

**SABBATH ADVENTISTS,
1844-1863**

by

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Important Ideas

The Pope is the little horn of **Daniel 7:25**, who has changed times and laws, and “all who keep the first day for the Sabbath are the pope’s Sunday keepers, and God’s Sabbath breakers” (**Thomas M. Preble**, 1845, in *Hope of Israel*).

“The news is that the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord our God” (**Joseph Bates**, 1845).

“From the time of the great disappointment in 1844 to 1846, a number of advent brethren in different states embraced the Sabbath” (**James White**, 1852).

“Here again was proof that some power over which she had no control was connected with the vision” (**J.N. Loughborough**, speaking of Ellen G. White’s 1858 vision).

“I do not believe in popery; neither do I believe in anarchy; but in Bible order, discipline, and government in the Church of God” (**Roswell F. Cottrell** in the *Review and Herald* of May 3, 1860).

“No name which we can take will be appropriate but that which accords with our profession, and expresses our faith, and marks us a peculiar people The name Seventh-Day Adventist carries the features of our faith in front, and will convict the inquiring mind . . . I was shown [in a vision] that almost every fanatic who has arisen, who wishes to hide his sentiments that he may lead away others, claims to belong to the Church of God. Such a name would at once excite suspicion; for it is employed to conceal the most absurd errors” (**Ellen G. White**, in her *Testimonies for the Church*, No. 6).

“We the undersigned hereby associate ourselves together as a church, taking the name Seventh-Day Adventists, covenanting to keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus Christ” (The **Michigan Seventh-Day Adventist Conference** church covenant, October 6, 1861).

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Rachel Oakes and the Sabbath

The roots of Sabbath-keepers today go back to the 1840's and a remarkable woman named Rachel Oakes. In fact, if it had not been for Rachel Oakes, you and I might not be keeping the Sabbath!

Before the Seventh Day Adventist and Church of God (7th Day) became organized churches in America, most Sabbath-keepers were known as Sabbatarian Baptists, or Seventh Day Baptists. One such staunch observer of God's Sabbath was Mrs. Rachel Oakes, a widow (who later became Mrs. Preston). In the winter of 1843 or early 1844, she visited Washington, New Hampshire. Rachel was a Seventh Day Baptist, having been a member of the church in Verona, New York, since 1837. She came to New Hampshire to visit her daughter, Rachel Delight, a schoolteacher in Washington.

While Mrs. Oakes was attending a Sunday morning communion service of Advent believers at the Christian Church, the minister called upon the hearers to "obey God and keep His commandments in all things." Mrs. Oakes told him afterwards that she had wanted to object and have him put back the cloth of the communion table until he was willing to keep all the commandments, including the fourth. Knowing she was a Seventh Day Baptist, he promised to study the Sabbath question.

The minister, Frederick Wheeler, a Methodist Adventist minister from Hillsboro (12 miles distant), accepted and began keeping the Sabbath along with several other Adventists, including William and Cyrus Farnsworth. It did not matter to Wheeler if a woman had corrected him. The Truth of the Bible was more important than his pride.

This was the first recorded group of Sabbath-keeping Adventists. They met in various homes until 1863, when the Christian Church passed into their hands. In 1844, Mrs. Oakes asked the Seventh Day Baptist church at Verona to remove her name from the rolls, but they refused to do so. For a time after the Disappointment (October 1844), she refused to accept the ministry of Elder James White and Mrs. White. It wasn't until the 1860's until the Seventh Day Adventists and Church of God became organized, but Rachel Oakes Preston had planted the seed of God's Sabbath that was to grow and spread around the world.

SABBATH ADVENTISTS, 1844-1863

Sabbath Discussion Among Adventists

In 1852 Adventist James White wrote that “from the time of the great disappointment in 1844 to 1846, a number of advent brethren in different states embraced the Sabbath.”¹ Who were these Sabbath-keepers and how did they come to accept the Sabbath?

One of these Sabbath-keeping Adventists was William E. Arnold of Rochester, New York. In 1844 he stated his Sabbath convictions to Elder Joseph Marsh, who thereupon studied the question but rejected the Sabbath as “Jewish.”² This Sabbath-keeping Arnold may have been the same Arnold who at Volney, New York, in August of 1848, disputed with Mrs. White and held to Passover observance once a year.³

By September of 1844, the Sabbath question had become a big issue, for it was discussed and rejected in a chief Adventist publication, *The Midnight Cry!* of which Joshua V. Himes was editor. The following excerpts show some of the arguments used:

Many persons have their minds deeply exercised respecting a supposed obligation to observe the seventh day . . . but 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 (September 5, 1844).

We love the seventh day brethren and sisters, but we think they are trying to mend the old broken Jewish yoke, and putting it on their necks (September 12, 1844).

Seventh Day Baptists were also joining the fray over the Sabbath question. Their paper, the *Sabbath Recorder*, had begun on June 13, 1844, as a weekly newspaper with news and religious articles. (It now being published monthly.) The first issue expressed pleasure that “considerable numbers” of those expecting the speedy return of Christ had embraced the Sabbath.⁴

In the issue of July 18, 1844, the *Recorder*

had a hard-hitting article quoting a Catholic sermon the previous Sunday in which the speaker said that it was “inexplicable to him, that Protestants should deny the authority of the church, and yet observe a day of her appointing to the neglect of one which the Scriptures pointed out. If, said he, the church’s authority to make such changes be not allowed, they ought surely to observe the seventh day.”⁵

Sabbath-Keepers in Washington, New Hampshire

Mrs. Rachel Oakes, a widow (later Mrs. Preston), came to Washington, New Hampshire, in the winter of 1843 or early 1844. She was a Seventh Day Baptist, having been a member of the church in Verona, New York, since 1837. She came to visit her daughter, Rachel Delight, a schoolteacher in Washington. While Mrs. Oakes was attending a Sunday morning communion service of Advent believers at the Christian Church, the minister called upon the hearers to “obey God and keep His commandments in all things.” Mrs. Oakes told him afterwards that she had wanted to object and have him put back the cloth of the communion table until he was willing to keep all the commandments, including the fourth. Knowing she was a Seventh Day Baptist, he promised to study the Sabbath question.

The minister, Frederick Wheeler, a Methodist and Adventist minister from Hillsboro (12 miles distant), accepted and began keeping the Sabbath along with several other Adventists, including William and Cyrus Farnsworth.⁶

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¹ Francis David Nichol, *The Midnight Cry* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1945), 460.

