, 726-728
- Litch's, 728, 747
- in *Midnight Cry*, 725, 726
- Miller's first, 722, 723
- Millerite, 719-736
- Rhodes-Nichols, 1071-1074
- Ten Commandment, 1080
- White's 1863, 1079-1082
- Chase, Dr. Ira, 757, 867
- Chautauqua movement, outgrowth of camp meetings, 44, 45
- Child of Revelation 13, *see* Christ, Man Child of Revelation 13
- Chiliasm, 424
- derived from Jewish and pagan traditions, 384
- in America, 391
- Chiliasts, 383
- Chinese Museum, 612, 613
- Christ
- advent of, *see* Advent, first and second
- and the sanctuary, 1031, 1087
- as king, 1188
- as a prophet, 575, 1044
- baptism of, 210, 216
- central figure of prophecy, 1053
- crucifixion of, 238, 735, 1229
- in A.D. 33, 205, 216, 217, 306, 343, 371, 378, 385
- in A.D. 33 or 34, 268
- in midst of week, 205, 216, 217, 328, 371, 1037
- in the seventieth week, 385
- during millennium, 342
- first advent of, *see* Advent, first
- in Most Holy place, 881, 883, 884, 886, 887, 895, 898, 958, 1029
- kingdom of, 80, 101, 166, 183, 571, 572, 593, 881, 883
- yet future, 571, 572
- man child of Revelation 12, 196, 262, 283, 341, 364, 1096, 1101, 1126, 1146
- priesthood of, 575, 810, 881, 1037, 1040, 1096, 1154-1156, 1162, 1229, 1231
- two divisions of, 1230
- prophecies of, 418
- all fulfilled, 318
- misunderstood by Jews, 383
- reign of, 113, 137, 193, 575, 595, 744
- rejected by Jews, 383
- second advent of, *see* Advent, second
- Christ's prophecy, *see* Matthew 24
- Christadelphians, 286, 287
- Christian church, 17, 438, *see* Disciples
- Christians, or Christian Connection, 30-32
- Christianity, evidences of, 250, 251
- Christianity in early American colonies, 21
- Chronology, possible error in, 875
- Church and state, union of, 1140, 1141
- Church, colonial, inadequacy of, 20
- Church in wilderness, 131, 195, 196, 340, 722
- Church of England, 17
- ritualism in, 1202
- Church of Rome, 97, 235
- Church, triumph of, 60, 285, 286
- Circuit riders, 38, 439
- "Circular Letter" of Stonington Baptist Association, 87-89
- Cities, destruction to come upon, 1003, 1004
- Civil and religious liberty, 157
- Clafin, Elder, 509
- Clark, Dr. B. F., 1237
- Clark, Dr. Rufus W., 1185
- Clarke, Adam, 116, 118, 121-123
- Clemons, Emily C., 706, 707
- Cole, Elder Timothy, 510, 519, 650, 665, 666, 700
- Colleges for women, 430
- Collins, William, 86
- Columbian Bible Society, 929
- Commandments, 945, 958, 960, 1112, 1157
- standard of judgment, 960
- Communal systems in early nineteenth century, 54
- Communication, in early 1800's, 430, 432, 433
- increased rapidity of, 438
- Communion services, 558
- Conferences (*see also* Sabbath conferences), 450
- Adventist Anniversary, 614
- Bible, 1878-1952: 1204
- Eastern Maine Christian, 1058, 1059
- General, *see* General Conferences
- local, 557-559
- London Prophetic of 1873, 1193, 1194
- Maine, Eastern, 702
- Millerite, 520, 526
- of remnant at Edson's home, 904, 960

- Powerscourt Castle, 422, 423, 1223, 1224
 Rockingham Christian, 702
 Second American Bible (1886), 1186
 speakers of, 1187, 1188
 Report of, 1186, 1187
 Confirming of covenant, 217
 Connecticut Missionary Society, 134
 Congregationalism, 32, 103
 Congregationalists, 17, 27, 43
 growth of, during Great Revival, 45, 46
 Constantine, 169, 187, 192, 194, 278
 conversion of, 38
 death of, 59
 Cook, John B., 524, 666-669, 670, 952
 Cooper, J. T., 1183
 Cornell, Merritt E., 1103-1105, 1130
 "Corresponding Letter" of Stonington Baptist Association, 87
 "Cosmopolite—a Roman Catholic, A," 750
 Cottrell, Roswell F., 1090, 1101
 Couch, Mrs. John, 549, 811
 Council of Laodicea, 272
 of Regensburg, 485
 of Trent, 1200
 Covenants, two, 1228
 Cox, Gershom Freeman, 773-775, 777, 858
 Crandall, A. L., 339-342
 Crandall, E. B., 508
 Creationism, 1043, 1168
 Cressener, Drue, 146
 Croly, George, 129, 130, 261
 Crosby, C. C. P., 281
 Crosier, Owen R. L., 846, 877, 881, 883-885, 889-893, 900, 901, 962, 1228
 Cross (see also Christ, crucifixion of), 137, 1228
 date of, 128, 802, 803
 in A.D. 31, 408, 786, 798-800, 814, 1073, 1121, 1143
 in A.D. 33, 311, 407, 408, 525, 637, 678, 722, 725, 729, 735, 786, 789, 793, 794
 in midst of week, 1081
 position in seventieth week, 407, 408, 794, 786
 Cruikshanks, Alexander, 456
 Cumberland Presbyterian Church, 30, 32, 39, 43, 439
 Cumberland Road, 435
 Cuninghame, William, 141-143, 422, 423, 864, 1224
 Cusa, Nicholas Krebs of, 402
 Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, 308
 Daily, 141, 246, 254, 322, 728, 732, 739, 748, 1073, 1074, 1087, 1088, 1115, 1121, 1134
 Dalcho, Dr. Frederick, 178
 Daniel, authorship questioned, 420
 integrity of, 392
 Daniel 2 (see also Image of Daniel 2), 65, 66, 71, 119, 122, 124, 136, 137, 180, 188, 205, 231, 251, 318, 324, 354, 357, 368, 540, 679, 700, 704, 708, 717, 1037
 Daniel 7 (see also Beast-kingdoms of Daniel 7), 66, 89, 91, 97, 119, 122, 124, 128, 135, 173, 180, 188, 192, 193, 205, 207, 208, 231, 244, 247, 254, 307, 312, 318, 324, 328, 335, 354, 357, 388, 479, 485, 594, 668, 679, 700, 704, 708, 717, 870, 1037, 1096, 1120, 1141
 shift of emphasis to Daniel 8, 207-209
 Daniel 8 (see also Ram and he-goat of Daniel 8), 66, 120, 124, 135, 137, 141, 167, 188, 193, 207, 231, 243, 308, 355, 379, 419, 479, 485, 679, 708, 726, 765, 1037, 1120
 Daniel 9, 121, 167, 341, 479, 520, 639, 1037
 key to Daniel 8, 520
 Daniel 11, 72, 100, 106, 121, 137, 167, 188, 191, 231, 318, 355, 365, 679, 701, 744, 940, 1038, 1067, 1068, 1076, 1115, 1121
 Daniel 12, 57, 72-75, 137, 679, 701, 1038, 1121
 Daniel and Revelation, relation of, 1198, 1199
 Darby, John Nelson, 1223, 1225, 1226
 Dark Day (May 19, 1780), 53, 54, 290-292, 586, 1090, 1144, 1217
 Dartmouth College, 752, 753
 Date setting, 888
 Davidson, Robert, 46
 Davis, William Cummins, 96, 143, 210, 211, 212-223, 238, 402
 Day of Atonement, see Atonement, day of
 Dead, state of, 580, 581, 829, 1002, 1239
 Deadly wound, see Beast, wounding of
 Dealtry, Charles, 715, 716
 Death, as a sleep, 915
 second, 185
 Declaration of Independence, 36
 Deed of Declaration of Wesleyan Church, 317
 Definite time, preaching of (see also "Precise time"), 804, 815, 819, 837, 862, 863, 874
 a mistake, 871
 not agreed to, 640, 641
 Deism, 59, 64, 155, 160, 188
 and natural rights of man, 27, 28, 36
 and religious liberty, 25
 DeLyra, 206
 Denny, Sir Edward, 1225
 Denominational split-offs, 439, 440
 Denominations, growth of, in America, 85
 Desolations, two, 1101
 De Vence Bible, 302, 305
 "D. G." 278
 Dimmick, 867
 Disappointment (of October 22, 1844), 449, 510, 793, 828, 830, 857, 892, 947, 961
 aftermath of, 855-876
 division of Millerites following, 888, 889
 fanaticism following, 828, 832, 833, 839, 840, 889
 of disciples and Millerites paralleled, 884-886, 888, 889, 892-895, 1027-1030
 Disciples, 17
 Disciples of Christ (Christians), 31-34, 249
 Discipline of the Methodist Church, 777-779
 Dispensation, fifth, 369
 Dispensationalism, 409, 421, 1203, 1220, 1223, 1227
 origination of, 1225
 Divine right, 203
 Dodge, Elder Nehemiah, 87
 Douglass, Frederick, 298
 Dow, Lorenzo, 44, 202, 203
 Dowling, John, 520, 745-749, 751, 752, 867, 868, 870, 872
 d'Oyly, George, 124
 Dragon, as pagan Rome (see also Rome, pagan), 111, 169, 205, 255, 262, 278, 287, 318, 341, 355, 363, 380, 728, 808, 1073, 1078, 1081, 1096, 1126, 1134, 1145
 Dragon, as papal Rome (see also Rome, papal), 196, 240, 247
 Dragon, as Satan, 282
 Dragon, binding of (see also Satan, binding of), 322, 323
 Dragon, great red (of Revelation 12), 77, 96, 111, 116, 135, 158, 188, 202, 222, 225, 241, 263, 735
 Duffield, George, 330-339, 603
 Duffield, Dr. John Thomas, 1185, 1187
 Duffield, Moses, letter to J. V. Himes, 331, 332
 Durgett collection, University of Chicago, 228
 Dutch Reformed, 27
 Earth, destruction of, at beginning of millennium, 335