Oakes asked the Seventh Day Baptist church at Verona to remove her name from the rolls, but they refused to do so. For a time after the Disappointment (October 1844), she refused to accept the ministry of Elder James White and Mrs. White.

In January of 1851, Elder and Mrs. White, leading Sabbath Adventists, visited Washington and caused more there to embrace the Sabbath. On January 12-13, 1862, the group of Sabbath-keepers, now numbering fifteen, took the name "Seventh-Day Adventist" and organized a church.

Preble and Cook

Thomas M. Preble, an Adventist believer and Free Will Baptist minister of East Weare, New Hampshire, accepted the Sabbath in August of 1844, either directly through Mrs. Oakes or from Wheeler.⁷ Wheeler and Farnsworth lived near him.⁸

Preble wrote an article in defense of the Sabbath, which appeared in the Adventist paper *Hope of Israel* (published in Portland, Maine) on February 28, 1845. In it he stated that the Pope, as the little horn of **Daniel 7:25**, had changed times and laws and "all who keep the first day for the Sabbath are Pope's Sunday keepers, and God's Sabbath breakers."⁹

This essay brought the attention of the Adventists as a whole to the Sabbath question. Two years later, in 1847, Preble repudiated the Sabbath, but his article, later published as a tract called *The Hope of Israel*, was read by Joseph Bates, who had been a leading Adventist preacher since 1839. Preble's article directed Bates' attention to a Sabbath tract published by the Seventh Day Baptist Tract Society.

J.B. Cook, influential in the 1844 Adventist movement, in 1845-46 wrote articles advocating the Sabbath which were published in two Adventist papers, *The Day Dawn* and *The Day Star*; but after a year or two he also went back to Sunday keeping.¹⁰

Bates and Wheeler

After reading Preble's article in March of 1845, Bates heard about the Sabbath-keeping Adventists in Washington, New Hampshire. In May he traveled there and stayed with Wheeler, discussing the Sabbath all night. He left the next morning and, as he was crossed the bridge at New Bedford to reach his home

in Fairhaven, Massachusetts, a fellow Adventist asked him, "Captain Bates, what's the news?" Bates replied, "The news is that the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord our God."¹¹

Bates published a tract on May 8, 1846, called "The Opening Heavens," which refers to the Sabbath. His lengthy 48-page tract of August 1846, "The Seventh Day Sabbath a Perpetual Sign," interprets the "Third Angel's Message" as a command to observe the Sabbath. Page 32 of the tract stresses his belief that the Sabbath should be observed from 6:00 PM Friday to 6:00 PM Saturday. A later tract, "A Seal of the Living God," published in January of 1849, states that the "seal in the forehead" of the 144,000 of **Revelation 7** is Sabbath-keeping.¹²

Sabbath and Sanctuary

When Christ did not come on October 22, 1844, as the Millerites had predicted, an explanation for the failure had to be produced.

On the night of the "Great Disappointment," Hiram Edson, a Millerite leader of Port Gibson, New York, saw a vision of Christ in heaven entering the "second apartment" of the heavenly sanctuary. It was clear — to Edson — that the vision meant that Christ had divine work to do in the most holy place of the sanctuary in heaven before coming again to the earth. According to this interpretation, October 22, 1844, was the date that Christ entered the "holy of holies" in heaven, to fulfill the second phase of His ministry as High Priest. The date was not wrong, Edson believed, but the Millerite interpretation of the date was in error. Thus October 22, 1844, was not, as Adventists had been taught, the date of Christ's return to cleanse the earth with fire and set up his kingdom, but His entrance into the holy of holies to cleanse the heavenly sanctuary. Edson refused to admit that Adventists had been wrong in their interpretation of **Daniel 8:14** and other prophecies.

Edson, with O.R.L. Crosier and F.B. Hahn, published his "discovery" in a little paper, *The Day Dawn of Canandaigua*, New York, in March of 1845. Copies were sent to all known Adventists. Joseph Bates and James White readily accepted this interpretation, as did most of the Sabbath-keeping group. The idea was much more publicized when Enoch Jacobs put the article in his larger paper, *The Day Star* of

Cincinnati, on February 7, 1846.

Meanwhile, in the latter part of 1845, Edson sent invitations to leading Adventists to attend a conference at Port Gibson. James White was unable to come, but Bates did. Edson wrote of Bates, "His light was the seventh-day Sabbath." Edson had studied the Sabbath before the Disappointment and now accepted it readily with Hahn. Crosier kept it for a time but soon bitterly opposed the Sabbath and severed all Adventist connections.¹³

Two Adventist groups, the Sanctuary group in Canandaigua, New York, and the Sabbath group of Washington, New Hampshire, were now tied together by their mutual beliefs. They were soon to be joined by a third — those supporting the visions of Ellen G. Harmon of Portland, Maine.

"Spirit of Prophecy" and the Sabbath

Ellen Harmon, an Advent believer who later became Mrs. James White, had her first vision on December 22, 1844, just after the Great Disappointment.

She sent a written copy of her experience to Enoch Jacobs, editor of the Cincinnati Day Star. He was known to be leaning to Shakerism and Spiritualism, and later drew away many Adventists. In their *Testimony of Christ's Second Coming*, Shakers teach that Christ was incarnated in their prophetess, Ann Lee, who called herself "Ann the Word." Shakers practiced celibacy and founded a community at Oneida, New York. Miss Harmon was hoping Jacobs would look to her visions instead of "Mother Ann," and was obviously influenced by a knowledge of Shakerism.¹⁴

Later the young "prophetess" had a vision upholding the Edson/Crosier sanctuary interpretation, which united her followers with the Sanctuary group.

While on a visit to New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1846, Miss Harmon became acquainted with Bates. At the time, Bates did not believe her visions were authentic. However, she and James White became convinced of the Sabbath and began keeping it in the fall of 1846. They were married on August 30. At this time scarcely 100 Adventists kept the Sabbath.

Mrs. White later had a vision of the ark of the testament in heaven with the fourth commandment standing out.¹⁵ Still Bates did

not accept her visions. According to Conradi, Ellen G. White's visions were often feigned to induce people to accept her as a prophetess and her husband as a modern-day Moses.

At an Adventist conference in Topsham, Maine, in November of 1846, with Bates present, Mrs. White fell into a trance in which she related certain astronomical knowledge of more than a novice's background. She knew that Bates was an astronomy buff, and she was finally able to overcome his distrust of her visions. As Loughborough states, "From that evening Elder Bates became fully satisfied that the visions of Mrs. White were outside her knowledge and control."¹⁶ Conradi points out, however, that the information she related in her "vision" was contained in Bates' tract "The Opening Heavens," published in May of that year, and could easily have been read by her before the "vision."¹⁷

Bates, however, was convinced, and the Sabbath, Sanctuary, and Spirit of Prophecy Adventist groups were joined. Although there was no strong organization, the association of these three groups makes it difficult to determine who were the ones that had not "defiled their garments" with doctrines based upon visions.

Source of Ellen G. White's Visions

The source of Mrs. White's visions has been claimed to be divine. During numerous visions, doctors attested to the fact that she stopped breathing and was unconscious, but her heart beat regularly.

In an 1858 vision, when she was confined to a bed, she raised the upper part of her body at a 30-degree angle up from the bed unsupported by hands and arms for 30 minutes. Loughborough, who personally witnessed this event, states, "Here again was proof that **some power over which she had no control** was connected with the vision."¹⁸

Time of the Sabbath

Bates advocated keeping the Sabbath from 6:00 P.M. Friday to 6:00 P.M. Saturday for nine years. The Whites learned of the Sabbath from Bates and they, too, held to this view. The brethren were led to believe that this practice was confirmed by a vision of Mrs. White.

In 1847 a portion of the Sabbath-keepers called this practice into question; some

adopted sunrise, and others sunset, as the time to begin the Sabbath. Ellen had a vision in which she was shown sunrise was wrong, but she was not shown sunset was right. The Whites still accepted Bates' six-to-six theory.

In 1849 the correct time for Sabbath observance was debated during a conference in the Rocky Hill, Connecticut, and the question was settled by a vision of Brother Chamberlain, a leading minister. Chamberlain, while in vision, chalked a clock face on the floor, and drew hands pointing at 12 and 6 to support Bates' theory, which some were doubting. The White group continued to observe the Sabbath from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M. for six more years.

But the subject refused to die. Lest division develop, White had J.N. Andrews study the subject, and Andrews decided on sunset. Bates was not convinced. Then, on November 20, 1855, Ellen G. White had a vision definitely showing that sunset was right. That settled the issue for adherents to her visions.¹⁹

Uriah Smith, a leading SDA writer and publisher, disputes other writers by stating that "the visions never taught that the Sabbath should commence at six o'clock . . ." Smith claimed the visions at first only showed that sunrise to sunset was wrong.

"But the question naturally arises," Smith admits, that "if the visions are given to correct the erring, why did she not sooner see the error of the six o'clock time?" A good question! Why did the "inspired visions" of Ellen G. White tacitly support breaking the Sabbath (keeping it from six to six) for ten years? Smith weakly explains, "It does not appear to be the design of the Lord to teach his people by the gifts of the Spirit on Bible questions until his servants have diligently searched his word."

Early Sabbath-Keepers

Loughborough states that in the autumn of 1846, the time the Whites began to observe the Sabbath, there were 25 scattered (Adventist) Sabbath-keepers in Maine and about 25 in other parts of New England. They were diverse on other points of doctrine. The Whites visited these Sabbath-keepers to strengthen them in the faith.²⁰

Joseph Bates traveled widely, spreading the Sabbath doctrine. He came to Michigan in 1849 and raised up a company of Sabbath-

keepers in Jackson. In 1852, he went to Battle Creek and converted David Hewitt, "the most honest man in Battle Creek," who became a Sabbath-keeper and made his home a church meeting place.²¹

In July of 1849, James White began publishing a free paper, *The Present Truth*, in Middletown, Connecticut. From the start its articles stressed the Sabbath. White contrasted the Law of Moses, which was "nailed to the cross," to the Law of God, which is eternal. In the second issue, August 1849, he began by citing **Colossians 2:14-17** and stating, ". . . it is very clear that the sacrifices and oblations, new-moons, feast days, and Sabbaths of the Jewish law ceased" at Christ's death when they were "nailed to the Cross."²² Most of the third issue was devoted to Mrs. White's visions, during which it was claimed, "the Holy Ghost was poured out" upon her.²³

All Adventist Sabbath-keepers of that time were not former Millerites. In the *Adventist Review and Sabbath Herald* of May 6, 1850, James White stated that "a large portion of those who are sharing the blessing attending the present truth were not connected with the Adventist cause in 1844."²⁴ The teaching of the Ten Commandments, especially the Sabbath, drew adherents to the Adventist Sabbath-keeping groups. The visions of Ellen G. White had not yet been made a test of fellowship.

Roswell F. Cottrell — A "Missing Link"?

There are no historical records of large groups of Seventh Day Baptists becoming Sabbath Adventists. There were 6,092 Seventh Day Baptists in 1846.²⁵

However, there is record of at least one former Seventh Day Baptist who entered the Adventist ranks: Roswell F. Cottrell. He was descended from a long line of Sabbath-keepers; the Cottrells were an Albigensian family or clan of southwestern France. Pope Alexander III's decree of extermination in 1178 is against "Catharins, Patarins, or Publicans, among the Albigenses . . . the Aragonese, Navarrese, Basques, Cottrells . . . we enjoin . . . to confiscate their goods, reduce them to slavery, and put to death all who were unwilling to be converted." The Cottrell family of England was descended from John Cottrell the Norman, one of the few survivors of the devastating Albigensian Crusades. In 1638 (two years after Rhode

Island plantation was founded by Roger Williams), Nicholas Cottrell came from England and settled in Rhode Island.²⁶

The Cottrell name is found among the earliest Church of God people (later Seventh Day Baptist) people in America. John Cottrell was a member of the “mother” church in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1692.²⁷ Nicholas and Dorothy Cottrell were members of the Westerly Church (Rhode Island) in November, 1712.²⁸

Roswell F. Cottrell, born in New York, was sixth in line of descent from the original Nicholas Cottrell. Several Cottrells were Seventh Day Baptist preachers. Roswell was reared in a Sabbath-keeping family and observed the Sabbath all his life. Although the name “Seventh Day Baptist General Conference” was adopted in 1818, the 1833 “Exposé of Sentiments” on doctrinal views retained the earlier names in stating that the Law of God is “morally and religiously binding upon the Church of Christ We believe it is the duty of all men, and especially the Church of God, to observe religiously the seventh day of the week”²⁹

Years before the “Great Disappointment” of 1844, the Cottrell family left the Seventh Day Baptists because the Cottrells refused to believe in the immortality of the soul. Original Sabbatarian Baptist (Church of God) leaders were outspoken against the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and were derisively termed “soul sleepers” by their opponents. But belief in the immortality of the soul eventually crept into Sabbatarian Baptist teaching through men such as William Davis.³⁰