- Earthquake (of Revelation 16), 112, 121, 129, 141, 142, 168, 181, 196, 222, 279, 312, 314, 341, 1039, 1125
- Earthquakes, 1007, 1008
- Eberhard of Salzburg, 208, 386
- Ecclesiastical trials, 32
- Edson, Elijah, 889, 890
- Edson, Hiram, 840, 845, 846, 877, 879, 881, 883, 884, 885, 889, 890, 892, 893, 900, 901, 956, 960, 961, 1022, 1023, 1027, 1038, 1046, 1081, 1228
- Education, early 1800's, 430, 432
- Edwards, Jonathan, 22, 47, 101, 153, 213, 387, 568
- 1844 movement (*see also* Millerite movement), 840, 841, 952
- 1843, 1844, or 1847, beginning of prophetic fulfillments, 381, 407
- climactic end of age, 265, 407
- 1844, crisis expected, 224, 225
- "Elder," definition of term, 87
- "Elder," use of term, 596
- Eleventh horn, *see* Little Horn
- "Elihu," 148
- Elizabeth of England, 18
- Elliot, E. B., 353
- Elsbree, Oliver W., 85, 86
- Emerson, Joseph, 173-176
- Emigration after Revolutionary War, 38
- Encyclopedists, 37
- End events, *see* Final events
- "Engines of destruction," invention of, 1011-1013
- England, 66, 67
- Episcopalians, 17, 43
- Ephrata Colony, 54, 55
- Erle Canal, 435, 598
- Eternal torment theory (*see also* Wicked punishment of), 185, 804, 807, 1031, 1033
- Euphrates, drying up of, 92, 96, 135, 160, 186, 199, 241, 248, 266, 271, 314, 321, 328, 342, 347, 353, 356, 419, 1136
- Eusebius, 798
- Evangelical Adventists, 828, 836, 839, 843
- Expositors, our indebtedness to, 1148, 1149
- Faber, George Stanley, 91, 116, 129, 262
- his theory of creation, 371
- Fairhaven Temperance Society formed by Bates, 546
- Faith of Jesus, keeping of, 1157-1159
- Fallen star, believed to be Luther, 284
- believed to be Mohammed, 587
- Fanaticism (*see also* Disappointment, fanaticism following), 839, 984, 992, 993
- Farnham, Benjamin, 77-81
- Farnsworth, Cyrus, 945, 948, 949, 953
- Farnsworth, Delight, 945, 948
- Farnsworth, Wilham, 945, 949, 953
- Fasset, 833
- Fast day proclaimed by John Adams, 61, 62
- Fatalities on lines of travel, 1008, 1009
- Feasts, Jewish, 200
- Feast of Tabernacles, 525
- Feast of Unleavened Bread, 1245-1247
- Feet of iron and clay, *see* Image of Daniel 2
- Ferguson, James, 794
- Fifteen days (of Rev. 9:15), 363
- Fifth Monarchy Manifesto, 912
- Fifth Monarchy Men, 386, 907
- Final events, 80, 81, 349, 381, 416, 423, 424, 471, 504, 580, 590, 1041, 1089, 1180, 1181
- Final movements, speed in, 1010
- Finney, Charles G., 41, 46, 541, 601-605
- Fitch, Charles, 508, 510, 519, 528, 531, 533-545, 603, 715, 733, 783, 806, 814, 820, 829, 833
- designs "1843" prophetic chart, 538
- initiates call "out of Babylon," 543, 544
- Five months, or 150 yrs., 206, 319, 347, 355, 363, 678, 701, 735, 736, 1123
- Fleming, Lorenzo D., 523, 633, 634, 700, 701, 763, 833, 978
- Fleming, Robert, Jr., 64, 112, 113, 115
- Four beast-kingdoms of Daniel, 7 (*see also* Four kingdoms), 89, 136, 147, 167, 177, 231, 237, 254, 307, 354, 357, 362, 372, 512, 593, 725, 735, 744, 808, 1020, 1037, 1073, 1081, 1133, 1189, 1192
- Four kingdoms (*see also* Four beasts, Image of Daniel 2), 60, 65-67, 91, 97, 116, 118, 120, 122, 124, 127, 128, 135, 136, 139, 147, 161, 167, 173, 188, 192, 197, 202, 204, 206, 243, 244, 251, 259, 266, 280, 312, 313, 318, 324, 328, 335, 343, 352, 354, 360, 362, 379, 485, 571, 573, 640, 668, 708, 717, 725, 727, 728, 730, 782, 937, 1051, 1141, 1187, 1198
- Four horsemen, 1122, 1123
- Fourth beast-kingdom of Daniel 7, 119, 148, 151, 174, 182, 197, 237, 238, 262, 283, 315, 331, 368
- Fourth kingdom, 135, 167, 206, 283, 328, 335, 673, 837, 867, 1201
- Fourierist phalanxes, 55
- Four powers (*see also* Four beast kingdoms of Daniel 7 and Image of Daniel 2), 744
- Fox sisters, 1001
- "F. P." (Francis Parkman), 750
- France, 59, 67, 74, 80, 112, 113, 116, 121, 129, 139, 159, 162, 168, 186, 1077
- as toes of image of Daniel 2, 69
- France's role in overthrow of pope, 59, 62-65
- Franklin, Benjamin, 25
- Fraser, Alexander, 768
- Freedom in United States, 165
- Freedom of conscience, 17
- Freedom of speech in early 1800's, 432
- Frelinghuysen, 22
- French, Calvin, 729, 730, 806
- French Empire, 186, 190
- French infidelity, 27
- French Revolution, 60, 67, 71, 73, 78, 96, 108, 110, 111, 113, 115, 121, 129, 141, 142, 144, 152, 155, 160, 166, 170, 177, 185-187, 191, 193, 206-208, 222, 225, 266, 267, 279, 314, 319, 340, 363, 388, 398, 402, 668, 1201, 1242
- French skepticism, 639
- Frontier, U.S., religion on, 38
- Frost, Dr. Adoniram J., 1188, 1192
- Fruitland colony, 55
- Fuller, Elder, 487, 488, 506
- Fulton, Robert, 435
- Fundamentalists, 408
- Futurism, 387, 420, 421, 423-425, 1196, 1197, 1220, 1221, 1223, 1227
- and pretribulationism, 1225
- Futurist counterinterpretation, 420, 1195
- Futurists, 384, 416
- Galusha, Deacon T., 610
- Galusha, Elon, 526, 540, 544, 651, 676-680, 833, 838
- Gage, William C., 1127-1130
- Gap theory of 70 weeks, 421, 1221, 1224, 1225
- Garcia, Don Manuel José, 930
- Garrison, W. E., 25
- Garrison, William Lloyd, 551
- Gates, J. R., 526
- Gausson, Prof. Louis, 265
- Gay, 775
- General Assembly (Presbyterian), 1804; 213, 214

- General Conferences (Millerite). 444, 448,
521, 532, 555, 557, 614, 642
first, Boston, Sept. 18, 1840. 547, 559-565,
701, 702
second, Lowell, 583-595
third, Portland, 595, 596
fourth, (New York), 601-606
fifth, Low Hampton (N.Y.). 507, 606-608.
615
seventh, Dover, 609
eighth, Pomfret, 609
ninth, Sandy Hill, 609, 615
tenth, Colchester, 610
eleventh, New York City, 611
twelfth, Boston, 638, 615, 617-620, 734
last, Boston, 619, 620
General Sabbath School Association, 1132
"Generation" (Matt. 24), 580
Generic and Vandals (*see also* Seven trum-
pets), 111, 189, 195, 225, 319, 363
Gentiles, conversion of, 101
Gentiles, times of (*see also* Prophetic time
periods), 357, 1187, 1189
German Reformed, 27
and camp meetings, 43
"German Union" secret society, 186, 187
Gill, John, 111
Goat (Daniel 8), 91, 218, 231, 355, 362, 372,
735, 747, 809, 870, 1073, 1081, 1115, 1120,
1133
Gobat, Bishop Samuel, 271
Goddess of Reason, 160
Godhead, 1116, 1157
Gog and Magog, 106, 136, 185, 203, 291, 1089
Goodwin, Dr. E. P., 1188
Gordon, Adoniram Judson, 1180, 1183, 1187,
1189, 1190
Gorgas, Dr. C. R., 984
fanaticism of (*see also* Fanaticism), 642
Gorton, Benjamin, 291, 292
Gospel to all the world, 200, 221, 236
Goths, 114, 189, 191, 283
Government of Christ fulfilled in the United
States, 182
Grant, Miles, 1130
Great Apostasy, 126, 272
Great Revival, in America, 36, 46-49, 83, 134,
157, 160, 161, 413, 431, 433, 434, 439
and camp meetings, 36-46
preceded by spiritual ebb, 36
results of, 39, 40
in Yale, 155, 156
Greeley, Horace, 745, 775
Grew, Deacon Henry, 805
Griffin, Edward D., 105-107
Grove meetings, 596, 597
Guilford, Irving, 483
Guinness, Dr. Henry Grattan, 1186, 1190,
1191, 1194-1203
Gunner, Frederick, 716-718
Gurney, H. S., 548, 957, 1022
Hahn, Franklin B., 846, 877, 885, 891-893,
900, 901, 1228
Haines, Mrs. Elizabeth, 979
Hale, Apollos, 523, 538, 611, 612, 637, 638,
645, 733, 767, 796, 814, 821, 833, 888, 1101
Hales, William, 408, 800
"Halfway Covenant," 21
Hall, Gordon, 40
Hall, James Madison M., 956
Hamilton, Floyd, 412, 413, 423, 424
Harlot, *see* Woman of Revelation 17 and 18
Harmon, Ellen Gould (*see also* White, Ellen
Gould), 845, 846, 959, 997, 1022, 1059
Haskell, Stephen N., 1107, 1108.
Hawley, Silas, 547, 670-676
Hay, Major William, 213
Haystack Praying Meeting, 40
Haywood, John, 176-178
Hazen, 867
Heaven, 112, 193, 374
Hebrew vs. Septuagint chronology, 371
Hebrews 8 and 9, 886
Hedding, Bishop, 775, 776
He Laime Basileia (*see also* 666), 256
Hegira, 210
Henry, Matthew, 116, 118, 119, 125, 126
Hendryx, Truman, 477
Henshaw, John P. K., 345, 346
Hervey, N., 708, 709
Hewitt, David, 963
Higgins, 775
Himes, Joshua V., 510, 519, 523, 526, 528,
537, 547, 549-554, 559-561, 605, 606, 611,
655, 657, 700, 739, 754, 772, 773, 783, 796,
802, 803, 814, 831, 833, 838, 840, 1068,
1111
charges against, 820, 857
letter to, from J. P. Weetsee, 376
publishing work of, 552-554
Hindering power (2 Thess. 2), 280, 380
Hinton, Isaac Taylor, 353, 753, 769, 869, 870
Hippolytus, 207, 1225
Historical School Interpretation, 120, 121, 353,
874, 1051, 1181, 1196, 1197
Historicism, 426
Historicist view of prophecy, 11, 124, 125, 173,
287, 330, 360, 415, 416, 421, 424, 864, 1185
Historicists, 425, 1227
Hodge, O. J., 541
Holt, George W., 1088, 1089, 1099
Holy Alliance, 203
Holy City, 388, 389
to be built at Jerusalem, 185
Holy people, 388, 389
Holy Spirit, 1221
Hopdale community, 55
Hopkins, Samuel, 568, 769, 775
Horn, notable, of goat of Dan. 8:5, 91, 120,
127, 141, 167, 193, 218, 245, 307, 379, 643,
673, 674, 731, 809, 870, 1096, 1115, 1120,
1133
Horn, eleventh (*see also* Little Horn), 174
Horne, Thomas Hartwell, 116, 128
Hotchkiss, 720
Houdini collection of Spiritualist documents,
1239
Hour, day, month, year (Rev. 9:15) (*see also*
391 or 396 yrs.), 177, 191, 284, 347, 356,
363, 588, 1123
Human betterment, 864
Hutchinson, Richard, 635-637, 814
Hymnody, 46-54
Hymns, camp meeting, 49, 50
gospel song type, 53, 54
literary, 52
of Great Revival, 46-52
revival, 50-52
Watts, 47
Wesleyan, 48, 52
Illuminati, 160
Image of Daniel 2, 136, 147, 203, 205, 313,
368, 572, 573, 719, 725-728, 735, 739, 808,
870, 1073, 1081, 1117, 1133, 1140, 1189,
1192
feet of iron and clay, 119, 120, 573, 574,
725, 735, 808, 1114, 1117, 1140
two legs of, 1087
smitten by stone, 315, 1192
Image of beast, *see* Beast, image of
Imbrie, Dr. Charles Kesselman, 1183
Immaculate conception, 928
Immortality of soul, 835, 1033, 1160