After leaving the Seventh Day Baptists, the Cottrells were known as “Seventh-Day Christians.” A good-sized group of believers was raised up, whose members were sometimes termed “Cottrellites.”³¹

Cottrell heard the 1844 Advent preaching but refused to join the Adventist movement because he kept the Sabbath and the Adventists, at that time, did not. Largely because of the Sabbath, few Seventh Day Baptists joined the ranks of early Adventists. But in 1851, through Joseph Bates and Samuel Rhodes, now Sabbath-keepers, Roswell, his brother and his father John, accepted Adventist teaching. Roswell Cottrell became a leading Adventist minister and writer.³²

During the debate over a church name, Roswell F. Cottrell stood for “Church of God.” He was not able to attend the Battle Creek

Conference in 1860 when the church name was selected, but his article “Making Us a Name,” published in the *Review and Herald* of March 22, 1860 was counted as support for the group that opposed organizing under the name Seventh-Day Adventists. In the *Review* of May 3, 1860, he wrote, “I do not believe in popery; neither do I believe in anarchy; but in Bible order, discipline, and government in the **Church of God.**”³³

In 1848, Benedict wrote in his Baptist history, “Besides these [churches which were part of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference], there are numerous little societies of Sabbath-keepers, who are accustomed to meet weekly for prayer and conference, but who have not yet been organized into churches.”³⁴

Cottrell and other independent Sabbatarians may form the “missing link” between America’s earliest Sabbath-keepers and the Seventh Day Church of God.

“Shut Door” Controversy — Three Angel’s Messages: Sardis, Philadelphia and Laodicea

Sabbatarian Adventists became known as “Sabbath and shut door” brethren, while Sunday-keeping Adventists were termed “open door” Adventists. The meaning of these terms is essential to understanding the transition period in the history of Sabbath-keepers in America.

William Miller began the “shut door” idea when he said Christ would come “about the year 1843.” He believed that the Second Coming would end probation, and that those who had heard and rejected the Advent message would be forever lost. Miller stated, “After the door is shut — he that is filthy will remain so. There will be no use . . . to warn people of their danger.”

One of Miller’s followers, Joseph Marsh, on October 2, 1844, wrote that soon “the door of salvation will be forever closed.”³⁵ (He later changed his views and advocated the “Age to Come” doctrine.) Miller in the *Advent Herald* of December 11, 1844 (after the Disappointment), states, “I have not seen a genuine conversion since.” Joseph Bates in his article, “Our Labor in the Philadelphian and Laodicean Churches,” gave further elaboration.³⁶

The “shut door” Adventist view, later taught by Seventh-Day Adventists, held that

when William Miller sounded his message, the churches in America were only “nominal” Christians — the Sardis era of the church. As Ellen G. White states in *The Great Controversy*, “The condition of the church at this time is pointed out in the Savior’s words in the Revelation: ‘you have a name that you livest, and art dead.’” The reason, she states, was that the churches had **refused to learn new truths**.³⁷

Miller is said to have promulgated the “First Angel’s Message,” that the hour of God’s judgment was near.

Adventists did not at first compose a separate church. Adventism was an interdenominational movement; preachers of many churches began teaching “Millerism,” i.e. Miller’s interpretations of the prophecies in Daniel concerning the so-called “2,300 days.” In the early days of the movement, Miller was a Baptist, and Wheeler was a Methodist. When the message got too strong, some Millerite ministers were put out of their churches. Finally, Charles Fitch, a leading Adventist, wrote his article, “Come Out of Her, My People!” urging Adventists to come out of their churches, which were labeled as part of Babylon. This was said to be the “Second Angel’s Message,” that of “Babylon is fallen, is fallen!” Those who did sever their church connections formed separate groups which met together on Sunday for worship. These were “united in brotherly love,” and, it was supposed, were the Philadelphia era.³⁸

Zealous Adventists believed that they had sounded the “midnight cry” (title of the leading Adventist publication), warning the people, “Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet Him.” But the trauma of the Great Disappointment split the Adventist movement wide open, for as Mrs. White states, “Before 1844 we were all united in the truth, but since 1844 . . . many new views have sprung up, and darkness and confusion have been the result.”³⁹

Joseph Bates gave further definition to the “Third Angel’s Message”; he said it was a call for men to observe the seventh-day Sabbath, which began to be proclaimed strongly in the 1850’s.⁴⁰ That this message was proclaimed to the Laodicean Church was stated in the Advent Review Extra of September, 1850. Seventh-Day Adventists today refer to themselves as the Laodicean Church.

The “shut door” idea greatly influenced the history of Sabbath Adventists in the following

years. Sunday Adventists rejected the date of October 22, 1844, as the fulfillment of any prophecy. They said probation had **not** come to a close. But the Sanctuary-Sabbath-White group refused to admit their misinterpretation of prophecy and applied the “new sanctuary interpretation” to 1844. Sanctuary believers, as a result, held to the “shut door” view. For them, probation had closed; the door to salvation was indeed shut. James White expressed this view in *The Present Truth of May, 1850*, on pages 75-79 when he stated those who had rejected the Advent message before 1844 were lost, and were utterly without hope of salvation. The “shut door” idea led to the belief among Sabbath Adventists that further conversions were virtually impossible, and that it was useless to preach the gospel to the world as a witness.

From 1846 to 1855, Bates and White followers were known as the “Sabbath and Shut Door People.” Others adhering to this view were M.E. Cornell, Moses Hull, John Loughborough, J.H. Waggoner, E.W. Shortridge, John Byington, and J.B. Frisbie. They believed that their work for the world was finished and that further propagation of the message must be confined to original Adventist believers.⁴¹ *The result was that evangelizing was not done for a number of years.* (It is interesting that some Sabbath-keepers of the late twentieth century treated January, 1972, as a “shut door,” claiming that the gospel had been preached to the whole world in fulfillment of **Matthew 24:14**, and therefore evangelistic efforts were curtailed.) For “about a decade after 1844,” Sabbath Adventists labored quite exclusively among those who had been in the Adventist movement during the disappointment.⁴² There were few converts during this period.

In Ellen G. White’s first vision, in December, 1844, she saw only Adventists on the way to heaven, thus confirming the “shut door” belief. In her account of the vision, published on June 29, 1857, she states, “I saw that the wicked could not be benefitted by our prayers now.”⁴³

Later the Whites were to change their views. By the mid-1850’s, the “shut door” issue was toned down, although opposers to her visions brought up the “Camden Vision” to show how she had contradicted herself.

1848 — “The Work” Before Organization

The Whites moved from Maine to Connecticut, probably in 1848. In that year there were six Sabbath conferences which unified and consolidated the Sabbath group of Adventists.

The first conference, held in Rocky Hill, Connecticut, on April 20-24, was initiated by Brother Chamberlain of Middleton. Thirty to fifty were present, including A.S. Gurney, Joe Bates, and the Whites. Bates spoke on the Sabbath, and White baptized several.

This conference was the first contact the Whites had made with Connecticut brethren. The subject of when to begin the Sabbath was discussed. Loughborough conceals a doctrinal dispute with the statement, "These were not all fully in the truth."⁴⁴

A second conference was held at Volney, Oswego County, New York, in August of 1848. Hiram Edson invited the Whites, Joseph Bates, and Gurney. The conference was attended by 35 persons, including all Advent Sabbath keepers in western New York, and was held in David Arnold's carriage house. Many disagreeing views were expressed. Arnold held that the Passover should be observed once a year; he was also reported to have stated that the 1,000 years of **Revelation 20** were past, and that the 144,000 were those raised at Christ's resurrection. Mrs. White, troubled at the differing views expressed, conveniently had a vision during which she held an open Bible without looking, and turned the pages and pointed to texts that refuted these "false theories." The "Lord's Supper" was taken at this meeting.

Harmony prevailed at the third conference, held at Edson's barn in Port Gibson, New York, on August 27 and 28. Three other conferences were held: in Rocky Hill, Connecticut, on September 8-9 at Albert Beldon's home; in Topsham, Maine, on October 20-22 at Stockbridge Howland's home; and in Dorchester, Massachusetts, on November 18 at Otis Nichol's home.⁴⁵

1849

In June of 1849, Mrs. White had a "testimony" that Elder White was to "write, write, and walk out by faith." In July 1849, James White began *The Present Truth*, a Sabbath Adventist paper, published first at Middletown, Connecticut, and beginning in December of that year, at Oswego, New York.

There was no subscription price. Oswego became the center of the publishing work after the Whites moved there from Connecticut in the fall of 1849.⁴⁶

Thus it was that the predecessor of the leading Seventh-Day Adventist periodical, the *Review and Herald*, began at the behest of a "vision" of Ellen G. White.

1850

The Present Truth continued to be published in Oswego, New York, until November 1850, after which it was published in Paris, Maine, where the Whites moved in the fall of 1850. In the issue of November 1850, James White stated, "Some of our good brethren are troubled in regard to eating swine's flesh, and a very few abstain from eating it, thinking the Bible forbids its use." White approved of eating swine's flesh, maintaining that it was a "burden" to forbid its use.⁴⁷

Volume I, No. 1 of *The Advent Review* was published in August 1850, in Auburn, New York. Hiram Edson, David Arnold, George W. Holt, Samuel Rhodes and James White were members of the publishing committee. The paper was gratis. It reviewed Miller's prophecies, added the new "heavenly sanctuary" interpretation, and reaffirmed the belief that the 2,300 days had ended on October 22, 1844. The paper termed those who rejected the 1844 date as those who have "LEFT THE ORIGINAL FAITH."

1851

In August of 1851, the Whites and their paper moved from Paris, Maine, to Saratoga Springs, New York. About this time the paper was called *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*.

1852

In April of 1852, White moved from Saratoga Springs to Rochester, New York. He bought a press and began Volume III of the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, on May 6, 1852. He faced bitter opposition from other Advent papers and ministers. Fifteen ministers were added to White's group, including J.H. Waggoner, A.S. Hutchins, M.E. Cornell, J.M. Stephenson, D.P. Hall, J.B. Frisbie, Albert Stone, M.G. Kellogg, T.M. Steward, Uriah

Smith, and J.N. Loughborough. Two thousand copies of the Review were being issued twice a month.⁴⁸

Bates reported that the number of Sabbath-keepers in Vermont and New Hampshire had increased fourfold during 1851 and 1852. Elders Cottrell, Sperry, Ingraham and Joseph Baker became connected with the Sabbath Adventists.⁴⁹

1854 — Tent Meetings Start

In 1854, the Review changed its policy and began charging money.⁵⁰

In the winter of 1853-54, meetings were held in Ohio at Milan, Green Springs, Clarksfield, and other places; during that time the number of Sabbath keepers in Ohio doubled. On May 5-7, 1854, the Whites attended a meeting at Milan; it was Ohio's first conference of Sabbath-keepers, with 30-40 in attendance.⁵¹

In Battle Creek on June 10, 1854, Loughborough opened the first Sabbatarian tent meetings held in a 60-foot circular tent bought in the East by Elder Cornell. The Whites came from Wisconsin and attended the tent meetings at Grand Rapids on June 16-18. Tent meetings by traveling evangelists became a common practice in many states. On July 11, 1854, Vermont brethren purchased and erected a tent at Waitsfield, and Elder White spoke there. In the spring of 1855, New York brethren purchased a tent and held their first meeting at Mill Grove on June 2-3. By the summer of 1856, tents were being used in Wisconsin and Michigan, and throughout New England, especially in New York, where Elders Ingraham and R.F. Cottrell accompanied Loughborough.⁵²

During the 1850's, Sabbath Adventists were centered quite heavily in western New York. They continued to emigrate west, and by the end of the Civil War most were in the Midwest.⁵³ By 1857 tents had been added in Illinois and Ohio, scores had been added to the faith. In 1859 Iowa received a tent on loan from Michigan, and the next year Iowa had another of her own.⁵⁴

1855 — Move to Michigan

James White became ill and resolved to free himself from the responsibility of editing and publishing the paper by placing it in the hands of a Rochester publishing committee.