- conditional, 807, 814, 915, 1031, 1033, 1035, 1169
- innate, 805, 806, 1169
- Indians, believed to be the lost tribes of Israel, 270, 271
- Inquisition, 302, 359
- Irenaeus, 255
- Irving, Edward, 420-422
- Irvingism, 420, 422, 1222, 1226
- Isaiah 18, applied to New World, 203
- Israel, literal, 409
 - the church, 374, 425, 426
 - restoration of, 100, 106
- Itinerant preachers on U.S. frontier, 33
- "J.A.B." (*see also* John Aquila Brown), 210, 215, 218, 513
- Jacobinism, 64
- Jacobs, Enoch, 540, 833, 903
- James, John, 907
- Jarvis, 867, 870, 872
- Jefferson, Thomas, 181, 182
- Jenks, William, 118, 125, 126
- Jerome, 205, 207
- Jesuits, 86, 157, 187, 1200
- Jewish apocalyptic ideas in early church, 383, 384
 - calendation, 371, 640
 - Karaite (or Caraites), 796-800, 814, 822
 - Rabbinical, 796-798, 800, 822
 - ceremonies, type and antitype, 200, 795, 802, 813, 814, 863
 - civil year, 792
 - feast days, 1245-1247
 - sacred year 1843, 446, 525, 527, 557, 789, 792, 794, 797, 798, 803
 - year 1844 (*see also* Seventh-month movement), 446, 792, 797, 798
- Jews, conversion of, 74, 86, 113, 115, 183, 185, 193, 200, 222, 242, 243, 259, 320, 369, 374, 413, 419, 599, 1220-1222
 - dispersion of, 183
 - preconceived ideas of Messiah, 678
 - punishment of, 135, 191, 304
 - recovery of, 703
 - relation to millennium, 416, 417, 420, 426
 - restoration of, 101, 128, 168, 171, 200, 221, 270, 329, 346, 349, 369, 372, 373, 402, 409, 419, 588, 618, 630, 667, 678, 715, 716, 744, 765, 835, 864, 865, 938, 1220, 1221
 - return of, 78, 146, 149, 183, 201, 259, 264, 291, 321, 334, 335, 342, 357, 471, 586, 636, 637, 702, 752, 835, 1221, 1222
 - belief in, rejected, 376
 - not Biblical, 463
 - to have priority during thousand years, 369, 370
- Joachim of Floris, 206, 385, 386, 926
- Joachimites, 402
- John of Wyclif, 386
- Jonah and the preaching of specific time (*see also* Definite time), 862, 863
- Jones, Abner, 31, 184
- Jones, Sir Harold Spencer, 1217
- Jones, Henry, 520, 561, 567, 575-581, 608, 701
 - address at Second General Conference, 584-587
 - letters to Miller, 491, 492, 575
- Jones, I. E., 807
- Josephus, 308
- Journals, religious, 437
 - Millerite, 437
- Jubilee (*see also* Tenth day of seventh month), 272, 274, 678, 701, 723, 803, 860, 1229
- Jubilee of jubilees, 733
- Judgment, 60, 77, 100, 125, 126, 137, 148, 166, 172, 183-185, 188, 191, 193, 201, 208, 209, 223, 225, 239, 241, 243, 245, 246, 264, 275, 285, 329, 335, 342, 358, 364, 374, 376, 390, 411, 413, 479, 567, 580, 590, 591, 716, 808, 809, 867, 1030, 1134
 - day of, 700
 - executive, 1041
 - hour of, 1028, 1029, 1035
 - investigative, 1096, 1121, 1134
 - literal, 335
 - runs through millennium, 336
 - views on, 419
- Judgments, of God, 73, 198, 244
 - two, 214
- Judson, Adoniram, 40, 375
- Julian time, 371
- Junkin, George, 361-365
- Jurieu, Pierre, 112
- Justification by faith, 22
- Justinian, 114, 129, 141, 186, 196, 197, 266, 314, 335, 363, 808, 1076
 - code of, 115, 335
 - decree of, 356, 593, 594, 675, 1086, 1133
- Kellogg, S. H., 1183
- Kepler, Johann, 11
- Key to bottomless pit, 240
- King, Edward, 114
- King, George Albert, 1111
- King, John, 93-96
- King of East, 160, 187, 199, 222, 1077
- King of France, 180
- King of South, 72, 170, 171, 354, 365, 1077
- King of the North, 79, 135, 170, 171, 354, 365, 721, 1077, 1082, 1086, 1121
- Kingdom of God, 66, 180, 382, 383
 - applied to Catholic Church, 382, 383
 - applied to spiritual Israel, 384
- Kings, used to indicate kingdoms, 572
- Kinne, Aaron, 188, 190
- Kromminga, D. H., 384, 386, 417
- Krupp, A. J., 268
- Labagh, Isaac P., 327-329
- Lacunza, Manuel, 302-304, 391, 420, 923, 925, 926
 - defense of, 303
 - translated by Irving, 421
- Lacy, B. R., 41
- Ladd, Randolph E., 782, 783
- Lafayette, 36
- Lambert, J. C. 969
- Lamblike beast (*see also* Beasts of Revelation 13), 74, 75
- Lancaster, Joseph, 928
- Lancastrian Schools, 928-930
- Lane Theological Seminary, 228, 229
- Langdom, Samuel, 64
- Laodicea (*see also* Seven churches), 273, 1038, 1052, 1077, 1192
- Laodicean message, 580
- Last-day events (*see also* Final events), 411
- Last days (*see also* Time of end), 57, 407
 - nearness of, 97
- Lateinos, 79, 111, 112, 191, 197, 247, 256, 276, 281, 353, 364, 372
- Lathrop, Joseph, 69, 168-172
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott, 15, 26, 27, 83, 84
- Latter-day Saints, 288
- Latter rain, 1013
- Latter times, 91
- Law of God, 1090, 1228
 - and the gospel, relationship of, 1042
- Law, Mosaic, 1228
- Law of the full years, 787
- League of Nations, 1017
- Lee, Samuel, 420
- Lees, Dr. Frederick R., 807
- Left-wing churches, 25, 391

- eschatology in, 16
 Left-wing Protestantism vs. French infidelity, 27
 Legalism, danger of, 994
 Leonid meteors (*see also* Meteoric showers and Stars, falling of), 293, 294
 Letter of Conveyance, of Stonington Baptist Association, 86
 Lewis, John W., 705
 Lilhe, John, 770-772
 Lisbon earthquake, 53, 289
 Litch, Josiah, 509, 519-522, 524, 526, 527, 528, 537, 536, 537, 561, 562, 567, 585, 605, 607, 612-614, 637, 702, 711, 782, 796, 807, 814, 821, 831, 833, 838, 858, 1036, 1101, 1179
 addresses at Second General Conference, 587-595
 Literalism, 1222
 extremes of, 418
 Literalist interpretation, 365, 844, 864
 Literalist premillennialism, 412, 424
 Literalists, 374, 414-416, 418, 419, 421, 423, 424, 426, 835, 1220
 Lindsey, John, 605
 Linn, Dr. William, 60
 Little Book (*see also* Book, bitter, sweet, and Disappointment), 196, 1038
 Little Horn of Daniel (*see also* Eleventh horn), 7, 79, 89, 119, 122, 124, 173, 174, 182, 192, 205, 221, 231, 238, 239, 263, 266, 281, 287, 318, 328, 335, 336, 355, 357, 380, 387, 388, 479, 574, 593, 717, 724, 735, 744, 745, 750, 808, 913, 915, 919, 939, 957, 1078, 1081, 1115, 1120, 1133, 1134, 1141, 1142, 1156
 as Antiochus Epiphanes, 119, 123, 331, 420, 521, 748, 757, 869, 870, 1051
 as Mohammedanism, 189, 191, 279, 284, 312, 363, 372, 419, 519, 752
 as pagan Rome, 318, 1087
 as Papacy, 91, 92, 97, 116, 120, 128, 136, 137, 141, 167, 188, 206, 208, 255-257, 279, 362, 365, 372, 386, 485, 609, 668, 673-675, 700, 870, 937-939, 1029, 1037, 1073, 1076, 1077
 as pope, 265, 273, 280, 352
 as popes of Rome, 254
 beginning dates of, 97, 98
 destruction of, 335, 336, 463
 not Antiochus Epiphanes, 355, 360
 Livermore, Harriet, 269-275, 700
 Livingston, John Henry, 70-72
 Locusts (*see also* Five months), 279, 284, 310, 589
 Log College, 22
 Lollards, 15
 Longfellow's birthplace, 978
 Lord's supper, 1229
 Loud cry, 1013
 Loughborough, John Norton, 1106, 1107
 Louisiana Purchase, 275
 Ludovice, 187
 Ludovicus, 112
 Lummis, Henry, 1183, 1188, 1189
 Lustral water, 256
 Luther, Martin, 46
 Lutherans, 16
 and camp meetings, 43
 Lyon, Matthew, 456
 Mackey, Dr. W. P., 1185
 Macomber, 815
 Maine Methodist Conference, condemns Miller's views, 978
 Maitland, Samuel Roffey, 408, 420
 Man, his state in death, 805
 Man of sin, 94, 122, 124, 126, 128, 168, 171, 183, 197, 199, 200, 220, 247, 260, 264, 273, 277, 279, 280, 344, 347, 349, 353, 359, 360, 369, 377, 380, 530, 569, 574, 581, 588, 594, 667, 873, 916, 1037, 1064, 1190
 Mann, Horace, 430
 Manning, Cardinal, 1190
 Mant, Richard, 124
 Maometis, 372
 March, Edmund, 291
 Mark of beast, *see* Beast, mark of
 Marsh, Joseph, 634, 635, 700, 703-705, 833, 838, 901, 903
 Mary, of England, 18
 Mason, Archibald, 215, 938
 Mason, John M., 70
 Massachusetts for the Suppression of Intemperance, 441
 Master chart, 403-410
 Matthew 24 (*see also* Christ, His prophecy), 231, 232, 679, 1241-1244
 Mattison, Elder, 507
 McCorkle, Samuel E., 62-65, 213
 McCorkle, Samuel M., 215, 237, 260, 261, 1099
 Mead, Stephen Newell, 1101
 Mede, Joseph, 568, 723, 874, 1224
 Menonites, 16, 17, 918
 Mesmerism, or hypnotism, 985
 Messiah, cutting off of, 243
 Messianic prophecies (*see also* Christ, prophecies of), 383
 Metallic image of Daniel 2 (*see also* Image of Daniel 2), 205, 572
 Meteoric shower of November 13, 1833, 145, 146, 569, 586, 1210, 1211, 1218-1220
 recorded by Indians, 295-297
 seen in Mexico by De Rozas, 308-310
 Meteoric showers, 1210-1220
 herald of advent, 289, 300
 table of, 1217
 Meteors, 290, 1211, 1212
 Methodism, 29, 32, 50, 438, 439, 511
 Methodists (*see also* Camp meetings), 17, 27, 39, 43-46
 Mexia, Francisco Hermogenes Ramos, *see* Ramos Mexia, Francisco Hermogenes
 Michael (*see also* Christ), 246, 581
 standing up of, 100, 192
 Micklewood, Edmund, 715, 716
 Midnight, 818
 Midnight cry (*see also* Advent, second, and Christ, coming of), 609, 610, 617, 785, 815-820, 829, 830, 894, 895, 981-983
 nature of, fulfillment, 841
 yet future, 830, 839
 "Midst of week" (*see also* Christ, crucifixion of), 306, 408, 525
 Millard, David, 700
 Millennium, 59, 80, 85, 100, 103, 111-113, 120, 122, 123, 127, 132, 135, 136, 138, 157, 161, 163, 173, 174, 184, 185, 187, 188, 190-195, 200, 203, 205, 207, 216, 221-223, 225, 232, 236, 239, 240-242, 244-246, 250-261, 274, 286, 289, 320, 321, 328, 342, 348, 349, 363, 367, 376-378, 401, 407, 409, 417, 468, 471, 472, 563-565, 569, 573, 580, 586, 588, 589, 594, 618, 700, 745, 752, 865, 1041, 1097, 1102, 1122, 1126, 1136, 1145, 1146, 1183, 1222
 Augustinian theory of, *see* Augustinian theory
 beginning of, 73, 163, 260, 342, 372, 373, 379
 Catholic theory of, 68
 conditions during, 175, 176