But no one in Rochester wanted to take White's place. White was personally several thousand dollars in debt. The cause had apparently come to a standstill, orders for publications were few and small, and White feared that he would die in debt. This dilemma led White to jump at the opportunity to move to Michigan, with all expenses paid.⁵⁵

At a conference in Battle Creek, Michigan, on April 28-29, 1855, the brethren voted to invite White to move the Review office from Rochester to Battle Creek. A lot was purchased, a church and office buildings were constructed, and by December 4, 1855, the Review was being issued in Battle Creek. Henry Lyon, Cyrenius Smith and D.R. Palmer were on the publishing committee. Uriah Smith was resident editor, and J.N. Andrews, James White, J.H. Waggoner, and R.F. Cottrell were corresponding editors. The 1855 move to establish headquarters at Battle Creek has been termed "the first manifest step by the followers of Mrs. White to form a separate movement."⁵⁶

Ministers added during the period from January, 1854, to June 26, 1855, were Stephen N. Haskell, Isaac Sanborn, and Jesse Dorcas. A.C. and D.T. Bourdeau were added in 1855. Those who preached the doctrine carried a recommendation, signed by one of the older ministers who were designated as "leading elders." The certificate of recommendation was in effect a license to preach.⁵⁷

1856 — A New Era

In the fall of 1856, Sabbatarian Adventists came to believe that they were the Laodicean era of the true church. The "Laodicean message" was proclaimed to the church, and "new life and energy" was the result. The *Review* of October 30, 1856, stated, "We believe that in view of new truths recently developing, a new era is opening before us."⁵⁸

1857-1858

Loughborough, as traveling minister in the winter of 1857-58, received a ham, one-half hog and other food in pay. The "light" on abstaining from meats was not received by Mrs. White until 1863.⁵⁹

Ministers received very little pay and had a difficult time. J.N. Andrews conducted a Bible class in Battle Creek in the winter of 1857-58 to learn what the Bible said

concerning support for the ministry. The result was the suggestion that the people practice "Systematic Benevolence" based on the tithing principle.⁶⁰

Doctrine of Sabbath Adventists

Distinctive features of Millerism and Adventism were the claim that "the Bible is its own interpreter" and belief in the "literal interpretation of the Scriptures."⁶¹ Sabbath-keepers were at first a minority among Adventists. Key doctrines of Sabbath Adventists came to be: (1) the soon-coming return of Christ to establish a new world of righteousness, (2) the Sabbath, (3) the unconscious state of the dead, and (4) baptism by immersion.⁶² By 1858, over 80 percent of Advent believers endorsed conditional immortality.⁶³

Growth of Sabbath Adventists

The World's Crisis of January 25, 1860, estimated that there were 54,000 Adventists and 600 Adventist ministers. Most of these ministers were itinerant preachers; only 87 were settled.⁶⁴ Of the 600 ministers, 57 were Sabbatarian ministers. Based on the ratio of Sabbatarian ministers to Sunday ministers, there were an estimated 5,100 Sabbath Adventists in America in 1860.

Move Toward Organization

Believers in the "Third Angel's Message," that is, Adventists who were Sabbath-keepers, had no formal organization.

The first indication of any kind of order appears in 1853 with the mention of deacons in Bates' churches at Fairhaven, Massachusetts; Dartmouth, Massachusetts; and Jackson and Sylvan, Michigan. Bates' autobiography repeatedly refers to his organizing churches with deacons and elders. Deacons were often the sole church officers. They performed the duties of an elder except for those occasions when an itinerant minister visited, which might be only once a year. The deacons administered the Lord's Supper and footwashing.

James White and Joseph Bates, as "leading ministers," signed certificates of recommendation for other Sabbatarian ministers. Later, the certificates were sometimes signed by Loughborough or other front-rank ministers.⁶⁵

This "card system" was begun in January, 1853. Not all ministers adhered to it; some were independent.⁶⁶

Indefiniteness of ordination was a primary reason for the move to organization. White had been ordained in 1843 as a Christian minister. Frederick Wheeler and John Byington were ordained Methodists. A.S. Hutchins was ordained in the Freewill Baptist Church. William Miller was not ordained but was licensed by the Baptists. Bates was probably never ordained or even licensed. Other Adventist ministers were at first only lay preachers. Washington Morse records that he was ordained in 1853, but it is not clear by whom. Loughborough wrote that his ordination was on June 18, 1854. Clear records did not become available until the Seventh-Day Adventist church organized in 1861-63.

Ellen G. White Behind Organizational Drive

In a series of four well-prepared articles on "Gospel Order" in the *Review and Herald* of December 1853, James White spoke of the need for organization and advocated ordination of ministers by the laying on of hands.⁶⁷ Thus began a carefully planned program to "condition" Sabbath Adventists for eventual organization into a distinct denomination.

In early 1854, Ellen G. White wrote, "The church must flee to God's Word, and become established upon gospel order, which has been overlooked and neglected. This is indispensably necessary to bring the church into the unity of the faith."⁶⁸ Loughborough, an intimate of the Whites, records that Ellen G. White was the motivating force behind the drive to organization. He cites George Storrs, warning in the *Midnight Cry!* of February 15, 1844:

"Take care that you do not seek to organize another church. No church can be organized by man's invention but what it becomes Babylon the moment it is organized. The Lord organized his own church . . . [those who organize themselves] cease to be his followers, and drop off of the body as a matter of course."⁶⁹

In contrast, Mrs. White in 1855 wrote in her Testimonies,

"There is too much independence of spirit indulged in among the messengers [Adventist ministers]. This must be laid aside . . . Order must be observed, and there must be union in

maintaining order, or Satan will take the advantage,” (Vol. I, pp. 113-14).

In the *Review* of July 21, 1859, Elder White suggested that each state hold a yearly meeting to plan for the work in order to avoid confusion. In the issue of February 23, 1860, he suggested organizing to protect church property. Loughborough supported this move in an article, “Legal Organization,” in the issue of March 8, 1860. In the issue of March 22, 1860, an opposing article appeared by an unnamed “esteemed brother in the faith,” claiming that White and Loughborough wanted to make a name like the builders of Babel and were going into Babylon. White replied vigorously, and the discussion raged in the summer of 1860 in the pages of the *Review*.⁷⁰

Battle Creek Conference — “The Schism of 1860”

In the autumn, a conference was called to discuss legal organization. It was held at Battle Creek from September 26 to October 1, 1860. Joseph Bates was the usual chairman and Uriah Smith secretary and reporter. All major speeches were reported verbatim in the *Review* issues of October 9-23, 1860.

Delegates totalled seventeen:

New York: E.A. Poole, J.N. Andrews, C.W. Sperry

Ohio: T.J. Butler, G.W. Holt, Joseph Clark, H. Crow

Michigan: Joseph Bates, J.H. Waggoner, James White, J.N. Loughborough, J.B. Frisbie, R.J. Lawrence, J.L. Edgar

Wisconsin: W.S. Ingraham

Iowa: M.E. Cornell, Moses Hull (Was Moses Hull of the famous Seventh Day Baptist Hull family? A Hamilton Hull was a Seventh Day Baptist pastor in Welton, Iowa, and in Nebraska and Ohio during this period. See *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America*, pages 204 and 1378.)