- conflict over, 411
 figurative, 136, 358
 gradual, 163
 imminent, 320, 390
 in Great Awakening, 23
 length of time of, 240, 342, 358
 nature of, 385, 864
 personal and literal, 356
 spiritual, 352, 588
 Whithyan postmillennial theory of (*see also* Whithyan postmillennial theory), 327, 351
 spiritualized, 176, 352, 384, 385, 1220
 temporal, 463, 471, 521, 648, 667, 678, 1017, 1018, 1151
 theories of, 264, 327, 328, 412
 time expected, 106, 107, 258, 382, 388, 403, 530, 781, 782
 Millennial expectancy. and revivals, 46
 in colleges, 46
 history of, 373
 Millennial kingdom, 374, 416, 423
 Millennial views, in America, 426
 in Britain, 425, 426
 Miller, William, 264, 265, 311, 334, 335, 366, 403, 406, 409, 410, 412, 443, 444, 455-474, 476-478, 487, 488, 501, 522, 526, 537, 556, 561, 567, 646, 658, 660, 661, 665, 666, 670, 677, 702, 703, 739-744, 765, 788, 803, 807, 814, 821, 831, 868, 875, 951, 955, 978, 1029, 1071, 1101
 accusations against, 762
 after Disappointment, 828, 829
 and Deism, 456, 457, 461, 474
 and 1843 date, 415, 789-795
 and 1843 to 1844 change, 819, 820
 and 33 to 31 crucifixion date change, 819, 820
 certified to preach (1835), 500-502
 chairman of Fifth conference, and speaker, 607
 chairman of Eighth General Conference, 609
 compared to John Knox, 485
 criticism of, 477, 478
 first church closed against him, 762
 in Philadelphia, 612, 613
 leadership of conferences, 556
 licensed to preach (1833), 492, 494, 496, 497, 504, 519
 on autumnal types, 802
 on prophecies, 462-465, 473, 474
 on ten virgins, 694-697
 on time setting, 857
 on 2300 days, 480, 690
 on 1260 years, 691, 692
 on year-day principle, 690
 reprints from book, 514-517
 reviews evidences and resolves objections, 474, 475
 Miller, William F., 186-188
 Millerism, after Disappointment, 856
 based on prophecy, 452
 "Come out of her, my people," call, 772, 773
 controversies in, after October 22, 786
 development of, 447-452
 "1844" phase of, 445-447
 "1843" phase of, 445-447
 forbidden in churches, 775-778
 fringe movements of, 445
 opposition to, 449
 resumption of arrested Reformation, 9, 10
 world-wide scope of, 711, 712
 Millerite, beliefs, upheld by critics, 869, 870
 camp meetings (*see also* Camp meetings), 810, 892
 charts, 775
 conferences (*see also* Conferences, Millerite), 875
 "Declaration of Principles," 620
 definition of, 9
 expansion in 1842 and 1843, 523-527
 leaders, 452-454
 meetings, 521-524, 526
 publications, 621-630, 709-711
 chart showing, 624, 625
 circulation of, 628, 635, 636
 Movement (*see also* General Conferences, Millerite), 10, 981-984
 aftermath of, 10
 breaks from churches, 559, 788, 789
 controversies in, after October 22, 786
 "1844" phase (*see also* Seventh-month movement), 784, 785, 788
 "1843" phase (*see also* Jewish year 1843), 517-527, 784, 785, 788, 789, 792, 797, 798
 "1843" to "1844" shift over, 452, 453, 813
 in Great Britain, 713-718
 intrad denominational, 450, 451
 publications, 627, 628
 supporting clergymen, 686, 699
 Millerites, 270, 331, 354, 356, 371, 374, 381, 391, 426, 522, 612-620, 761, 764, 765
 after Disappointment, 1162, 1163
 attacks on, 738-760
 by publications, 745-749, 766
 cartoons of, 738, 739, 757-760
 churches closed to, 327, 765, 770, 772-775, 978, 1035
 definite time believed to be a mistake, 871
 disturbance of meetings, 824
 error in nature of event expected, 887, 894, 901
 number of, 686
 opposition to, 765, 857, 866-868
 satirical play about, 760
 shift-over in belief from 1843 to 1844, 669, 795-797
 songs of, 53
 stand on premillennial advent, 873-875
 Miller's, assistants, 444
 addresses at Third Conference, 596
 appearance, 687, 688
 certificate of endorsement, 681
 conversion, 461
 conviction to preach, 476-478, 482
 earlier time calculations, 792-795
 faith in advent, 858, 859
 first ministerial converts, 506-508
 first sermon, 446, 482-487
 first sermon compared to Eberhard and Knox, 485
 four-year restudy of Bible, 465
 letter from Whiting, 642
 letters to Truman Hendryx, 487-495, 504-509
 literary efforts, 512, 514, 519
 manner of study, 462, 468
 power in the pulpit, 681-697
 preaching activities, 503-510, 518, 519, 610, 611, 533-634, 700, 701
 prophetic faith, 474
 "Rules of Interpretation," 469, 470
 study of time prophecies, 472, 473
 "Text Book," 478, 479, 495-498, 505
 Twenty Articles of Faith, 466-468
 two-year search of Bible, 461-464
 views, synopsis of, 732, 733
 Mills, Samuel J., 40
 Mill Yard Church, 912
 Milner, Dr. Thomas, 300
 Minor, Mrs. Clorinda S., 707
 Missionary Societies, 433, 695

- Mohammed, 355
and the Arabian army, 111
Mohammedanism, 60, 92, 100, 120, 126, 127, 141, 177, 187, 189, 191, 193, 284, 319, 347, 407
Mohammedans, 59, 60, 187, 188
and Saracens, 187, 225
Mormonism (*see also* Latter-day Saints), 288
Moody, Dwight L., 1186, 1188
Moon, darkening of (*see also* Dark day), 145, 183, 291, 704, 718
Moorehead, William G., 1191, 1192
Moorehouse, Henry, 1186
Moral reforms, early 1800's, 842
Moravians, 27
Moravian hymns, translated by John Wesley, 48
Morrill, M. T., 32
Morris, 867, 870
Morse, Jedediah, 69, 99-102
Morse, Samuel F. B., 102
Morton, J. W., 938
Most Holy, anointing of, 233, 378
Mother of harlots, *see* Woman of Revelation 17 and 18, 244, 313, 364
Mountain, 120, 124, 259, 284, 320
Mount Zion College, 212, 213
Mumford, Samuel, 907
Mumford, Stephen, 916
Munger, Hiram, 649, 650, 783
Music, instrumental, in church, 47
Mutual Conference of Adventists, *see* Albany Conference, 833
Mystery (*see also* Babylon, or Woman of Revelation 17 and 18), 150, 151
Mystery of God, 196
Mystery of iniquity (*see also* Mystery woman, Woman of Revelation 17 and 18), 94, 126, 139, 220, 278, 369, 384, 594
Mystery woman (*see also* Woman of Revelation 17 and 18), 281, 735

McCorkle, Samuel E., *see* M'Corkle, Samuel E.
McCorkle, Samuel M., *see* M'Corkle, Samuel M.
McCulla, William, 250
McFarland, Asa, 90-92, 147
McGee (or Magee), John, 39, 42
McGee (or Magee), William, 39, 42
McGready, James, 38, 42
McGregor, Rev. David, 374, 375
McKendree, William, 39

Napoleon Bonaparte, 75, 95, 96, 98, 140, 148, 151, 184, 187, 188, 192, 202, 222, 231, 252, 328, 402
Narses, 63
National Christian Spiritual Alliance, The, 1003
National Spiritualist Association, 1003
Nations, conversion of, 196
Nature of man, 806, 855, 1169
Nebuchadnezzar's dream of great image (*see also* Image of Daniel 2), 756
Needham, George C., 1186
Neology, influence on American thinking, 639, 640
Nero, 867
New Harmony colony, 55
New heavens and earth, 77, 112, 185, 329, 369, 411, 412
New Jerusalem (*see also* heaven), 112, 124, 185, 241, 260, 286, 569
New Light (Stoneites), 43
Newman, John Henry Cardinal, 420, 1190
Newton, B. W., 1223, 1225
Newton, Bishop Thomas, 60, 111, 162, 358, 874
Newton, Sir Isaac, 79, 874
New York City, growth of, 598-601
Nicholas of Cusa, 206
Nichol, F. D., 827, 842
Nichol, Otis, 956, 997, 1071-1077, 1101
Nicholson, Bishop William Rufus, 1180, 1183, 1188
Niebuhr, D. Reinhold, 1018
Notable horn, *see* Horn, notable
Northrop, H. B., 609
Nott, Eliphalet, 89, 90
Noyes, J. H., 754

Oakes, Rachel Delight, *see* Farnsworth, Rachel Delight
Oakes, Rachel (*see also* Preston, Rachel Oakes), 942, 949
Oberlin College, 522, 540, 543
October 22, 1844 (*see also* Tenth day of the seventh month), 784, 799, 800, 812, 819-821, 823, 825, 826, 829, 839, 855, 856, 894, 958, 983, 1039, 1041
Odoacer and Heruli, 111, 189, 283, 319
Ogden, Uzal, 59-62
O'Kelly, James, 31
"Old School"-*"New School"* split, 32
Old School View, 228, 601, 603
Old World Awakening, 10
Olivier, C. P., 1213, 1214
Oneida colony, 55
One hundred forty-four thousand, 958, 1039
Origen's perversion, 240, 352, 384, 572
Orrock, J. M., 1188
Otero, Friar racifico, 933
Othman, 587
Ottoman Turks, 79, 111, 171, 267, 271, 340, 347, 519
Outline prophecies (*see also* Four beasts, Image of Daniel 2, Seven churches, Seven trumpets), 58, 352-354, 382, 386, 463, 679, 787, 802, 1025, 1031, 1039
Oxford (or Tractarian) movement, 424
Owen, Robert, 34, 35, 250

Pacific Press, 999
Paine, Thomas, 27
Palmer, Elder Abel, 87
Palmer, Dr. W. C., 537
Papacy (*see also* Pope), 59, 62, 112, 113, 118, 121, 122, 124, 128, 130, 131, 139, 150, 152, 161, 163, 177, 199, 207, 209, 221, 266, 279, 280, 281, 347, 368, 369, 388, 390, 415, 718, 733, 752, 808, 809, 1073, 1075-1077, 1130, 1190, 1201-1203
and Mohammedanism, 1201
as abomination of desolation (*see also* Abomination of desolation), 277
as Antichrist (*see also* Antichrist), 341, 393, 665, 1200
as Babylon (*see also* Babylon and Papal Rome), 242, 277, 282, 393, 398, 1200
as Beast (*see also* Beast), 139, 341, 393
as Little Horn (*see also* Little Horn as Papacy), 91, 92, 180, 242, 282, 341
as Man of sin (*see also* Man of sin), 282, 393, 398
as mystery of iniquity (*see also* Mystery of iniquity), 277
as two-horned beast (*see also* Beast, two-horned), 180
as woman in scarlet of Revelation 17 and 18 (*see also* Woman of Revelation 17 and 18), 180, 242, 277, 282, 393, 398, 1200
destruction of, future and literal, 161, 162, 187, 335, 341, 373, 407

- image of paganism, 149, 150
 overthrow of, 156, 184
 period of dominance, 1242, 1281
 predictions concerning, in literature, 278-281
 priesthood of, 1040
 removing seat of, to Jerusalem, 1115, 1116
 rise of, 186, 187
 titles of, 256
 wounding of, by France, 62, 68, 78, 113, 114, 150, 151, 157, 187, 380
- Papal infallibility, 1197
 Papal inquisition, 340
 Papal persecutions, 279
 Parable of virgins, 829
 Parkman, Francis ("F.P."), 750
 Parenthesis theory (*see also* Gap theory), 1224
 Parsons, Henry M., 1183
 Passover, 525, 787, 1245-1247
 Passover, Friday, 800
 Paxon, Steven, 432
 Pearson, John, Jr., 839
 Peebles, Dr. J. M., 1239
 Pentateuch, authorship of, 1191
 Pentecost, Day of, 378, 525, 787, 1245-1247
 Pentecost, George F., 1179
 Pepin, 93, 122, 187, 221, 380
 "Peregrinus," 135, 136
 Periodicals in prophetic discussion, 134-152
 Peters, Absalom, 431
 Petri, Johann, 144, 209, 210, 402, 518
 "Philo" (*see also* Whiting, Nathan[iel] N.), 640
 Phocas, Emperor, 80, 129, 142, 174, 270, 335, 347, 363, 744
 decree of, 530, 675
 Pickering, Henry J., 297, 298
 Pierce, Stephen, 1046
 Pilsbury, W. H., 774, 776
 Pinney, E. R., 892
 "Plan of Union" of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, 32, 228
 Plan of salvation, two centers of, 11
 Platt, Honorable Jonas, 325
 Platts, Lewis A., 917, 918
 Plummer, Henry, 700
 Plymouth Brethren, 408, 844, 1196, 1223, 1226
 Political liberty, early 1800's, 432
 Polley, Elder, 1058
 Pollok, Robert, 130-133
 Pond, 872
 Pontifex Maximus, 256
 Pope, 173, 377
 as Antichrist, 420 (*see also* Antichrist, equated with Papacy)
 as beast (*see also* Beast), 69
 as little horn (*see also* Little horn), 265
 as Vicar of Christ, 68, 69
 as whore (*see also* Woman of Revelation 17 and 18), 69
 declared head of church by Justinian, 335, 340
 God's mouthpiece, 969
 infallibility of, 969
 rule of, in Christian church, 60
 Pope Pius VI, captivity of, 62, 63, 73, 86, 94, 96, 114, 208, 377, 525, 731, 1126, 1133, 1142
 treatment of, likened to Christ, 68
 Popes, strife over title of Universal Bishop, 238
 Population of United States, growth of, 84
 Porphyry, 420
 Postmillennial advent, 358
 Postmillennial theory (*see also* Whithyanism), 387, 412, 716, 1220
 Postmillennialism, 89, 90, 118, 121, 126, 129, 173, 176, 193, 207, 223, 242, 264, 331, 342, 357, 373, 387, 388, 413, 414, 477, 586, 673, 861, 864
 allied with modernism, 414, 417
 an error, 331, 332
 British commentaries on, 413
 in America, 391, 392
 of recent origin, 333
 points in common with Premillennialism, 415
 Postmillennialists, 390, 403
 Post-tribulationism, 425, 426
 Post-tribulationists, 1221
 Powerscourt Castle Conferences (*see also* Conferences, Powerscourt), 422, 423, 1223, 1224
 Prayer meetings, midweek, outgrowth of Great Revival, 41
 Preble, Thomas M., 904, 942, 947, 949, 951, 952, 955
 "precise time" of advent (*see also* "Definite time"), 778
 Predictions of Literalists, failure of, 419
 Premillennial advent, 327, 412, 1185
 Premillennial expositors, religious affiliations of, 1185
 Premillennial Futurism, 1222
 Premillennialism, 118, 124-126, 176, 207, 237, 243, 278, 291, 327, 328, 349, 350, 375, 376, 384, 385, 390, 412, 414, 416, 417, 547, 561, 562, 579, 703, 716, 765, 774, 775, 835, 861, 866, 867, 873, 1039, 1040, 1079, 1089, 1104, 1178, 1180, 1181, 1187, 1188, 1192, 1200, 1220, 1221
 adopted by Protestant Historicists, 387
 belief of early church fathers, 333, 351, 352
 believed by Adventists, 1226, 1227
 breakdown of, 411
 causes proscription of ministers and members, 770-772
 defenders of, 350-365
 history of, 1184, 1185
 persistence of, 11, 1177, 1178
 points in common with Postmillennialism, 415
 resurgent in America, 402
 revival of, 1184
 strong in early church, 383
 supernaturalistic, 424
 Premillennialist views, modern, 1221, 1222
 Premillennialists, 390
 accept pretribulation rapture, 423
 American, 1226, 1227
 Presbyterians, 17, 27, 97, 230
 and camp meetings, 39, 42-44
 Free, 601, 602
 growth during Great Revival, 45, 46
 Independent, 214
 "New Side", "Old Side" Division, 23
 Southern, 214
 Presbyterianism, 32, 103, 438
 Preston, Rachel Oakes (*see also* Oakes, Rachel), 945, 947-949, 951, 960
 Preterism, 378, 416, 420, 750, 751, 1180, 1196, 1197, 1220
 Pretribulationism, 421, 422, 425, 426
 Pretribulation-rapture theory, 423, 1223, 1224
 Prideaux, Humphrey, 116, 122, 127, 128, 318
 Priestley, Joseph, 29, 117
 Priests, 256
 Probation, 618, 1041
 Probation, close, 411, 591, 592, 831, 1121, 1136
 divergent views on, 409
 Prophetic time periods, 337, 338
 one week, or seven years, 217, 233
 3½ times, 105, 305, 307, 372, 387-389, 593, 1120, 1142, 1190

- 7 times of Gentiles, 271, 272, 304, 305, 337, 365, 368, 370, 408, 473, 567, 637, 678, 701, 727, 728, 731, 733, 735, 860, 1073, 1074, 1199
 7 weeks or 49 years, 217, 233, 252
 42 months, 196, 255, 266, 287, 388, 389, 1126
 62 weeks, 216, 233, 252
 70th week, 407, 408, 798, 1224, 1225
 not separated from 69 weeks, 408
 separated from 69 weeks, 1204
 70 weeks or 490 years, 100, 119, 121, 122, 127, 128, 135, 137, 167, 196, 205, 233, 243, 246, 252, 264, 265, 305, 311, 313, 314, 322, 343, 363, 385, 403, 518, 525, 572, 667, 678, 712, 722, 727, 732, 747, 749, 774, 786, 793, 794, 799, 800, 802, 803, 807, 867, 1037, 1038, 1063, 1081, 1096, 1115, 1133, 1142, 1166, 1190, 1198, 1199, 1201
 beginning of, 218, 233, 305, 318
 dating of, 252, 253, 267, 355, 377, 379, 380, 701, 860
 division of, 95, 216, 217
 end of, 217, 238, 341, 378, 403, 1029
 first part of 2300, 143, 253, 272, 360, 372, 378-390, 407, 518, 637, 640, 674, 675, 872, 873, 875, 876, 1029, 1038, 1073, 1081, 1121
 known by disciples, 1030
 not part of 2300, 355
 part of 2300, 209, 210, 216, 232
 391 or 396 years, 143, 206, 222, 247, 279, 319, 340, 373, 406, 408, 481, 678, 700, 701, 737, 1144, 1199
 490 years cut off for Jews, 218, 260, 372, 518
 666 years, 74, 268, 322, 341, 579, 580, 727-729, 737
 1260 year-days, 59, 72, 73, 77, 89, 91, 93, 95, 113, 114, 119, 120-122, 126, 129, 135, 139, 141, 142, 148, 163, 167, 168, 170-175, 177, 182, 186, 190, 192, 196, 197, 199, 206-209, 215, 216, 219, 222, 232, 234, 238, 242-245, 247, 254, 255, 266, 279, 281, 305, 307, 314, 318, 328, 337, 340, 353, 362, 363, 378, 381, 385, 386, 388-390, 406, 419, 420, 479, 480, 485, 530, 573, 593, 594, 606, 691, 692, 717, 727, 768, 809, 867, 870, 1029, 1037, 1051, 1062, 1073, 1075, 1076, 1078, 1081, 1084-1086, 1102, 1122, 1123, 1126, 1133, 1134, 1156, 1190, 1199-1201
 calculation of, 219
 dates of, 63-65, 72, 73, 77, 79, 93, 105, 107, 114, 115, 263, 266, 267, 287, 314, 319, 341, 353, 356, 363, 369, 371, 372, 388, 525, 530, 567, 609, 700, 701, 704, 708, 722, 728, 729, 733, 744, 1115
 1290 years, 105, 115, 119, 137, 163, 174, 177, 205, 206, 221, 222, 246, 262, 263, 306, 307, 328, 337, 381, 385, 406, 480, 489, 722, 870, 1038, 1073, 1074, 1085, 1122
 dates of, 77, 78, 106, 263, 341, 371, 372, 525, 701, 708, 709, 721, 728, 729, 733, 735
 1335 days, 74, 77, 105, 115, 119, 137, 163, 174, 177, 192, 193, 205, 206, 221, 222, 235, 236, 246, 262, 273, 322, 337, 353, 381, 385, 406, 722, 735, 744, 786, 787, 870, 1038, 1074, 1085, 1122
 dates of, 72, 73, 107, 341, 356, 371, 373, 419, 473, 525, 667, 678, 701, 728, 729, 733, 1085
 2200 years, 142
 2300 year-days, 77, 94-96, 115, 120, 122, 124, 128, 129, 135, 137, 141, 143, 193, 205-208, 211, 216, 230, 235, 236, 238, 243, 244, 252, 253, 260, 263, 265, 267, 305, 311, 313, 336, 337, 355, 356, 360, 378, 383, 385, 390, 407, 408, 410, 415, 418, 420, 479, 480, 485, 518, 519, 567, 572, 606, 610, 667, 690, 716, 717, 744, 748, 749, 765, 792-794, 799, 800, 802, 809, 818, 829, 841, 869, 870, 889, 940, 983, 1029, 1030, 1035, 1037, 1073, 1080, 1081, 1085, 1090, 1096, 1115, 1121, 1133, 1142, 1155, 1162, 1166, 1199, 1201, 1232
 after disappointment, 832, 833
 begin synchronously with 490 years, 567
 calculation of dates, 218-220, 233, 234, 721
 dating of, 143, 208, 210, 218, 219, 232, 238, 243, 263, 264, 268, 272, 391, 306, 308, 311, 314-316, 322, 324, 341, 360, 371, 372, 377, 379, 380, 402, 403, 406, 408, 463, 473, 486, 489, 490, 513, 518, 567, 572, 637, 700, 722, 727, 732, 774, 789, 797, 798, 803, 807, 1051, 1063, 1096
 according to Davis, 210, 211
 according to "J.A.B.," 210, 211
 end of, 223, 315, 403, 480, 784, 802
 at cleansing of sanctuary, 341
 imminent, 400
 not set first by Miller, 409, 410
 time for some great event, 406
 expositors on, in Europe, 224
 in the United States, 224
 literal days, 420, 521, 703, 757, 867
 literal years, 744
 new emphasis on, 204
 new focal point of study, 402
 relationship to 70 weeks, 144, 215, 402, 408
 2300 and 1335 end together, 480, 787
 2300 vs. 2400 view, 418, 419
 2400 years, 142, 408, 418
 dates of, 143
 6,000-year theory, 265
 7,000-year theory, 1199
 time, times, and a half (*see also* 3 1/3 times), 77, 114, 132, 173
 36,000-year theory of creation, 371
 360,000 years from creation to advent, 223
 360,000 (or 365,000) years of millennium, 260, 264, 409, 412, 588
 Prophets, false, 970
 fanaticism among, 970
 in Bible, 965
 Prophecies and Antichrist, 93-96
 conditional, 996
 dating of, 406
 evidence of inspiration of Bible, 251
 fulfilled and unfulfilled, 344, 345, 393, 679
 increased light to shine upon, 1147
 literal interpretation of, 333
 mysticized, 382
 of Christ (*see also* Christ, prophecies of), 71
 of first and second advents (*see also* Advent), 315, 316, 320
 running to and fro in, 1209
 spiritualizing of, 320
 symbolic, 1199
 time, studied by Miller, 472, 473
 understood as they are fulfilled, 140
 understood near time of fulfillment, 259
 Prophecy, 110, 184, 194, 237, 266, 1034
 aids in separation from apostasy, 1169, 1171
 and creationism, 1168, 1169
 and infidelity, 28
 and spiritualism, 1169
 and the judgment, 1166, 1167
 and the Sabbath, 916, 1167
 American positions on, 390-403