Many tenaciously held to the belief that church organizations were oppressive and of the devil. The attitude that “organization is Babylon” was more or less evident in all except White and Loughborough. Some of the Ohio and New York delegates were constitutionally opposed to organization. Andrews, Waggoner, and Cornell were fearful but reducible by discussion.⁷¹ R.E. Cottrell, a leading minister, was unable to attend. His *Review* article “Making Us a Name” was

counted as support for the anti-organization group.

Controversy Surrounding Selection of a Church Name

The Battle Creek Conference agreed unanimously to legally organize a publishing association and elected a committee of five to form a corporation as soon as possible. The conference also decided to recommend that local Sabbath churches organize.

When a church name was considered, some held for “Church of God.” (One historian, Everett Dick, reported that Elder James White suggested the name “Church of God,”⁷² but this is doubtful because Mrs. White was strongly against the name.) Others preferred the name “Seventh-Day Adventist,” objecting to the name “Church of God” because it gave none of the distinctive features of their belief, while “Seventh-Day Adventist” showed their faith in the soon coming Christ and the seventh-day Sabbath. The name “Seventh-Day Adventist” was finally chosen.⁷³

Only one man voted against the Seventh-Day Adventist name, holding out for “Church of God.” His name is as yet unknown, but he was from Gilboa, Ohio.⁷⁴ A few days after the close of the meeting, a stranger came forward to purchase some books who said he belonged to the Church of God. Loughborough asked, “Are you a Winnebrenarian?” He said, “No, Church of God.” Then Loughborough asked, “Are you a Dunkard?” “No,” he answered, “I said Church of God.” Loughborough, knowing the stranger was not an Adventist, turned to the man from Gilboa who had so strongly favored the name “Church of God” and said, “Brother -----, can you tell me what that man’s faith is?” “No,” said he, “I cannot.”⁷⁵ The man from Gilboa subsequently changed his mind about the name “Church of God.”⁷⁶

Arguments Opposing the Name, “Church of God”

Loughborough recorded the above story in a facetious vein, for he and others who became Seventh-Day Adventists did not believe a church name had any great significance. Ellen G. White, however, placed great emphasis on the significance of the church name. She was adamantly opposed to the name “Church of God” and stated in her *Testimonies for the*

Church, No. 6,

“No name which we can take will be appropriate but that which accords with our profession, and expresses our faith, and marks us a peculiar people The name Seventh-Day Adventist carries the features of our faith in front, and will convict the inquiring mind . . . I was shown [in a vision] that almost every fanatic who has arisen, who wishes to hide his sentiments that he may lead away others, claims to belong to the Church of God. Such a name would at once excite suspicion; for it is employed to conceal the most absurd errors.”

Mrs. White’s “testimony” settled the question of a church name once and for all in the minds of believers in the “prophets.”⁷⁷

The modern Seventh-Day Adventist argument for rejecting the name Church of God, is as follows:

“The requirement for membership in the New Testament church consists in belief in Jesus Christ as the Saviour from sin. A right relationship to the Lord Jesus Christ is what unites members of His true church, not merely formal membership in a group bearing a name based on a phrase found in the New Testament. God’s true saints have been scattered through every land, and in every Christian communion, throughout the centuries, regardless of any identifying church name. There is no New Testament endorsement for an explicit name for the corporate body of believers.”⁷⁸

Finalizing of SDA Organization

Although Seventh-Day Adventists adopted the name in 1860 at the Battle Creek Conference, formal organization was not effected until May of 1863.

At Battle Creek in April of 1861, James White called for complete organization, with equal representation of churches in state conferences, and the states sending delegates to a general conference. On May 3, 1861, the Seventh-Day Adventist Publishing Association was organized to control the *Review* and all publishing enterprises. It began publishing the *Review* on June 11, 1861, with James White as editor.

On October 6, 1861, the Michigan Seventh-Day Adventist Conference was organized by electing a chairman, secretary, and executive committee of three. It recommended that churches enter into the

organization by adopting the following church covenant:

“We the undersigned hereby associate ourselves together as a church, taking the name Seventh-Day Adventists, covenanting to keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus Christ.”

The Michigan Conference decided to grant credentials that could be renewed annually to all Michigan Seventh-Day Adventist ministers in good standing. The conference also voted to prepare an address to the general membership on the procedure of organizing churches.⁷⁹ Only a tentative organization was achieved, for the constituent churches were not formally received until the next meeting in the fall of 1862. But the meeting in October 1861 was recognized as the first session of the Michigan Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists, the first conference organized under the name “Seventh-Day Adventists.”

On October 4-6, 1862, the Michigan Conference held meetings in Monterey, Michigan. Seventeen churches in Michigan and one in Indiana were received into the conference and ordained ministers were given credentials. State conferences were now being organized in other states and were preparing to send delegates to an annual general conference.

Church leaders in New York and Pennsylvania, as well as in Ohio, were against organization. Not only was New England split, there was apathy as well as much opposition in the West. White wrote in the *Review* of September 30, 1862, that little had been done in relation to organization. Due to the agitation of some laymen, state conferences were organized in northern Iowa on May 10, in southern Iowa on May 16, in Vermont on June 15, in Illinois-Wisconsin on September 28, in Minnesota on October 4, and finally in New York on October 25. The New York Conference included members of Adventist churches in Pennsylvania, and the organizational meeting was held at Roosevelt, New York. David Arnold was elected the first president. Edson, Rhodes, C.O. Taylor, and Cottrell were also active in this area.⁸⁰ Although Joe Clark of Ohio was opposed to the organization drive in his state, later, Ohio, too, organized a state conference.⁸¹

The first meeting of the Seventh-Day Adventist General Conference, with representatives from all state conferences except Vermont, was held at Battle Creek on

May 20-23, 1863. A General Conference Constitution was adopted, and a state constitution was recommended to the individual state conferences. The state constitution was quickly adopted by the Michigan Conference which was meeting at the same time as the General Conference.⁸²

Membership in 1863 of "Seventh-Day Adventists" was listed as 3,500.⁸³

Opposers to Organization

Cottrell was not the only Seventh-Day Adventist to disagree with the organizational procedures. Another objector was Waterman Phelps, who apparently withdrew from the movement and was never recovered as was Cottrell. Phelps expounded his views in letters which were published in the Review issues of July 16 and October 1, 1861.⁸⁴

Unlike Phelps, T.J. Butler of Ohio withdrew from the movement but later returned. As a member of the committee on organization at the 1860 Battle Creek meeting, Butler went along reluctantly with the majority in favor of organization. His opposition was aroused over the issue of a name, and he soon dropped out of the Seventh-Day Adventist movement. Ten years later he was "recovered" in Iowa by George I. Butler. T.J. Butler was rebaptized and began again to preach. (See the Review issues of March 11 and June 18, 1862.)