- answer to Deism, 59
 associated in Bible with the law of God, 971
 astronomical angle of, 1200, 1201
 at turn of nineteenth century, 82-85
 Christ in, 1166
 chronology of, 567
 compared to an anchor, 64
 compared to guiding stars, 322, 323
 compared to a stereoscope, 1164
 "continuous historical" approach to, 386
 early church view of, foreshortened, 1199
 expounded by leaders, 153
 fulfillment of, emphasized, 179
 God's channel of communication, 967
 historical approach, 386, 387
 indifference to, fatal to Jews, 304
 in early nineteenth century, 85, 108
 in songs, 53, 54
 interpreters of, well trained, 226
 in Miller's first sermon, 486
 its place in Adventist faith, 1152, 1153
 its relation to salvation, 1165, 1166
 lost from church, 969, 970
 literal interpretation of, 325, 326, 513, 1188, 1189
 platform of Seventh-day Adventist faith, 1164, 1165
 resurgence in study at early 20th century, 389
 Second Adventist view of, 864, 865
 shift in emphasis of, at turn of 19th century, 207-210
 some deranged by study of, 332
 studied by all denominations, 392, 393
 studied by finest scholars, 354, 392, 410
 summary of application of, 205-207
 traced through history, 367
 unfulfilled, 1066, 1067
 value of, 139
- Prophet, false, 96, 200, 201, 261, 279, 328, 1136
 Prophetic chronology to end, 1843 to 1847, 338
 Prophetic conference of 1878 at New York, 178-185
 addresses of, 1183, 1184
 denominations represented, 1179
 professions represented, 1179
 report of, 1180-1185
 resolutions of, 1181, 1182
 Prophetic developments, 1870 onward, 1177-1185
 Prophetic events, dates of, 345
 Prophetic evidence refused by Jews, 667
 Prophetic gift, 1044-1047
 Biblical tests of, 971
 manifested in Ellen G. White, 972, 989-1019
 physical manifestations, 994
 prejudice against, 984
 reasons for it, 985
 restoration of it expected, 970-972
 tests of, 993-1019
 Prophetic interpretation of early church, 424
 ten divisions of, 1199
 Prophetic messages, methods of giving, 967-969
 Prophetic study, at end of 19th century, 56
 international aspect of, 301
 Prophetic symbols of, 333, 345
 Prophetic time periods, end of, 412, 803
 Prophetic years, 95
 Prophets, physical phenomena of, 968
 Protestant Episcopal church, 16, 22, 27
 "Protestant beast," *see* Second beast of Revelation 13, 1099
 Protestant Reformation (*see also* Reformation), 15, 16, 208, 284, 386
 Protestant sectarianism, 147
 "Protestant theory" (*see also* Postmillennialism), 414
 Protestantism, 244
 "Left Wing," 15, 16
 "Right Wing," 15, 16
 Prudden, Nehemiah, 139
 Publishing work discussed at fifth Sabbath Conference, 1023
 Publishing work, start of, 1025, 1026
 Purcell, Bishop, J. B., 34, 35, 250
 Purgatory, 256
 Puritans, 19, 21
 "Pushing" of ram of Daniel 8, 78
 "Pure church" ideal, 386, 391
- Quakers, 16, 17, 27
- Railroad, development of, 435
 Ram of Daniel 8, 91, 218, 231, 356, 362, 372, 735, 747, 809, 870, 1073, 1081, 1115, 1120, 1133
 Ramos Mexia, Francisco Hermogenes, 920-928, 931-936, 941, 942
 Ramos Mexia, Idelfonso, 931, 934
 Ramsey, Dr. William, 366-370
 Randall, John, 31
 Rappings (*see also* Spiritualism), 1001, 1002, 1090
 Rappites, 54, 55
 Rapture, 1203, 1223
 Pretribulation, 1224
 Redemption, 1043, 1228, 1229
 Reed, 820
 Reformed (Calvinistic), 16
 Reformation (*see also* Protestant Reformation), 60, 112, 135, 159, 182, 190, 191, 222, 240, 359, 1200, 1201
 Reformation movements in early 1800's, 439-441
 Refrains, in songs, 50
 Reid, Robert, 244-247
 Reign of Terror, 160
 Religion in America, government enforcement of, 182
 Religion on the frontier, 438
 Religion vs. infidelity, 317, 318
 Religious freedom, 319
 in America, 17-19, 25, 26, 219
 and Deism, 25
 in early 1800's, 843
 Religious developments in early 1800's, 440
 Religious revival on frontier, 439
 Remnant church, 1096, 1126
 characteristics of, 970, 971, 1045
 identified, 1047, 1048
 prophecy in, 1045
 Resurrection, 60, 77, 100, 125, 185, 193, 241, 273, 329, 334, 335, 358, 463, 471, 472, 513, 569, 571, 589, 729, 1098, 1121, 1221
 first, literal, 242, 328, 329, 351, 365, 376, 382, 701, 1196, 1200
 second, 191, 390, 580, 589, 590, 1096
 third, literal, 191
 figurative, 124, 358
 final, 264
 literal, 90, 241, 349, 374, 417, 468, 589, 590, 716, 782, 928, 1033, 1183
 of the saints, 246, 356, 357, 409
 progressive through millennium, 356, 357
 spiritual, 90, 176, 427, 744
 Resurrections, two, 1102, 1122, 1127, 1146, 1147
 Revelation, book of, excluded from canon, 272
 Revelation 2 and 3 (*see also* Seven churches), 111
 Revelation 6 (*see also* Seven seals), 86

- Revelation 7, 958
 Revelation 9, 35
 Revelation 10, 116, 191, 883
 Revelation 11, 22, 59, 65, 80, 96, 111, 119, 135
 Revelation 12, 116, 135, 169, 188, 192, 196, 341, 1045, 1078, 1096
 Revelation 13, 59, 69, 73-75, 93, 95, 97, 119, 124, 136, 207, 220, 318, 341, 380, 1061, 1062, 1075, 1088, 1097
 Revelation 14, 59, 91, 92, 112, 192, 197, 201, 207, 209, 341, 1061, 1062, 1085
 Revelation 16, 112, 159
 Revelation 17, 69, 93, 96, 98, 112, 121, 151, 161, 163, 241, 318, 342, 1076, 1079, 1134
 Revelation 18, 98, 106, 112, 241, 342, 1065
 Revelation 19, 112, 163
 Revelation 20, 112, 589, 1079, 1088, 1089
 Revelation 21 and 22, 112, 342
 Revivalism, *see* Great Revival and Camp meetings
 Rhode Island, 19, 20
 Rhodes, Samuel W., 1071, 1089
 Ribera, 1195, 1196
 Ricci, Clemente, 921, 924, 926, 935
 Rice, Luther, 40
 Rice, Olive Maria, 706
 Right-wing churches, 24, 391
 Righteousness by faith, 994
 Ritualism, 1190
 Roads, development of, in U.S., 434, 435
 Robertson, Th. R., 223, 232
 Robinson, D. I., 583, 763, 776
 Robinson, John D. D., 377-381, 407
 Rogers, Orrin, 325
 Rollin, Charles, 127
 Roman Catholicism, resurgence of, around 1834, 361
 Roman church as man of sin and son of perdition, 280
 Roman Empire, 72, 234
 fall of, 191, 716, 1201
 division of, 105, 352, 708, 939
 Romanism, 354
 diverting attempts of, 1190
 Rome, 66, 120, 126, 137, 174, 182, 251
 destruction of, 96, 187
 divisions of, 97, 485
 forms of government of, 63
 papal, 111, 112, 119, 148, 151, 187, 196, 250, 254
 pagan, 111, 119, 120, 191, 234, 241, 247, 255
 persecuting power, 39
 seat of beast, 113
 Romeyn, John E., 96-99
 Romith, 111, 197, 372
 Round Tabernacle (in Cleveland, Ohio), 544
 Rozas, Dr. José Maria Gutierrez de, 146, 501-511, 391
 Rules of Interpretation, by Miller, 512, 513
 "Running to and fro," 1065, 1209, 1210
 Russell, Philemon R., 699-702, 754
 Russia, 100
 Ryle, John Charles, 1180
 Sabbatarian Adventists (*see also* Seventh-day Adventists), 828, 840, 843, 846, 889, 949, 990, 1040
 platform of, 1049-1055
 reaffirm Millerite prophetic positions, 1037
 recapitulation of study, 1161-1164
 rise of, 941-963
 Sabbatarian Adventism, 905
 Sabbath, seventh-day, 840, 844, 846, 904, 905, 938, 941-963, 1022, 1025, 1031, 1085, 1090, 1162
 after Disappointment, 949, 953
 and the advent, 944-948
 and the law, 1022
 and prophecy, 916
 and the sanctuary, 958, 960, 1042
 as the seal of God (*see also* Seal of God), 958
 change of, 272, 273, 911, 913, 915, 916, 919, 920, 957, 1037, 1042, 1078, 1132
 in the New World, 907, 916-940
 in the Old World, 906-916, 918
 in prophecy, 957
 memorial of creation, 1044
 opposition to, 957
 Seventh Day Baptist presentation of, 957
 Sabbath Conferences, 846, 904, 1021-1047
 first, in Rocky Hill, Conn., 1021, 1022
 second, in Volney, N.Y., 1022, 1023
 third, in Port Gibson, N.Y., 1023
 fourth, in Rocky Hill, Conn., 1023
 fifth, in Topsham, Maine, 1023
 sixth, in Dorchester, Mass., 1021, 1023, 1025
 Sabbath Conferences assemble a system of truth, 1031, 1032
 studies of, 1030, 1031
 Sabbath school lessons, 1090
 by Uriah Smith, 1112
 by G. H. Bell, 1132
 Sabbath, typical, 1229
 Sabine, James, 610, 663-665
 Sacraments, 42
 Saints, triumph of, 60
 worship of, 60
 Saller, 919
 Salvation and astronomy compared, 11
 Sanctification, 535, 814
 Sanctuary, 809, 839, 844, 846, 959, 1025, 1071, 1073, 1082, 1142, 1228-1234
 as Christians or the Holy Land, 356
 as the church, 362, 567
 as the earth, 265
 as Palestine, 266, 360
 cast down by Rome, 1230, 1231
 daily services in, 896, 897, 1081
 Christ's ministry in, 1081
 Edson's views on, 881
 meaning of cleansing of, 419
 new light on cleansing of, 877-905
 pollution of, 229, 230, 246
 trodden underfoot, 77, 196, 355, 356, 1063, 1064
 two apartments of, 1073, 1229
 two phases of Christ's ministry there, 881, 904
 type and antitype, 1041, 1042, 1081
 yearly services in, 1081
 Sanctuary, cleansing of, 74, 77, 94, 115, 193, 216, 218, 223, 230-233, 235, 236, 238, 243, 251, 253, 265, 267, 301, 315, 324, 341, 362, 372, 378, 391, 400, 411, 415, 479, 519, 525, 567, 667, 704, 829, 875, 887, 891, 897, 1029, 1030, 1037, 1113, 1121, 1134, 1153-1157, 1159-1162, 1199, 1234
 as destruction of earth by fire, 485, 785
 dates of, 245, 246, 253
 Edson's views on, 840
 typical and antitypical, 1031, 1228
 Sanctuary to be cleansed in heaven, 883
 Sanctuary-Sabbath relationship, 1088
 Sanctuary service, 1112, 1113, 1133, 1134, 1229, 1231-1233
 prophetic types of, 1198, 1199
 typical and antitypical, 803, 889, 895-899
 Sanctuaries, two, 1101
 Sanctuaries, earthly, a shadow of the heavenly, 886, 897, 898
 San Francisco earthquake, 1004, 1005
 Saracens, 72, 79, 121, 284, 347
 Satan, binding of, 132, 200, 222, 225, 241, 271, 275, 283, 342, 365, 389, 370, 382,

- 390, 588, 589, 744, 1102, 1113, 1181, 1222, 1234
 counterfeit miracles of, 970
 deceives nations, 193
 fall of, 169, 185
 loosing of, 327, 342, 374, 423, 588, 590, 1137, 1222
 Scapegoat, 898-900, 1041, 1096, 1112, 1232-1234
 Schmucker, John George, 225
 Schwenkfeldians, 17
 Scofield, Dr. C. L., 1204
 Scott, 125, 126
 Scott, Dr. Robert, 317-323
 Scott, Thomas, 116, 118
 Scott, Walter, 34, 259
 Seal of God (*see also* Sabbath, seal of God), 958, 1085
 Sealing message, 1023
 Seat of Beast, 113
 Second Advent Association of New York, 762
 Second Advent Associations, 762, 764
 Second advent hope based on Bible prophecy.
 g
 central in Christian faith, 11
 Second Advent Library, 448, 584, 585, 639
 Second advent movement compared to Reformation, 10
 Secret rapture, 421
 Separation of church and state, 17, 20, 23-27, 156, 319
 Separatists, 18
 Pilgrims in Plymouth, 19
 Separatists of Zoar, 54, 55
 Septuagint, 25
 Seven ages of Christian Era, 282-286
 Seven angels (*see also* Seven trumpets), 196, 274, 940
 Seven churches, 11, 59, 206, 273, 311, 1038, 1052, 1072, 1083, 1103, 1107, 1122, 1144, 1192
 Seven heads of first beast (*see also* Beast, first, seven heads of), 148, 150, 158, 169, 197, 240, 262, 283, 287, 352-355, 364, 380, 1053, 1084, 1085, 1101, 1126, 1127
 Seven hills, 121
 Seven last plagues (*see also* Seven vials), 92, 95, 96, 1031, 1039, 1042, 1061, 1079, 1096, 1097, 1102, 1122, 1123, 1126, 1136, 1146
 first plague, 241
 sixth plague, 248, 700
 Seven seals, 59, 124, 129, 187, 189, 194, 205, 206, 225, 240, 242, 247, 261, 311, 340, 358, 363, 716, 752, 1038, 1103, 1122, 1134, 1135, 1144
 first to sixth, 191, 242
 sixth, 185, 289, 290, 293, 1038, 1123, 1144, 1218, 1242, 1243
 seventh, 191, 285, 592
 Seven seals, dates of, 723
 Seven thunders, 191
 Seven trumpets (Revelation 8), 59, 77-79, 124, 129, 177, 187, 189, 195, 200, 206, 225, 240, 247, 261, 274, 311, 340, 716, 728, 735, 1038, 1077, 1082, 1117, 1123, 1134
 dates of, 723, 724
 first to fourth, 111, 121, 191, 195, 247, 319, 340, 1123
 fifth (*see also* Woe, first), 111, 121, 142, 189, 191, 193, 225, 247, 279, 310, 319, 340, 347, 363, 587, 678, 722, 1038, 1123
 sixth (*see also* Woe, second, and 391 years), 111, 121, 126, 141, 142, 189, 191, 196, 225, 247, 279, 319, 340, 342, 356, 363, 373, 419, 489, 587, 588, 722, 1038, 1123, 1134, 1144, 1222
 dates of, 279, 481, 678
 seventh (*see also* Woe, third), 80, 111, 191, 196, 200, 285, 311, 319, 358, 363, 481, 569, 831, 1096, 1123
 dates of, 723
 Seven vials (*see also* Seven last plagues), 80, 86, 92, 95, 105, 129, 132, 136, 159, 162, 187-189, 190, 199, 207, 225, 239, 241, 242, 261, 262, 267, 311, 319, 341, 342, 351, 358, 401, 411, 569, 701, 752, 939, 1104
 first, 266, 319, 364, 373
 second, 241, 364
 third, 241, 328, 364
 fourth, 113, 328, 364
 fifth, 73, 113, 159, 190, 193, 222, 241, 319, 328, 342, 364
 sixth, 73, 156, 160, 188, 190, 191, 199, 222, 241, 267, 314, 319, 328, 342, 373, 481, 701, 939, 940, 1104
 seventh, 160, 188, 190, 191, 193, 199, 222, 267, 285, 311, 342, 358, 481
 Seven vials, dates of, 723
 future, 592
 now being poured out, 71
 Seventh-day Adventists (*see also* Sabbatarian Adventists), 828, 836
 first college, health institute, printing plant, missionary, 1060
 first missionary, 1060, 1094
 first Sabbath school lesson quarterly, 1068, 1069
 as Bible optimists, 1017
 called pessimists, 1017-1019
 educational society, 1131
 publishing work, 999, 1000, 1001
 1952 statistics of work, 1016
 prophecy the platform of the faith, 1165
 Seventh Day Baptists, *see* Baptists, Seventh Day
 Seventh-month movement (*see also* True Midnight Cry), 446, 449, 544, 630, 785, 787, 795, 803, 804, 807, 810-826, 829, 837, 838, 840, 856, 887, 952, 981, 983, 1026, 1027, 1082
 literature, distribution of, 821, 823, 824
 not readily accepted by Millerite leaders, 815
 repudiated, 876
 Shakers, 54, 55, 288
 Shannon, James, 376, 377
 "Shape-note" songbooks, 50
 Shaw, 775
 Shift of emphasis from Revelation 13 to 14, 209
 Shimeall, Richard Cunningham, 370-374
 Ships, destruction of, in World War I, 1007
 Shoemaker, Samuel S., 1018
 Shooting stars (*see also* Meteoric showers and Falling of the stars), 293
 Shut door, 835, 836, 838, 839, 841, 842
 controversy over, 829-833
 repudiated, 838
 views on, 830-833, 839, 840
 yet future, 830, 839
 Signs in heavens (*see also* Meteoric showers, Dark Day), 338
 Signs of end (*see also* Final events), 138, 586, 587
 Signs of the Times, 90, 241, 242, 266, 278, 308, 338, 348, 351, 352, 373, 580, 606, 700, 701, 703, 716-718, 785, 1090
 Signs, various, seen in the sky, 308
 "Signor Pastorini" (*see also* Walmsley, Charles), 282-286
 Simpson, David, 768
 Singing schools, 52
 Singing, history of, from time of Reformation, 46-54
 Sistine Chapel, 114