CONCLUSION

The "transition period" of Church of God history, from the 1840's to the early 1860's, is difficult to research. History seems to focus almost entirely on those Sabbath-keepers who adhered to the "visions" of Mrs. White, on Sabbath-keepers who abandoned the proper church name, and on Adventists who held to the name "Church of God," but did not observe the Sabbath.

History does record that the Sabbath entered the Adventist movement through a Seventh Day Baptist, Mrs. Rachel Oakes. Roswell F. Cottrell left the Sabbatarian Baptists because of their unscriptural beliefs; he later entered and greatly influenced the Sabbath Adventist movement.

Independent Sabbath-keepers existed throughout the period of 1840 to 1860 in New York, West Virginia, Ohio, Michigan, and elsewhere. Of these, remnants of Sabbatarian

Baptists in West Virginia in the late 1850's combined Sabbath-keeping, Passover observance and keeping of Biblical food laws with other beliefs strikingly similar to the modern Church of God (Seventh Day).

As has been discussed in this paper, not all Sabbath Adventists adhered to Ellen G. White's visions. Some of the opposers to her visions were later to emerge as the Seventh Day Church of God. The historical ties of this group with Sabbatarian Baptists and Stephen Mumford, the first Sabbath-keeper in America (1664), appear to be established.Ω

FOOTNOTES

¹³ Booton Herndon, *The Seventh Day: Story of the Seventh Day Adventists* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), 50-52.

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Spalding, 111-12.

Nichol, 459.

¹⁴ Conradi, 15-17.

¹⁵ Loughborough, 125.

¹⁶ Loughborough, 126.

¹⁷ Conradi, 25-29.

¹⁸ Loughborough, 91-95, 218-19.

¹⁹ Henry E. Carver, *Mrs. E.G. White's Claims to Divine Inspiration Examined*, 2nd edition (Marion, Iowa: Advent and Sabbath Advocate Press, 1877), 22-26.

²⁰ Loughborough, 25, 133.

²¹ Froom, 963.

²² *The Present Truth*, I (August 1849), 9.

²³ *Ibid.*, 21-24.

²⁴ Cited by Nichol in footnote, 460.

²⁵ David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World* (New York: Lewis Colby and Company, 1848), 924.

²⁶ William A. Spicer, *Pioneer Days of the Advent Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1941), 252-55.

²⁷ *Seventh Day Baptist Memorial*, I (July 1852), 121.

²⁸ *Seventh Day Baptist Memorial*, III (January 1854), 38-39.

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- ²⁹ James Bailey, *History of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, from its Origin, September, 1802 to its Fifty-third Session, September, 1865* (Toledo: S. Bailey and Company, 1866), 99.
- ³⁰ *Seventh Day Baptist Memorial*, I (July 1852), 101-8.
- ³¹ Spicer, 252-55.
- ³² Spalding, 117, 400.
- ³³ Cited in Spicer, 255.
- ³⁴ Benedict, 922.
- ³⁵ Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned Over District, a Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, New York: Harper Torch Books, 1950), 313.
- ³⁶ Carver, 29-31.
- ³⁷ Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan* (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1950), 297, 309.
- ³⁸ Loughborough, 62.
- ³⁹ Andrew N. Dugger and Clarence O. Dodd, *A History of the True Religion*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: The Mount Zion Reporter, 1968), 292.

⁴⁰ Nichol, 462-63; Nichol, *Reasons for Our Faith*, 221.

⁴¹ *Review and Herald*, XVIII (June 11, 1861).

⁴² Nichol, *Reasons*, 46-47.

⁴³ Cited in Carver, 41.

⁴⁴ Loughborough, 136.

⁴⁵ Froom, 1022-23.

⁴⁶ Loughborough, 150-52.

⁴⁷ *Present Truth* (November 1850), 87.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 167-68, 171.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 164.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 198.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 203-8.

⁵³ Cross, 317.

⁵⁴ Loughborough, 213, 230.

⁵⁵ James White and Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches*, 2nd ed. (Battle Creek, Michigan: Steam Press of the Seventh Day Adventist Publishing Association, 1888), 313.

⁵⁶ "General Council of the Churches of God, Seventh Day," tract (Meridian, Idaho, n.d).

⁵⁷ Loughborough, 197, 203-4, 207, 216-17.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 209.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶² David Mitchell, *Seventh Day Adventists, Faith in Action* (1958), 292.

⁶³ General Council, *op. cit.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Spalding, 294-95, 405.

⁶⁶ M. Ellsworth Olsen, *A History of the Origin and Progress of the Seventh Day Adventists* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1925), 246.

⁶⁷ Spalding, 295-96.

⁶⁸ Cited in Spalding, 295.

⁶⁹ Loughborough, 195.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 225-26.

⁷¹ Spalding, 405; Loughborough, 227.

⁷² Everett Dick, *Founders of the Message* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1938), 185, 234.

⁷³ Loughborough, 227.

⁷⁴ *Bible Advocate*, LVII (July 3, 1923), 379.

⁷⁵ Loughborough, 227.

⁷⁶ Olsen, 249.

⁷⁷ Loughborough, 227-28.

² James White, *Life Incidents*, Vol. I, (Battle Creek, Michigan: Steam Press of the Seventh Day Adventists, 1845), 10.

Publishing Association, 1868), 275-76.

³ John N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh Day Adventists* (Battle Creek, Michigan: General Conference Association of Seventh Day Adventists, 1892), 137.

⁴ *Sabbath Recorder*, I (June 13, 1844), 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶ Arthur W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh Day Adventists*, Vol. I (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1961), 115, 297-98, 400.

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Leroy E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, Vol. IV (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1946), 949.

⁷ Froom, 947.

⁸ Spalding, 400.

⁹ Loughborough, 110.

¹⁰ Spalding, 118.

¹¹ Spalding, 120-21.

¹² Hoekema, 96.

L. Richard Conradi, *The Founders of the Seventh Day Adventists Denomination*, (Plainfield, New Jersey: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1939), pages 25-26.

⁷⁸ Harry W. Lowe, *Radio Church of God, How its Teachings Differ from Seventh Day Adventists* (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1970), 11-12, 14.

⁷⁹ Loughborough, 228.

⁸⁰ Olsen, 280.

⁸¹ Spalding, 305-7, 406; Olsen, 750.

⁸² Loughborough, 253.

⁸³ Mitchell, 292.

⁸⁴ Spalding, 309-10.