- Six hundred sixty-six (*see also* Beast, first, number of, also *He Latine Basileia, Latinos, Romiith, Ludovice or Ludovicus, Maometis, and Vicarius Filii Dei*), 79, 111, 187, 191, 197, 256, 277, 278, 281, 353, 364, 372, 1061, 1074, 1088, 1097, 1099, 1101-1104, 1126
- Six-thousand-year theory, 129, 258, 307, 322
- Skinner, H. B., 524
- Skinner, Otis A., 750
- Slavery question, 439, 529, 533, 551, 987
- Slumber time (*see also* Tarrying time), 449, 786
- Smith, 775
- Smith, Annie R., 1111
- Smith, Elias, 144, 145, 146, 151, 152, 179-185, 291, 769, 1099
- Smith, Ethan, 190-195, 517, 519, 752
- Smith, Rebecca Spalding, 1111
- Smith, Samuel B., 276
- Smith, Thomas, 778, 779
- Smith, Uriah, 999, 1038, 1052, 1053, 1068, 1080-1082, 1109-1127
- Smith, Mrs. Uriah, 961, 962
- Snow, Samuel Sheffield, 799, 801-804, 811, 812, 813, 814, 828, 839, 840, 888, 889
- Social meetings, 520, 565, 645
- Social experiments, 54, 55
- Social reforms, in newspapers, 437, 438
- Society of the Illuminati, 187
- Solar years, 95
- Son of perdition, 126, 277, 279, 574
- Southard, Nathaniel, 523, 632, 633, 796, 820
- South Lancaster Academy, 1132
- Spalding, Joshua, 290
- Specific time, preaching of (*see also* Definite time), 579, 862, 863
- Spirit manifestation, 367
- Spirit of prophecy (*see also* Prophetic gift), 844-846, 964-988, 1022, 1025, 1031, 1044-1047
and Bible study, 1046, 1047
compared to magnifying glass, 975
meaning of, 974, 975
no substitute for Bible study, 976
relationship to Bible, 972-974
- Spiritism, 938
- Spiritualism, 985, 1001-1003, 1035, 1136, 1190, 1237-1239
and prophecy, 1169
as a religion, 1238, 1239
- Spirituals, Negro (*see also* Hymns), 51, 52
- Starkweather, John, 984
- Stars, falling of (*see also* Meteoric showers), 290-300, 678, 704, 718, 1038, 1090, 1144, 1242
- State churches, in America, 18
in England, 180
right-wing group, 17
- Stennett, Joseph, 912
- Stevens, Cyprian, 961
- Stockman, Levi F., 77, 780-782, 978, 979
- Stoddard, Mrs. Lucy Maria Hersey, 706
- Stone, Barton W., 31, 34, 39, 42, 43
- Stone kingdom, 66, 67, 119, 122-124, 137, 147, 173, 194, 205, 285-285, 312, 314, 320, 342, 357, 360, 372, 573, 574, 679, 808, 1120, 1141, 1189, 1192, 1193
- Stonington Baptist Association meeting, 87
- Storrs, George, 523, 526, 543, 701, 801, 804-807, 808, 809, 817, 818, 822, 824, 829, 833, 838, 1033, 1119
- Stowell, Marian, 961, 1093
- Strout, 775
- Stuart, Professor Moses, 330, 360, 361, 373, 753, 864, 867, 868, 873
criticisms of, 868, 869, 873
- Successive date concept, 163
- Sulpicius Severus, 207
- Sunday schools, 431, 432
- Synod of Carolinas (Presbyterian), 213
- Tabernacle, 1112
- Tappan, Arthur, 600
- Tappan, Lewis, 602
- Tarrying time (*see also* Slumber time), 449, 786, 810, 818, 830, 831, 838, 861
- Taylor, Charles R., 302
- Temperance, 439, 442, 600, 987
- Temperance movement, 441, 442, 529, 577
- Temperance societies, 697, 969
- Ten Commandments, 917
- Ten days of persecution under seven churches, 1122
- Ten kingdoms (*see also* Image of Daniel 2, feet and toes of, and Fourth beast of Daniel 7), 60, 66, 168, 173, 202, 238, 250, 270, 280, 318, 319, 328, 335, 343, 352, 355, 717, 735, 870, 1037, 1114, 1189
- Tennent, 22
- Ten toes, *see* Image of Daniel 2, feet and toes of, 66, 137, 167, 173, 192, 283, 312, 573, 939, 940
- Ten horns, 148, 256, 1113, 1133
of Daniel, 66, 122, 128, 167, 188, 205, 207, 312, 318, 573, 574, 668, 673, 730, 870, 999, 1037, 1081, 1120
of Revelation, 80, 130, 158, 162, 169, 174, 184, 247, 278, 287, 364, 380, 731, 1053, 1097, 1101, 1126, 1127, 1135
- Ten virgins, parable of, 694-697, 816-818, 1022
- Two horns, *see* Beast, second, horns of
- Two hosts, 1101
- Tenth, day, of the seventh month (*see also* October 21/22, 1844), 446, 784, 787, 799, 800, 803, 812, 819-821, 829, 881, 1087, 1229
- Tenth, part of the city, 142, 168, 181, 196, 206, 285, 1039, 1123, 1145
- Testimony of Jesus (*see also* Spirit of prophecy), 845, 964, 970, 971, 1039
- Thayer, Father John, 62, 67-69
- 2 Thessalonians 2, 220, 594
- Thomas, Dr. John, 286
- Thomson, Diego, 929, 930
- Thousand years (*see also* Millennium), 590
- Three unclean spirits, 73, 74, 96, 160, 169, 170, 177, 186, 188, 190, 193, 323, 358, 364, 1097, 1103
- Theosophy, 1190
- Tichonian-Augustinian departure, 205
- Tillam, 919
- Tillinghast, 209, 402
- Time, equals a year, 205, 215, 216
end of, in 1843, 1844, or 1847, 375
foreshortened to early Christians, 386
Gregorian, 371
of end, 9, 57, 58, 163, 174, 267, 268, 293, 315, 388, 407, 729, 1029
description of, 291, 292
signs of, 101
of trouble, 100, 171, 246, 1121, 1241, 1242
prophecies, 1030
setting, 857
reproved by Ellen G. White, 985
- Times and laws, change of, 1096
- Times of Gentiles, *see* Prophetic periods, seven times of Gentiles
- Todd, James H., 408
- Tong, William, 119
- Towers, J. Thomas, 64
- Tractarians, *see* Oxford Movement, 420, 424
- Tract societies, 696
- Tracts, Millerite, 636, 637
- Transcendentalism, 54
- Transportation, early 1800's, 430

- improvement of, early 1800's, 432, 433
Transubstantiation, 927
 Trask, Dorothy, 907
 Trask, John, 907, 912
 Travel, difficulties in, predicted, 1009, 1010
 Tregelles, Samuel P., 422, 1223, 1225
 Trinitarian Congregationalism, 32
 Trinity, 702
 doctrine of, in Unitarianism, 29
 Triple crown, 60
 True Midnight Cry (*see also* Midnight cry and Seventh-month movement), 549, 817, 819, 829, 838, 841, 888
 future, 857
 Turkey (*see also* Mohammedanism), 73, 100, 105, 938, 940
 Turkish Empire, 200, 266
 Turkish period, 143, 199
 Turks, 78, 79, 121, 141, 149, 191, 193, 195, 222, 241, 344, 399, 400, 700
 Turner, Joseph, 839, 840, 888
 Two witnesses, 59, 73, 91, 99, 111, 113, 123, 129, 135, 168, 192, 195, 196, 199, 222, 239, 246, 247, 261, 263, 267, 318, 340, 341, 363, 389, 480, 481, 716, 717, 722, 733, 1039, 1107, 1123, 1145, 1222, 1224
 3½ days of (Revelation 11), 73, 91, 111, 129, 196, 222, 247, 283, 340, 341, 717, 722, 1123, 1222, 1224
 Tyng, Dr. Stephen H., Jr., 1179, 1180, 1182-1185
 Tyng, Dr. Stephen H., Sr., 342-345
 Types, autumnal, 1229, 1233
 Mosaic, 862, 886
 vernal, 1233
 Unclean spirits, *see* Three unclean spirits
 Unitarianism, 23, 29, 100, 102, 117, 118
 American, 29
 and Arianism, 30
 and Humanitarianism, 30
 English, 29
 Unitarians and Congregationalists, separation of, 29
 United Brethren (*Unita Fratrum*), 918
 United Nations, 1018
 United States, population of, 84, 429, 430
 refuge during pouring out of vials, 317
 Universal peace, 126
 Universalism, 30, 31
 Universalists, 30
 Ultra Dispensationalism, 1225
 Unknown tongues, 420, 422
 Ussher, 127
 Vandals, 191, 283
 Vatican Council of 1870, 1197
Vicarius Filii Dei, 112, 197, 372, 1097, 1102, 1126
 Voltaire, 37
 "Voice From Pennsylvania, A," 266
 Waggoner, Joseph Harvey, 1105, 1111
 Waldenses, 15, 348, 386
 Walmesley, Charles (*see also* "Signor Pastorini"), 282-286
 War, foretold by Ellen G. White, 1006
 Ward, Dr. Henry Dana, 264, 298, 520, 561, 562, 567-569, 569-576, 605, 608, 1179
 Wanamaker, John, 1179
 Washington, New Hampshire, 944-948, 956
 Water indicates peoples, 512, 513
 Waterways, development of, 434, 435
 Watts, Isaac, 47, 53
 Watts' hymns and the Great Awakening, 47, 52
 Wave sheaf, 787, 1245-1247
 Wearing out of saints, 89
 Weeks of years, 205, 867, 872
 Weetsee, Prof. J. P., 375, 376
 Wesley, Charles, 22
 Wesley, John, 22, 48, 49, 116, 279, 317
 Wesleys introduce evangelistic hymn, 48
 Wesleyan Conference of 1807 censures camp meetings, 44
 West, Dr. Nathaniel, 1180, 1184, 1185, 1187
 West, Elder, 509
 West, colonization of, 436
 transportation growth to, in early 1800's, 434-436
 Westcott, Brother, 506
 Western Health Institute, 1131
 Whately, Archbishop Richard, 807
 Wheat, Joseph, 89
 Wheeler, Charles, 375
 Wheeler, Frederick, 942, 945, 947, 948, 951
 Whitby, Daniel, 387
 Whitbyan postmillennial theory (*see also* Postmillennialism), 89, 90, 121, 265, 349-351, 562, 568, 569, 751, 864, 1049, 1180, 1184, 1196
 White, Ellen Gould Harmon (*see also* Harmon, Ellen Gould), 958, 973, 976-1016, 1046, 1234
 and 1848 Sabbath conferences, 1022, 1138
 and larger aspects of prophecy, 1138-1151
 fidelity to truth, 1149, 1150
 first vision of, 979
 fulfilled predictions of, 995-1016
 no major prophetic exposition received through, 1138
 published works of, 1235-1237
 revelations of, 981-983
 scope of writings of, 985, 986
 verbal inspiration not claimed, 989
 vision of publishing work, 1025
 writings on prophecy, 990, 991
 White, Ellen Gould Harmon
 on Daniel 2, 1140
 on Daniel 11 and 12, 1143
 on "old landmarks," 1031
 on Revelation 12, 1145
 on the corrupt woman of Revelation 17, 1146
 on the Godhead, 1139
 on the seven last plagues, 1146
 on the Little Horn, 1141, 1142
 on the millennium, 1146, 1147
 on the sealed book, 1143
 on the seven churches, 1144
 on the seven seals, 1144
 on the 70 weeks, 1142, 1143
 on the sixth trumpet, 1144
 on the stone kingdom, 1141
 on the tenth part of city, 1145
 on the three angels' messages, 1146
 on the time of the end, 1143
 on the 2300 days, 1142
 on the two beasts of Revelation 13, 1145, 1146
 on the two witnesses, 1145
 White, James and Ellen, 1027
 accept Sabbath, 947, 956, 1022
 White, James, 815, 833, 840, 846, 903, 904, 959, 972, 979, 997, 999, 1022, 1032, 1038-1040, 1044-1046, 1055, 1056-1069, 1079, 1088, 1101, 1111, 1156
 White, Mr. (Congregationalist), 807
 Whitefield, George, 22, 23, 47
 Whiting, Nathan(iel) N., 608, 624, 638-642, 678, 796, 821, 858
 Whittier, John Greenleaf, 733, 734
 description of a camp meeting, 648, 649
 Whore, *see* Woman of Revelation 17 and 18